CALL AND RESPONSE



The Riverside Anthology of the African American Literary Tradition

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IN MEMORY OF MY MOTHER, HAROLDINE LILLIAN CUMMINGS LIGGINS

CONTENTS

PREFACE

xxxiii

"Go Down, Moses, Way Down in Egypt's Land" African American History and Culture, 1619–1808 The Description of the Conditions of Slavery and Oppression Racial and Religious Oppression
CALL FOR DELIVERANCE: THE ORAL TRADITION 28 Origins: African Survivals in Slave Folk Culture
PROVERBS 28 AFRICAN PROTOTYPES 28
SLAVE PROVERBS 28
SLAVE PROVERBS AND THEIR AFRICAN PARALLELS 29
THE FOLK CRY 29
THE SHOUT 31
'Ligion So Sweet 31
WORK SONGS AND OTHER SECULAR MUSIC 32 AFRICAN PROTOTYPE 32
An African Spinner's Song 32
EARLY SLAVE WORK SONGS 33
An Old Boat Song 33
ANTIPHONAL PATTERNS OF WORK SONGS 33
SPIRITUALS 35
African Prototypes of Lengthy Epic Narratives 35
FROM "Sunjata" 36
Spirituals as Lengthy Epic Narratives 42
"Go Down, Moses" 42 PRAISE POEMS 44
African Prototypes 45
Praise Poems of Epic Heroes 45

Griot's Praise Song FROM Banna Kanute's Sunjata 45

Mandingo People's Praise Song FROM Mamadou Kouyate's Sundiata vii 45

Hunter's Praise Song FROM Seydou Camara's Kambili 45
Praise Poems of Allah 46
Griot's Praise Poem of Allah FROM Seydou Camara's Kambili 46
Marabout's Prophecy FROM Banna Kanute's Sunjata 46
Spirituals as Praise Poems 46
"God is a God" 46
FROM "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel" 47
"Joshua Fit de Battle of Jericho" 47
SERMONS AND PRAYERS 47
African Prototypes 48
SERMONS IN EPIC NARRATIVES 48
Griot's Sermon FROM Seydou Camara's Kambili 48
SHORT PRAYERS IN EPIC NARRATIVES 48
Sologon's Prayer FROM Mamadou Kouyate's Sundiata 48
SHORT HYMNS IN EPIC NARRATIVES 48
"Niama" FROM Mamadou Kouyate's Sundiata 48
Spirituals as Sermons and Prayers 49
FROM "Humble Yo'self de Bell Done Ring" 49
"Keep Me from Sinking Down" 49
LYRICAL POETRY 49
African Prototypes 50
Griot's Chant FROM Shekarisi Rurede's The Mwindo Epic 50
Warrior Kanji's Lament FROM Seydou Camara's Kambili 50
Spirituals as Lyrical Poetry 50
"Were You There When They Crucified My Lord?" 50
"Motherless Child" 51
IMPROVISATIONS: THEME AND VARIATION, CALL AND RESPONSE, PERFORMANCE STYLES, RHYTHMS AND MELODIC STRUCTURES 51
African Antiphonal Patterns 53
An Old Bornu Song 53
Antiphonal Patterns in the Spirituals 53
"Lay Dis Body Down" 53
African Melodic Structures 54
DUPLE AND TRIPLE RHYTHMS 54
Melodic Structures in the Spirituals 55
AN EXAMPLE OF DUPLE RHYTHMS AND THE PENTATONIC SCALE 55
"Jesus on de Water-Side," FROM Slave Songs of the United States 55
AN EXAMPLE OF A SYNCOPATED MELODY WITH HAND CLAPPING AND FOOT TAPPING ${\it 56}$
"Nobody Knows de Trouble I've Had" FROM Slave Songs of the United States 56
A Spiritual Composed by Richard Allen 57

FOLKTALES AFRICAN FOLKTALES **Animal Trickster Tales** "The Elephant and the Tortoise" 60 "Why the Hare Runs Away" SLAVE FOLKTALES Animal Trickster Tales 61 "Rabbit Teaches Bear a Song" 61 "T'appin" (Terrapin) 62 "Tar Baby" Tales of Flying Africans Two Tales CONJURE TALES 65 Two Tales from Eatonville, Florida VOODOO, GHOST, AND HAUNT TALES 66 "Voodoo and Witches" "The Headless Hant"

RESPONSE: BLACK LITERARY DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE 69

Poetry, Slave Narratives, Letters, Essays, and Oratory VOICES OF SLAVE POETS JUPITER HAMMON (1711–1806?) "An Evening Thought: Salvation by Christ with Penetential [sic] Cries" 74 "An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatly" [sic] "A Winter Piece" 80 LUCY TERRY (1730-1821) "Bars Fight" PHILLIS WHEATLEY (1753?-1784) "On Being Brought from Africa to America" "To the University of Cambridge, in New-England" "Philis's [sic] Reply to the Answer in our last by the Gentleman in the Navy" "To the Right Honorable William, Earl of Dartmouth, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for North-America, & c." "To S. M. a young African Painter, on seeing his Works" 101 "On the Death of Rev. Mr. George Whitefield. 1770" 101 "On the Death of General Wooster" To Arbour Tanner in New Port To Samson Occom 104

