NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the notes:

AG	Alexander Gumby Collection, Columbia University, New York
BR	Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation
FLP	Theatre Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia
GM	George Mason University's Special Collection and Archives, VA
HB	Hatch-Billops Collection, New York
HTC	Harvard Theatre Collection, Cambridge, MA
LOC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
MC	Theatre Collection, The Museum of the City of New York
MS	Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
SC	Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation
UM	Special Collection and Archives, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, MA

CHAPTER ONE

1. Benjamin Brawley, *The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States* (New York: Duffield & Co., 1918) 4.
2. Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro* (1925; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1992), 6.
3. The Harlem Renaissance–New Negro era was a period of the greatest single shift in consciousness of black life and thought prior to the Civil Rights Movement, and the Civil Rights Movement itself was deeply influenced by the Harlem Renaissance's theories and practices. The term "New Negro" dates as early as 1895, but it is primarily known by the title of the book, *The New Negro,* edited by Alain Locke in 1925 and emanating from the essays collected in *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (March 1925) that composed of articles defining a new African American agenda. For a survey of the term "New Negro," see Cary D. Wintz, *Black Culture and the Harlem Renaissance* (Houston: Rice University Press, 1988), 30–47. For other studies on the Harlem Renaissance–New Negro Movement, see, among other works, Jervis Anderson, *This Was Harlem* (New York: Noonday, 1981); Arna Bontemps, ed., *The Harlem Renaissance Remembered* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1972); James De Jongh, *Vicious Modernism: Black Harlem and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971);

David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (New York: Penguin, 1981, 1997); Victor Kramer, ed., *The Harlem Renaissance Re-examined* (New York: AMS Press, 1987); Amritjit Singh et al., ed., *The Harlem Renaissance: Reevaluations* (New York: Garland, 1989); Cheryl A. Wall, *Women of the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); and Steven Watson, *The Harlem Renaissance: Hub of African-American Culture, 1920–1930* (New York: Pantheon, 1995).

4. For important collections of plays, see James V. Hatch and Leo Hamalian, eds., *Lost Plays of the Harlem Renaissance* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996); Hamalian & Hatch, eds., *The Roots of African American Drama* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991); and Kathy A. Perkins and Judith L. Stephens, eds., *Strange Fruit: Plays on Lynching by American Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998). For an overview of plays by African American women, see Judith L. Stephens, "The Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro Movement," in *American Women Playwrights,* Brenda Murphy, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 98–117; and Christine R. Gray, "Discovering and Recovering African American Women Playwrights Writing Before 1930," in the same collection, 244–53.
5. For a study on the musicals of the era, see Thomas L. Riis, *Just Before Jazz: Black Musical Theatre in New York, 1890–1915* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1989); Allen Woll, *Black Musical Theatre: From Coontown to Dreamgirls* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989); Bernard L. Peterson, *A Century of Musicals in Black and White* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993); Wayne D. Shirley, "The House of Melody: A List of Publications of the Gotham-Attucks Music Company at the Library of Congress," *The Black Perspective in Music* 15.1 (Spring 1987), 79–112; and John Graziano, "Sentimental Songs, Rags, and Transformations: The emergence of the Black Musical, 1895–1910," in *Musical Theatre in America,* ed. Glenn Loney (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), 211–232.
6. Michael North puts it this way: the Harlem Renaissance, he says, "touches on the perpetual rivalries between art and propaganda and between high art and popular culture." As a movement, it was concerned with the "ultimate question about art and politics," which was: "is art the highest expression of an achieved civilization, or is it what a people has instead of political power?" North, "The Harlem Renaissance," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Vol. 7: Modernism and the New Criticism,* ed. A. Walton Litz, Louis Menand, and Lawrence Rainey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 167.
7. Locke, "The Negro and the American Stage," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 10.2 (February 1926), 116.
8. Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," in *The New Negro,* 256.
9. Gregory Holmes Singleton, "Birth, Rebirth, and the 'New Negro' of the 1920s," *Phylon* 43.1 (March 1982), 31.
10. Bernard W. Bell, *The Afro-American Novel and Its Tradition* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 114.
11. In this analysis of "paradox" I build on Howard A. Slaatte, *The Pertinence of the Paradox* (New York: Humanities Press, 1968), and Nicholas Rescher, *Paradoxes: Their Roots, Range, and Resolution* (Chicago: Open Court, 2001).
12. Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting its History from Africa to the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 88.
13. This view is more or less in agreement with Daylanne K. English, "Selecting the Harlem Renaissance," *Critical Inquiry* 25.4 (Summer 1999), 807–21. English ar-

gues that by "turning down the volume" on the optimistic voices of Du Bois and Locke and emphasizing the movements "less 'optimistic' tropes and texts," we can "develop alternative constructions of the Harlem Renaissance" (814), which reveal competing and conflictual aims and purposes. William Jordan, in "'The Damnable Dilemma': African-American Accommodation and Protest during World War I," *Journal of American History* 81.4 (March 1995), 1562–1590, also argues that Du Bois was often torn between loyalty to the American cause in the war and a desire to resist supporting the war because of the rampant racism and lynching at the time.

14. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), in *Three Negro Classics,* ed. John Hope Franklin (New York: Avon, 1965), 215.
15. Thomas C. Holt, "The Political Use of Alienation: W. E. B. Du Bois on Politics, Race, and Culture, 1903–1940," *American Quarterly* 42.2 (June 1990), 305.
16. Lewis R. Gordon, *Bad Faith and Antiblack Racism* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1995), 51.
17. David Levering Lewis, "Just Take the A Train," *New York Times Book Review,* 22 April 2001, 9.
18. Eunice Roberta Hunton, "Breaking Through," 684, and Kelly Miller, "The Harvest of Race Prejudice," 682, in *Survey Graphic,* ed. Alain Locke 6.6 (March 1925).
19. Lucius Outlaw, "Toward a Critical Theory of 'Race,'" in *Anatomy of Racism,* ed. David Theo Goldberg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 77.
20. Virginia Woolf, "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown," *Collected Essays,* Vol. 1 (1924; London: The Hogarth Press, 1966), 319–337.
21. Despite its significance, many scholars have criticized the period. Nathan Irvin Huggins, for example, concludes that its greatest lessons were in its "failures" (*Harlem Renaissance,* 9, 308). Cornel West considers the Harlem Renaissance as "not so much a genuine renaissance, but rather a yearning for a renaissance aborted by its major artists owing to a conscious distance from the very cultural creativity they desired" (West, *Keeping Faith: Philosophy and Race in America* [New York: Routledge, 1993], 62). Ralph Ellison adds to this view, noting that because black writers of the era had wanted to curry the favor of whites, this insured the "failure of the 'New Negro' movement" (James Thompson, et al., "A Very Stern Discipline: An Interview with Ralph Ellison," *Harper's* [March 1967], 79). Harold Cruse dismisses the Harlem Renaissance out of hand, calling it a period of "guilty, idealistic, or egotistical interventions of cultural paternalism," while David Levering Lewis is even less sympathetic, claiming that "the more things changed, the more they worsened" (Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* [New York: Quill, 1984], 38; and Lewis, *When Harlem,* 306). Gerald Early focuses on economics. He reports that the Harlem Renaissance was a failure because blacks "did not control nearly any economic aspect of the community they wished to create" (Early, "Three Notes Toward a Cultural Definition of the Harlem Renaissance," *Callaloo* 14.1 [1991], 138). Henry Louis Gates, Jr., believes that African Americans of the Harlem Renaissance "sought to erase their image by conforming to the conventions of the Western tradition," but that by following Western patterns "they erased or ignored much of the best of their cultural uniqueness." Noting that African Americans created a literary canon "that even the most optimistic historians now find sadly academic when compared to the blues and jazz compositions" sums up his disappointment. Only the creators of blues and jazz, says Gates, "helped shape a new definition of blackness suited to the quickening pace of a new

era" (Gates, "The Fact and Voice of Blackness," in *Modern Art and Society,* ed. Maurice Berger [New York: HarperCollins, 1984], 71, 72).

22. Others have identified the New Negro Renaissance at different periods. Gerald Early dates the New Negro Movement "from exactly 1908," when Jack Johnson won the heavyweight title, "to 1938" (Early, "Introduction," in *My Soul's High Song: The Collected Writings of Countee Cullen* [New York: Anchor, 1991], 24–5). Wilson J. Moses writes persuasively that the New Negro Movement began outside of Harlem, thriving as an intellectually rich activist group of writers and philosophers from 1895 to 1919 (Moses, "The Lost World of the New Negro, 1895–1919: Black Literary and Intellectual Life before the 'Renaissance,'" *Black American Literary Forum* 21.1–2 [Spring–Summer 1987], 61–84). Arthur P. Davis and Saunders Redding, in *Cavalcade: Negro American Writing* (New York: Houghton, 1971), maintain that the New Negro Renaissance took place from 1910 to 1940; Sterling Brown argues for the extension of the Harlem Renaissance well into the 1930s (interview by Charles Rowell, "Let Me Be With Ole Jazzbo," *Callaloo* 14.4 [1991], 795–815). Earnest Allen ("The New Negro," *1915, the Cultural Moment,* eds. Adele Heller and Lois Rudnick [New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991]), 48–68, identifies the New Negro Movement from 1910 to 1922. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., defines the boundaries of New Negro Renaissance from 1895 to 1925 (Gates, "The Trope of the New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black," *Representations* 24 [Fall 1998], 129–55). Arthur P. Davis and Michael W. Peplow, *The New Negro Renaissance: An Anthology* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1975), date the New Negro period from 1910 to 1940. Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., identifies the "flowering of the New Negro Renaissance in Harlem" from 1917 to 1935 and the "Chicago Renaissance" from 1935 to 1950 [Floyd, *The Power of Black Music,* 100). See also John Michael Spencer, *The New Negroes and Their Music* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997).
23. For a history of African American participation in World War I, see Herbert Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era* (New York: Citadel, 1992), 159–72.
24. For important studies on migration, see Alferdteen Harrison, ed., *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1991); Daniel M. Johnson and Rex R. Campbell, *Black Migration in America: A Social Demographic History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1981); and Joe William Trotter, Jr., ed., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).
25. Kerry Candaele, *Bound for Glory, 1910–1930* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 1997), 7.
26. Johnson and Campbell, *Black Migration,* 74.
27. Locke, "Harlem," *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (March 1925), 629.
28. Still one of the best discussions of migration is Charles S. Johnson, "The Negro Migration: An Economic Interpretation," *Modern Quarterly* 2 (1924–25), 314–26.
29. Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (New York: Harper, 1971), 135.
30. See Lewis, *When Harlem,* 306.
31. For statistics, see Osofsky, *Harlem,* and Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).
32. For an excellent essay on black women traveling alone, see Darlene Clark Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West: Preliminary Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader*

in U.S. Women's History, ed. Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois (New York: Routledge, 1994, 2nd. ed.), 342–47.

33. Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea* (1940; reprint, New York: Hill & Wang, 1997), 228.
34. Sterling Brown, *Negro Poetry and Drama* (1937; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1969), 138, 139.
35. James Weldon Johnson, "The Dilemma of the Negro Author," in *American Mercury* 15.60 (December 1928), 477.
36. Benjamin Brawley, "The Negro Literary Renaissance," *The Southern Workman* 56.4 (April 1927), 177.
37. De Jongh, *Vicious Modernism,* 15.
38. For an illuminating study on the rise of Harlem's Caribbean community, see Irma Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900–1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). For a general study of early Harlem, see Osofsky, *Harlem.*
39. Lester Walton, *New York World,* 1 April 1923, sec. 2, pg. 4.
40. Gottfried Benn, ed., *Lyrik des expressionistischen Jahrhundert* (*Lyrics of the Expressionistic Century,* 1955), quoted in Thomas Harrison, *1910: The Emancipation of Dissonance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 1.
41. See, for instance, *Up South: Stories, Studies, and Letters of This Century's Black Migrations,* ed. Malaika Adero (New York: New Press, 1993).
42. Early, "Introduction," in *The Collected Writings of Countee Cullen,* 38.
43. Richard Schechner defines performance as "the formal relations among play, games, sports, theatre, and ritual." Play, for Schechner, "is 'free activity' where one makes one's own rules." Ritual, he adds, "is strictly programmed, expressing the individual's submission to forces 'larger' or at least 'other' than oneself" (*Performance Theory* [New York: Routledge, 1977], 13, 14).
44. Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 14.
45. Alain Locke, "Introduction," *Plays of Negro Life,* eds. Locke and Montgomery Gregory (New York: Harper, 1927), n.p.
46. See, for instance, Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), in which he notes that individuals in the modern age "tend to develop multiple selves in which there is no inner core of self-identity" (100), and that the self "in modern society is frail, brittle, fractured, [and] fragmented" (169).
47. Manthia Diawara, "Cultural Studies/Black Studies," in *Borders, Boundaries, and Frames: Cultural Criticism and Cultural Studies,* ed. Mae Henderson (New York: Routledge, 1995), 209.
48. Editorial, "The New Negro—What Is He?," *The Messenger* 2.4–5 (August 1920), 74.
49. James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 4, 90.
50. Ibid., 6.
51. Yvonne Ochillo, "The Race-Consciousness of Alain Locke," *Phylon* 47.3 (Fall 1986), 174.
52. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth (1903)," in *Writings* (New York: Library Classics, 1986), 842–861.

53. Astradur Eysteinsson, *The Concept of Modernism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 9.
54. James Weldon Johnson, "Preface to the First Edition," *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1922), 9.

PART I

1. Alain Locke, "Harlem," *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (March 1925), 629.
2. Richard Powell, "Re/Birth of a Nation," in *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance,* ed. Powell et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 16.
3. Hubert H. Harrison, *When Africa Awakes: The Inside Story of the Stirrings and Strivings of the New Negro in the Western World* (New York: Porro Press, 1920), 6.
4. Jacqui Malone, *Steppin' on the Blues: The Visible Rhythms of African American Dance* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1996), 73.
5. Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: Quill, 1984), 71.

CHAPTER TWO

1. William H. Wiggins, Jr., "Jack Johnson as Bad Nigger: The Folklore of His Life," in *Contemporary Black Thought,* ed. Robert Chrisman and Nathan Hare (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1973), 67.
2. Richard Barry, "The Prize Ring," *Pearson's Magazine* 24. 1 (July 1910), 10.
3. See, among many reports, the *New York Times,* 5 July 1910, 2, which contains photos of the thousands who gathered outside the Times building to hear reports of the fight. Thousands waited outside the newspaper offices in other cities as well; see, for instance, the *Chicago Tribune,* 5 July 1910, 1.
4. *New York Times,* 5 July 1910, 1; *Chicago Tribune,* 5 July 1910, 1.
5. "Is Prize Fighting Knocked Out?," *Literary Digest,* 16 July 1910, 85.
6. See Arthur Ruhl, "The Fight in the Desert," *Collier's* XLV (23 July 1910), 12–13, 22; Harris Merton Lyon, "In Reno Riotous," *Hampton Magazine* 25 (September 1910), 386–96; Denzil Batchelor, *Jack Johnson and His Times* (London: Phoenix Sports Books, 1956), 82; Al-Tony Gilmore, *Bad Nigger! The National Impact of Jack Johnson* (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press, 1975), 42; and Randy Roberts, *Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes* (New York: Free Press, 1983), 103. The song was based on Ernest Hogan's musical review of the same name in 1895.
7. Roi Ottley, *Black Odyssey: The Story of the Negro in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), 206.
8. Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (1909, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 81.
9. Sal Fradella, *Jack Johnson* (Boston: Branden, 1990), 3.
10. Jeffries, quoted in *The Literary Digest* 41.3 (16 July 1909), 85.
11. Jarvis Anderson, for example, reports that Johnson "sometimes taunted his opponents, left his chin or his chest wide open and invited them to throw their best punches; and did not take as much pleasure in knocking out opponents as he did in outboxing them, embarrassing them, prolonging their suffering" (Anderson, "Black Heavies," *American Scholar* 47 [Summer 1978], 390). Lawrence W. Levine adds that it was "not Johnson's physical prowess alone that infuriated whites; it was his entire life style: his fast cars, fancy clothes, ready tongue, white wife (the

first of three white women he married), and white mistresses" (Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1977], 432).

12. Ruhl, "The Fight in the Desert," 22.
13. Bob Fitzsimmons, "What the Wise Ones Think of the Jeff–Jack Fight," *Omaha Daily News,* 2 July 1910, 1.
14. For the most thorough description of the history of the Johnson-Burns fight, see Jeffrey Wells, *Boxing Day: The Fight That Changed the World* (Sidney, Australia: Harper Sports, 1998).
15. Quoted in Wells, *Boxing Day,* 165.
16. The final round can be seen in the film, *Jeffries/Johnson, 1910* (original footage put together on video tape in 1971, black and white, 21 minutes), directed by William Kimberlin.
17. Roberts, *Papa Jack,* 84.
18. Jack Johnson, *In the Ring and Out: The Autobiography of Jack Johnson* (1927; New York: Citadel, 1992), 185.
19. Johnson, *In the Ring and Out,* 63, 184.
20. *Jack Johnson versus Jim Jeffries* (1910), complete fight, obtained from ESPN's "Big Fights," tape no. BFE000001201. My thanks to Mike Cocchi, ESPN Enterprises, for his assistance in obtaining the tape. For an interesting study of boxing on film, see Dan Streible, "A History of Boxing Films, 1894–1915," *Film History* 3.3 (1989), 235–257.
21. John L. Sullivan, "Johnson Wins in 15 Rounds; Jeffries Weak," *New York Times,* 5 July 1910, 2.
22. Rex Beach, "Johnson and Age Defeat Jeffries," *Chicago Tribune,* 5 July 1910, 1.
23. Harry C. Carr, "Butchery at Reno," *Los Angeles Times,* 5 July 1910, 1.
24. Drawing, unknown artist, *Los Angeles Times,* 6 July 1910, 7.
25. Finis Farr, *Black Champion* (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 1964), 113.
26. *Omaha Bee,* 5 July 1910, 6.
27. Roberts, *Papa Jack,* 105. Fradella, in *Jack Johnson,* reports that Johnson also prolonged the fight to punish Burns, maintaining that Johnson said: "I figured that Burns had something coming to him" (35).
28. Jackson J. Stovall, "Jack Johnson and Jim Jeffries," *Chicago Defender,* 2 July 1910, 1. Randy Roberts, in *Papa Jack,* agrees, noting that Johnson's style "was ascribed to economics: a good aggressive black could not get lucrative fights with white boxers. It actually paid a black boxer never to look too strong or too good against a white opponent" (25). In *The Culture of Bruising: Essays on Prizefighting, Literature, and Modern American Culture* (Hopewell N. J.: Ecco Press, 1994), Gerald Early raises the interesting point that "this style went by the boards when blacks fought each other." Early contends that there is a "vital connection between oral culture, masculine aggression, and prizefighting," and that African American oral culture is less a defensive response to racism and more of a violent ritual in which there is a possibility that "blacks fought each other as a real release of the aggression that they would have preferred directing toward whites but which, after a point, they began to enjoy directing at each other" (27).
29. Quoted in Farr, *Black Champion,* 119.
30. *New York Morning Telegraph,* reprinted in the *New York Age,* 18 February 1909, 6.
31. *Illustrated Sporting,* 3 December 1908; quoted in Richard Broome, "The Australian Reaction to Jack Johnson, Black Pugilist, 1907–1909," in *Sport in History: The*

Making of Modern Sporting History, ed. Richard Cashman and Michael McKernan (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1979), 351.

32. Jack London, *New York Herald,* 27 December 1908, sec. 2, pg. 1; see also, London, *San Francisco Call,* 27 December 1908, 33.
33. Quoted in Robert H. deCoy, *Jack Johnson: The Big Black Fire* (Los Angeles: Holloway House, 1969, 1991), 114; and Howard Bingham and Max Wallace, *Muhammad Ali's Greatest Fights: Cassius Clay vs. the United States of America* (New York: M. Evans and Co., 2000), 33.
34. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk, Three Negro Classics,* John Hope Franklin, ed. (1903; reprint, New York: Avon, 1965), 221.
35. See, for instance, Henry van Dyke, *The Spirit of America* (New York: MacMillan, 1910), in which he says "the spirit of fair play" (71) and Roosevelt's "square deal for everyone" (85) are symbolic of Americanism. These ideas of "fair play" and "square deal" would force public opinion to favor a fight with Johnson, provided that a white hope could be found to defeat him.
36. Quoted in Gilmore, *Bad Nigger,* 35.
37. James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (1930; New York: Da Capo Press, 1991), 66.
38. Max Balthazar, "Jeff is Fit to Fight Battle of Century," *Omaha Daily News,* 3 July 1910, Sporting section, pg. 1.
39. John Hoberman, *Darwin's Athletes: How Sports Has Damaged Black America and Preserved the Myth of Race* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997), 164.
40. Alfred Henry Lewis, *San Francisco Examiner,* 1 July 1910, 13. Lewis went on to compare the fight metaphorically as one "between a grizzly and a gorilla," with the prediction that the "bear" would come out ahead (14).
41. *Fairplay Magazine, 7* January 1908; quoted in Broome, "The Australian Reaction to Jack Johnson," 357.
42. Frederick L. Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* (Ithaca: Andrus & Church, 1896); Charles Carroll, *The Negro as Beast* (St. Louis: American Books and Bible House, 1900); Thomas Nelson Page, *The Negro: The Southern's Problem* (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1904); Thomas Dixon, *The Clansman* (New York: Gosset Dunlap, 1905), Robert Shufeldt, *The Negro: A Menace to American Civilization* (Boston: R. G. Badger, 1907); Alfred P. Schultz, *Race or Mongrel* (Boston: L. C. Page & Co., 1908); and William P. Pickett, *The Negro Problem* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909).
43. Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944, reprint, 1992), 172.
44. Henry van Dyke, for instance, asked in 1910 how African Americans could possibly secure in "their civil rights without admitting them to a racial mixture." Black people, he concludes, "were better off under slavery because they were like children, needing control and protection" (*The Spirit of America,* 102, 103).
45. John W. Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution, 1866–1876* (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1902), 133.
46. George W. Stocking, Jr., "The Turn-of-the-Century Concept of Race," *Modernism/Modernity* 1.1 (January 1994), 6.
47. See, for instance, C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955, 1974), 74. See also Nancy Leys Stepah and Sander L. Gilman, "Appropriating the Idioms of Science: The Rejection of Scien-

tific Racism," in *The Bounds of Race: Perspectives on Hegemony and Resistance,* ed. Dominick LaCapra (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1991), 72–103.