xi

VOICES OF SOCIAL PROTEST IN PROSE THE CONFESSIONAL NARRATIVE The Life and Confession of Johnson Green, Who Is To Be Executed this Day, August 17th, 1786, for the Atrocious Crime of Burglary THE SLAVE NARRATIVE 110 BRITON HAMMON (?--?) FROM Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing (sic) Deliverance of Briton Hammon, A Negro Man, Servant to General Winslow, of Marshfield, in New England; Who Returned to Boston, After Having Been Absent Almost Thirteen Years 113 OLAUDAH EQUIANO (1745-1797) FROM The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself Chapter 1 120 Chapter 2 128 Chapter 3 137 Chapter 10 144 Chapter 12 147 LETTERS AND ESSAYS 156 BENJAMIN BANNEKER (1731-1806) 156 Letter to Thomas Jefferson 158 PRINCE HALL (1735c.-1807) 160 A Charge, Delivered to the African Lodge, June 24, 1797 164 LEMUEL B. HAYNES (1753-1833) 168 "Liberty Further Extended" 171 "The Battle of Lexington" 179 VOICES OF ORATORS 184 The Sermon ABSALOM JONES (1746–1818) 184 A Thanksgiving Sermon Preached January 1, 1808 187 JOHN MARRANT (1755-1790?) 191 A Sermon Preached on the 24th Day of June 1789 194 RICHARD ALLEN (1760-1831) "An Address To Those Who Keep Slaves and Approve the Practice"

II "Tell Ole Pharaoh, Let My People Go" 211

African American History and Culture, 1808–1865
The Explanations of the Desire for Freedom
Repression and Racial Response

SOUTHERN FOLK CALL FOR RESISTANCE

FOLK POETRY: SLAVE SONGS OF REBELLION, THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD, AND EMANCIPATION 235

"You Got a Right" 235 "There's a Better Day a Coming" 236 "Oh Mary, Don't You Weep" 236 "Steal Away" 236 "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" 237 "Hail Marv" 237 "Many Thousand Gone" "Wade in nuh Watuh Childun" 238 238 "Follow the Drinking Gou'd" Sweet Canaan "There's a Meeting Here Tonight" 239 "Master's in the Field" "Michael Row the Boat Ashore" 240 "Before I'd Be a Slave" ("Oh, Freedom") 240 SECULAR SONGS 240 "IUba" 240 "Raise a Ruckus Tonight" 241 "We Raise de Wheat" 241 "One Time Upon Dis Ribber" 242 "Shuck Dat Corn Before You Eat" "Roun' de Corn, Sally" 242 FOLKTALES 243 JOHN AND OLD MARSTER TALES 243 "Massa and the Bear" 243 "John Steals a Pig and a Sheep" 243

235

SPIRITUALS

NORTHERN LITERARY RESPONSE: RIGHTS FOR BLACKS, RIGHTS FOR WOMEN 245

Major abolitionist voices 24:

DAVID WALKER (1785–1830) 245

FROM David Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles 248

Preamble 249

Article I. Our Wretchedness in Consequence of Slavery 252

SOJOURNER TRUTH (1979-99?–1883) 256

Speech at Akron Convention, Akron, Ohio, May 28–29, 1851; FROM Reminiscences by Frances D. Gage of Sojourner Truth 261

Speech at New York City Convention 26.

Address to the First Annual Meeting of the American Equal Rights Association, New York City, May 9, 1867 263

HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET (1815–1882) 26

An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America 268

Contents

FREDERICK DOUGLASS (1817–1895) Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave Written by Himself 276 "The Rights of Women" 319 "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" An Address Delivered in Rochester, New York, on 5 July 1852 ALEXANDER CRUMMELL (1819–1898) "Hope for Africa" "The Black Woman of the South: Her Neglects and Her Needs" 340 FRANCES WATKINS HARPER (1824–1911) 345 "The Slave Auction" 350 351 "The Slave Mother" "Bury Me in a Free Land" 352 "Songs for the People" 352 "A Double Standard" 353 "Learning to Read" FROM Sketches of Southern Life. 354 "Aunt Chloe's Politics" 355 "Liberty for Slaves" 355 "The Two Offers" 357 "Women's Political Future" 363 FROM Iola LeRoy Northern Experience 365 Diverging Paths 368 **ABOLITIONIST ORATOR-POETS** 371 GEORGE MOSES HORTON (1797-1883) 371 "The Slave's Complaint" 372 "On Liberty and Slavery" 373 "On Hearing of the Intention of a Gentleman to Purchase the Poet's Freedom" 374 JAMES WHITFIELD (1823-1871) 375 "America" FROM America and Other Poems 377 "Prayer of the Oppressed" 381 JAMES MADISON BELL (1826–1902) 382 "The Day and the War" "Emancipation in the District of Columbia, April 16, 1862" 389 ABOLITIONIST ORATORS THEODORE S. WRIGHT (1791-1847) "The Progress of the Antislavery Cause" 392 MARIA W. STEWART (1803-1879) FROM Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality, The Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build Lecture, Delivered at the Franklin Hall, Boston, September 21,

1832

404

1833 406 Farewell Address 408 SARAH PARKER REMOND (1826-1894) "The Negroes in the United States of America" 416 VOICES OF SOCIAL PROTEST IN PROSE THE CONFESSIONAL NARRATIVE 418 NAT TURNER (1800-1831) The Confessions of Nat Turner 420 THE FUGITIVE SLAVE NARRATIVE 432 432 HARRIET A. JACOBS (1813–1897) FROM Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself 435 Preface by the Author 435 435 Chapter I. Childhood 437 Chapter II. The New Master and Mistress Chapter VI. The Jealous Mistress 440 Chapter VII. The Lover Chapter X. A Perilous Passage in a Slave Girl's Life Chapter XVII. The Flight Chapter XXI. The Loophole of Retreat 451 Chapter XXIX. Preparations for Escape 454 Chapter XXX. Northward Bound ESSAYS, PAMPHLETS, LETTERS, AND JOURNALS 464 ROBERT PURVIS (1810-1898) Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens Threatened with Disfranchisement to the People of Pennsylvania 467 MARTIN R. DELANY (1812-1885) FROM The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered Chapter II. Comparative Condition of the Colored People of the United States Chapter III. American Colonization Chapter IV. Our Elevation in the United States 484 Chapter V. Means of Elevation Chapter XVII. Emigration of the Colored People of the United States Chapter XVIII. "Republic of Liberia" 488 CHARLOTTE L. FORTEN GRIMKÉ (1837-1914) 489 FROM The Journal of Charlotte Forten "Interesting Letter from Miss Charlotte L. Forten" 497 500 ELIZABETH KECKLEY (?-1907) 503 FROM Behind the Scenes

An Address Delivered at the Masonic Hall in Boston on February 27,

THE WOMEN'S NARRATIVE 507 507 JARENA LEE (1783-?) FROM Religious Experience and Journal of Mrs. Jarena Lee, Giving an Account of her Call to Preach the Gospel THE NOVEL OR NEO-SLAVE NARRATIVE WILLIAM WELLS BROWN (1815-1884) 513 FROM Clotelle: A Tale of the Southern States 515 Chapter II. The Negro Sale 515 Chapter X. The Quadroon's Home 517 Chapter XI. To-day a Mistress, To-morrow a Slave Chapter XXV. The Flight 520 HARRIET E. ADAMS WILSON (1828?-1863?) 522 FROM Our Nig: Or, Sketches From the Life of a Free Black 525 Chapter IV. A Friend for Nig Chapter X. Perplexities—Another Death 528 Chapter XII. The Winding Up of the Matter

Ш

"No More Shall They in Bondage Toil" African American History and Culture, 1865-1915

The Description of the Manner of Escape from Slavery and the Considerations of Whether the New Freedom Is the Ideal Freedom Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction

CALL FOR THE IDEAL FREEDOM: THE FOLK TRADITION

FOLK POETRY 558 558 SPIRITUALS

> "Free at Las'" 558

"Singin' Wid a Sword in Ma Han'" 559

My Lord, What a Mornin' 560

"Deep River" 560

"Go Tell It on de Mountain" 561

"When the Saints Go Marching In" 561

"Git on Board, Little Chillen" 562

"Mighty Rocky Road"

WORK, BADMAN, AND PRISON SONGS 562

> "Casey Jones" 562

> "John Henry" 563

"Railroad Bill" 565

"Stagolee" 566

"John Harty" 567

"Po Laz'us" 568

569 RURAL BLUES

> "The Joe Turner Blues" 571

"Gwine down Dat Lonesome Road" 571

"Baby Seals Blues" 571

"St. Louis Blues" 572

573 RAGTIME

> "I Meet Dat Coon Tonight" 573

THE FOLK SERMON 574

REV. JOHN JASPER

"De Sun Do Move" 574

ANONYMOUS

"Dry Bones" 579

FOLKTALES 581

MEMORIES OF SLAVERY

"Swapping Dreams" 581

"Lias's Revelation" 581

582 "Big Sixteen"

PREACHER TALES 582

> "The Three Preachers" 582

"The Wrong Man in the Coffin"

"The Preacher and His Farmer Brother" 583

RESPONSE: THE WRITTEN TRADITION

VOICES OF THE FOLK TRADITION 584

584 CHARLES W. CHESNUTT (1858-1932)

"The Goophered Grapevine" 587

"The Wife of His Youth" 594

600 PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR (1872-1906)

604 "An Ante-bellum Sermon"

606 "When Malindy Sings"

"A Negro Love Song" 608

"The Party"

"Frederick Douglass" 613

"Sympathy" 614

"We Wear the Mask" 615

"The Poet" 615

"A Spiritual" 615

ALICE MOORE DUNBAR-NELSON (1875-1935) 616

"Sister Josepha" 618

621 **FENTON JOHNSON (1888-1958)**

"A Negro Peddler's Song" 623

"Aunt Jane Allen"