48. Waldemar Young, *San Francisco Chronicle,* 2 July 1910, 13.
49. According Randy Roberts, for many whites, the black race as an "incipient species" and that "physically blacks and white were different" (Roberts, *Papa Jack,* 62).
50. According to Finis Farr, Jeffries "had the myth-making quality of a real folk hero; people believed, for example, that he had cured himself of pneumonia by drinking a case of whiskey in two days" (Farr, *Black Champion,* 69).
51. For a discussion on the ways in which the working class employs fantasy as a vicarious means of compensating for their experience within the alienating labor process, see Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere,* tr. Peter Labanyi et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993; German edition, 1972), 32–38.
52. Dorothy Forrester, "Jim-a-da-Jeff," quoted in Lester S. Levy, *Give Me Yesterday: American History in Song, 1890–1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 214.
53. Alexander Walters and Monroe Trotter, "National Negro Political League Issues Call," 22 June 1910, reprinted in the *Richmond Daily Planet,* 16 July 1910, 1.
54. Rex Beach, "Red-Blooded Men Throng to Reno," *Chicago Tribune,* 3 July 1910, 6.
55. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Relation of the Negro to the Whites in the South," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 18 (July 1901), 123.
56. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
57. Susan Hegeman, borrowing the term "superorganic" from anthropologist Alfred Louis Kroeber, defines culture as "the realm of behavior that was not biologically inherited, but learned and transmitted through contact with other persons: skills techniques, styles, belief systems, languages, [and] refinements of talent" (Hegeman, *Patterns for America: Modernism and the Concept of Culture* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999], 82); see, A. L. Kroeber, "The Superorganic," *American Anthropologist* 19.2 (April–June 1917), 163–213.
58. Van Dyke, *The Spirit of America,* 102.
59. Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerns in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Vintage, 1998), 327.
60. See Fradella, *Jack Johnson,* 33.
61. *Indianapolis Freeman,* 16 July 1910, 1.
62. *Richmond Planet,* 9 January 1909; quoted in Gilmore, *Bad Nigger,* 32.
63. Post-fight review of the Johnson-Burns bout in Australia, 1908, quoted in Jeff Wells, *Boxing Day,* 198.
64. Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of Aesthetics* (London: Blackwell, 1990), 13.
65. For a discussion of prizefighting and the prohibition against it, see Jeffrey T. Sammons, *Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Sport* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), chapter 1, "Crime or Sport," 3–29.
66. Pierre Bourdieu, "How Can One Be a Sports Fan?," in *The Cultural Studies Reader,* ed. Simon During (London: Routledge, 1993), 431.
67. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life* (1905; reprint, Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1991), 10, 29, 30.

68. Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1979), 112–13.
69. Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 139.
70. Richard Barry, "The Prize Ring," *Person's Magazine* 24.1 (July 1910), 4.
71. Duffield Osborn, "A Defense of Pugilism," *North American Review* 46 (April 1888), 430–35.
72. E. D. Cope, "The Effeminisation of Man," *Open Court* 7.43 (26 October 1893), 3847.
73. Elliot J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 141, 247.
74. John Boyle O'Reilly, *Ethics of Boxing and Manly Sport* (Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1888), 85, 83, 84.
75. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995), 8.
76. Gilmore, *Bad Nigger,* 14.
77. *Chicago Tribune,* 4 April 1909, sec. 3, p. 4.
78. Jeffries, quoted in "Jeffries Will Not Permit Johnson to Carry Off Title," *San Francisco Call,* 24 December 1908, 9.
79. Anderson, "Black Heavies," 388.
80. John Callan O'Laughlin, "Johnson Victory Bad for Negroes," *Chicago Tribune,* 4 July 1910, 4.
81. James L. Corbett, "All Who Want to Know Who Will Win Go," *Chicago Tribune,* 29 June 1910, 13.
82. Jack London, "Both Fighters Will Rely on Cumulative Effect of Blows," *San Francisco Chronicle,* 1 July 1910, Sports sec., pg. 1.
83. Bob Fitzsimmons, "Fitz and Burns Pick Jeffries to Win Fight," *Washington D.C. Evening Star,* 29 June 1910, 12.
84. Jim Jeffries, quoted in the *New York Times,* 3 July 1910, 8.
85. Charles F. Woodruff, "The Failure of Americans as Athletes," *North American Review* 633.183 (October 1907), 202.
86. *New York Times,* 3 July 1910, 8.
87. Tip Wright, "Johnson is Putting in Some Hard Work," *Omaha Daily News* 28 June 1910, 6.
88. Mike Murphy, quoted in Ruhl, "The Fight in the Desert," 13.
89. Tom Shevlin, quoted in Ruhl, "The Fight in the Desert," 13.
90. Max Balthazar wrote: "No one has arisen to dispute the cleverness of Johnson, and Jeffries, least of all, has not blinded himself to the cleverness of the man whom he expects to conquer; but if he winces at the thought of having his face lacerated and bruised in spite of the pickling solution he has been using on it for several weeks, he gave no outward indication of his thoughts." In Balthazar, "Jeffries Sleeps Well and is Ready for Fray," *Omaha Daily News,* 4 July 1910, 6.
91. Pat Kenrick, quoted in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune,* 3 July 1910, 9.
92. Mike Murphy, *New York Herald,* 4 July 1910. Murphy, however, predicted Johnson's victory, maintaining that no one can return to boxing after a six-year layoff.
93. James Corbett, "Tradition Factor in the Big Fight," *Chicago Tribune,* 1 July 1910, 13.
94. James Corbett, *Chicago Tribune,* 2 July 1910, 11.
95. Ruhl, "The Fight in the Desert," 22.

96. Jack London, *New York Herald,* 5 July 1910, 2.
97. Corbett, "Tradition Factor in the Big Fight," 13.
98. Broome, "The Australian Reaction to Jack Johnson," 352, 353.
99. *Australian Star,* 20 November 1908; quoted in Broome, "The Australian Reaction to Jack Johnson," 352.
100. Randolph Bedford, Melbourne *Herald,* 26 December 1908; quoted in Broome, "The Australian Reaction to Jack Johnson," 357.
101. *New York Times,* 3 July 1910, 14.
102. Wiggins, "Jack Johnson as Bad Nigger," 68.
103. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Mask,* tr. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 116.
104. *Current Literature,* 49.1 (July 1910), 57–8.
105. *Cleveland Leader,* quoted in *Current Literature* 49.2 (August 1910), 130.
106. "Intellectuality of the New Pugilism," *Current Opinion* 54.2 (February 1913), B1.
107. "Jeffries and Johnson Offered Purse of $50,000," *San Francisco Call,* 28 December 1908, 6.
108. Jack London, "Report from Reno, NV," 29 June 1910, quoted in *Jack London Reports,* ed. King Hendricks and Irving Shepard (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1970), 280–81.
109. London, *Jack London Reports,* 281.
110. René Descartes, *Principles of Philosophy* (1644 in Latin, 1647 in French), in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes,* Vol. 1, ed. John Cottingham, tr. Robert Stoothoff and Dugald Murdoch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 208.
111. René Descartes, *Discourse on Method,* Part 4 (1637), in *Discourse on Method and Meditations on First Philosophy,* tr. Donald A. Cress (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 1998), 19.
112. Rex Beach, "Picks Jeffries to Win," *San Francisco Chronicle,* 4 July 1910, 12.
113. Stanley Ketchel, quoted in Barry, "The Prize Ring," 9, and reprinted in *Current Literature* 49.2 (August 1910), 129. Johnson agreed to fight Ketchel, a middleweight, in 1909, owing to the lack of adequate (white) opponents in the heavyweight division. The plan was for Johnson to "carry" Ketchel through the fight without hurting him. But in the twelfth round Ketchel knocked Johnson down. Johnson arose and hit Ketchel so hard that his front teeth were found lodged in Johnson's gloves. The fight was filmed and despite the primitive quality of the film, one can see Johnson hit Ketchel so hard that Johnson himself falls over him from the momentum of the blow. See *Johnson/Jeffries 1910* (1971), William Kimberlin, director (21-minute documentary).
114. Frederic Cople Jaher, "White America Views Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, and Muhammad Ali," *Sport in America: New Historical Perspectives,* Donald Spivey, ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 150. Al-Tony Gilmore wrote: "Johnson's triumph caught many white on the horns of a dilemma." Before the fight, the match was perceived as vindication of Anglo-Saxon supremacy; after the fight, many found it "necessary to subvert the racial implications of the match" (*Bad Nigger,* 43).
115. *Chicago Tribune,* 5 July 1910, 10.
116. Theodore Roosevelt, "The Recent Prize Fight," *Outlook* 95.11 (16 July 1910), 550, 551.
117. "Editorial," *Washington Evening Star,* 5 July 1910, 6.
118. "Editorial," *New York Times,* 5 July 1910, 12.

119. "Editorial," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 July 1910, 4.
120. *New York Herald,* 5 July 1910, 1.
121. *New York Times,* 5 July 1910, 1.
122. Sammons, *Beyond the Ring,* 42.
123. *Richmond Daily Planet,* 9 January 1909, 1.
124. Lester A. Walton, "In the World of Sport," *New York Age,* 30 June 1910, 6.
125. Reverend Reverdy C. Ransom, quoted in Lester A. Walton, "In the World of Sport," *New York Age,* 30 December 1909, 6.
126. Walton, "Johnson is now Undisputed Champion," *New York Age, 7* July 1910, 6.
127. E. L. Blackshear, quoted in *Current Literature* 48.6 (June 1910), 606.
128. *Current Literature* 49.2 (August 1910), 130. See also, *Independent* (NY) 59.3214 (*7* July 1910), 3; and *Outlook* (USA) 95.11, 541.
129. George L. Knox, "Timely Advice Concerning Johnson–Jeffries Fight," *Indianapolis Freeman* 9 July 1910, 4.
130. Knox, "Jack Johnson Warned," *Indianapolis Freeman,* 5 February 1910, 4.
131. Knox, "Advice to Jack Johnson," *Indianapolis Freeman,* 14 July 1910, 4.
132. Booker T. Washington, quoted in John W. Blassingame's introduction to Gilmore, *Bad Nigger,* 4. Gerald Early, in *Culture of Bruising,* writes that the black middle class's "censure of Johnson" as a "poor role model" was based on the "black philistine's cry for standards and achievements that whites would be bound to respect because the black philistine never wanted freedom for blacks, only the right and access to be absorbed by massive white philistinism" (41).
133. "Advice to Jack Johnson," *New York Age,* July 14, 1910, 4.
134. *Chicago Broad Ax,* 9 July 1910, 1.
135. *Chicago Defender,* 2 July 1910, 1.
136. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), 389.
137. Walton, "Theatrical Comment," *New York Age, 7* July 1910, 6.
138. Quoted in the *New York Age, 7* July 1910, 1.
139. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind,* 443.
140. Roger D. Abrahams, "Some Varieties of Heroes in America," *Journal of Folklore Institute* 3.3 (December 1966), 341, 344, 343.
141. Lewis R. Gordon, *Existentia Africana: Understanding Africana Existential Thought* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 87.
142. Gilmore, *Bad Nigger,* 12. See also Wiggins, "Jack Johnson as Bad Nigger," 54, and Levine, *Black Culture and Black* Consciousness, 429. For an interesting discussion on "bad" and its relationship to play in African American life, see the "Introduction" in *After Africa,* Roger D. Abrahams and John F. Szwed, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 1–48.
143. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Mask,* 109.
144. Ibid., 110.
145. Lewis R. Gordon, *Fanon and the Crisis of European Man* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 29.
146. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Mask,* 110–111.
147. See, for instance, Jeffries's discussion of his "plans" in an interview by John L. Sullivan, "Confident Air Pervades Camp," *Chicago Tribune,* 4 July 1910, 10.
148. Ralph Ellison, *Shadow and Act* (New York: Vintage, 1953, reprint, 1995), 190.
149. Gena Dagel Caponi, *Signifyin(g), Sancitifyin', and Slam Dunking: A Reader in African American Expressive Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 3.

150. Johnson's defensive skills were allegedly developed under the tutelage of Joe Choynski, a fighter who knocked out Johnson in three rounds early in Johnson's career in Galveston, Johnson's birthplace, in 1901. After the fight both were arrested for participating in an illegal prizefight. While incarcerated together, they fought for the amusement of the local warden. Choynski provided Johnson with boxing lessons and was reported to have said "a man who can move like you should never have to take a punch. Don't try to block, man, you're fast enough to move clear out of the way. Forget blocking." Quoted in Farr, *Black Champion,* 21; and deCoy, *Jack Johnson,* 42.
151. Zora Neale Hurston, "Characteristics of Negro Expression," in *Negro: An Anthology,* ed. Nancy Cunard (New York: Negro University Press, 1934, reprint, 1969).
152. Kimberly W. Benston, *Performing Blackness: Enactments of African-American Modernism* (London: Routledge, 2000), 30.
153. Houston A. Baker, Jr., *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 5.
154. Tad Dargan, quoted in *The Autobiography of Jack Johnson: In and Out of the Ring* (New York: Citadel Press, 1992), 13.
155. Jack London, *New York Herald,* 5 July 1910, 1.
156. Rex Beach, "Instincts Primeval," *Los Angeles Times* 2 July 1910, 8.
157. Ellison, *Shadow and Act,* 55; "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke," 45–59.
158. Jane Duran and Earl L. Stewart, "Alain Locke, Essentialism, and the Notion of a Black Aesthetic," in *The Critical Pragmatism of Alain Locke,* ed. Leonard Harris (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 121.
159. deCoy, *Jack Johnson,* 119.
160. *New York Times,* 5 July 1910, 2. deCoy writes that Johnson said: "Oh, Mr. Jeff, stop loving me so" (*Jack Johnson,* 118).
161. *New York Herald,* 5 July 1910, 2.
162. *Chicago Tribune,* 5 July 1910, 25; *New York Times,* 5 July 1910, 2 (John L. Sullivan reporting); *Los Angeles Times,* 5 July 1910, 19; *New York Herald,* 5 July 1910, 2 (Jack London reporting).
163. Exchange reported by Sullivan in his round-by-round commentary of the fight, *New York Times,* 5 July 1910, 2.
164. Wiggins, "Jack Johnson as Bad Nigger," 66.
165. Quoted in Nat Fleischer, "Johnson, Craftiest Boxer," *The Ring* (August 1946), 76. From the Johnson file, no. 1925–74, 002, 556, SC.
166. Robert Motts, quoted in the *Chicago Tribune,* 7 July 1910, 3.
167. Ibid.
168. "Cheering Throng Greets Johnson," *Chicago Defender,* 8 July 1910, 13.
169. A. S. (Doc) Young, "Was Jack Johnson Boxing's Greatest Champ?," *Ebony* 17.3 (January 1963), 68.
170. "Editorial," *New York Times,* 5 July 1910, 12.
171. From a report by the *Indianapolis Freeman,* 2 July 1910, 1. Estimates of the earnings from the fight vary, as records were informally kept.
172. Lucille B. Watkins, *Richmond Daily Planet,* 16 July 1910, 1.
173. Quoted in J. Manson Brewer, *Worse Days and Better Times: Folklore of the North Carolina Negro* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), 178.
174. *Chicago Broad Ax,* 30 July 1910, 1.
175. John Lardner, "The Jack Johnson Era of Boxing," *Negro Digest* 8.1 (November 1949), 25.

176. Everett H. Akam, "Community and Cultural Crisis: The Transfiguring Imagination of Alain Locke," *American Literary History* 3.2 (1991), 270.

CHAPTER THREE

1. bell hooks, "Selling Hot Pussy: Representations of Black Female Sexuality in the Cultural Marketplace," in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 62.
2. Katrina Hazzard-Gordon, "Dancing Under the Lash: Sociocultural Disruption, Continuity, and Synthesis," in *African Dance: An Artistic, Historical and Philosophical Inquiry,* ed. Kariamu Weish Asante (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1996), 101.
3. See, for instance, Roger Copeland, "Founding Mothers," *Dance Theatre Journal* 8.3 (1990), 6–9, 27–29, who identified Isadora Duncan, Loïe Fuller, Ruth St. Denis, Doris Humphrey, and Martha Graham as "founding mothers" of modern dance. Helen Thomas, in *Dance, Modernity and Culture: Explorations in the Sociology of Dance* (London: Routledge, 1995), adds Maud Allen to the pantheon of "major forerunners of American modern dance" (24), and Elizabeth Dempster, in "Women Writing the Body: Let's Watch a Little How She Dances," in *Bodies of the Text: Dance as Theory, Literature as Dance,* ed. Ellen W. Goellner and Jacqueline Shea Murphy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), identifies Duncan, Fuller, St. Denis, and Allen as choreographers who developed "a decisive and liberating break with the principles and forms of the European ballet" (27–8). According to Jane C. Desmond, in "Dancing Out the Difference: Cultural Imperialism and Ruth St. Denis's 'Radha' of 1906," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 17.1 (Autumn 1991), St. Denis, Fuller, and Duncan are "always cited" as "the three 'mothers' of modern dance" (30), while in Mark Franko, in *Dancing Modernism/Performing Politics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), affirms the popular idea that Duncan was the "founding mother" of modern dance, responsible for the "organic society" that challenged the "Victorian experience of female culture" (2).
4. Thomas DeFrantz, "Simmering Passivity: The Black Male Body in Concert Dance," in *Moving Words: Re-Writing Dance,* ed. Gay Morris (London: Routledge), observes that for black dancers, racial divisions, cultural fragmentation, and "the absence of critical theory devoted to Afro-performance have contributed to the historical displacement of dance created by African-American[s]" (107).
5. For a history of the *Salome* dance and its popularity, see Elizabeth Kendall, *Where She Danced* (New York: Alfred A, Knopf, 1979), 73–90, and Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 144–68. Although informative, neither book discusses Aida Overton Walker and her version of *Salome.*
6. Ann Douglas, *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (New York: Noonday, 1995), 335. Sandra R. Lieb, in *Mother of the Blues: A Study of Ma Rainey* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), claims that Ethel Waters sang with precision, with a tone quality "quite pure, lacking any blue notes: only in the lower register does she show she is capable of real blues singing" (70). In contrast, Bessie Smith's version of "Oh Daddy," a song made popular by Waters, "is more relaxed and bluesy than Ethel's." Smith's tone, "while not quite as pure as Ethel's, is quite sweet and open, almost yawny" (70–1).
7. For a study of Dora Dean, see Jo A. Tanner, *Dusky Maidens: The Odyssey of the Early Black Dramatic Actress* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992), 53–6; of Florence

Mills, see Richard Newman, *Words Like Freedom: Essays on African-American Culture and History* (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 1996), 77–87; and of Josephine Baker, see Phyllis Rose, *Jazz Cleopatra: Josephine Baker in Her Time* (New York: Doubleday, 1989).

8. Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Woman Native Other* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 6.
9. Ann Wagner, *Adversaries of Dance: From the Puritans to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 255. See also Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890–1930* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 150, and Michael Kammen, *American Culture, American Taste: Social Change in the 20th Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), in which he writes that "around 1910, just as saloon culture was starting to decline in respectability, larger American cities began to show a rapid increase in the number of dance halls" (79).
10. Mark A. Reid, *PostNegritude Visual and Literary Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 13.
11. Houston A. Baker, Jr., *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) 33, 37.
12. Elie Johnson McDougald, "The Task of Negro Womanhood," in *The New Negro,* ed. Alain Locke (1925; New York: Atheneum, 1992), 369–70. For a study on the stereotypes, see K. Sue Jewell, *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond: Cultural Images & the Shaping of US Social Policy* (London: Routledge, 1993).
13. Richard J. Powell, *Black Art and Culture in the 20th Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 24.
14. Albert C. Barnes, "Negro Art and America," *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (March 1925), 668.
15. Colin Rhodes, *Primitivism and Modern Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 16.
16. Winthrop Jordan, in *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), raises a significant point that black people were never as closely associated to the concept of the "noble savage" as Native Americans. As Jordan explains, "even in the eighteenth century, when the savages of the world were being promoted to 'nobility' by Europeans as an aid to self-scrutiny and reform at home, the Negro was not customarily thought of as embodying all the qualities of the noble savage. Certainly he never attained the status of the Indian's primitive nobility" (27).
17. Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
18. Hayden White, "The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish," *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 187–8.
19. Harold Isaacs, *The New World of Negro Americans* (New York: John Day, 1963), 233.
20. Sander L. Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," in *"Race," Writing, and Difference,* ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 248.
21. Carl G. Jung, "Your Negroid and Indian Behavior," *Forum* 83.4 (April 1930), 196.
22. Much of this popularity had its roots in minstrelsy, where whites would attend ribald performances that were seemingly about black culture. But suggested here is the idea that with the rising interest in dance, the attraction grew beyond the bounds of minstrel theatre and into the realm of cabarets, dance halls, nightclubs, and the ever-expanding social scene.

23. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs: Journal of Women on Culture and Society* 17.2 (Winter 1992), 271. See also Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
24. Fannie Barrier Williams, "The Club Movement Among the Colored Women," *The Voice of the Negro* 1.3 (March 1904), 102.
25. Hazel Carby, "Exactly What Is It About Josephine Baker?," *New York Times,* March 10, 1991, sec. 2, pg. 31, 33.
26. Paul Gilroy, "To Be Real: The Dissident Forms of Black Expressive Culture," in *Let's Get It On: The Politics of Black Performances,* ed. Catherine Ugwu (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995), 21.
27. For a history of Aida Overton Walker, see Richard Newman, "'The Brightest Star': Aida Overton Walker in the Age of Ragtime and Cakewalk," *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies* 18 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 464–481; and David Krasner, "Rewriting the Body: Aida Overton Walker and the Social Formation of Cakewalking," *Theatre Survey* 37.2 (Nov. 1996), 66–92. For her *Salome* dance, see Susan A. Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 112–118.
28. Aida Overton Walker, "Colored Men and Women on the Stage," *Colored American Magazine* (October 1905), 571, 573.
29. Ibid., 573, 574.
30. Percival Pollard, "The Regnant Wave of the Sensational Dance," *New York Times,* 23 August 1908, 5–7. See also, "The Call of Salome: Rumors that Salome Will Have a Free Hand This Season," *New York Times Magazine,* 16 August 1908, 4.
31. "The Vulgarization of Salome," *Current Literature* 45.4 (October 1908), 437. For information on the *Salome* dance, see Ann Daly, "Isadora Duncan and the Male Gaze," in *Gender and Performance,* ed. Laurence Senelick (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1992), 248; Elizabeth Kendall, *Where She Danced,* 74–90; and Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy,* 144–68.
32. Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 385.
33. Ewa Kuryluk, *Salome and Judas in the Cave of Sex* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1987), 189.
34. Françoise Metzler, *Salome and the Dance of Writing: Portraits of Mimesis in Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 18; Megan Becker-Leckrone, "Salome: The Fetishization of a Textual Corpus," *New Literary History* 26.2 (Spring 1995), 242.
35. Lester Walton, *The New York Age,* 27 August 1908, 6.
36. Unidentified clipping, dated 6 September 1908, "Salome Dance Seen in *Bandanna Land*"; *Bandanna Land* file, HTC.
37. Undated clipping, titled, "Boston to Have Dance of Salome," BR.
38. *Boston Globe,* n.d., HTC.
39. Unidentified clipping, quoted in "Chicago," Jan. 1909, BR.
40. Daly, "Isadora Duncan and the Male Gaze," 247.
41. Ibid., 249.
42. Ibid., 254.
43. Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), 341, 342.
44. Isadora Duncan, "Dancing in Relation to Religion and Love," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 11.8 (August 1927), 590–1.

45. Robert Speare, "Victoria's Show Pleases Crowds, *New York Telegraph,* 6 August 1912; clipping, BR.
46. "A Salome of Color," *Stage Pictorial,* 1912, BR.
47. Vanity Fair, 3 August 1912, BR.
48. For a discussion of Orientalism and modern dance, see Desmond, "Dancing Out the Difference," 39, 42.
49. "Ragtime Dance for New Salome," *New York Herald,* 6 August 1912, 10.
50. R. G. Doggett, "The Late Aida Overton Walker: The Artist," *Colored American Review* (January 1916), 17.
51. Howe Alexander, "How Dancing Studs the Pages of History," *Half-Century Magazine* 7.2 (August 1919), 16.
52. Salem Tutt Whitney, "How to Join a Show," in *Competitor* 1 (1920), 71.
53. Hazel Carby, "Policing the Black Women's Body in an Urban Context," in *Identities,* ed. Kwame A. Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 130.
54. For a history of Ethel Waters, see Glenda Gill, *No Surrender! No Retreat!: African American Pioneer Performers of Twentieth-Century American Theater* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 58–73; and Randall Cherry, "Ethel Waters: The Voice of an Era," in *Temples for Tomorrow: Looking Back at the Harlem Renaissance,* ed. Geneviève Fabre and Michael Feith (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 99–124.
55. *New York Herald Tribune,* 16 November 1949, 25.
56. Ethel Waters (with Charles Samuels), *His Eye is on the Sparrow* (1951; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1992), 91.
57. *Chicago Defender,* 22 October 1910; quoted in Daphne Duval Harrison, *Black Pearls: Blues Queens of the 1920s* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 253, n. 13.
58. Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, *Black Magic: A Pictorial History of the African-American in the Performing Arts* (New York: Da Capo, 1967), 64. For more details on "TOBA," see chapter 11.
59. Henderson, *Black Pearls,* 24.
60. Waters, *Sparrow,* 75.
61. *Current Biography,* April 1941; clipping file, Ethel Waters, BR.
62. Waters, *Sparrow,* 124.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., 125.
65. Ibid., 126.
66. Rudolph Fisher, "The Caucasian Storms Harlem," *American Mercury* 11 (August 1927); quoted in *Voices from the Harlem Renaissance,* ed. Nathan Irving Huggins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 76.
67. Zora Neale Hurston, *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942; New York: Harper, 1995), 199.
68. Ethel Waters file; November 16, 1949, clipping, BR.
69. Irene Castle, quoted in *Dancing Times* (ca. 1919), the Castle Scrapbook, Robinson Locke Collection, BR.
70. Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 102.
71. James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (1930; New York: Arno Press, 1968), 210.
72. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford, 1974), 115.

73. Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 146.
74. For a history of the Chicago riot, see William M. Tuttle, Jr., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1970).
75. See James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 19–20.
76. "Georgia's Laws Make Peonage a Possibility," *New York Age,* 23 April 1921, 1, excerpted from Rowland Thomas, "The Laws of Georgia Made Peonage a Lawful Condition," *New York World,* n.d.
77. Statistics quoted from Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930), 17.
78. Robin D. G. Kelly, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 44, 45.
79. "Taylorism," a theory based on the ideas of Frederick W. Taylor, was developed in the early twentieth century to help the efficiency of the work force. Henry Ford utilized Taylorism in 1913 when he modified the workplace in favor of the machine over the individual, creating factories of mass production. See Martha Banta, *Taylored Lives: Narrative Productions in the Age of Taylor, Veblen, and Ford* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), for an interesting discussion of Taylorism's influence on literature.
80. Tera W. Hunter, "The Blues Aesthetic and Black Vernacular Dance," *To Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); quoted in *Major Problems in African American History,* Vol. II, ed. Thomas C. Holt and Elsa Barkley Brown (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2000), 208.
81. Harrison, *Black Pearls,* 6.
82. William Gardner Smith, "Phylon Profile, 21: Ethel Waters," *Phylon* 11.2 (1950), 115, 116.
83. See David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem was in Vogue* (New York: Penguin, 1979, 1997), 174.
84. Elaine Feinstein, *Bessie Smith* (New Viking, 1985), 24.
85. Waters, *Sparrow,* 175.
86. Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea* (1940; reprinted, New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 225.
87. Darlene Clark Hine, *Speak Truth to Power* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson, 1996), 56.
88. Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 151.
89. Angela Y. Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism* (New York: Pantheon, 1998), xi.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* tr. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove, 1968), 210.
2. Martin Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered* (Philadelphia: Harper, 1852), 210.
3. See, for example, "Negro Exposition Opens," *New York Times,* Thursday, 23 October 1913, 5, and W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Star of Ethiopia: A Pageant," *Pamphlets and Leaflets by W. E. B. Du Bois,* ed. Herbert Aptheker (White Plains, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson, 1983), 161. Productions were performed at the New York Emancipa-

tion Exposition, 22–31 October 1913; Washington, D.C. American League Baseball Park, 11, 13, and 15 October 1915; Philadelphia's Convention Hall for the General Conference of African Methodist Episcopal Church, 16, 18, and 20 May 1916; and Los Angeles's Hollywood Bowl, 15 and 18 June 1925.

4. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Clansman," *Crisis* 10.1 (May 1915), 33.
5. David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Biography of a Race* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 461.
6. Arnold Rampersad, *The Art and Imagination of W. E. B. Du Bois* (New York: Schocken, 1976), 230.
7. My use of the term nationalism avoids the categories of Black Nationalism that have been coined in our time—Cultural Nationalism, Revolutionary Nationalism, Afrocentrism, or other ideologies that gained currency during the Garveyite period and reached an apex during the 1960s. Du Bois's nationalism grew out of Alexander Crummell's conservative values, which were more authoritative than egalitarian. Wilson Moses writes that although Du Bois "was an agitator for racial equality, he believed that the assimilation of the black race would have been a great tragedy. He was a cultural nationalist, then, and his roots were in the nineteenth-century black nationalist tradition" (Moses, "The Evolution of Black Nationalist-Socialist Thought: A Study of W. E. B. Du Bois," in *Topics in Afro-American Studies,* ed. Henry J. Edwards [Buffalo: Black Academic Press, 1971], 81). For a study on the origins of Pan-Africanism, see John J. Bracy et al., ed., *Black Nationalism in America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970); P. Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776–1963* (Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press, 1982); Edward S. Redkey, *Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Black-to-Africa Movements, 1890–1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969); Sterling Stuckey, ed., *The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism* (Boston: Beacon, 1972); and Dean E. Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2001.
8. George M. Parker, "The Negroid Line in History," *A. M. E. Church Review* 25 (October 1908), 28.
9. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (1935; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1992), 727.
10. Du Bois, "The Drama Among Black Folk," *Crisis* 12.4 (August 1916), 171.
11. "The Star of Ethiopia," *Washington Bee,* 23 October 1915, 1.
12. Fredric J. Haskins, "The Gift of Ethiopia," *Crisis* 11.2 (December 1915), 75. Walter C. Daniels, "W. E. B. Du Bois' First Efforts at Playwriting," *CLA Journal* 33.4 (June 1990), wrote that Du Bois attempted to establish a "black national theatre that was written by blacks about blacks and acted by blacks" (418).
13. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn* (1940; New Brunswick: Transaction, 1983), 272.
14. Du Bois, "The Drama Among Black Folk," 173.
15. Du Bois, "Criteria of Negro Art," *Crisis* 32.6 (October 1926), 296.
16. Burroughs, a drama student at Wilberforce and the Boston School of Expression, directed all four productions. See Samuel A. Hay, *African American Theatre: An Historical and Critical Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 247; and Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois,* 462.
17. *The Star of Ethiopia,* Materials in Du Bois Papers, Reel 87, UM. Future references to the script will be listed as UM.
18. See Hay, *African American Theatre,* 195.

19. Du Bois, "The Star of Ethiopia: A Pageant," 162.
20. UM.
21. *Washington Bee,* 23 October 1915, 1.
22. Robert "Bob" Cole and J. Rosamond Johnson (brother to the author James Weldon Johnson) were, along with Bert Williams and George Walker, the most popular black performers in musical theatre during the first decade of the twentieth century. From 1897 to 1901, Bob Cole performed in his production, *A Trip to Coontown.* Cole wrote, produced, and directed the musical farce with his partner, Billy Johnson (no relation to Rosamond Johnson), establishing himself as the first independent black producer of black musical comedy. By 1901 Cole had teamed with J. Rosamond Johnson, both becoming highly successful songwriters. In 1907, Cole and Johnson produced *The Shoo Fly Regiment,* and in 1909, *The Red Moon.* The two songs in *The Star of Ethiopia* were borrowed from *The Red Moon.* For a biography of Bob Cole, see David Krasner, "Bob Cole," *American National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Volume 5, 203–4; and Krasner, chapter 2, *Resistance, Parody, and Double Consciousness in African American Theatre, 1895–1910* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). Cole died in 1911.
23. Du Bois lamented: "But the money. The way the funds rained through my fingers was quite unbelievable. . . . Everything seemed to be costing twice as much as it should" (Du Bois, "The Star of Ethiopia," *Crisis* 11.2 [December 1915], 93).
24. For the Philadelphia production, Du Bois wrote, "The tickets were late. The costumes were later and the properties latest of all" (Du Bois, "The Star of Ethiopia," 93).
25. Ibid.
26. David W. Blight, "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Struggle for American National Memory," in *History and Memory in African American Culture,* ed. Geneviève Fabre and Robert O'Meally (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 46.
27. Anthony Appiah, "The Uncompleted Argument: Du Bois and the Illusion of Race," *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Autumn 1985), 25.
28. Du Bois, "Can the Negro Serve the Drama?" *Theatre Magazine* 38 (July 1923), 68.
29. *Washington Bee,* 23 October 1915, 1.
30. Du Bois, "The African Roots of War," *Atlantic Monthly* (May 1915), 707.
31. William Chauncy Langdon, "The Pageant-Grounds and Their Technical Requirements," *Bulletin of the American Pageantry Association* 11 (1 December 1914), 1.
32. Steve Golin, "The Paterson Pageant: Success or Failure," *Socialist Review* 13 (1983), 56. My thanks to my friend and cousin Stanley Comet, who alerted me to this essay.
33. Du Bois, "Letter to Ellis P. Oberholtzer," June 20, 1913; found in the Historical Society of Philadelphia. My thanks to Linda Stanley, Manuscripts and Archives, for sending a copy of the letter.
34. Haskins, "The Gift of Ethiopia," 75.
35. Du Bois, "The Conservation of Races: Speech to the American Negro Academy, 1897," *African American Social and Political Thought, 1850–1920,* ed. Howard Brotz (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1993), 487–88.
36. Freda L. Scott, "The Star of Ethiopia," unpublished manuscript, 1, HB.
37. Linda Nochlin, "The Paterson Strike Pageant of 1913," *Art in America* 52 (May–June 1974), 67.
38. Du Bois was not, however, a back-to-Africa emigrationist as was Bishop Turner and Edward W. Blyden. During the time of the pageant, Du Bois was essentially

optimistic about prospects for black advancement, despite the chorus of racist propaganda, Jim Crowism, and lynching. From 1913 to 1916, Du Bois enjoyed a period of unchallenged leadership. Booker T. Washington's influence was declining (he died in 1915) and Marcus Garvey had yet to make his appearance on the political scene.

39. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn,* 199.
40. Liah Greenfield, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 3, 487.
41. Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 133.
42. Joel Williamson, "W. E. B. Du Bois as a Hegelian," in *What Was Freedom's Price?,* ed. David G. Sansing (Jackson, MI: University of Mississippi Press, 1978), 34.
43. David Levering Lewis writes that Du Bois discovered in the Hegelian World-Spirit a "profoundly appealing concept" (*W. E. B. Du Bois,* 139–40). For a discussion of Hegelian influences on Du Bois, see Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 402–13; for German influences in general, see Francis L. Broderick, "German Influences on the Scholarship of W. E. B. Du Bois," *Phylon Quarterly* 19 (Winter 1958), 367–71.
44. Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Outline of a Philosophy of the History of Man* (1784–1791), quoted in Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 48.
45. Bernard W. Bell, *The Folk Roots of Contemporary Afro-American Poetry* (Detroit: Broadside, 1974), 21.
46. Du Bois, *The Negro* (1915; London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 9.
47. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination,* 143.
48. See, for example, Frederick B. Bridgeman, "The Ethiopian Movement in South Africa," *Missionary Review of the World* (June 1904), 434–45, and Wilson J. Moses, "The Poetics of Ethiopianism: W. E. B. Du Bois and Literary Black Nationalism," *American Literature* 47.3 (November 1975), 411–26.
49. J. Mutero Chirenje, *Ethiopianism and Afro-Americans in Southern Africa, 1883–1916* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 1.
50. F. Nnabuenyi Ugonna, "Introduction," *Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation,* ed. J. E. Casely Hayford (London: F. Case, 1969), xxiv.
51. B. F. Lee, "Selection, Environment and the Negro's Future," *A. M. E. Church Review* 20 (1904), 389.
52. Edmund J. Keller, *Revolutionary Ethiopia: From Empire to People's Republic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 34.
53. See, for instance, Clarence G. Contee, "The Emergence of Du Bois as an African Nationalist," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (1969), 48–63.
54. Henry Highland Garnet, "The Past and the Present Condition, and the Destiny of the Colored Race," 14 February 1848; quoted in Bracey, *Black Nationalism in America,* 119.
55. Martin Delany, *Principia of Ethnology: The Origins of Race and Color* (Philadelphia: Harper, 1879), 72.
56. Richard Powell, *Black Art and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 36.
57. Charles Alexander, *Indianapolis Freeman,* 2 April 1898, 1.
58. Daniels, "Du Bois' First Efforts as a Playwright," 425.

59. UM.
60. Du Bois, "The Star of Ethiopia," 91.
61. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn,* 272–73.
62. See Hay, *African American Theatre,* 262.
63. UM.
64. Du Bois, "The Drama Among Black Folk," 169.
65. Du Bois, "The Star of Ethiopia: A Pageant," 206.
66. Du Bois, "The National Emancipation Exposition," *Crisis* 6.9 (November 1913), 339.
67. For a discussion on Du Bois's theories based on Franz Boas's lectures in 1906 on the origins of iron smelting, see Sterling Stuckey, *Going Through the Storm: The Influence of African American Art in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 130.
68. UM.
69. Du Bois, "The Star of Ethiopia: A Pageant," 206.
70. UM.
71. Du Bois, "The Star of Ethiopia: A Pageant," 206.
72. UM.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. See, Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn,* 274.
76. Du Bois, "The Conservation of Races: Speech to the American Negro Academy (1897)," quoted in *African-American Social and Political Thought, 1850–1920,* ed. Howard Brotz (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1993), 491.
77. Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 276.
78. Stuckey, *Going Through the Storm,* 134.
79. Quoted in Julio Finn, *Voices of Négritude* (London: Quartet, 1988], 58. Négritude emerged as a protest against French rule in Africa. It retained a respect for French and European poetry and philosophy, but emphasized the importance of African heritage exemplified by Africa's "closeness to nature." Western culture, it maintained, was out of step with the rhythms of human existence.
80. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* tr. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1968), 213.
81. Wole Soyinka, *Myth, Literature and the African World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 129, 127.
82. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination,* 62.
83. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 226.
84. Du Bois, "A Negro Art Renaissance," *Los Angeles Times,* 14 June 1925, 27.
85. Du Bois, "The Drama Among Black Folk," 169.
86. Du Bois, "Editorial: A Pageant," *Crisis* 10.5 (September 1915), 230.
87. Blight, "W. E. B. Du Bois," 50.

PART II

1. Charles S. Gilpin, allegedly spoken to the actors of the Karamu House circa 1923 after a performance of *The Emperor Jones;* quoted in Ruben Silver, "A History of the Karamu Theatre of Karamu House, 1915–1960" Ohio State University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1961, 110–111.
2. Freda Scott Giles, "Willis Richardson and Eulalie Spence: Dramatic Voices of the Harlem Renaissance," *American Drama* 5.2 (Spring 1996), 4.

3. Larry Neal, "The Black Arts Movement," in *The Black Aesthetic,* ed. Addison Gayle (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971), 273.
4. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Nellie Larson, ed., *Norton Anthology of African American Literature* (New York: Norton, 1997), 935.
5. See, Kathy A. Perkins and Judith L. Stephens, *Strange Fruit: Plays on Lynching by African American Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Hilton Als, "GWTW," *Without Sanctuary,* ed. James Allen et al. (New York: Twin Palms, 2000), 41. "GWTW" stands for *Gone with the Wind.*
2. Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963, 1977), 270.
3. See Sandra L. Richards, "Foreword," in *Strange Fruit: Plays on Lynching by American Women,* ed. Kathy A. Perkins and Judith L. Stephens (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), x.
4. *Rachel* was written in 1916 and submitted to the Drama Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It was originally produced in Washington, D.C., at the Mrytill Miner School, and at New York's Neighborhood Playhouse in 1917.
5. Patricia R. Schroeder, *The Feminist Possibilities of Dramatic Realism* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickson University Press, 1996), 112.
6. Judith L. Stephens, "Anti-Lynching Plays by African American Women: Race, Gender, and Social Protest in American Drama," *African American Review* 26.2 (Summer 1992), 332. Elsewhere, Stephens characterizes lynching plays as "ground for interracial feminist dialogue" (Stephens, "The Anti-Lynch Play: Toward an Interracial-Feminist Dialogue on Theatre," *Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 2.3 [Fall 1990], 60).
7. Will Harris, "Early Black Women Playwrights and the Dual Liberation Motif," *African American Review* 28.2 (Summer 1994), 205.
8. Tisch Jones, in commenting on Grimké's *Rachel,* suggests that her play was "the first attempt by a Black woman to use the stage for race propaganda" (Jones, "Introduction to *Rachel,*" in *Black Theatre USA,* ed. James V. Hatch and Ted Shine [New York: Free Press, 1996], 134). Gloria Hull offers the reasoned conjecture that *Rachel* intended to achieve increased social awareness "by showing how American racial prejudice blighted the lives of a good, upstanding, attractive black family" (Hull, *Color, Sex and Poetry: Three Women Writers of the Harlem Renaissance* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987], 117). Jeanne-Marie A. Miller observes that Grimké wrote *Rachel* as a reaction to the negative stereotype and "used characters from a struggling black genteel class to protest vigorously the ill treatment of blacks by white America" (Miller, "Angelina Weld Grimké: Playwright and Poet," *CLA Journal* 21.4 [June 1978], 514–15).
9. Judith L. Stephens, "Lynching, American Theatre, and the Preservation of a Tradition," *Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 9.1 (Winter, 1997), 65.
10. For a history of the play's reception, see Robert J. Fehrenbach, "An Early Twentieth-Century Problem Play of Life in Black America: Angelina Weld Grimké's *Rachel* (1916)," in *Wild Women in the Whirlwind: Afra-American Culture and the Contemporary Literary Renaissance,* ed. Joanne M. Braxton and Andrée Nicola McLaughlin (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 89–106; and Hull, 117–124.
11. Grimké, *Rachel,* quoted from *Black Theatre, USA,* 136.