623

"The Banjo Player" 623
"Tired" 624
"The Scarlet Woman" 624
ORATORICAL VOICES OF RECONSTRUCTION, RACE, AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS 625
BLANCHE KELSO BRUCE (1841–1898) 625
Speech to the U.S. Senate on Mississippi Elections Delivered March 3, 1876 626
ROBERT BROWN ELLIOTT (1842–1884) 627
FROM "The Civil Rights Bill" 629
LUCY CRAFT LANEY (1854–1933) 634
"The Burden of the Educated Colored Woman" 635
ANNA JULIA COOPER (1858–1964) 638
"The Higher Education of Women" FROM A Voice from the South 641
Remarks before the 1893 World's Congress of Representative Women on the Status of the Black Woman in the United States 649
FANNIE BARRIER WILLIAMS (1855–1944) 651
"The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women of the United States Since the Emancipation Proclamation" 652
VOICES OF REFORM 658
AUTOBIOGRAPHY 658
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915) 658
FROM Up from Slavery 660
Chapter I. A Slave Among Slaves 660
Chapter III. The Struggle for an Education 667
Chapter VII. Early Days at Tuskegee 673
Chapter VIII. Teaching School in a Stable and a Hen-House 677
Chapter XIV. The Atlanta Exposition Address 681
WOMEN'S NARRATIVE 688
JULIA A. J. FOOTE (1823–1900) 688
FROM A Brand Plucked from the Fire 689
Chapter I. Birth and Parentage 689
Chapter II. Religious Impressions—Learning the Alphabet 691
Chapter III. The Primes—Going to School 692
Chapter IV. My Teacher Hung for Crime 692
Chapter XVIII. Heavenly Visitations Again 693
Chapter XIX. Public Effort—Excommunication 694
Chapter XX. Women in the Gospel 696
Chapter XXI. The Lord Leadeth—Labor in Philadelphia 697
FRANCES JACKSON COPPIN (1837–1913) 698
FROM Reminiscences of School Life 700

THE NOVEL, OR NEO-SLAVE NARRATIVE PAULINE ELIZABETH HOPKINS (1859-1930) 708 FROM Contending Forces 711 Preface 711 Chapter VI. Ma Smith's Lodging-House—Concluded 712 Chapter VIII. The Sewing-Circle 717 VOICES OF ACTIVISM 724 IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT (1862-1931) 724 FROM Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases 726 W.E.B. DU BOIS (1868-1963) 732 FROM The Souls of Black Folk Chapter I. Of Our Spiritual Strivings 737 Chapter III. Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others 742 Chapter XIV. Of the Sorrow Songs "A Litany of Atlanta" "The Song of the Smoke" 756 The Niagara Movement: Address to the Country 757 "The Negro in Literature and Art" "The Immediate Program of the American Negro" 762

IV

"Bound No'th Blues" 767

African American History and Culture, 1915–1945

"Play the Blues for Me"

Renaissance and Reformation

FOLK CALL FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE

FOLK POETRY 797

CLASSIC BLUES LYRICS 797

"Harlem Blues" (W. C. Handy) 75

FROM "That Thing Called Love" (Mamie Smith) 798

FROM "Tain't Nobody's Business If I Do" (Bessie Smith) 798

FROM "Nobody Knows You When You're Down and Out" (Bessie Smith) 799

FROM "Sissy Blues" (Gertrude "Ma" Rainey) 799

FROM "Wild Women Don't Have the Blues" (Ida Cox) 799

FROM "God Bless the Child" (Billie Holliday) 800

FROM "Fast Life Blues" (Bumble Bee Slim) 800

FROM "Coal Woman Blues" (Black Boy Shine) 800

RURAL BLUES LYRICS OF THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES 801

"Dry Spell Blues" (Eddie "Son" House) 801

Contents

xix

FROM "Hard Time Blues" (Charlie Spand) 802
FROM "Honey, I'm All Out and Down" (Huddie "Leadbelly" Ledbetter)
"Hollerin' the Blues" (Big Bill Broonzy) 802
"Crossroad Blues" (Robert Johnson) 802
GOSPEL SONGS 803
"Take My Hand, Precious Lord" (Thomas A. Dorsey) 804
"When I Touch His Garment" (Langston Hughes and Jobe Huntley) 804
"If I Can Just Make It In" (Kenneth Morris) 805
JAZZ 806
Development of Jazz Techniques in Performance 806
RHYTHM, MELODY, AND HARMONY 806
IMPROVISATION 807
"(What Did I Do to Be So) Black and Blue" (Andy Razaf and Thomas "Fats" Waller) 807
SWING OR BIG BAND JAZZ 808
FROM "It Don't Mean a Thing If It Ain't Got That Swing" (Duke Ellington) 809
BOOGIE WOOGIE 809
"Pine Top's Boogie Woogie" (Clarence "Pine Top" Smith) 809
"Dream Boogie" (Langston Hughes) 810
BAD MAN AND PRISON SONGS 811
"Garvey" 811
"Champ Joe Louis" (Bill Gaither) 811
"This Mornin', This Evenin', So Soon" 811
"Slim Greer" (Sterling Brown) 812
TOASTS 813
"Shine and the Sinking of the Titanic" (a traditional version) 814
"Titanic" 814
"The Signifying Monkey" 815
"Stack O' Lee Blues" 818
FOLK SERMONS 819
FROM God's Trombones (James Weldon Johnson) "The Creation" 819
"Go Down Death—A Funeral Sermon" 821
FROM "Preachin The Blues"—A Mock Sermon (Bessie Smith) 823
FOLKTALE (COLLECTED BY ZORA NEALE HURSTON) 823
"High John De Conquer" 823
CALL FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE 829

MARCUS GARVEY (1887-1940)

Speech on Disarmament Conference Delivered at Liberty Hall, New York, November 6, 1921

WALTER WHITE (1893-1955) 838 "I Investigate Lynchings" 841

CALL FOR CRITICAL DEBATE 850

THE ALAIN LOCKE-W.E.B. DU BOIS DEBATE ON THE THEORY OF BLACK ART 850

W.E.B. DU BOIS (1868-1963) 850 "Criteria of Negro Art" *850* ALAIN LOCKE (1886-1954) 855 "The New Negro" 859