12. Ibid., 139.
13. Angelina Weld Grimké, "'Rachel': The Play of the Month: The Reason and Synopsis by the Author," *Competitor* 1.1 (January 1920), 52.
14. Grimké, *Rachel,* 152, 157.
15. Grimké, "'Rachel': The Play of the Month," 52.
16. Hull, *Color, Sex and Poetry,* 123. Jeanne Miller adds to this view, stating: "Though the work is distracting in several ways—some of its contrivances being too obvious, such as the circumstances leading to Rachel's adoption of the little neighbor boy [Jimmy] and the entrance of the woman [Mrs. Lane] and the child ravaged by racism; the language in the long speeches being too artificial to be convincing as real speech; and Rachel's hypersensitivity seeming almost incredulous by today's standards—this sentimental work does achieve its purpose in stressing some of America's unjust treatment of the black race" (Miller, "Angelina Weld Grimké: Playwright and Poet," 516).
17. Lyrics to "Strange Fruit," by Abe Meeropol, 1937; originally an anti-lynching poem published in the *New York Teacher* and later made famous by the singer Billie Holliday. See David Margolick, *Strange Fruit: The Biography of a Song* (New York: Ecco Press, 2001).
18. Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama,* tr. John Osborne (1925; reprint, London: Verso, 1977), 119.
19. Mary Church Terrell, "Prominent Club Woman Reviews Lynching Causes," *The Atlantic Monthly,* 1905, reprinted in the *Chicago Defender,* 20 December 1924: part 8, pg. 6. For pamphlets describing the horrors of lynching, see also Ida B. Wells, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892–1900,* ed. Jacqueline Jones Royster (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997).
20. Leon F. Litwack, "Hellhounds," *Beyond Sanctuary,* 14.
21. Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften I & II,* ed. R. Tiedemann and H. Schweppenhäuser (Frankfurt/am: Suhrkamp, 1977), II, 137. All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated. I will refer to the volume of Benjamin's work (either I or II) as *GS* followed by the page. For a full translation of *Die Bedeutung der Sprache in Trauerspiel und Tragödie* (written by Benjamin in 1916 and unpublished in his lifetime), see *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings* Vol. 1, 1913–1926, eds. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, tr. Rodney Livingston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 59–61.
22. Benjamin, *GS* II, 138.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 139.
25. Ibid., 140.
26. Nellie McKay, "'What Were They Saying?': Black Women Playwrights of the Harlem Renaissance," in *Harlem Renaissance Re-examined,* ed. Victor A. Kramer and Robert A. Russ (Troy, NY: Whitston Publishers, 1997), 154.
27. Margaret Cohen, *Profane Illumination: Walter Benjamin and the Paris of Surrealist Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1–2.
28. See, for instance, Rainer Nägele, *Theatre, Theory, Speculation: Walter Benjamin and the Scenes of Modernity* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 113–14 for an interesting comparison between Benjamin's and Nietzsche's theories of tragedy.
29. Benjamin, *Origin,* 187.
30. George Steiner, "Introduction" to *Origin of German Tragic Drama,* 17.
31. Grimké, *Rachel,* 157.

32. Benjamin, *Origin,* 210.
33. Ferenc Feher, "Lukács and Benjamin: Parallels and Contrasts," *New German Critique* 34 (Winter 1985), 126.
34. Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," *The Freud Reader,* ed. Peter Gay (New York: Norton, 1989), 687.
35. Fredric Jameson, *Marxism and Form* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 68.
36. Grimké, *Rachel,* 145.
37. Angelina Weld Grimké Papers, Box 38–13, MS.
38. From a book proposal/manuscript, edited by Perkins and Stephens *Plays on Lynching by American Women* (p. 13), HB. This book eventually became a collection of anti-lynching plays published by Indiana University Press.
39. Jacqueline Goldsby, "The High and Low Tech of It: The Meaning of Lynching and the Death of Emmett Till," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 9.2 (1996), 274.
40. Benjamin, *Origin,* 166.
41. Ibid., 178.
42. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* tr. Joel Weinsheimer and Donna G. Marshall (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 80.
43. For discussions on the devaluation of allegory, see Paul de Man, *Blindness and Insight: Essays on the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 187–228; and E. D. Hirsch, Jr., "Transhistorical Intentions and the Persistence of Allegory," *New Literary History* 25.3 (Summer 1994), 549–67. For a discussion of allegory's relationship to Weimar Neoclassicism, see Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock* (München: C. H. Beck, 1964), 30–34.
44. Benjamin, *Origin,* 160.
45. For a record of lynching postcards and photographs, see *Without Sanctuary.*
46. For an interesting study of lynching as a ritualize act, see Kirk W. Fuoss, "Lynching Performances, Theatres of Violence," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 19.1 (January 1999), 1–37.
47. Robyn Wiegman, "Whiteness Studies and the Paradox of Particularity," *Boundary 2* 26.3 (Fall 1999), 119.
48. Trudier Harris, "Before the Strength, the Pain: Portraits of Elderly Black Women in Early Twentieth-Century Anti-Lynching Plays," in *Black Women Playwrights,* ed. Carol P. Marsh-Lockett (New York: Garland), 32.
49. Bainard Cowan, "Walter Benjamin's Theory of Allegory," *New German Critique* 22 (Winter 1981), 116.
50. Rochester, New York, *Post Express,* 14 September 1920; book review clipping, Grimké Papers, MS.
51. Benjamin, *Origin,* 166.
52. Grimké, *Rachel,* 168.
53. Max Pensky, *Melancholy Dialectics: Walter Benjamin and the Plays of Mourning* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 34.
54. Benjamin, *Origin,* 162.
55. See, for instance, Miller, "Angelina Weld Grimké," in which she calls Rachel's sentimentality and contrivances "distracting," and the long speeches "too artificial to be convincing as real speech" (516).
56. Terry Eagleton, *Walter Benjamin* (London: Verso, 1981), 23.

57. Marita O. Bonner, "On Being Young—A Woman—and Colored, *Crisis* 31.2 (December 1925), 64.
58. Grimké, "Rachel," *Competitor,* 52.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Martin Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking," (1954) in *Poetry, Language, Thought,* tr. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper Row, 1971), 154.
2. Donna Kate Rushin, "The Bridge Poem," *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color,* ed. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (New York: Kitchen Table, 1981, 1983), xxii.
3. For studies on the Great Migration see, for instance, Daniel M. Johnson and Rex R. Campbell, *Black Migration in America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1981); Alferdteen Harrison, ed., *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1991); and Joe William Trotter, Jr., ed., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).
4. See, James R. Grossman, "A Chance to Make Good, 1900–1929," *To Make Our World Anew: A History of African Americans,* ed. Robin D. G. Kelley and Earl Lewis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 386.
5. Alain Locke, "Harlem," *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (March 1925), 629.
6. Hazel Carby, "The Politics of Fiction, Anthropology, and the Folk: Zora Neale Hurston," in *New Essays on Their Eyes Were Watching God,* ed. Michael Awkward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 75.
7. Zora Neal Hurston's play *Color Struck* was completed in 1925, and printed in 1926. It was first published in the inaugural (and only) edition of *Fire!* (1926), a journal "Devoted to Younger Negro Artists," 7–14, edited by Wallace Thurman. In this essay I will quote from the version in the journal *Fire!* For brief discussions and history of the play, see Bernard L. Peterson, Jr., *Early Black American Playwrights and Dramatic Writers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 115; Judith L. Stephens, "The Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro Movement," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Women Playwrights,* ed. Brenda Murphy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 111; Christine R. Gray, "Recovering African American Women Playwrights," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Women Playwrights,* 248; and Leslie Catherine Sanders, *The Development of Black Theater in America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 85.
8. Crispin Sartwell, *Act Like You Know: African-American Autobiography and White Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
9. Carby, "The Politics of Fiction, Anthropology, and the Folk," 77.
10. Barbara Johnson, "Metaphor, Metonymy, and Voice in *Their Eyes Were Watching God,*" in *A World of Difference* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 159.
11. See, for instance, Deborah A. Gordon, "The Politics of Ethnographic Authority: Race and Writing in the Ethnography of Margaret Mead and Zora Neale Hurston," in *Modernist Anthropology: From Fieldwork to Text,* ed. Marc Manganaro (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 146–62; Graciela Hernández, "Multiple Subjectivities and Strategic Positionality: Zora Neale Hurston's Experimental Ethnographies," in *Women Writing Culture,* ed. Ruth Behar and Deborah A. Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 148–165; and Gwen-

dolyn Mikell, "The Anthropological Imagination of Zora Neale Hurston," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 7.1 (1983), 27–35.

12. Franz Boas, "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology," *Science* 4 (1896), 905; reprinted in Boas, *Race, Language, and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940, reprint, 1982), 270–280.
13. See Boas, "What is Anthropology?," in Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1928; reprint, New York: Dover, 1986), 11–17.
14. These two developments epitomized what George W. Stocking, Jr., termed the 1920s "classical period" of modern anthropology. See Stocking, "The Ethnographic Sensibility of the 1920s and the Dualism of the Anthropological Tradition," in *Romantic Motives: Essays on Anthropological Sensibility,* ed. Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 212.
15. Boasian influence encouraged anthropologists to turn their backs on the Darwinian-Spenserian view that had dominated the field in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Among his many disciples were Ella Deloria, Ruth Benedict, Melville Herskovits, Ruth Landes, Robert Lowie, Alfred Louis Kroeber, Margaret Mead, Paul Radin, Edward Sapir, and Hurston. For an interesting reading of Boas and his influence, see Susan Hegeman, *Patterns for America: Modernism and the Concept of Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 32–65.
16. Boas, "Anthropology," Lecture Delivered at Columbia University, 18 December 1907, quoted in *A Franz Boas Reader,* ed. George W. Stocking, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 269.
17. Hurston, *Mules and Men* (1935), quoted in *I Love Myself When I Am Laughing: A Zora Neale Hurston Reader,* ed. Alice Walker (New York: Feminist Press, 1979), 82.
18. Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 162. For discussions of Hurston's relationship to Boasian anthropology, see also Mary Katherine Wainwright, "The Aesthetics of Community: The Insular Black Community as Theme and Focus in Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God,*" in *The Harlem Renaissance: Reevaluations,* ed. Amritjit et al. (New York: Garland, 1989), 233–43; bell hooks, "Saving Black Folk Culture," in *Yearnings: race, gender, and cultural politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), 136; and Alice Gambrell, *Women Intellectuals, Modernism, and Difference: Transatlantic Culture, 1919–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 115.
19. Robert E. Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 63.
20. The first draft of *Color Struck* was submitted to *Opportunity Magazine* and was awarded second prize (along with honorable mention for her play, *Spears*) at the *Opportunity* Award Banquet on 1 May 1925. Hurston received a Barnard scholarship during the summer and began to attend classes in the fall of 1925, at least five months after writing the play.
21. Benigno Sánchez-Eppler has suggested a similar observation, noting that during the mid-1920s, "just before her enrollment in Columbia and after her exposure to higher education at Howard University, Hurston had spent a relatively short but productive period in contact with the full roster of artists, intellectuals, and patrons of the Harlem Renaissance." Hurston drew on "her acquaintance with Southern black folklore for writing stories and for storytelling in social gatherings" ("Telling Anthropology: Zora Neale Hurston and Gilberto Freyre Disciplined in Their Field-Home-Work," *American Literary History* 4.3 [Fall 1992], 472).

22. For an interesting discussion of Hurston's work in literature and anthropology, see Sieglinde Lemke, "Blurring Generic Boundaries. Zora Neale Hurston: A Writer of Fiction and Anthropology," *Real: Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature* 12 (1996), 163–77.
23. Pearlie Mae Fisher Peters, *The Assertive Woman in Zora Neal Hurston's Fiction, Folklore, and Drama* (New York: Garland, 1998), 26. For other negative critiques, see Warren J. Carson, "Hurston as Dramatist: The Florida Connection," in *Zora in Florida,* ed. Steve Glassman and Kathryn Lee Seidal (Orlando: University of Central Florida Press, 1991), 123–124, and Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston,* 47.
24. See, for instance, H. Lin Classon, "Re-evaluating *Color Struck:* Zora Neale Hurston and the Issue of Colorism," *Theatre Studies* 42 (1997), 5–18; Lynda Marion Hill, *Social Rituals and the Verbal Art of Zora Neale Hurston* (Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press, 1996), 108; and Deborah G. Plant, *Every Tub Must Sit on Its Own Bottom: The Philosophy and Politics of Zora Neale Hurston* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 158.
25. Zora Neale Hurston, *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942; reprint, New York: Harper, 1995), 184.
26. For a discussion of the relationship between "Mammyism" and the Hottentot Venus in the play, see Jasmin L. Lambert, "Resisting the 'Hottentot' Body: Themes of Sexuality and Femininity in Select Plays by Female Playwrights from the Harlem Renaissance," Ph.D. dissertation, Bowling Green State University, 1998, 148–72.
27. Sandra L. Richards, "Writing the Absent Potential: Drama, Performance, and the Canon of African-American Literature," in *Performativity and Performance,* ed. Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (New York: Routledge, 1995), 77.
28. Ibid., 79.
29. Ibid., 75.
30. Under the influence of white patron Charlotte Osgood Mason, many African American artists, musicians, and writers were encouraged to indulge in what Mason called their "innate primitivism." However, it was not until 1927 that Hurston formally met Mason, at which time she offered to subsidize Hurston's research trip to Eatonville. See Lillie P. Howard, *Zora Neale Hurston* (Boston: Twayne, 1980), 22–25.
31. In their study of African American journals, *Propaganda & Aesthetics: The Literary Politics of African-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1979), Abby Arthur Johnson and Ronald Mayberry Johnson contend that the editor of *Fire!,* Wallace Thurman, "was primarily interested in aspects of black life generally considered disreputable by the more proper Afro-Americans" (80).
32. Langston Hughes observed that *Fire!* "would burn up a lot of old, dead, conventional Negro-white ideas of the past, *épater le bourgeoisie* into a realization of the existence of the younger Negro writers and artists" (Hughes, "In the Twenties," *Saturday Review of Literature* 22 [22 June 1940], 13).
33. Alain Locke, "Fire: A Negro Magazine," *The Survey Graphic* 58.10–12 (15 August–15 September 1927), 563.
34. Hurston, "Letter to Annie Nathan Meyer," 10 November 1925, pg. 2, from the American Jewish Archives, Hurston–Meyer Correspondence file. My gratitude to Anthea Kraut for discovering this letter and sending it to me. Barbara Speisman, "From 'Spears' to *The Great Day:* Zora Neale Hurston's Vision of a Real Negro

Theater," *Southern Quarterly* 36.3 (Spring 1998), 34–46, claims that "the Negro Art Theater of Harlem opened with [Hurston's] play, *Color Struck*" (36). However, Speisman fails to supply evidence to support this claim. Other than Hurston's letter, no other evidence exists, to my knowledge, to substantiate that an actual performance, or performances, took place.

35. Anthea Kraut, "Reclaiming the Body: Representations of Black Dance in Three Plays by Zora Neale Hurston," *Theatre Studies* 43 (1998), 30.
36. For a social history of the cakewalk, see David Krasner, "Rewriting the Body: Aida Overton Walker and the Social Formation of Cakewalking," *Theatre Survey* 37.2 (November 1996), 67–92.
37. Michael North, *The Dialect of Modernism: Race, Language and Twentieth-Century Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 176, 177. Along similar lines, Nina Miller, *Making Love Modern: The Intimate Public Worlds of New York's Literary Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), writes that the play's setting "is vintage Hurston: an all-black, Eatonville-like society, within which white racism counts for very little, but the foibles of black folk are on prominent display" (167).
38. Toni Morrison, "Afterword," *The Bluest Eye* (New York: Plum, 1994), 210.
39. Hurston, *Dust Tracks on a Road,* 177.
40. Ibid.
41. Hurston, *Color Struck,* 7.
42. John Lowe raises the point that this presentation of rural blacks in most of Hurston's literary output may have caused critical dismissal of her work up until the 1970s (Lowe, "Hurston, Humor, and the Harlem Renaissance," in *Harlem Renaissance Re-examined,* ed. Victor Kramer [New York: AMS Press, 1987], 305–31).
43. Hurston, *Color Struck,* 7.
44. Hill, *Social Rituals and the Verbal Art of Zora Neale Hurston,* 109.
45. Hurston, *Color Struck,* 8.
46. Ibid.
47. Hurston, *Dust Tracks on a Road,* 146.
48. Carole Boyce Davies, *Black Women, Writing and Identity: Migration of the Subject* (London: Routledge, 1994), 47.
49. For illuminating discussions of women and migration narratives, see Farah Jasmine Griffin, *"Who Set You Flowin'?": The African-American Migration Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), and Sandra Gunning, "Nance Prince and the Politics of Mobility, Home and Diasporic (Mis)Identification," *American Quarterly* 53.1 (March 2001), 32–69.
50. James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 32.
51. Houston A. Baker, Jr., *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 200, 202.
52. Hazel Carby, "'It Jus Be's Dat Way Sometime': The Sexual Politics of Women's Blues," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History,* ed. Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois (New York: Routledge, 1994), 334.
53. Edward Said, "Minds in Winter: Reflections on Life in Exile," *Harper's Magazine* 269 (September 1984), 51.
54. Una Chaudhuri, *Staging Place: The Geography of Modern Drama* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 13.
55. Hurston, *Color Struck,* 9.

56. Ibid., 10.
57. Marita O. Bonner, "On Being Young-A Woman—and Colored," *Crisis* 31.2 (December 1925), 64.
58. Hurston, *Color Struck,* 11.
59. Juliana Schiesari, *The Gendering of Melancholia: Feminism, Psychoanalysis, and the Symbolics of Loss in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 3–4, 13. Schiesari observes that the term melancholia is a Latin transliteration of the Greek word meaning "black bile" or "*atra bilis,*" a bodily fluid whose excess is responsible for the condition of melancholia. According to Aristotle, the melancholic temperament affected all "great men" (6).
60. Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 108.
61. Claudia Tate, *Psychoanalysis and Black Novels: Desire and the Protocols of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 13.
62. Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia,* tr. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 128.
63. Hurston, *Color Struck,* 12.
64. Susan Willis, *Specifying: Black Women Writing the American Experience* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 36.
65. Hurston, *Color Struck,* 12.
66. Ibid., 13.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. For a study of African American women's relationship to beauty, hair, and especially the history of Madam C. J. Walker, the entrepreneurial business leader who developed an empire of beauty products (ca. 1905 to 1919), see Noliwe M. Rooks, *Hair Raising: Beauty, Culture, and African American Women* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996).
70. Hurston, *Color Struck,* 14.
71. Ibid.
72. For discussions on silence, see Peter Hitchcock, *Dialogics of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), and Bernard P. Dauenhauer, *Silence: The Phenomenon and Its Ontological Significance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980).
73. Sartwell, *Act Like You Know,* 156, 158.
74. Hurston, "How It Feels to Be Colored Me," quoted in *I Love Myself When I Am Laughing: A Zora Neale Hurston Reader,* 155.
75. Hurston, *Color Struck,* 14.
76. Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Signet, 1991), 336.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Montgomery Gregory, unpublished essay titled, "Negro Drama," Gregory Collection, Box 37–3, folder 92, MS.
2. Alain Locke, *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations* (1916), ed. Jeffrey C. Stewart (Washington, D. C., Howard University Press, 1992), 88.
3. Thomas Pearce Bailey, *Race Orthodoxy in the South* (New York: Neale Pub. Co., 1914), 40.
4. Frederick L. Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1896), 95.

5. James Kimble Vardaman, *Greenwood [Mississippi] Commonwealth,* quoted in Albert D. Kirwan, *Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics, 1876–1925* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951), 146.
6. William Hannibal Thomas, *The American Negro: What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become* (New York: MacMillan, 1901), 180.
7. Thomas Nelson Page, *The Negro: The Southern's Problem* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 78.
8. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *The History of the United States Since the Civil War,* Vol. 1 (New York: MacMillan Co, 1917), 73.
9. Lothrop Stoddard, "The Impasse at the Color Line," *The Forum* 78.4 (October 1927), 511–12.
10. Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933; Washington, D. C.: African World Press, 1993), 81.
11. Three other playwrights, Mary P. Burrill (1884–1946), Eulalie Spence (1894–1981), and May Miller (1899–1995), made an impact on African American drama during the 1920s. However, Burrill was chiefly known as a teacher of drama; Spence's important contributions were largely as a critic; and Miller's literary productivity blossomed primarily in the 1930s.
12. For information on Johnson's life, see Gloria T. Hull, *Color, Sex, and Poetry: Three Women Writers of the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 155–211.
13. See, Claudia Tate's biographical portrait of Johnson in her "Introduction," in *Selected Works of Georgia Douglas Johnson,* ed. Tate (New York: G. K. Hall, 1997), xxix.
14. Hull, *Color, Sex, and Poetry,* 164.
15. Willis Richardson, "Introduction" to his play, *The Broken Banjo, Crisis* 31.4 (February 1926), 167.
16. For discussions on race relations and the history of African Americans in Washington, D.C., see, for instance, James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion, and Folklife in the City, 1850–1970* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980); and Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Secret Society: A History of Race Relations in the Nations Capital* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).
17. "Howard University and Its Lesson," *New York Age,* 4 March 1915, 4.
18. Herbert Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era* (New York: Citadel Press, 1971, 1992), 175.
19. Census figures taken from *Major Problems in African-American History,* Vol. II, ed. Thomas C. Holt and Elsa Barkley Brown (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2000), 128.
20. However, during the 1920s Harlem's population increased at a greater proportion than any other African American community.
21. Paul Laurence Dunbar, "Negro Life in Washington," *Harper's Weekly* 6 (January 1900), 32, and Dunbar, "Negro Society in Washington," *Saturday Evening Post* (14 December 1901), 9.
22. Mary Church Terrell, "Society Among the Colored People of Washington," *The Voice of the Negro* 1.1 (March 1904), 151.
23. Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880–1920* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 348.
24. Jeffrey C. Stewart, "A Biography of Alain Locke: Philosopher of the Harlem Renaissance, 1886–1930," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1979, 212.
25. Gwendolyn B. Bennett, "The Ebony Flute," *Opportunity* 5.7 (July 1927), 212.

26. See Johnson's biographical sketch, Georgia Douglas Johnson Papers, Box 162–1, folder 1, MS.
27. Willis Richardson, "Recorded Interview by Larry Gavin," July 1974, HB. See also Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea* (1940; reprint, New York: Hill & Wang, 1997), 216, for a list of Johnson's regulars.
28. Montgomery Gregory, "The Drama of Negro Life," in *The New Negro,* ed. Locke (1925; New York: Atheneum, 1992), 156.
29. Winona L. Fletcher, "From Genteel Poet to Revolutionary Playwright: Georgia Douglas Johnson," *Theatre Annual* 40 (1985), 41.
30. Quoted in David E. Shi, *Facing Facts: Realism in American Thought and Culture, 1950–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 7.
31. Richardson, Garvin interview (1974); Johnson, quoted in Hull, *Color, Sex, and Poetry,* 173.
32. Langston Hughes, "Our Wonderful Society: Washington," *Opportunity* 5.8 (August 1927), 226, 227.
33. Richardson, "Characters," *Opportunity* 3.30 (June 1925), 183.
34. Richardson, "The Negro Audience," *Opportunity* 3.28 (April 1925), 123. Richardson's biographer, Christine Rauchfuss Gray, contends that Richardson lacked the college education or social connections of Washington's black elite society, which may account for his frequent criticism of upper-class African Americans. Gray, *Willis Richardson: Forgotten Pioneer of African-American Drama* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 63.
35. Richardson, "Propaganda in the Theatre," *Messenger* 6.11 (November 1924), 354.
36. Richardson, "Characters," 183.
37. Johnson, "The Negro in Art: How Shall He Be Portrayed," *Crisis* 32.4 (August 1926), 193.
38. See, Tate, "Introduction," in *Selected Works of Georgia Douglas Johnson,* lix.
39. The term "race pride" had grown during the New Negro Movement. It represented a new sense of self-awareness, pride in all things black, and a sense of distinctiveness in black culture. Locke wrote in the *New Negro* (1925) that "Nowhere is this more apparent, or more justified than in the increasing tendency to evolve from the racial substance something technically distinctive, something that as an idiom of style may become a contribution to the general resources of art" (51).
40. Leon F. Litwack, "Hellhounds," in *Without Sanctuary,* ed., James Allen et al. (New York: Twin Palms Publishers, 2000), 31.
41. Christine Gray argues that Du Bois influenced Richardson. No doubt Du Bois shaped his ideas, and published his plays *The Deacon's Awakening* and *Broken Banjo* in his journal, *Crisis,* as well as articles and commentaries (Gray, *Willis Richardson,* 60–1). Richardson's pageants were certainly modeled on Du Bois's *The Star of Ethiopia.* However, Richardson first met Du Bois somewhere between 1925 and 1926 (Garvin interview [1974]); his personal contacts with Du Bois were minimal and less than his personal contacts with Locke, at least prior to 1925.
42. For a discussion about the close relationship between Locke and Johnson, see Jeffrey C. Stewart, "Alain Locke and Georgia Douglas Johnson, Washington Patrons of Afro-American Modernism," *George Washington University Washington Studies* 12 (1986), 37–44.
43. For instance, Johnson wrote to Locke (14 March 1919), "I wish some one to go over some manuscripts with me in a critical way. . . . Will you allow me one hour of

your time that I may lay my material before you and have the benefit of your great advantage?" Alain Locke Papers, Box 164–40, folder 35, MS.

44. Locke, "Foreword," *An Autumn Love Cycle,* xix, quoted in *Selected Works of Georgia Douglas Johnson,* 197.
45. Richardson, "Letter to Locke," 9 August 1925, Locke Papers, Box 164–80, folder 19, MS.
46. Alain Locke, "Values and Imperatives," in *American Philosophy: Today and Tomorrow,* ed. Horace M. Kallen and Sidney Hooks (New York: Lee Forman, 1935), 314. Kallen was Locke's teacher and friend at Harvard.
47. He left Howard briefly to receive his Ph.D. at Harvard in 1917.
48. From 1925 to 1928, Locke was dismissed from Howard for supporting pay raises and student demands to end compulsory chapel and ROTC.
49. Locke, "Autobiographical Sketch," *American Philosophy: Today and Tomorrow,* 312.
50. Locke, "Steps Toward the Negro Theatre," *Crisis* 25.2 (December 1922), 68.
51. Locke, "Review of 'Goat Alley,'" *Opportunity* 1.2 (February 1923), 30.
52. Locke, "Introduction," *Plays of Negro Life,* ed. Locke and Montgomery Gregory (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927), n.p.
53. Locke, "The Drama of Negro Life," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 10.10 (October 1926), 704.
54. Locke, "Art or Propaganda?," *Harlem: A Forum of Negro Life* 1.1 (November 1928), 12.
55. Locke, "New Themes," *Crisis* 27.4 (February 1924), 178.
56. Locke, "The Negro's Contribution to American Art and Literature," *The Annals of the American Academy of Politics and Social Science* 140.229 (November 1928), 240, 241.
57. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., raises the point that black intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance "seemed to believe that their racist treatment at the hands of whites merely imitated their racist 'treatments' in art. Accordingly, if life did indeed imitate art, if reality imitated the image, then to manipulate the image of the black was, in a sense, to manipulate reality. The Public Negro Self, therefore, was an entity that had to be crafted." (Gates, "The Face and Voice of Blackness," in *Modern Art and Society: An Anthology of Social and Multicultural Readings,* ed. Maurice Berger [New York: HarperCollins, 1994], 65).
58. Locke, "Race or Propaganda?," *Race* 1.2 (Summer 1936), 73.
59. Locke, *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations,* 12. These lectures were first offered in 1915 at Howard and revised in 1916.
60. Locke, Course Outline (syllabus, circa 1916) for "Race Contacts and Interracial Relations," quoted in *The Critical Temper of Alain Locke: A Selection of His Essays on Art and Culture,* ed. Jeffrey C. Stewart (New York: Garland Publishers, 1983), 411.
61. Locke, "The Problem of Race Classification," *Opportunity* 1.9 (Sept. 1923), 261.
62. Locke did not study directly with James as he did with Santayana and Royce, but he was familiar with James and his work.
63. Values for Locke may be sub-categorized into seven criteria: the economic, which can be divided into use value (teleological) or exchange value (payment); the ethical; the aesthetic; those pertaining to pleasure or pain; the religious, which can be subdivided into spirituality and faith; the biological (survival value); and the logical, which consists in scientific or normative values. See Locke, "Value," undated, unpublished paper, Locke Papers, MS; also quoted in *The Philosophy of Alain Locke,* 115–16.
64. Locke, "Values and Imperatives," 313.

65. William James, *Pragmatism* (1907), quoted in *Pragmatism and The Meaning of Truth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 123.
66. Locke, "Values and Imperatives," 314, 315.
67. Ibid., 319.
68. According to Santayana, judgments are made "to establish an ideal," because in finding the good or the beautiful, our standards evoke judgments that are "intrinsic and ultimate." However, at the next moment, our mind moves to "another footing," evoking a "new ideal," one which is "no less absolute than the previous judgement." Thus, the shifting relationship of values and judgments informs our tastes and experiences. Santayana, *The Sense of Beauty: Being the Outline of an Aesthetic Theory* (New York: Charles Schribner's, 1896; New York: Dover, 1955), 9.
69. As Richard Keaveny observes, Locke argued that the "social environment was the main contributor to the ways in which people assessed their emotions." Keaveny, "Aesthetics and the Issue of Identity," in *The Critical Pragmatism of Alain Locke,* ed. Leonard Harris (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 129.
70. Locke, "Values and Imperatives," 321. For an interesting comparison of Locke's essay with other early twentieth-century anthropologists, see Mark Helbling, "Feeling Universality and Thinking Particularistically: Alain Locke, Franz Boas, Melville Herskovits, and the Harlem Renaissance," *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies* 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 289–314.
71. Kallen wrote that cultural pluralism celebrates "variations of racial groups" as well as "spontaneous differences of social heritage, institutional habits, mental health, and emotional tone; upon the continuous, free and fruitful cross-fertilization of these by one another" (Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States* [New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924], 42).
72. Locke, "The Concept of Race as Applied to Social Culture," *Howard Review* 1 (1924), 290–299; quoted in *The Philosophy of Alain Locke,* 195.
73. Locke, "Epilogue," *The Oxford Cosmopolitan* 1.1 (June 1908), 16.
74. Locke, "The Contribution of Race to Culture," *The Student World* 23 (1930), 349–353; quoted in *The Philosophy of Alain Locke,* 202–3, 206.
75. The repressive climate at Howard and throughout the United States after World War I may have contributed to Locke's retreat from radical politics and toward art, literary, and dramatic criticism.
76. Locke, "Introduction," *Four Negro Poets,* ed. Locke (New York: A. L. Burt, Co., 1927), 5.
77. Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft,* ed. Karl Vorländer (1790; Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1990), [8.49], 31. Kant builds his aesthetic concepts upon the basis of four principles: quality, quantity, relation, and modality. Quality is detached, or disinterested appreciation; quantity is the art-object's universality; relation is manifest through an appreciation of a purposefulness without purpose; and modality exhibits that which is apodictic but only through example.
78. Ibid., [6.39], 23.
79. Kant says that "purposefulness can thus be without purpose, insofar as we do not stress the causes of this form in volition, but yet can only make the explanation of it . . . by deriving from volition"; *Kritik der Urteilskraft,* [10.33], 59. Thus, for Kant, the purposiveness of an object can be appreciated as beautiful without the aid of reflective concepts, or ideas, creating a union of imagination and understanding free from purely cognitive notions. A sunset, for example, can be appreciated without the aid of cognitive notions of sunsets; we appreciate its aesthetic harmony,

and its purpose, based on our imagination and reason, and untrammeled by the notion of a sunset's utilitarian (purposeful) value, such as creating darkness for the purpose of reinvigorating nature.

80. Locke, "Introduction," *Plays of Negro Life,* n. p.
81. Locke, "The Drama of Negro Life," *Theatre Arts Monthly,* 705, 706.
82. Ibid., 705.
83. Locke, "Propaganda or Poetry?," 73, 87.
84. Locke, "Spiritual Truancy," *The New Challenge* 2.2 (Fall 1937), 83, 84.
85. Locke, "Spiritual Truancy," 85. Locke was influenced by his Harvard mentor Josiah Royce and Royce's book *The Philosophy of Loyalty* (1908; reprint, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1995). All virtues, Royce maintained, "*in so far as they are indeed defensible and effective, are special forms of loyalty to loyalty,*" because "*all duties which we have learned to recognize as the fundamental duties of the civilized man . . . are to be rightly interpreted as special instances of loyalty to loyalty*" (61, 66). For Royce, loyalty is a virtue by means of its interconnectedness with one human to another. Our commitments to people, groups, and social bonds are termed "loyalty," and when enacted, loyalty becomes virtuous. Locke built on Royce's dictum of loyalty to loyalty, but expands it to include his ideas of relative values. The "Roycean principal of 'loyalty to loyalty,'" he maintained, emphasized less "the tradition of absolutism" and more a "relativism of values and a principle of reciprocity" (Locke, "Values and Imperatives," 332).
86. Locke, "The Drama of Negro Life," *Theatre Arts Monthly,* 706.
87. Locke, "The Negro and the American Stage," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 10.2 (February 1926), 112. Elsewhere, Locke made the claim that the black actors' "temperament still moves natively and spontaneously in the world of make-believe with the primitive power of imaginative abandon and emotional conviction." "Introduction," *Plays of Negro Life,* n.p.
88. Locke, "The Saving Grace of Realism," *Opportunity* 12.1 (January 1934), 8.
89. Samuel A. Hay, *African American Theatre: An Historical and Critical Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3, 5. Hay's defining agenda, the sublation of Locke and Du Bois's theories into the plays of Suzan Lori-Parks and August Wilson, reflects the 1960s Black Arts Movement and its emphasis on black modernity's cohesion and finality. Paul De Man describes this desire for totality as a modernity that "exists in the form of a desire to wipe out whatever came earlier, in the hope of reaching at last a point that could be called a true present, a point of origin that marks a new departure" (De Man, "Literary History and Literary Modernity," *Blindness and Insight* [Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1983], 184). The Black Arts Movement sought a new departure from past representations in order to form a new distinctiveness and a "true present." For Hay, Parks and especially Wilson represent the arrival of a true present via the union of Lockean folk drama and Du Boisian propaganda.
90. Charles Scruggs, *The Sage in Harlem: H. L. Mencken and the Black Writers of the 1920s* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984), 144, 157. Patricia R. Schroeder also asserts that Du Bois and Locke shared the common goals of "stage realism," where the "demeaning legacy of minstrel shows" could be "replaced by representations of human beings" (Schroeder, "Remembering the Disremembered: Feminist Realists of the Harlem Renaissance," in *Realism and the American Dramatic Tradition,* ed. William W. DeMastes [Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996], 92).

91. Locke, "The Certain of Our Philistines," *Opportunity* 3.29 (May 1925), 155. The reliance on facts follows the precepts of William James's Pragmatism, which claimed that the "pragmatist clings to facts and concreteness, observes truth at its work in particular cases, and generalizes." James, *Pragmatism* (1907; reprint, Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991), 33.
92. Christine R. Gray, "Recovering African American Women Playwrights," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Women Playwrights,* ed. Brenda Murphy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 246.
93. Locke, *The New Negro,* 52.
94. Charles Sanders Peirce, "Some Consequences of Four Incapacities," originally published in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* (1868), and reprinted in *Philosophical Writings of Peirce,* ed. Justus Buchler (New York: Dover, 1955), 247.
95. Locke, "The Drama of Negro Life," 703.
96. Locke Papers, Box 164–139, folder 29, MS.
97. For a discussion on the relation between Locke and Pragmatism, see George Hutchinson, *Harlem Renaissance in Black and White* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), especially, "Pragmatist Aesthetics," 42–50; Nancy Fraser, "Another Pragmatism: Alain Locke, Critical 'Race' Theory, and the Politics of Culture," in *The Revival of Pragmatism: New Essays on Social Thought, Law, and Culture,* ed. Morris Dickstein (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 157–175; and Richard Shusterman, "Pragmatist Aesthetics: Roots and Radicalism," in *The Critical Pragmatism of Alain Locke,* 97–110.
98. Locke, "The Ethics of Culture," *Howard University Record* 17 (1923), 178.
99. Locke, "Who and What is 'Negro?," *Opportunity* 20 (1942), 36–41, 83–87; quoted from *The Philosophy of Alain Locke,* 213.
100. Nancy Fraser concurs with this assertion, noting that for Locke, "Negroes should cultivate a self-conscious relation to their distinctive 'social culture,' which is a syncretistic blend of African and Anglo-American elements" (Fraser, "Another Pragmatism," 170).
101. Stewart, "A Biography of Alain Locke," 2. Stewart maintains that Locke remained grounded in genteel impressionism and the inherent beauty of the work of art, building a kind of Kantian universalism into his aesthetic theories.
102. Locke, *Race Contacts,* 97.
103. Locke, "The High Cost of Prejudice," *The Forum* 78.4 (October 1927), 502; Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," (1903), reprinted in Du Bois, *Writings,* ed. John Hope Franklin (New York: Library of America, 1986), 842
104. Dale E. Peterson, *Up From Bondage: The Literature of Russian and African American Soul* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 154.
105. Locke, *Race Contacts,* 98.
106. Locke Papers, Box 164–139, folders 27 and 29, MS.
107. Locke, *Race Contacts,* 10.
108. Ibid., 79.
109. Locke, "Harlem," *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (March 1925), 630.
110. Johnny Washington accentuates this point when he says that for Locke, human associations and relationships "were determined by certain stressed values" that become "prized by a group, and as a derivative fact, race determined the group's values" (Washington, *A Journey into the Philosophy of Alain Locke* [Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994], 93).

111. Locke, *Race Contacts,* 45. Locke's views anticipate Michael Omi and Howard Winant's definition of race *"as an unstable and 'decentered' complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle"* (emphasis in original). Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge, 1986), 68.
112. Locke, *Race Contacts,* 100.
113. William B. Harvey, "The Philosophical Anthropology of Alain Locke," in *Alain Locke: Reflects on a Modern Renaissance Man,* ed. Russell S. Linnemann (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 20.
114. Locke, "The Drama of Negro Life," *Theatre Arts Monthly,* 704. Kant states that taste "is the faculty of estimating an object or method of representation by means of delight or aversion apart from any interest [*ohne alles Interesse*]." The results of such judgment, he adds, "with its attendant consciousness of detachment from all interest, must contain a claim to validity for all men." Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft,* [5.15, 6.18], 48, 49.
115. Locke, "New Themes," 178.
116. Richardson, "Propaganda in the Theatre," 353.
117. Margaret B. Wilkerson, "Introduction," *9 Plays by Black Women* (New York: Mentor, 1986), xvii.
118. Richardson, Garvin interview (1974). Richardson is referring to a letter written to him by the Karamu House of Cleveland. The Karamu Players wrote asking if they could produce his play. In the letter (18 December 1951, Richardson Collection, BR), the producer of the Karamu House, Rowena Woodham Jelliffee, referring to a past production of Richardson's *Compromise,* wrote: "I had then and still have the deepest respect for the dignity and majesty with which you portrayed the likes of simple, humble people."
119. Richardson, "The Hope of Negro Drama," *Crisis* 19.1 (November 1919), 338.
120. Richardson, Garvin interview (1974).
121. Information on Richardson's life can be found in Gray, *Willis Richardson;* Bernard L. Peterson, Jr., "Willis Richardson: Pioneer Playwright," in *The Theatre of Black Americans,* ed. Errol Hill (New York: Applause Books, 1980, 1987), 113–125; and Peterson, *Early Black American Playwrights and Dramatic Writers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 165–69.
122. Alexander Woollcott, "Shouts and Murmurs," *New York Herald,* 9 May 1923, 12.
123. John Corbin, *New York Times,* 8 May 1923, 22.
124. Corbin, "Jewels in Ethiope's Ear," *New York Times,* 20 May 1923, sec. 7, pg. 1.
125. Richardson, "The Negro and the Stage," *Opportunity* 2.22 (October 1924), 310.
126. Richardson, Garvin interview (1974).
127. Leslie Catherine Sanders, *The Development of Black Theater in America: From Shadows to Selves* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 30, 33.
128. Richardson, *The Chip Woman's Fortune* (1923), quoted in *The Roots of African American Drama,* ed. Leo Hamilton and James V. Hatch (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 164.
129. Christine Gray raises the salient point that the play may have been written for an audience of black people newly arriving north. Migrants would have understood the circumstances of boarders, as in the case of the Chip Woman. See Gray, *Willis Richardson,* 87.
130. Richardson, *Chip Woman's Fortune,* 176.

131. This may reflect Richardson's own inability to attend Howard because he lacked the money for tuition.
132. *Mortgaged,* published in *The New Negro Renaissance: An Anthology,* ed. Arthur P. Davis and Michael W. Peplow (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), 111.
133. Richardson, *Mortgaged,* 113.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.
136. *Compromise,* in Locke's *New Negro,* 195.
137. In a letter to Montgomery Gregory (13 December 1922), Richardson wrote: "You cannot imagine how delighted I am at having met you and Professor Locke and having found you both so interested in Negro Drama. . . . I think we may all be of help to each other in the development of this new art, and I know I shall do all within my power to advance it." Gregory Papers, Box 37–2, folder 52, MS.
138. Locke, "The Drama of Negro Life," 705.
139. Richardson, Garvin interview (1974).
140. Gray, *Willis Richardson,* 21. In the Garvin interview (1974), Richardson describes the falling out with Locke somewhat lightly, implying that Locke's childishness was not to be taken too seriously; whether or not this falling out "damaged" Richardson seems speculative. Richardson's productivity declined after 1930, but it would be difficult to verify this incident as the nodal point of declining creative output.
141. Locke, "Goodbye Messrs. Chips," *Time Magazine* (29 June 1953), 68.
142. The two versions of *A Sunday Morning in the South,* plus four reviews (play reports) of both *A Sunday Morning* and *Blue Eyed Black Boy,* are located in GM. My thanks to Jennifer E. Bradshaw, Archivist, for locating and photocopying the plays and reviews.
143. The second version is reproduced in Kathy A. Perkins, *Black Female Playwrights: An Anthology of Plays before 1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 31–37; and in Perkins and Judith L. Stephens, *Strange Fruit: Plays on Lynching by American Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 103–09.
144. For a discussion of Johnson's plays and their relationship to "Negro spirituals," see Judith L. Stephens, "Politics and Aesthetics, Race and Gender: Georgia Douglas Johnson's Lynching Dramas as Black Feminist Cultural Performance," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 20.3 (July 2000), 251–267.
145. All quotes are from the Federal Project Play Reports (circa 1935–1939) in GM. For further discussion of Johnson, see Megan Sullivan, "Folk Plays, Home Girls, and Back Talk: Georgia Douglas Johnson and the Women of the Harlem Renaissance," *CLA Journal* 38.4 (June 1995), 404–19; and Jeanne-Marie A. Miller, "Georgia Douglas Johnson and May Miller: Forgotten Playwrights of the New Negro Renaissance," *CLA Journal* 33.4 (June 1990), 349–66.
146. Quoted from reviews of *A Sunday Morning in the South,* the Federal Project, GM.
147. Locke, "The Drama of Negro Life," 703.
148. Locke, "The Negro Contributions to America," *The World Tomorrow* 12.6 (June 1929), 256.
149. Locke, "Value," *The Philosophy of Alain Locke,* 112.
150. Johnson, *Sunday Morning,* GM.
151. In a letter to Locke (11 August 1925), Johnson writes, "I have finished a mighty *good play* called 'Blue Blood.' Would like you to read it?" Locke Papers, Box 164–40, folder 35, MS.

152. Judith L. Stephens, "Racial Violence and Representation: Performance Strategies in Lynching Dramas of the 1920s," *African American Review* 33.4 (Winter 1999), 659.
153. Jurij Striedter, *Literary Structure, Evolution, and Value: Russian Formalism and Czech Structuralism Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 170.
154. Locke, "The Concept of Race as Applied to Social Culture," *The Philosophy of Alain Locke,* 195.
155. Quoted in *Selected Works of Georgia Douglas Johnson,* 323–24.
156. Ibid., 329.
157. Johnson, "Book Chat," *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* 4 October 1930, 12. It is interesting to note that Johnson calls for a drama about the middle class during the beginnings of the Great Depression.
158. Locke, handwritten note (circa 1925), Locke Papers, Box 164–139, folder 25, MS.
159. Charles Scruggs, "Alain Locke and Walter White: Their Struggle for Control of the Harlem Renaissance," *Black American Literature Forum* 14.3 (1980), 97.
160. Locke, "Notes on Drama" (circa 1925–26), Locke Papers, Box 164–139, folder 30, MS.