RESPONSE: VOICES OF THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

POETS 866 JAMES WELDON JOHNSON (1871–1938) 866 Preface FROM The Book of American Negro Poetry 869 "O Black and Unknown Bards" 870 "The White Witch" *871* "Fragment" 873 ANNE SPENCER (1882-1975) "Before the Feast at Shushan" 876 "White Things" 877 "Lady, Lady" 877 "Letter to My Sister" 877 "[God never planted a garden]" 878 CLAUDE MCKAY (1889–1948) "The Tropics in New York" 883 "If We Must Die" 883 883 "Baptism" "Tiger" 884 "America" 884 "Harlem Shadows" 884 "The Harlem Dancer" 885 "The White House" "St. Isaac's Church, Petrograd" 886 LANGSTON HUGHES (1902-1967) 886 "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" 889 "Dream Variations" "Sunday Morning Prophecy" 890 "The Weary Blues" 891 "Jazzonia" 892 "Life Is Fine" 892 "Daybreak in Alabama"

893

Contents

xxi

894 "Bound No'th Blues" "Mother to Son" "Madam's Past History" 895 "Ballad of the Landlord" 895 "Dream Boogie" 896 "Harlem" 897 897 "I, Too" "Feet Live Their Own Life" "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" FROM The Nation GWENDOLYN BENNETT (1902-1981) "Heritage" 905 "To a Dark Girl" 905 "Nocturne" 905 "To Usward" 906 "Street Lamps in Early Spring" 906 "Hatred" 907 "Fantasy" 907 "Secret" 907 908 COUNTEE CULLEN (1903-1946) "Heritage" 910 913 "Scottsboro, Too, Is Worth Its Song" "Colored Blues Singer" "The Litany of the Dark People" 914 "Yet Do I Marvel" 915 "A Song of Praise" "Not Sacco and Vanzetti" 916 HELENE JOHNSON (1907-) 916 "My Race" 919 919 "Sonnet to a Negro in Harlem" "Bottled" 919 "Trees at Night" 921 "The Road" 921 "Magalu" 921 "Summer Matures" 922 "Fulfillment" 922 FICTION WRITERS 923 NELLA LARSEN (1891-1964) 923 FROM Quicksand 926 FROM Passing 931

Chapter One

931

Chapter Two 932 ZORA NEALE HURSTON (1891-1960) 942 "Spunk" 946 "Sweat" 949 JEAN TOOMER (1894-1967) 955 FROM Cane "Karintha" 958 "Song of the Son" 959 "Fern" 960 "Portrait in Georgia" 963 "Seventh Street" 963 "Box Seat" 963 FROM "Kabnis" RUDOLPH FISHER (1897-1934) 973 "Miss Cynthie" ERIC WALROND (1898-1966) 982 "The Wharf Rats"

RESPONSE: VOICES OF THE REFORMATION 993

POETS 993 **STERLING BROWN (1901–1989)** "When de Saints Go Ma'chin' Home" 995 "Southern Road" 998 "Ma Rainey" "Memphis Blues" 1001 "Old Lem" 1002 "Strong Men" 1004 FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS (1905-1987) 1005 "Jazz Band" 1009 "Robert Whitmore" "Arthur Ridgewood, M.D." 1011 "Giles Johnson, Ph.D." 1011 FICTION WRITERS 1011

FICTION WRITERS 1011

RICHARD WRIGHT (1908–1960) 1011

"Long Black Song" 1015

ANN PETRY (1908–) 1028

"Like a Winding Sheet" 1031

"Miss Muriel" 1037

CHESTER HIMES (1909–1984) 1060

"Marihuana and a Pistol" 1062

"Win the War Blues" 1065

African American History and Culture, 1945-1960

"Play the Blues for Me"

Post-Renaissance and Post-Reformation

FOLK CALL FOR VICTORY AT HOME AND ABROAD 1091

FOLK POETRY 1091

> URBAN BLUES LYRICS 1091

> > "Win the War Blues" (Sonny Boy Williamson) 1091

"Hitler Blues" (The Florida Kid) 1091

"Eisenhower Blues" (J. B. Lenoir) 1091

"Louisiana Blues" (Muddy Waters) 1092

"Back to Korea Blues" (Sunnyland Slim) 1092

"Future Blues" (Willie Brown)

GOSPELS AND SPIRITUALS 1093

> "We Shall Overcome" 1093

"Gimme Dat Ol'-Time Religion" (arranged by

J. Rosamond Johnson)

"Move On Up a Little Higher"

(Mahalia Jackson and Theodore Frye) 1094

"I Know It Was the Lord" (Clara Ward) 1097

RHYTHM AND BLUES LYRICS

FROM "The Twist" (Hank Ballard; performed by Chubby Checker) 1098

"Good Golly Miss Molly" (John S. Marascalco and Robert A. Blackwell; performed by Little Richard)

BOP AND COOL JAZZ 1099

"Parker's Mood" (Charlie "Yardbird" Parker)

FROM "Donna Lee" (Charlie "Yardbird" Parker; performed

by Miles Davis) 1100

"Flatted Fifths" (Langston Hughes)

BAD WOMEN FOLK BALLADS (POEMS BY MARGARET WALKER) 1101

> "Molly Means" 1101

"Kissie Lee" 1102

FOLK SERMON 1104

> "The Prodigal Son" (C. L. Franklin) 1104

CALL FOR CRITICAL DEBATE

HUGH M. GLOSTER (1911-)