PART III

1. Leon F. Litwack, "Hellhounds," in *Without Sanctuary,* ed. James Allen et al. (New York: Twin Palms, 2000), 31.
2. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "The Face and Voice of Blackness," in *Modern Art and Society,* Maurice Berger, ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 58.
3. James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (1930; New York: Da Capo Press, 1991), 93.
4. Nellie McKay, "Black Theatre and Drama in the 1920s: Years of Growing Pains," *Massachusetts Review* 28.4 (Winter 1987), 617.
5. Editorial, "Way to Build a Race," *New York Age,* 17 February 1923, 4.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Marcus Garvey, "Black Men All Over the World Should Prepare to Protect Themselves," in *Negro World,* 18 October 1919; found in the *Federal Surveillance of Afro-Americans (1917–1925), The First World War, the Red Scare, and the Garvey Movement,* ed. Theodore Kornweibel (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1985), Microfilm Reel 4.
2. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Mask,* tr. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1967), 35.
3. UNIA Papers, Box 1, SC.
4. John Henrik Clarke, *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa* (New York: Vintage, 1974), 95.
5. August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1976), 248.
6. *Negro World,* 14 January 1922, 4.
7. See, for instance, Hazel Carby, "Policing the Black Woman's Body in an Urban Context," in *Identities,* ed. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 131.
8. Robert H. Brisbane points out that much of Garvey's appeal was based on skin color within the black community. Brisbane notes that "it is hardly an overstatement to say

that much of Garvey's success can be attributed to the existence of the color-caste system not only between the white and the blacks, but that existing within the Negro race itself" there resides a degree of prejudice (Brisbane, *The Black Vanguard: Origins of the Negro Social Revolution, 1900–1960* [Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1970], 85). Fair-skinned African Americans, Brisbane adds, "constituted the backbone of the Negro bourgeoisie" at the time, and notes that within "two generations after emancipation, they had erected a color-caste system within the race somewhat analogous to that prevailing in India" (86). Garvey used his dark skin and Jamaican heritage in attacking mulattos, like Du Bois, whom he regarded as race traitors.

9. For an interesting study on class relationships within the black community, see Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880–1920* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1990); and Kevin Gaines, "Rethinking Race and Class in Africa-American Struggles for Equality, 1885–1941," *American Historical Review* 102.2 (April 1997), 378–87.
10. For biographies of Marcus Garvey, see E. David Cronin, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); Elton C. Fax, *Marcus Garvey, The Story of A Pioneer Black Nationalist* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1972); Rupert Lewis, *Marcus Garvey: Anti-Colonial Champion* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1988); Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976); Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986); and Theodore G. Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1972). Judith Stein discusses the "debate" between those who identify the Garvey movement as "rooted in desperation" and the "bankrupt product of deep alienation" (supported by E. David Cronin, E. Franklin Frazier, and Theodore Draper) and those who describe Garveyism as an enlightened response to racism and a movement unique to the "black urban experience" (supported by Tony Martin and Theodore Vincent). Stein comes down on the side of Martin's and Vincent's conclusions that Garvey attempted to solve the economic, political, and cultural problems of African Americans. See Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey,* 3.
11. John T. McCartney, *Black Power Ideologies: An Essay in African-American Political Thought* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 76.
12. E. Franklin Frazier, "The Garvey Movement," *Opportunity* 4 (November 1926), 346.
13. Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa,* tr. Ann Keep (New York: Africana Publishing, Co., 1968), 268. Raymond L. Hall has it that Garvey's message "struck a responsive chord among black people because what they needed at that time most of all was something or someone who could buoy their sense of worthiness" (Hall, *Black Separatism in the United States* [Hanover: University of New England Press, 1978], 60).
14. Hubert H. Harrison, *Negro World,* 8 October 1921, n.p.
15. E. Franklin Frazier, "Garvey: A Mass Leader," in *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa,* ed. John Henrik Clarke and Amy Jacques Garvey (New York: Vintage, 1974), 237.
16. *Negro World,* 1 January 1921; reprinted in the Baltimore *Afro-American,* 7 January 1921; found in Vincent, *Black Power,* 104.
17. Truman Hughes Talley, "Marcus Garvey—Negro Moses?" *World's Work* 41.2 (December 1920), 153.

18. Charles S. Johnson, "The New Frontage on American Life," in *The New Negro,* ed. Alain Locke (1925; New York: Atheneum, 1992), 285.
19. Paul Gilroy, "Modern Tones," in *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance,* ed. Richard J. Powell et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 105.
20. Robert H. Brisbane, "Some Light on the Garvey Movement," *Journal of Negro History* 36.1 (January 1951), 55.
21. Nationalism in general was a significant force promoting ethnic and nation-state roots during the first half of the twentieth century. Useful studies of nationalism are: Peter Alter, *Nationalism* (London: E. Arnold, 1985), Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), and John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). For studies on Black Nationalism, see Betty Lanier Jenkins and Susan Phillis, ed., *Black Separatism: A Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976); Agustina and Charles C. Herod, ed., *Afro-American Nationalism: An Annotated Bibliography of Militant Separatist and Nationalist Literature* (New York: Garland Press, 1986); and Dean E. Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
22. C. L. R. James, "Marcus Garvey," in *On the Negro Question,* ed. Scott McLemme (1940; reprint, Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1996), 115.
23. See for instance, W. A. Domingo, "Gift of the Tropics," *The New Negro,* 341–49, for an interesting discussion on the rise of black migration from the British West Indies during the time and its importance to Garvey's presence in the United States.
24. Lewis, *Marcus Garvey,* 85.
25. Quoted in *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers,* Vol. II, ed. Robert A. Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 480.
26. Letter by Garvey to the NAACP, 14 July 1922, located in NAACP Administrative File, Box C-04, LOC.
27. *Marcus Garvey Papers,* Vol. II, ed. Hill, 480.
28. Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism* (Jamaica: United Printers, Ltd., 1963), 46.
29. Meier and Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto,* 246–47.
30. James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (1930; New York: De Capo Press, 1991), 168.
31. Cronin, *Marcus Garvey,* 62, 63.
32. Fax, *Garvey,* 1.
33. Roi Ottley, "New World A-Coming," *Inside Black America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 76.
34. Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," in *The New Cultural History,* ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 133.
35. Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1969), 85–86.
36. See Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Vintage, 1976), 453.
37. A. F. Elmes, "Garvey and Garveyism—An Estimate," *Opportunity* 3 (May 1925), 140.
38. William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 2.
39. Found in *Federal Surveillance,* Reel 4.

40. Quoted in Stein, *Marcus Garvey,* 86.
41. Claude McKay, *Harlem: Negro Metropolis* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1940), 155.
42. Marcus Garvey's speech, 26 September 1919, Pittsburgh, PA; reprinted, 17 October 1919; *Federal Surveillance,* Reel 12.
43. For the full text of the UNIA "Declaration," see William L. Van Deburg, *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan* (New York: NYU Press, 1997), 24–31; and Marcus Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* Vol. II, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (New York: Atheneum, 1992), 135–143.
44. Marcus Garvey, quoted in Liz Mackie, *The Great Marcus Garvey* (Hertfordshire: Hansib Printing, Ltd., 1987), 116.
45. Ibid.
46. For an interesting discussion of Garvey's relationship to Booker T. Washington, see Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: Quill, 1967), 426; and Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism,* 26.
47. According to Theodore G. Vincent, in *Black Power and the Garvey Movement,* Garvey and Garveyites "held together an unprecedented black coalition which included cultural nationalists, political nationalists, opponents of organized religion (atheists, separatists, or simply reformers), advocates of armed rebellion, pacifists, women's liberation fighters, participants in Democratic and Republican machine politics, a smattering of left-wingers, many who wanted no contact with whites, and a small but significant number who wanted the UNIA to cooperate with integrated civil rights organizations to end discrimination and segregation" (20).
48. Cronin, *Black Moses,* 60–61. Robert H. Brisbane, in *The Black Vanguard,* adds to the list of products manufactured by Garvey's organization, noting: "'Garveyism' stimulated the first large-scale production and sales of black baby dolls in the country. UNIA executives and officials puffed on *Marcus Garvey* brand cigars; millinery shops owned by Garveyites offered a variety of styles in chic summer hats turned out by expert Negro designers; and steam laundries run by Garvey followers offered to do the family washing" (91).
49. Molefi Kete Asante, *Afrocentricity* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1992), 11.
50. Arnold L. Crawford, "Interview," 16–17 July 1975, Brooklyn, NY; in *Footsoldiers of the Universal Negro Improvement Association: Their Own Words,* ed. Jeannette Smith-Irvin (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1989), 57.
51. Garvey, "Letter to Mr. Darwin J. Messerole," 31 March 1924, NAACP Administrative File, Box C-304, Manuscript Division, LOC.
52. Quoted in Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions,* Vol. II, 65.
53. Stein, *Marcus Garvey,* 109.
54. "Editorial," *Negro World,* 15 April 1922, 4.
55. Stein, *Marcus Garvey,* 65.
56. Others of his organizations included the Universal African Legion, Universal Black Cross Nurses, Universal African Motor Corps, and the Black Eagle Flying Corps, each with their own uniforms and ceremonies. See the UNIA & African League Papers, Box 1, SC.
57. Truman Hughes Talley, "Garvey's 'Empire of Ethiopia,'" *World's Work* 41.3 (January 1921), 268.
58. Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890–1916* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 26.
59. "Editorial," *Negro World,* 9 September 1922, 4.

60. William H. Ferris, "Garvey and the Black Star Line," *Favorite Magazine* 4.6 (July 1920), 397.
61. Eric Walrond, "Imperator Africanus, Marcus Garvey: Menace or Promise?," *Independent* 114 (3 January 1925), 10.
62. Hall, *Black Separatism in the United States,* 73.
63. A. Philip Randolph, "Garveyism," *Messenger* 3.4 (September 1921), 248–252, presents a reasoned argument against Garveyism on the grounds that black capitalism was too nascent to compete favorably with the large national interests of the United States, England, France, and Germany, and that private corporations had already gained a foothold in Africa, one that would be too difficult to dislodge even by the collective energies of blacks worldwide.
64. Vincent, *Black Power,* 18.
65. Quoted in Mackie, *The Great Marcus Garvey,* 106.
66. Quoted in *Federal Surveillance,* Reel 12, from a speech by Garvey, 26 September 1919 (recorded in *Federal Surveillance,* 17 October 1919), at the Rodman Street Baptist Church, Pittsburgh.
67. Elmes, "Garvey and Garveyism," 140.
68. Quoted in Cary D. Wintz, ed., *African American Political Thought, 1890–1930* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), 204.
69. Walrond, "Imperator Africanus," 9.
70. Ronald M. Glassman, "Manufactured Charisma and Legitimacy," in *Charisma, History and Social Structure,* ed. Glassman and William H. Swatos (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 122.
71. Asante, *Afrocentricity,* 11.
72. Walrond, "Imperator Africanus," 9.
73. John Runcie, "Marcus Garvey and the Harlem Renaissance," in *The Harlem Renaissance: Analysis and Assessment, 1980–1994,* ed. Carl D. Wintz (New York: Garland Press, 1996), 326.
74. Max Weber, *Economy and Society* Vol. I & II, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), Vol. I, 241.
75. Hall, *Black Separatism,* 69.
76. Weber, *Economy and Society,* Vol. II, 1121–22.
77. Weber, "The Sociology of Charismatic Authority," *Economy and Society* Vol. III, chapter 9, quoted in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* ed. and tr. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (London: Routledge, 1948), 246.
78. Weber, *Economy and Society,* Vol. II, 1121.
79. Edward Shils, "Charisma, Order, and Status," *American Sociological Review* 30.1 (April 1965), 204.
80. E. J. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition,* ed. Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2, 3.
81. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Making of America* (New York Macmillan, 1969), 197.
82. Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism 1850–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 264.
83. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Back to Africa," *Century Magazine* 105.4 (February 1923), 539.
84. *The Messenger* 5.1 (January 1923), 561; McKay, *Harlem,* 9; *New York Age,* 19 August 1922, 4.
85. Schuyler and Lewis, "Shafts and Darts," *Messenger* 6 (July 1924), 213.

86. George Schuyler, *Black and Conservative* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1966), 120.
87. *New York Age,* 28 August 1920, 2.
88. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations,* tr. Harry Zohn (New York: Shocken, 1968), 241.
89. Cedric J. Robinson, in *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), suggests that Garvey's organization possessed "a protonational bureaucracy," wherein security forces, women auxiliaries, a national church, an international network of chapters, and the beginning of an economic base consisting of small businesses and services constituted the UNIA's infrastructure (314).
90. Ato Sekyi-Otu, *Fanon's Dialectic of Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 22.
91. Lewis, *Marcus Garvey,* 85–86.
92. Adrian Richardson, court testimony against Garvey, quoted in the *New York Amsterdam News,* 30 May 1923, 6.
93. Itabari Njeri, *The Last Plantation: Color, Conflict, and Identity: Reflections of a New Black World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997).
94. Judith Stein, "The Ideology and Practice of Garveyism," in *Garvey: His Work and Impact,* ed. Rupert Lewis and Patrick Bryan (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 1991), 209.
95. Gilroy, "Modern Tones," 107.
96. bell hooks, "Performance Practice as a Site of Opposition," in *Let's Get it On: The Politics of Black Performance,* ed. Catherine Ugwu (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995), 218.

CHAPTER NINE

1. Quoted in Arthur and Barbara Gelb, *O'Neill* (New York: Harper, 1962), 450; Louis Sheaffer, *O'Neill: Son & Artist* (New York: Paragon House, 1973), 37.
2. Eugene O'Neill, *The Emperor Jones* (1920) in *Nine Plays by Eugene O'Neill* (New York: Modern Library, 1941), 18.
3. Information on the tour can be found in the "Provincetown Scrapbook: The Emperor Jones Tour," BR.
4. *Boston Globe,* 28 March 1922, n.p., HTC.
5. Philip Hale, unidentified clipping, HTC.
6. It would be impossible to quote all the reviews here. Suffice it to say, they were all in agreement that Gilpin's performance was superlative. The 30-city tour included most major cities in the east and Midwest, as well as Canada and many smaller cities in New York State. See "Provincetown Scrapbook," BR; Gilpin File, SC; and John G. Monroe, "Charles Sidney Gilpin," M.A. Thesis, Hunter College, 1974.
7. Heywood Broun, *New York Tribune,* 4 November 1920, 8.
8. Kenneth MacGowan, *New York Globe,* 4 November 1920, n.p., HTC.
9. Alexander Woollcott, *New York Times,* 7 November 1920, sec. 2, pg. 1.
10. John G. Monroe, "Charles Gilpin and the Drama League Controversy," *Black American Literary Forum* 16 (1982), 141.
11. Laurilyn J. Harris, "Charles Gilpin: Opening the Way for the American Black Actor," *Theatre History Studies* 2 (1982), 100. Ridgely Torrence's *Three Play for a Negro Theatre* occurred three years prior to *The Emperor Jones.*
12. Quoted in Monroe, "Charles Sidney Gilpin," 87.

13. Gelb, *O'Neill,* 449; Sheaffer, *O'Neill,* 35.
14. *Cincinnati Times Star,* 2 February 1922, n.p., HTC.
15. See, "Letter to Michael Gold," [5/?/23], in, *Selected Letters,* ed. Travis Bogard and Jackson R. Bryer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 177. Years later, O'Neill changed his opinion of Gilpin, calling him the only actor "who carried out every notion of a character I had in mind." Quoted in M. W. Estrin, ed., *Conversations with Eugene O'Neill* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1990), 172.
16. O'Neill, *Selected Letters,* 177.
17. Harris, "Charles Gilpin," 99.
18. Moss Hart, *Act One* (New York: Random House, 1959), 104.
19. The only review I have uncovered that suggests anything remotely indicative of Gilpin's potential falling off comes from the *Pittsburgh Courier,* 20 March 1926. The paper's reviewer, H. W., reports that the revival of the play "is typical of its predecessor," in that it works effectively. However "Gilpin, although outstanding as a consummate artist," offers the "impression of a slight loss of enthusiasm in the role" (10).
20. *New York Evening Post, 7* February 1926, 14.
21. *Billboard* 38.47, 20 November 1926, 90.
22. *New York Amsterdam News,* 24 February 1926, n.p., Gilpin File, SC.
23. Sheaffer, *O'Neill,* 35. Sheaffer's view of Gilpin's behavior during performances of *The Emperor Jones* (which tour? which production?) was based entirely on observations of one source, Pauline H. Turkel, who worked with the Provincetown Group, but hardly knew Gilpin. Sheaffer failed to seek out Gilpin's opinion on the matter, leaving issues entirely one-sided.
24. James V. Hatch, "Here Comes Everybody: Scholarship and Black Theatre History," in *Interpreting the Theatrical Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance,* ed. Thomas Postlewait and Bruce A. McConachie (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989), 160.
25. See David Krasner, "Charles S. Gilpin: The Actor Before the Emperor," *Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 4.3 (Fall 1992), 62–75.
26. Theophilus Lewis, Gilpin file, SC.
27. Gilpin, from an interview with Mary B. Mullet, "Where Do I Go From Here?," *American Magazine* 91 (June 1921), 53.
28. W. A. L., "A Negro Genius in Greenwich Village," *Theatre Magazine* 33 (January 1921), 8.
29. Hart, *Act One,* 98.
30. Monroe, "Charles Gilpin and the Drama League Controversy," 141.
31. Quoted in Monroe, "Charles Sidney Gilpin," 86.
32. John Cooley, "In Pursuit of the Primitive: Black Portraits by Eugene O'Neill and Other Village Bohemians," in *The Harlem Renaissance Re-examined,* ed. Victor A. Kramer (AMS Press, 1987), 56.
33. John G. Monroe, "A Record of Black Theatre in New York City, 1920–1929," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1980, 97.
34. Crews, 17 May 1921; quoted in Sterling A. Brown, "The Negro on the Stage," in "The Negro in American Culture," Section D, unpublished research MS, Carnegie-Myrdal Study, 1940, p. 80, SC.
35. William Bridge's review, *Negro World,* 26 March 1921; quoted in Tony Martin, *Literary Garveyism: Garvey, Black Arts, and the Harlem Renaissance* (Dover, MA: Majority Press, 1983), 10.

36. Quoted in Monroe, *Charles Sidney Gilpin,* 63.
37. Roseann Pope Bell, "The Crisis and Opportunity Magazine: Reflections of a Black Culture, 1920 –1930," Ph.D. dissertation, Emory College, 1974, 166–7. The Howard University review, 3 June 25, 123, comes from a performance Gilpin gave as a benefit for the College. For a history of the benefit, see Kenneth MacGowan's article "Negro University Has Dramatic Department on Lines of Harvard's," Gilpin File, SC.
38. Diana N. Lockard wrote "if white audiences were fascinated by the "primitive" Emperor, many African Americans "disliked the play, either because they construed it as sociology, a study of the superstition and bestiality of their group, or because they resented the portrayal of a Negro criminal" (Lockard, "The Negro on the Stage of the Nineteen Twenties," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1960, 30–31).
39. Harvey M. Williamson, "The Gilpin Players," *Crisis* (1935), in Gilpin file, SC.
40. Jessie Fauset, "The Symbolism of Bert Williams," *Crisis* 24.1 (May 1922), 12.
41. William Stanley Braithwaite, "The Negro in American Literature," 35; Montgomery Gregory, "The Drama of Negro Life," 157; both in *The New Negro,* ed. Alain Locke (1925; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1992).
42. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Negro Art," *Crisis* 22.2 (June 1921), 56; "Krigwa Players," *Crisis* 32.3 (July 1926), 134. African Americans have generally expressed continuing dissatisfaction with the play. According to Cooley, *The Emperor Jones* "is an example of the way in which old racial clichés and myths were perpetuated, even in highly regarded literature" (Cooley, "In Pursuit of the Primitive," 53). Kathy A. Perkins writes that, while many "sympathized with the efforts of white writers" such as O'Neill, Marc Connelly, and Paul Green in their efforts to portray blacks dramatically, African Americans "felt that these plays lacked the 'true spirit and soul' of the Negro." Despite the claims of so-called authenticity, Perkins remarks "white-authored plays did not change substantially the prevailing view on blacks" (Perkins, ed., *Black Female Playwrights: An Anthology of Plays Before 1950* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990], 4). Along similar lines, Leslie Catherine Sanders notes that *The Emperor Jones* "established a pattern for white use of Negro material. The dramatic attraction of Negro figures lies in their primitiveness, which is imagined either as exotic or as innocent" (Sanders, *The Development of Black Theater in American* [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988], 9). Houston A. Baker, Jr., suggests that "if only O'Neill had bracketed the psycho-surreal final trappings of his Emperor's world and given us the stunning account of colonialism," then the play might contain some "intimacy and reverence" (Baker, *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987], 7). Nathan Irvin Huggins condemns the play unequivocally, observing that despite black objections to the play, no white critic "complained about *The Emperor Jones* for its reduction of the Negro to primitivism." Huggins's final comments about the play are quite severe: O'Neill's general statements about African Americans, he says, are "a testimony to the deep and unshakable tradition of Negro stereotype in the theatre" (Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* [London: Oxford University Press, 1971], 297, 297–98).
43. Malcolm X, quoted in Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Grove, 1965), 284.
44. Cooley, "In Pursuit of the Primitive," 54.
45. Eric Walrond, "The Word Nigger," *Negro World,* 4 February 1922, 4, also quoted in *African Fundamentalism,* ed. Tony Martin (Dover, MA: Majority Press, 1983), 100–101.

46. Lester A. Walton, *New York Age,* 9 January 1924, 6.
47. Edgar M. Gray, 17 February 1921, quoted in Brown, "The Negro on the Stage," 79, SC.
48. O'Neill, *The Emperor Jones,* 20.
49. See Fannin Saffore Belcher, Jr., "The Place of the Negro in the Evolution of the American Theatre, 1767 to 1940," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1945, 364.
50. See Gilpin file, SC.
51. "Man of the Month," *Crisis* 21.4 (February 1921), 171–72.
52. *New York Age,* 30 April 1921, 6.
53. Quoted in Monroe, "Gilpin and the Drama League," 141. See also, James Weldon Johnson, "The Gilpin Incident," *New York Age,* 26 February 1921, 4.
54. See Monroe, "Gilpin and the Drama League," for a detailed discussion of the controversy. See also an editorial in the *Messenger* 3.3 (March 1921), 203–204, which challenged Gilpin to react more militantly.
55. *New York Age,* 25 November 1922, 6.
56. Clipping, Gilpin file, HB. This quote ought to cast doubt on anything Gilpin may have been quoted as saying to white members of *The Emperor Jones*'s cast.
57. *New York Age,* 25 November 1922, 6.
58. Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination,* ed. Michael Holquist, tr. Caryl Emerson and Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 271.
59. Toni Morrison, "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature," *Michigan Quarterly Review* 28.4 (1987), 11.
60. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., *Bearing Witness: Selections from African-American Autobiography in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1991), 4.
61. On Gilpin's stationery, the following appears in the letterhead: "Chas. S. Gilpin: Character Comedian. Author of 'Her Other Husband,' 'Matrimony and Insurance,' and others," Gilpin file, HTC. *The NY Amsterdam News* obituary (14 May 1930, n.p., Gilpin file, SC) adds another play, "Listen, Dearie."
62. Haywood Broun, *New York Tribune,* 4 November 1920, 8.
63. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* 31 November 1921, 8.
64. *Vogue,* 1 January 1921, BR.
65. Clipping, Gilpin file, HB.
66. Dick Meade, *Toledo Blade,* 9 January 1922, 15–16.
67. Gilbert Seldes, *Boston Evening Transcript,* 8 November 1920, 15–16.
68. Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 223–24.
69. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *The Signifying Monkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 52.
70. *Cincinnati Times Star,* 2 February 1922, HTC.
71. Deborah R. Geis, *Postmodern Theatric(k)s: Monologue in Contemporary American Drama* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 33, 34.
72. Henry T. Sampson, *The Ghost Walks: A Chronological History of Blacks in Show Business, 1965–1910* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1988), 526.
73. Lester A. Walton, *New York Age,* 6 January 1916, 6.
74. Walton, *New York Age,* 30 April 1921, 6.
75. Alexander Woollcott, *New York Times,* 28 December 1920, 9.
76. David Carb, "To See Or Not To See," *Bookman* 59 (July 1924), 582. See also the *Pittsburgh Courier,* 17 May 1924, which reported that while "it is next to impossible

to mention, or even think of this play without speaking or thinking of Charles Gilpin," Robeson's interpretation of the role "left nothing to be desired" (8).

77. Lee Strasberg, "Introduction," *The Paradox of Acting & Masks or Faces?* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1957), xiii.
78. "Gilpin Wants to Play Comedy," *Boston Transcript,* 1922, n.p., HTC. The song is from May Irwin's "Bully Song," words and music by Charles E. Trevathan (White-Smith Music Publishers, Inc., Boston, 1896).
79. Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre,* tr. & ed. John Willett (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), 277.
80. Ronald Wainscott, *Staging O'Neill: The Experimental Years, 1920–1934 (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 57.
81. Clipping, HB.
82. Belcher, *Place of the Negro,* 375.
83. "Drama League Dinner Causes Discussion of the Color Line," *New York Age,* 26 February 1921, 6.
84. Clipping, Gilpin file, HB.
85. Ibid.
86. New *York Age,* 25 November 1922, 6.

CHAPTER TEN

1. Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 194.
2. Walter Prichard Eaton, "Introduction," *Washington Square Plays* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1917), xi.
3. Nellie McKay, "Black Theater and Drama in the 1920s: Years of Growing Pains," *Massachusetts Review* 28.4 (Winter 1987), 615–26.
4. Ridgely Torrence's three one-act plays opened on Broadway in 1917, running for one month. See Susan Curtis, *The First Black Actors on the Great White Way* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998).
5. For a discussion about the rise of national stages, see Loren Kruger, *The National Stage: Theatre and Cultural Legitimation in England, France, and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
6. For a discussion about black actors at the turn of the century, see David Krasner, *Resistance, Parody, and Double Consciousness in African American Theatre, 1895–1910* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). For another interesting observation of black performers, see Barbara L. Webb, "The Black Dandyism of George Walker: A Case Study in Genealogical Method," *TDR* 45.4 (Winter 2001), 7–24.
7. Theophilus Lewis, "Main Problems of the Negro Theatre," *Messenger* 9.7 (July 1927), 229.
8. Ibid.
9. "Why Not a Negro Drama for Negroes By Negroes," *Current Opinion* 72.5 (May 1922), 640.
10. Wallace V. Jackson, "The Negro Stage," *Messenger* 5.6 (June 1923), 746.
11. Postcard from Anna Julia Cooper to Alain Locke (12 May ?), Alain Locke Papers, Box 164–21, folder 53, MS.
12. John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Brace and Howe, 1920), 297.

13. Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 106.
14. Morrell Heald, "Business Thought in the Twenties: Social Responsibility," *American Quarterly* 13.2 (Summer 1961), 126.
15. See, for instance, the documents in *The Culture of the Twenties,* ed. Loren Baritz (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, Co., 1970).
16. Glenn Hughes, *A History of American Theatre, 1700–1950* (New York: Samuel French, 1951), 355.
17. H. L. Mencken, "Getting Rid of the Actors," *Smart Set* (1911), in *H. L. Mencken's Smart Set Criticism,* ed. William H. Nolte (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), 54.
18. See, for instance, Arthur Frank Wertheim, "The Little Theatre Movement," in Wertheim, *The New York Little Renaissance: Iconoclasm, Modernism, and Nationalism in American Culture, 1908–1917* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 149–163.
19. George Cram "Jig" Cook, quoted in Susan Glaspell, *The Road to the Temple* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, Co., 1927), 263.
20. The Abbey Theatre toured the United States during the 1911–1912 season. Stanislavsky's Moscow Art Theatre appeared in 1923 and 1924.
21. Adele Heller, "The New Theatre," in *1915: The Cultural Moment,* ed. Heller and Lois Rudnick (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 221.
22. For an interesting study on the rise and fall of the Chicago Little Theatre, see Dale Kramer, *Chicago Renaissance: The Literary Life in the Midwest, 1900–1930* (New York: Appleton–Century, 1966), 192–96, 310–12.
23. Sheldon Cheney, *The New Movement in the Theatre* (1914; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971), 14, 93. See, also, Cheney, *The Art Theatre* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1917, 1925), and Constance D'Arcy Mackay, *The Little Theatre in the United States* (New York: Henry Holt, and Co., 1917), for an overview of the period's Little Theatre Movement.
24. See, for instance, Gregory Holmes Singleton, "Birth, Rebirth, and the 'New Negro' of the 1920s," *Phylon* 43.1 (March 1982), 29–45, for an interesting discussion on the concept of "rebirth" and the "new" during the Harlem Renaissance.
25. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The New Negro Theater," *New York Call,* 22 April 1917, 6.
26. Eric Walrond, "Growth of the Negro Theatre," *Theatre Magazine* 41 (October 1925), 20.
27. Theophilus Lewis, "Survey of the Negro Theatre—III," *Messenger* 7.10 (October 1926), 302.
28. Montgomery Gregory, "The Drama of Negro Life," in *The New Negro,* ed. Alain Locke (1925; New York: Atheneum, 1992), 159.
29. For a study of the Lafayette Theatre, see Sister Mary Francesca Thompson, "The Lafayette Players 1915–1932," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972; for a study of the Krigwa, see Ethel Pitts Walker, "Krigwa, A Theatre By, For, and About Black People," *Theatre Journal* 40.3 (October 1988), 347–56; for a study of the Lincoln Theatre, see Richard Newman, "The Lincoln Theatre: Once a Carnival of Merrymaking," in Newman, *Words Like Freedom: Essays on African-American Culture and History* (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 1996), 93–97; for a history of African American theatre in New York, see John Gilbert Monroe, "A Record of the Black Theatre in New York City," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1980; and for a study of the Karamu House Theatre, see Rueben

Silver, "A History of the Karamu Theatre of the Karamu House, 1915–1960," Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1961.

30. John G. Monroe, "The Harlem Little Theatre Movement, 1920–1929," *Journal of American Culture* 6.4 (Winter 1983), 69.
31. Theophilus Lewis, "Same Old Blues," *Messenger* 7.1 (January 1925), 14.
32. Lewis, "The Theater: The Souls of Black Folk," *The Messenger* 8.10 (October 1926), 302. For an illuminating review of Lewis and African American theatre, see Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., "Theophilus Lewis and the Theater of the Harlem Renaissance," in *The Harlem Renaissance Remembered,* ed. Arna Bontemps (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1972), 171–189.
33. Lewis, "Same Old Blues," 14.
34. "Harlem, the Hooch-Seller's Paradise, By the Evidence," *New York Age,* 21 April 1923, 1.
35. Salem Tutt Whitney, "The Colored Thespian," *Competitor* 1.1 (January 1920), 57.
36. Romeo Dougherty, "About Things Theatrical," *Amsterdam News,* 11 March 1925, 5.
37. "Editorial," *Messenger* 7.1 (January 1925), 20.
38. Du Bois, "The Colored Audience," *Crisis* 12.5 (September 1916), 217.
39. Eulalie Spence, "A Criticism of the Negro Drama," *Opportunity* 6 (June 1928), 180.
40. There appears to be some discrepancy as to who starred in *Rosanne.* According to Lester A. Walton, Charles Gilpin appeared in the role (*New York Age,* 15 March 1924, 6). However, subsequent announcements about the play state that Robeson assumed the leading role.
41. Paul Robeson interviewed by Floyd J. Calvin, *Pittsburgh Courier,* 8 January 1927, sec. 2, pg. 2.
42. See, for instance, the rise of the Ethiopian Art Theatre School (no connection to the Ethiopian Art Players), *New York Age,* 22 March and 28 June 1924, 6; and "Dramatic Art School Opens in Chicago," *Baltimore Afro-American,* 4 April 1919, 1.
43. Theophilus Lewis, "Magic Hours in the Theatre," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 26 February 1927: sec. 2, pg. 2.
44. Theophilus Lewis, review of Em Jo Basshe's *Earth,* "They Call This Negro Drama," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 2 April 1927: sec. 2, pg. 2.
45. Eugene O'Neill, "Letter to A. Philip Randolph," *Messenger* 7.1 (January 1925), 17.
46. Lovett Fort-Whiteman, "Drama," *Messenger* 5 (1923), 671.
47. Randolph Edmonds, "Some Reflections on the Negro in American Drama," *Opportunity* 8.10 (October 1930), 303.
48. Steven Gregory, "Race, Identity and Political Activism: The Shifting Contours of the African American Public Sphere," in *The Black Public Sphere* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 157. This book was reprinted from *Public Culture* 7.1 (Fall 1994), 153.
49. Du Bois, "Krigwa Players Little Negro Theatre," *Crisis* 32.3 (July 1926), 134.
50. Program note, Krigwa Players, circa 1926, BR.
51. Walter F. White, "Color Line," *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (March 1925), 681.
52. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society,* tr. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991). See also Michael C. Dawson's excellent description of the "black counterpublic," in *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 35–42.
53. Habermas, *Structural Transformation,* 25–26.

54. Ibid., 106.
55. Hubert H. Harrison, *When Africa Awakes: The "Inside Story" of the Stirrings and Strivings of the New Negro in the Western World* (New York: Porro Press, 1920), 14, 41.
56. "Ninth Annual Report for 1918," *The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,* edited by *Crisis* (New York, January 1919), 22.
57. "Editorial: Way to Build a Race," *New York Age,* 17 February 1923, 4.
58. James de Jongh, *Vicious Modernism: Black Harlem and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 8.
59. Eugene Gordon, "The Negro Press," *American Mercury,* 8 June 1926, 213.
60. Charles S. Johnson, "The Rise of the Negro Magazine," *Journal of Negro History* 13.1 (January 1928), 7.
61. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), 397.
62. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945, 1993), 17.
63. Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere,* tr. Peter Labanyi (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 2.
64. Mary Ryan, "Gender and Public Access: Women's Politics in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere,* ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 264. For another critique of Habermas, see *The Phantom Public Sphere,* ed. Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
65. Thomas C. Holt raises the point that Habermas's notions of the public sphere can "provide a powerful entry into the interrelatedness of matters" that appear "disparate and unconnected" given the complexities and multiplicities of black public life (Holt, "Afterwards: Mapping the Black Public Sphere," in *The Black Public Sphere,* 326).
66. Alain Locke, *The New Negro,* 7.
67. See Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action: Lifeworld and System,* Vol. II, tr. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), 126.
68. Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalization of Society,* Vol. I, tr. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), 13.
69. Habermas, *Communication and the Evolution of Society,* tr. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976), 3.
70. Alain Locke, "The High Cost of Prejudice," *The Forum* 78.4 (October 1927), 504–505.
71. Editorial, "Northern Employment and Migration," *New York Age,* 6 October 1923, 4.
72. Habermas, *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action,* tr. Christian Lenhardt and Shierry Weber Nicholsen (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 135.
73. Habermas, "Remarks on the Concept of Communicative Action," in *Social Action,* ed. Gottfried Seebass and Raimo Tuomela (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1985), 167.
74. "*[D]er Genius der Sprache ist also auch der Genius von der Literatur einer Nation,*" Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Sämtliche Werke I,* ed. B. Supham (Berlin: Weidmann, 1877), 148.
75. "Editorial: On Writing About Negroes," *Opportunity* 3.32 (August 1925), 227.
76. J. Martin Favor, *Authentic Blackness: The Folk in the New Negro Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 12.
77. See, for instance, Brenda Ray Moryck, "A Point of View," *Opportunity* 3.32 (August 1925), 246–249, 251–252. Moryck warns that there is a danger "in confining a

writer to certain limits." Writers, she argues, should write freely about any subject and not confine themselves to single subjects.

78. The final three questions can be found in *The New Negro Renaissance,* ed. Arthur P. Davis and Michael W. Peplow (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), 464.
79. Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," *The Nation* 122.318, 23 June 1926, 692, 694; George S. Schuyler, "The Negro-Art Hokum," *The Nation* 122.319, 16 June 1926, 662.
80. James Weldon Johnson, "The Dilemma of the Negro Author," *American Mercury* 15.60 (December 1928), 477.
81. James Weldon Johnson, "Preface," *The Book of Negro Poetry* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1922), xl.
82. Ibid., xli.
83. Rebecca T. Cureau, "Towards an Aesthetic of Black Folk Expression," in *Alain Locke: Reflections on a Modern Renaissance Man,* ed. Russell J. Linnemann (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 77.
84. W. A. Domingo, "What Are We, Negroes or Colored People," *Messenger* 2.6 (May–June 1919), 24.
85. William E. Ready, "Letter to the *Age,* 14 February 1920," *New York Age,* 28 February 1920, 1, 2.
86. "Editorial," *Messenger* 2.7 (August 1920), 74.
87. Symposium, "The Negro in Art: How Shall He Be Portrayed?'" *Crisis* 31.5 (March 1926), 219. The symposium ran from April to November (excluding July). Contributors included Carl van Vechten, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, Langston Hughes, Georgia Douglas Johnson, Alfred Knopf, H. L. Mencken, DuBose Heyward, Mary W. Ovington, J. E. Spingarn, Countee Cullen, and Walter White, among others.
88. For a study on the significance of "authenticity" in American life, see Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
89. Daniel Joseph Singal, "Towards a Definition of American Modernism," *American Quarterly* 39.1 (Spring 1987), 14.
90. Montgomery Gregory, "The Drama of Negro Life," *The New Negro,* 159.
91. "Editorial: On Writing About Negroes," 228.
92. Du Bois, "Krigwa, 1926," *Crisis* 31.3 (January 1926), 115.
93. Arthur A. Schomburg, "The Negro Digs Up His Past," *Survey Graphic* 6.6 (March 1925), 670.
94. Du Bois, "Criteria of Negro Art," *Crisis* 32.6 (October 1926), 296.
95. Ross Posnock, *Color & Culture: Black Writers and the Making of the Modern Intellectual* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 139.
96. Ibid., 142.
97. Du Bois, "Criteria," 292.
98. Du Bois, "The Negro and the American Stage," *Crisis* 28.3 (July 1924), 56, 57.
99. Du Bois, "Criteria," 292.
100. In 1926, the Governor of Pennsylvania, Gifford Pinchot, was planning a pageant to commemorate for his state the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Having completed his final presentation of *The Star of Ethiopia* in Los Angeles the year before, Du Bois attempted to persuade the governor to add a dramatic presentation of the role of black people in the state's history.

While the Governor rejected Du Bois's plea, it is significant to note that Du Bois had considered another presentation of his pageant *The Star of Ethiopia* at the time he wrote "Criteria for Negro Art." See Du Bois's letter to Governor Pinchot, 8 May 1926, in *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois: Vol. I,* ed. Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 336–37.

101. Du Bois, "A Negro Art Renaissance," *Los Angeles Times,* 14 June 1925, 26.
102. Du Bois, "Negro Art," *Crisis* 22.2 (June 1921), 55.
103. "Letter to Van Vechten," 5 November 1925, in *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois, Vol. I,* 325.
104. Du Bois, "Criteria," 296.
105. Du Bois, "Review of Marc Connelly's *Green Pastures,*" *Crisis* 37.5 (May 1930), 162.
106. Du Bois, "Criteria," 296. For an interesting discussion on the failure of Du Bois to clarify his concept of beauty, see Darwin T. Turner, "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Theory of a Black Aesthetic," in *Critical Essays on W. E. B. Du Bois,* ed. William L. Andrews (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1985), 73–92.
107. Du Bois, "Criteria," 297.
108. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (1935; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1992), 721, 727.
109. Robert E. Washington, *The Ideologies of African American Literature: From the Harlem Renaissance to the Black Nationalist Revolt* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 41.
110. David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919–1963* (New York: Henry Holt, and Co., 2000), 162, 175.
111. Du Bois, "Can the Negro Serve Drama?," *Theatre Magazine* 38 (July 1923), 68.
112. Du Bois, "Criteria," 297.
113. Du Bois, "Negro Art," 55.
114. Du Bois, "Criteria," 297.
115. Roman Jakobson, "On Realism in Art," *Language in Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 20.
116. Montgomery Gregory, "For a Negro Theatre," *The New Republic,* 16 November 1921, 350.
117. James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (1930; New York: Da Capo, 1991), 170.
118. Ibid., 175.
119. Lester A. Walton, "Negro Actors Make Debut in Drama at Garden Theatre," *New York Age,* 12 April 1917, 1. According to Susan Curtis, in *The First Black Actors,* the short run of the plays was due largely to the racism of the time, and not necessarily because of the war.
120. George Jean Nathan, "Negro Drama," *American Mercury* 17 (May 1929), 117–18; Sterling Brown, *Negro Poetry and Drama* (Washington, D.C.: Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1937), 118. Brown was specifically referring to *Porgy* (1927); however, his comments could apply to most of the white-authored plays.
121. Lester A. Walton, "Across the Footlights," *The Southern Workman* 57.11 (November 1928), 437.
122. Quoted in the *Daily News* "Obituary," February, 1974, 54, Lafayette Theatre file, BR; and in Thompson, *The Lafayette Players,* 147. For a biography of Walton, see Artee Felicita Young, "Lester Walton: Black Theatre Critic," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1980.
123. For a history of the Quality Amusement Corporation, see Bernard L. Peterson, *The African American Theatre Directory, 1816–1960* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 171–172.

124. Lester A. Walton, *New York Age,* 17 January 1920, 6.
125. See Monroe, *A Record of the Black Theatre,* 14.
126. Theophilus Lewis, "Magic Hours in the Theatre," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 12 March 1927, sec. 2, pg. 2.
127. Thompson, *The Lafayette Players,* 270.
128. See Addell Austin Anderson, "The Ethiopian Art Theatre," *Theatre Survey* 33.2 (November 1992), 132–143; and Jane T. Peterson, "Pride and Prejudice: The Demise of the Ethiopian Art Theatre," *Theatre History Studies* 14 (1994), 141–149. Peterson takes a dimmer view of O'Neil than Anderson, blaming him for a series of compromises and indecisions that eventually led to the disintegration of the company.
129. W. E. Clark, "Negro Press Refused to Be Segregated at 'Salome,'" *New York Age,* 23 May 1923, 6.
130. See the *Amsterdam News,* 30 May 1923, 5, and the *New York Age,* 21 April 1923, 6.
131. W. E. Clark, "Harlem Audiences Spoil Strong Drama Given By Chicago Colored Players," *New York Age,* 28 April 1923, 6.
132. See Garvin interview of Willis Richardson, 21 July 1974, HB.
133. According to Willis Richardson, the production opened the first week to good reviews and box office success. However, the producer-director Raymond O'Neil decided to change the bill after the first week, adding Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors.* This change "almost caused a riot," since paying costumers had not anticipated the alteration. "People demanded their money back," Richardson said, and O'Neil "left the [Ethiopian Art] Players stranded in New York." Richardson, Garvin interview (1974).
134. Floyd J. Calvin, "Evelyn Preer," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 16 April 1927, sec. 2, pg. 1.
135. Lester A. Walton, *New York Age,* 21 April 1923, 6; Percy Hammond, "The Theatres," *New York Tribune,* 13 May 1923, sec. 6, pg. 1. For a biographical portrait of Preer, see Francesca Thompson, "Evelyn Preer," in *Notable Women in the American Theatre: A Biographical Dictionary,* ed. Alice M. Robinson et al. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 731–35.
136. "At the Lafayette," *New York Age,* 21 April 1923, 6.
137. Oscar Micheaux, *New York Age,* 26 November 1932, 1.
138. John Corbin, "Jewels in Ethiope's Ear," *New York Times,* 20 May 1923, sec. 7, pg. 1.
139. Abram L. Harris, "The Ethiopian Art Players and the Nordic Complex," *Messenger* 5.7 (July 1923), 775.
140. See "President Harding and Social Equality," *The Nation* 113.2941, 16 November 1921), 561.
141. Lothrop Stoddard, "Impasse at the Color-Line: Should the Negro Be Encouraged to Cultural Equality," *The Forum* 78.4 (October 1927), 513.
142. The production, under the direction of David Belasco's Sixth Annual Little Theatre tournament at the Frolic Theatre on 7 May, was fraught with problems. Burrill was displeased by the ending, which was added on without her consent. See *Strange Fruit: Plays on Lynching by American Women,* ed. Kathy A. Perkins and Judith Stephens (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 79.
143. See, for instance, "Anti-Negro Riots Due to Labor Causes," *New York Times,* 8 July 1917, 5. For a comprehensive report of the riot, see Elliott M. Rudwick, *Race Riot at East St. Louis* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964).
144. Oscar Leonard, "The East St. Louis Pogrom," *Survey* 38 (14 July 1917), 331.
145. Du Bois, "Returning Soldiers," *Crisis* 18.1 (May 1919), 14. Though written one month after Burrill published *Aftermath,* Burrill was influenced by other similar de-

mands for justice in the black press. See, for instance, Walter F. White, "The Work of a Mob," *Crisis* 16.5 (September 1918), 221–223. Burrill, moreover, knew Du Bois and was aware of his sentiments for some time.