"Race and the Negro Writer" 1109

NICK AARON FORD (1904-1982)

"A Blueprint for Negro Authors" 1112 ANN PETRY (1908-) 1114

> "The Novel as Social Criticism" 1114

RESPONSE: VOICES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN TRADITION AND MODERNISM 1120

POETS 1120

> MELVIN B. TOLSON (1898-1966) 1120

"Dark Symphony" 1123

"Lambda" FROM Harlem Gallery 1126

ROBERT HAYDEN (1913-1980) 1128

"Homage to the Empress of the Blues" 1131

"Middle Passage" 1131

"Runagate Runagate" 1135

"Frederick Douglass" 1137

"Elegies for Paradise Valley" 1137

"A Letter from Phillis Wheatley" 1141

DUDLEY RANDALL (1914-) 1142

"Booker T. and W.E.B." 1144

"Legacy: My South" 1145

"Ancestors" 1146

OWEN DODSON (1914-1983) 1146

> "Sorrow Is the Only Faithful One" 1149

"Yardbird's Skull (for Charlie Parker)" 1150

"Guitar" 1151

MARGARET ESSE DANNER (1915-1988) 1151

"Far from Africa: Four Poems" 1153

"The Rhetoric of Langston Hughes" 1156

"The Slave and the Iron Lace" 1156

"Passive Resistance" 1156

MARGARET WALKER (1915-) 1157

"For My People" 1159

"Lineage" 1160

"The Ballad of the Free" 1160

"Prophets for a New Day" 1161

"The Crystal Palace" 1163

"A Patchwork Quilt" 1163

GWENDOLYN BROOKS (1917-) 1164

"the mother" 1168

"the children of the poor" 1168

"The Last Quatrain of the Ballad of Emmett Till" 1170

"The Chicago Defender Sends a Man to Little Rock" 1170

"We Real Cool" 1172

```
"The Wall"
                        1172
          "The Chicago Picasso"
                                  1173
          "Medgar Evers"
                            1174
          "Malcolm X"
                         1175
          "The Sermon on the Warpland"
                                          1175
                                                           1176
          "To an Old Black Woman, Homeless and Indistinct"
        NAOMI LONG MADGETT (1923-)
           "Midway"
                      1179
           "The Old Women"
                               1179
           "New Day"
                        1179
           "Monday Morning Blues"
                                     1180
           "A Litany for Afro-Americans"
                                         1180
PLAYWRIGHTS
                 1181
                                    1181
        ALICE CHILDRESS (1920-1994)
           Wedding Band
                           1184
        LORRAINE HANSBERRY (1930–1965)
                                         1213
           A Raisin in the Sun
                               1217
FICTION WRITERS
                    1267
        DOROTHY WEST (1907-)
                                1267
           "The Richer, The Poorer"
                                     1272
        RALPH ELLISON (1914-1994)
                                          1278
           "Prologue" FROM Invisible Man
           "Juneteenth"
                          1283
        JOHN OLIVER KILLENS (1916–1987)
                                         1290
           "The Stick Up"
                            1293
                                    1295
        IAMES BALDWIN (1924-1987)
            "Sonny's Blues"
                             1298
           "Everybody's Protest Novel"
                                       1316
                                  1320
         PAULE MARSHALL (1929-)
           "Barbados"
                         1324
                                           1332
           FROM Praisesong for the Widow
   "Cross Road Blues"
      African American History and Culture, 1960 to the Present
      "No Other Music'll Ease My Misery"
      Social Revolution, New Renaissance, and Second Reconstruction
```

FOLK CALL FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND POLITICAL STRATEGY 1386

FOLK POETRY 1386 URBAN BLUES LYRICS 1386 "The Thrill Is Gone" (B. B. King) 1386

"I Pity the Fool" (Bobby "Blue" Bland) 1386 "Back Door Man" (Howlin' Wolf) 1386 "Am I Blue?" (Ray Charles) 1387 "Big Boss Man" (Jimmy Reed) 1388 RHYTHM AND BLUES LYRICS 1388 "Respect" (Otis Redding; as interpreted by Aretha Franklin) 1388 FROM "Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud" (James Brown) 1389 FROM "Keep on Pushing" (Curtis Mayfield and the Impressions) 1389 "What's Going On" (Marvin Gaye, A. Cleveland, and R. Benson) 1389 SPIRITUALS AND GOSPELS ADAPTED FOR THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT 1390 "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round" "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize" 1391 "This Little Light of Mine" 1392 "We Shall Not Be Moved" 1393 AVANT-GARDE JAZZ 1393 RAP LYRICS 1394 FROM "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" (Gil Scott-Heron) 1394 FROM "Rapper's Delight" (The Sugar Hill Gang) FROM "The Message" (Grandmaster Flash and the Furious 1397 Five) FROM "Paid in Full" (Eric B. and Rakim) 1398 "Don't Believe the Hype" (Public Enemy) 1399 "Fight the Power" (Public Enemy) FROM "Ladies First" (Queen Latifah and Monie Love) 1402 "Just a Friendly Game of Baseball" (Main Source) 1403 FROM "Freedom of Speech" (Ice T) A Rap FROM "Philadelphia Fire" (John Wideman) 1405 **TOASTS** 1406 "Signifyin' Monkey" (version by Oscar Brown, Jr.) 1406 FOLK SERMON 1408 "Ezekiel and the Vision of Dry Bones" (version by Carl J. Anderson; collected

and transcribed by Gerald Davis)

CONTEMPORARY FOLKTALES (COLLECTED BY DARYL C. DANCE) 1413

"In the Beginning" 1413 "How Blacks Got to America" 1413 "He Remembered" 1413 "Don't Call My Name" "The Only Two I Can Trust" 1414 "I'm Gon' Get in the Drawer" 1414 "Outsmarting Whitey" 1414

CALL FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRATEGY 1415

MALCOLM X (1925-1965) 1415

> 1417 Speech to African Summit Conference—Cairo, Egypt

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. (1929–1968) 1420

"I Have a Dream" 1423

STOKELY CARMICHAEL (1941-) 1425

"Black Power" 1426

IESSE JACKSON (1941-) 1430

Address: Democratic National Convention, San Francisco,

July 17, 1984 1431

ANGELA DAVIS (1944-) 1433

> FROM "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves" 1436

CALL FOR CRITICAL DEBATE 1449

LARRY NEAL (1937-1981) 1449

> "The Black Arts Movement" 1450

IOYCE ANN JOYCE (1949-) 1458

"The Black Canon: Reconstructing Black American Literary Criticism" 1459

HENRY LOUIS GATES, JR. (1950-) 1466

" 'What's Love Got to Do It?': Critical Theory, Integrity, and the Black Idiom" 1469

RESPONSE: VOICES OF THE NEW BLACK RENAISSANCE 1481 Voices of the Black Arts Movement 1481

THE NEW BLACK POETS 1481

ETHERIDGE KNIGHT (1931-1991) 1481

"The Idea of Ancestry"

"The Violent Space (or when your sister sleeps around for money)" 1484

"Hard Rock Returns to Prison from the Hospital for the Criminal Insane" 1485

"He Sees Through Stone" 1486

"A Poem for Myself (or Blues for a Mississippi Black Boy)" 1487

"Ilu, the Talking Drum" 1487

"The Bones of My Father" 1488

SONIA SANCHEZ (1934-) 1489

> "the final solution/" 1492

"right on: white america" 1493

"Summer Words of a Sistuh Addict" 1493

"Masks" 1494 "now poem. for us." 1495

"Blues" 1496

"Woman" 1496

"under a soprano sky" 1496

AMIRI BARAKA (LEROI JONES) (1934-) 1498

"Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note" 1501

"Black Art" 1501

"SOS" 1502

"Black People: This Is Our Destiny" 1503

"A Poem for Black Hearts" 1503

"Ka 'Ba" 1504

"leroy" 1504

"An Agony. As Now." 1505

"A Poem Some People Will Have to Understand" 1506

"Three Movements and a Coda" 1506

"Numbers, Letters" 1507

"Dope" 1508

"Wise I" 1510

Dutchman 1511

JAYNE CORTEZ (1936-) 1521

> 1524 "In the Morning"

"Orisha" 1526

"So Many Feathers" 1526

"Grinding Vibrato" 1528

"Rape" 1529

LUCILLE CLIFTON (1936-) 1530

> "miss rosie" 1533

"for deLawd" 1533

"my mama moved among the days" 1534

"good times" 1534

"the lost baby poem" 1534

"homage to my hips" 1535

"what the mirror said" 1535

"the making of poems" 1536

HAKI R. MADHUBUTI (DON L. LEE) (1942-) 1536

"Don't Cry, Scream" 1538

"Two Poems" FROM "Sketches from a Black-Nappy-Headed Poet" 1541

"We Walk the Way of the New World" 1541

"Assassination" 1543

"But He Was Cool or: he even stopped for green lights" 1544

"My Brothers"

"White on Black Crime"

1545

xxix

```
CAROLYN RODGERS (1943-)
                                   1546
           "Me, in Kulu Se & Karma"
                                      1548
           "Poem for Some Black Women"
                                           1549
           "5 Winos"
                        1550
           "U Name This One"
                                 1551
           "It Is Deep"
                         1552
        NIKKI GIOVANNI (1943-)
                                 1553
           "For Saundra"
                            1555
           "Revolutionary Music"
                                    1556
           "Nikki-Rosa"
                           1557
           "The Women Gather"
                                   1557
           "Ego Tripping (there may be a reason why)"
                                                      1559
THE NEW BREED
                    1560
        ALBERT MURRAY (1916-)
                                 1560
           "Train Whistle Guitar"
                                    1561
        MARI EVANS
                       1571
           "I Am a Black Woman"
                                    1573
                                   1574
           "into blackness softly"
           "Speak the Truth to the People"
                                           1575
                                     1576
           "Black jam for dr. negro"
           "conceptuality"
                             1576
        MAYA ANGELOU (1928–)
                                 1577
            "Still I Rise"
                           1579
            "Woman Me"
                            1580
           "My Arkansas"
                             1581
            "On Diverse Deviations"
                                     1581
           FROM I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings
                                                   1582
         KRISTIN HUNTER (1931-)
                                  1588
            "Forget-Me-Not"
                               1590
        TOM DENT (1932-)
                            1593
            "For Walter Washington"
                                       1595
            "For Lawrence Sly"
                                 1596
                                1597
            "Magnolia Street"
         ERNEST J. GAINES (1933-)
                                  1598
            "Three Men"
                           1600
         HENRY DUMAS (1934-1968)
                                    1615
                                 1616
            FROM Ark of Bones
         AUDRE LORDE (1934-1992)
                                    1623
            "Coal"
                      1626
                       1627
            "Power"
            "Never Take Fire from a Woman"
                                              1628
```