146. Du Bois, "History," *Crisis* 18.1 (May 1919), 11.
147. Mary P. Burrill, *Aftermath,* quoted from *Liberator* 2.4 (April 1919), 12.
148. Ibid., 14.
149. Garland Anderson, *My Experiences in Writing and Having "Appearances" Produced,* (1925?), manuscript located at the Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Collection, SC.
150. Text of the play is located at the New York Public Library at 42nd St., microfilm division. From the marginal cues and notes on the pages, the text appears to be a stage manager's copy.
151. J. A. Rogers, "Garland Anderson Invades the East," *Messenger* 7.6 (June 1925), 233.
152. *New York Times,* 15 October 1925, 27.
153. See, for instance, Emma Lue Sayers's review of the play in the *Pittsburgh Courier,* 23 April 1927, sec. 2, pg. 3.
154. William E. Clark, "Krigwa Players Show Remarkable Progress as 2nd Season Opens," *New York Age,* 29 January 1927, 6.
155. Eulalie Spence, interviewed by Joshua Carter, 22 August 1973, HB.
156. Eulalie Spence, "A Criticism of Negro Drama," 180.
157. *The Pot Maker* was published in the February issue of *Crisis* in 1927, *Purple Flower* in January 1928, and *Exit: An Illusion,* in October 1929.
158. Ronald Wainscott raises the significant point that in the heyday of American expressionism, the term "expressionism" itself was "less descriptive of a movement or specific style than an artistic umbrella for a host of nonrealistic experiments" (Wainscott, *The Emergence of American Theater,* 1914–1929 [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997], 2).
159. Errol Hill, "The Revolutionary Tradition in Black Drama," *Theatre Journal* 38.4 (December 1986), 419.
160. Marita O. Bonner, *The Purple Flower,* quoted from *Crisis* 35.1 (January 1928), 9.
161. Ibid., 29.
162. Ibid.
163. Ibid.
164. Samuel A. Hay, *African American Theatre: An Historical and Critical Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2.
165. James Weldon Johnson, "The Negro Actor," *New York Age,* 6 May 1922, 4.
166. Ibid.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Rawick, *American Slave,* 4:142, pt. 3; quoted in Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 266.
2. Al Rose, *Eubie Blake* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1979), 72.
3. Allen Woll, *Black Musical Theatre: From Coontown to Dreamgirls* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989, reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1991), 60.
4. *Shuffle Along,* copyright 1921, p. 43, music by Blake, lyrics by Sissle, libretto by Miller and Lyles. Original copy found in the Music Division, LOC.

5. Bernard L. Peterson, Jr., *Profiles of African American Stage Performers and Theatre People, 1816–1960* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 184.
6. Mel Watkins, *On the Real Side: Laughing, Lying, and Signifying* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 161.
7. Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 350.
8. Al Rose, in *Eubie Blake,* reported that it "took a considerable amount of courage to offer any kind of a show on Broadway considering the caliber of the competition that year" (72–73).
9. Lester A. Walton, "Negroes' Dream Realized as Race Plays on Broadway," *New York World,* 23 November 1924, 9.
10. For details, see Wesley C. Mitchell's "Review" in *Recent Economic Changes in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929); quoted in *The Responsibilities of Power, 1900–1929,* ed. George Harmon Knoles (New York: Free Press, 1967), 272–317, especially pg. 286.
11. Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 149.
12. See also William M. Tuttle, Jr., "Views of a Negro During 'The Red Summer' of 1919," *Journal of Negro History* 51.3 (July 1966), 209.
13. James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way* (1933; reprint, New York: Penguin, 1990), 341.
14. Scott Ellsworth, quoted in "Panel Recommends Reparations in Long-Ignored Tulsa Race Riot," *New York Times,* 5 February 2000, A1, A12. See also Ellsworth, *Death in a Promised Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); Tim Madigan, *The Burning: Massacre, Destruction, and the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001); and James S. Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance: The Tulsa Race War and Its Legacy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002).
15. Walter F. White, "The Eruption of Tulsa," *The Nation* 112.2921 (29 June 1921), 909.
16. Why Jazz Sends Us Back to the Jungle," *Current Opinion* 65.3 (September 1918), 165; "Jazz," *Living Age Magazine* 306.21 July 1920, 280–281; and Clive Bell, "Plus De Jazz," *New Republic,* 21 September 1921, 93.
17. William L. Mayer, President of the Pittsburgh Musicians Union, quoted in "'Death to Jazz,' Cries Union Musician Head in Pittsburgh," *Variety,* 25 November 1921, 6.
18. Clipping, dated 18 September 1921, *Shuffle Along* file, HTC.
19. Robert Kimball and William Bolcom, *Reminiscing with Sissle and Blake* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), 88.
20. Flournoy E. Miller, unpublished autobiography, Flournoy Miller Collection, in the Helen Armstead-Johnson Collection, Box I, SC.
21. Eubie Blake, "Once & Future King of Ragtime," *New York Post,* 3 July 1975, 47.
22. Interview of Blake, quoted in Marshall and Jean Sterns, *Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance* (New York: Da Capo, 1994), 136.
23. Noble Sissle, unpublished autobiography, Flournoy Miller Collection, Box II, ms pg. 4–5, SC. Some of the printed text is written over and corrected by hand.
24. *New York Times,* 23 May 1921, 16.
25. *New York Herald,* 24 May 1921, 11.
26. *New York Evening Post,* 24 May 1921, 7; *New York World,* 23 May 1921, 11.
27. *Theatre Magazine* (August 1921), 98.

28. Alan Dale, "'Shuffle Along' Full of Pep and Real Melody," *New York American,* 25 May 1921, n.p., quoted in *Reminiscing with Sissle and Blake,* 99.
29. Blake, quoted in *Reminiscing with Sissle and Blake,* 94, 95.
30. Lester A. Walton, "*Shuffle Along* Latest Musical Gem to Invade Broadway," *New York Age,* 4 June 1921, 6.
31. Rose, *Eubie Blake,* 79.
32. Lester A. Walton, "'Shuffle Along' is in Its Sixth Month Run," *New York Age,* 15 October 1921, 6.
33. Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea* (1940; reprint, New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 223, 224.
34. Bordman, *American Musical Theatre,* 360.
35. Eubie Blake file, BR; quoted in Woll, 65.
36. Lester A. Walton, "'Shuffle Along' Latest Musical Gem to Invade Broadway," *New York Age,* 4 June 1921, 6.
37. See David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem was in Vogue* (New York: Penguin, 1979, 1997), 96.
38. Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 289, 291.
39. Susan Gubar, *Race Changes: White Skin, Black Face in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 118.
40. Theophilus Lewis, "Survey of the Negro [in Theatre]: No. II," *The Messenger* 8.9 (September 1926), 278.
41. *Boston [Evening] Transcript,* 31 July 1922, Sec. 2, pg. 3.
42. Bernard L. Peterson, Jr., *A Century of Musicals in Black and White* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 312.
43. *Shuffle Along,* 2.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., 3.
46. Ibid., 7.
47. Ibid., 10.
48. Ibid., 10–11.
49. Ibid., 16.
50. See C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford, 1974), 85.
51. *Shuffle Along,* 38.
52. Helen Armstead-Johnson, "*Shuffle Along:* Keynote of the Harlem Renaissance," in *The Theatre of Black Americans,* ed. Errol Hill (New York: Applause, 1980, 1987), 133.
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54. Walton, "*Shuffle Along* Latest Musical Gem," 6.
55. Sissle, quoted in *Reminiscing with Sissle and Black,* 93.
56. *Shuffle Along,* 43.
57. Ibid.
58. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse, The Marx-Engels Reader,* ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 254.
59. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 4.

60. Paul Laurence Dunbar, "We Wear the Mask," (1895), quoted in *African-American Poetry of the Nineteenth Century: An Anthology,* ed. John R. Sherman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 402.
61. *Nation,* 30 May 1867, quoted in *Slave Songs of the United States,* ed. William Frances Allen et al. (1867; reprint, New York: Dover, 1995), xiv. See also Marcel W. F. Allen, *Nation,* 14 December 1865, 744–45, reprinted in Bruce Jackson, *The Negro and Early Folklore in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1967), 79, which supplies first-hand accounts of the ring shout.
62. Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., "Ring Shout! Literary Studies, Historical Studies, and Black Music Inquiry," in *Signifyin(g), Santifyin', and Slam Dunking: A Reader in African American Expressive Culture,* ed. Gena Dagel Caponi (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 136. See also, Robert Winslow Gordon, "Negro 'Shouts' from Georgia," in *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel,* ed. Alan Dundes (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1990), 445–451.
63. Harold Courlander, *Negro Folk Music U. S. A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 195.
64. Rawick, American Slave, 4:142, pt. 3; quoted in Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks,* 266.
65. Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory & the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 12, 24, 57, 85. Eileen Southern adds that the ring shout was a "means of communication with God" where shouters "reached the highest level of worship when the Holy Spirit entered their bodies and took possession of their souls" (Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1997, third ed.] 183.
66. Eubie Blake, interview, quoted in Marshall and Jean Sterns, *Jazz Dance,* 134.
67. *Shuffle Along,* 46.
68. Miller, interview quoted in Marshall and Jean Sterns, *Jazz Dance,* 133.
69. *Shuffle Along,* 48.
70. Joseph Wood Krutch, *The Modern Temper* (1924; San Diego: Harcourt Brace, and Co., 1957), 24.
71. Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001), x.
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76. Ibid., 61.
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80. Quoted in an interview of Noble Sissle during James V. Hatch's black drama class at City College of New York, 7 March 1972. From the oral history collection at HB, noted on page 3 of the recorded transcript.
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84. George Tichenor, "Colored Lines," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 14.6 (June 1930), 485, 490.
85. Hughes, *The Big Sea,* 225.
86. Ann Douglas, *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (New York: Noonday Press, 1995), 378.
87. Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance,* 261.
88. Flournoy E. Miller, notes to his unpublished autobiography, Miller Collection, Box I, SC.
89. Hubert H. Harrison, "Negro Society and the Negro Stage, Preamble," *The Voice* (19 September 1917); quoted in *A Hubert Harrison Reader,* ed. Jeffrey B. Perry (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 373.
90. *Amsterdam News,* 14 March 1923, 5.
91. Harrison, "Negro Society and the Negro Stage, Part 2," *The Voice* (3 October 1917), 5, 8; quoted in *A Hubert Harrison Reader,* 373–74.
92. Ibid., 374.
93. Ibid., 375.
94. Ibid.
95. See E. M. Woods, *The Negro in Etiquette: A Novelty* (St. Louis: Buxton & Skinner, 1899), as an example of books advocating "Negro decorum." For an excellent study of the "uplift movement," see Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
96. See, for example, Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880–1920* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 345.
97. The play is referenced in Flournoy Miller's unpublished autobiography, where he comments that the drama "packed the house," though "the admission [price] was small and only eight shows a week, therefore the financial returns were disappointing." Miller Collection, Box II, SC. A handwritten account, slightly different, can be found in Box I, SC.
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99. Duse Mohamed Ali, "The Flat Below," *Negro World,* 20 May 1922, 6.
100. Miller and Lyles, quoted in the *Empire State Gazette,* 25 July 1926, and the *New York Tribune,* 16 May 1926, found in Reel 17, AG.
101. Bert Williams, "The Comic Side of Trouble," *American Magazine,* 85.1 (January 1918), 34.
102. Ibid., 33. For a biography of Williams, see Eric Ledell Smith, *Bert Williams: A Biography of the Pioneer Black Comedian* (Jefferson, N. C.: McFarland and Co., 1992).
103. For an interesting discussion on the paradox of performance and its emotional effect on an audience, see Noël Carroll, *The Philosophy of Horror, or Paradoxes of the Heart* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
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105. Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* [*Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten,* 1905], tr. James Strachey (New York: Penguin, 1960) 262, 261.

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112. Vincent, *Keep Cool,* 58.
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118. For a chart and map of these theatres, see Anthony Hill, *Pages from the Harlem Renaissance: A Chronicle of Performance* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 69–71. For a list of TOBA theatres, see Nadine George-Graves, *The Royalty of Negro Vaudeville: The Whitman Sisters and the Negotiation of Race, Gender and Class in African American Theater, 1900–1940* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 131–32.
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122. For a discussion of Jackson and Dudley's attempts at correcting unfair salaries, see Hill, *Pages from the Harlem Renaissance,* 88–98.
123. "Dudley Has This to Say about Independent Acts," *Chicago Defender,* 5 December 1925, 6.
124. "S. H. Dudley," *The Messenger* 7.1 (1925), 50.
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127. S. H. Dudley, *Dr. Beans from Boston,* unpublished manuscript, c. 1912, Act I, pg. 6. My gratitude to Barbara Webb for providing a copy of this script.
128. Dudley, *Dr. Beans,* Act III, pg. 1.
129. S. H. Dudley, unidentified clipping, 19 January 1913, BR.
130. "Theatre Managers Form Organization," *Chicago Defender,* 19 June 1920, 6.
131. Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 13.
132. Fannie Barrier Williams, "Social Bonds in the 'Black Belt' of Chicago," *Charities* 15 (March 1906), 40.
133. Tom Fletcher, *100 Years of the Negro in Show Business* (1954; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1984), 7.
134. "Citizen's Research Council, *Negro in Detroit,* sec. 2, pg. 16; quoted in Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability,* 14.

135. "Why the Name," two editorials in the *Baltimore Afro-American,* 27 November and 11 December 1915, 4.
136. William Barlow, *Looking Up at Down: The Emergence of Blues Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 120.
137. Jean Toomer, "The Negro Emergent," an unpublished manuscript (ca. 1924), quoted from *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings,* ed. Frederik L. Rusch (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 88.
138. I am indebted to conversations with Barbara Webb for this insight.
139. Unfortunately, space constraints make it impossible to do justice to a full analysis of these performers. Suffice to say, they were popular and important performers during the era, enjoying successes with largely African American audiences. For their profiles, see Bernard L. Peterson, Jr., *Profiles of African American Stage Performers and Theatre People, 1816–1960* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2001), Billy King pg. 158–59, Whitney and his brother J. Homer Tutt pg. 266–69, and Judie "Butterbeans" Edwards and Susie "Susie" Hawthorne Edwards, pg. 45. For a discussion and an excerpt of the Butterbeans & Susie's vaudeville script, see *The Roots of African American Drama: An Anthology of Early Plays, 1858–1938,* ed. Leo Hamalian and James V. Hatch (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 152–58.
140. Mel Watkins, *On the Real Side: Laughing, Lying, and Signifying* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 369.
141. James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (1930; New York: Da Capo Press, 1991), 200.
142. There are various reports of her age when she started in show business. I have selected the age of six as an approximation, taking into account reports that she began at the age of three and other reports as high as eight.
143. In his book, *Words Like Freedom: Essays on African-American Culture and History* (West Cornwall, CT: Locus Hill Press, 1996), Richard Newman writes that Aida Overton Walker "was a beautiful, sophisticated, and highly talented star who took time with a ghetto child, thereby becoming Mill's mentor and role model" (78). See also Fletcher, *100 Years of the Negro in Show Business,* where he reports that Mills considered Walker her "idol," and that she tried to follow in her footsteps (181).
144. Newman, *Words Like Freedom,* 80.
145. E. W. Osborn, "Dixie to Broadway," *New York Evening World,* 30 October 1924, Florence Mills clipping file, Dance Collection, BR.
146. Gilbert W. Gabriel, "Dixie to Broadway," *New York Telegraph and Evening Mail,* 30 October 1924, Reel 13, AG.
147. Heywood Broun, "The New Play," *New York World,* 30 October 1924, Florence Mills clipping file, Dance Collection, BR.
148. J. T. Green, "London Cameos," 9 October 1923; Mills File, HTC.
149. Unidentified Clipping, Florence Mills file, Dance Collection, BR.
150. Percy Hammond, *New York Herald Tribune,* 30 October 1924, 12, Alexander Woollcott, *New York Evening Sun,* 30 October 1924, 22.
151. Lester A. Walton, "Negroes' Dream Realized as Race Plays on Broadway," *New York World,* 23 November 1924, Reel 13, AG.
152. After *Shuffle Along,* the longest running shows during the 1920s were *Hot Chocolates,* with 219 performances (1929), *Runnin' Wild* with 213 (1923), *Liza* with 169 (1922), *Keep Shufflin'* with 104 (1928), *The Chocolate Dandies* with 96 (1924), and *Dixie to Broadway* with 77 (1924). Source from Fannin Saffore Belcher, Jr., "The

Place of the Negro in the Evolution of the American Theatre, 1767 to 1940," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1945, 133.

153. *Amsterdam News,* 20 February 1924, AG.
154. "'Flo' Mills First of Her Race to Headline at the Palace," Chicago Defender, 27 June 1926, Reel 13, AG.
155. Theophilus Lewis, "Theatre," *Messenger* 7.1 (January 1925), 18, 62.
156. Unidentified clipping, "Play 'Degrades' Her Race, And Star Refuses to Act," *Graphic,* Scrapbook, Mills File, Box 2, SC.
157. *Amsterdam News,* 7 and 14 February 1923, 5.
158. "White Actress Jealous of Success of Florence Mills at 'Village' Follies," *Amsterdam News,* 24 October 1923, 5.
159. Florence Mills, "The Soul of the Negro," the *Sun-Chronicle,* London; reprinted in the *Pittsburgh Courier,* 8 January 1927, sec. 2, pg. 3.
160. Florence Mills, interviewed by Beverley Nichols, 16 February 1927, Mills File, SC.
161. Ibid.
162. Florence Mills, interview by Hannen Swaffer, "Florence Mills on the Race Problem," [London] *Daily Express,* undated clipping, Mills file, SC.
163. Unidentified clipping, "Mills of the Gallery Gods," Mills File, FLP.
164. Johnson, *Black Manhattan,* 199.
165. Handwritten letter from H. W. Ash, 138 North Salford St., West Philadelphia, 22 March 1925, addressed to the "Dixie to Broadway Company," Mills Scrapbook, SC.
166. Typewritten letter, author unidentified, letterhead from the "Department of Public Welfare, City of Philadelphia," 23 January 1925, Mills File, SC.
167. Handwritten letter from Madame Davis, 12 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn England, 12 September 1926, Mills File, SC.
168. *Amsterdam News,* 9 November 1927, 1; *New York Age,* 5 November 1927, 1.
169. *Amsterdam News,* 9 November 1927, 4.
170. "It's Getting Dark on Old Broadway," sung by Gilda Gray in the Ziegfeld Follies of 1922, quoted in Woll, *Black Musicals,* 76.
171. Flournoy F. Miller, Unpublished autobiography, Miller Collection, SC.
172. Bordman, *American Musical Theatre,* 382.
173. Eric Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 449–450.
174. Theophilus Lewis, "Survey of the Negro [in Theatre]," 279.
175. Ibid.

CHAPTER TWELVE

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2. Wallace Thurman, "Negro Artists and the Negro," *New Republic,* 31 August 1927, 38.
3. Langston Hughes, "Young Writer Defines Art," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 9 April 1927, sec. 2, pg. 1.
4. Hughes, "Langston Hughes Declares He Makes More Money as a Bellhop than as a Poet-Writer," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 16 April 1926, sec. 1, pg. 8.

5. "Ethel Waters Opens with 'Africana' at Daly's Amid Riot of Barbaric Splendor," *New York Amsterdam News,* 13 July 1927, 11.
6. "'Africana' a Swift Negro Musical Revue," *New York Times,* 12 July 1927, 29.
7. "'Rang Tang' Opens at Royale Theatre," *New York Times,* 13 July 1927, 20.
8. Edgar M. Gray, "The Devil's Playground," *New York Amsterdam News,* 6 July 1927, "Special Articles" section, n.p.
9. See, for instance, George Hutchinson, *Harlem Renaissance in Black and White* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), and Ann Douglas, *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (New York: Noonday Press, 1995).
10. W. D. Wright, *Black Intellectuals, Black Cognition, And A black Aesthetic* (Westport: Praeger, 1997), 145.
11. Pearl Bowser and Louise Spence, *Writing Himself Into History: Oscar Micheaux, His Silent Films, and His Audiences* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 178.

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