"Solstice" 1629 "The Woman Thing" 1630 "Stations" 1630 "Legacy—Hers" 1631 1632 JUNE JORDAN (1936-) "All the World Moved" 1635 "The New Pietà: For the Mothers and Children of Detroit" 1635 "In Memoriam: Martin Luther King, Jr." "You Came with Shells" 1636 "Poem About My Rights" 1637 WILLIAM MELVIN KELLEY (1937-) 1639 "Homesick Blues" MICHAEL S. HARPER (1938-) 1647 "Here Where Coltrane Is" 1648 "Come Back Blues" 1649 "Song: I Want a Witness" 1649 "To James Brown" 1650 "Effendi" 1650 "In Hayden's Collage" 1651 "Last Affair: Bessie's Blues Song" 1652 ISHMAEL REED (1938-) "I Am a Cowboy in the Boat of Ra" 1655 "Sermonette" 1657 "Beware: Do Not Read This Poem" 1658 "Why I Often Allude to Osiris" 1659 "Lincoln-Swille" FROM Flight to Canada 1659 AL YOUNG (1939-) 1668 "A Dance for Militant Dilettantes" 1669 "For Arl in Her Sixth Month" 1670 "There Is a Sadness" 1671 "The Old O. O. Blues: Introduction" 1671 JAMES ALAN MCPHERSON (1943-) 1673 "A Solo Song: For Doc" 1675 1688 QUINCY TROUPE (1943-) "Reflections on Growing Older" 1689 "It All Boils Down" 1690 "Snake-Back Solo" 1691 "For Malcolm Who Walks in the Eyes of Our Children" 1693

WOMEN'S VOICES OF SELF-DEFINITION 1694

TONI MORRISON (CHLOE ANTHONY WOFFORD) (1931–)

The Bluest Eye 1699

"Recitatif" 1770

C&R, p. 681

TONI CADE BAMBARA (1939-1995) 1787 "My Man Bovanne" 1789 ALICE WALKER (1944-) 1792 "Everyday Use" 1797 "In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens" 1802 1807 SHERLEY ANNE WILLIAMS (1944-) "Any Woman's Blues" 1809 "The Empress Brand Trim: Ruby Reminisces" 1809 "The Peacock Poems: 2" 1811 CLENORA HUDSON-WEEMS (1945-) 1811 "Africana Womanism: An Historical, Global Perspective for Women of African Descent" 1812 BARBARA SMITH (1946--) 1815 "Toward a Black Feminist Criticism" 1816 NTOZAKE SHANGE (1948-) 1827 "somebody almost walked off wid alla my stuff" FROM for colored girls who have considered suicide when the rainbow 1829 is enuf GAYL JONES (1949-) 1832 "Ravenna" 1834 1835 GLORIA NAYLOR (1950-) FROM Mama Day 1838 1843 bell hooks (1952-) "Black Women: Shaping Feminist Theory" 1844 TERRY MCMILLAN (1951-) 1852 "Franklin" FROM Disappearing Acts 1855 FROM How Stella Got Her Groove Back 1861

VOICES OF THE NEW WAVE 1871

ASKIA MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (1938-) 1871

"Osirian Rhapsody: A Myth" 1873

207

"Dawnsong!" 1875

JOHN EDGAR WIDEMAN (1941–) 1879

"newborn thrown in trash and dies" 1881

AUGUST WILSON (1945-) 1885

Joe Turner's Come and Gone 1888

YUSEF KOMUNYAKAA (1947–) 1923

"Camouflaging the Chimera" 1924

"Hanoi Hannah" 1925

"Missing in Action" 1926

"Facing It" 1927

CHARLES JOHNSON (1948-) 1927

"The Sorcerer's Apprentice" 1931

JAMAICA KINCAID (1949–) 1937

"Columbus in Chains" FROM Annie John 1939

MELVIN DIXON (1950-1992) 1943

FROM Vanishing Rooms 1944

ANNA DEAVERE SMITH (1950-) 1947

FROM Fires in the Mirror 1948

RITA DOVE (1952-) 1963

"Roast Possum" 1964

"Dusting" 1965

"Taking in Wash" 1966

"Under the Viaduct, 1932" 1967

"The Great Palaces of Versailles" 1967

REGINALD MCKNIGHT (1956-) 1968

"I Get on the Bus" FROM I Get on the Bus 1970

CHARLES I. NERO (1956-) 1972

1772

1973

"Toward a Black Gay Aesthetic"

KAMARIA MUNTU (1959–) 1987

"Of Women and Spirit" 1988

"Lymphoma" 1989

RANDALL KENAN (1963–) 1990

"The Foundations of the Earth" 1991

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INDEX OF AUTHORS AND TITLES 2015

SUBJECT INDEX 2023

APPENDIX A 2033

CONTENTS OF AUDIO COMPACT DISC

the Folkways album "Child Portia" (FH 5521)

- "Go Down, Moses" (traditional) 3:00—performed by Bill McAdoo, vocal; from the Folkways album Bill McAdoo Sings: Volume 2 (FA 2449)

 C&R, p. 42
- 3. "Bars Fight" (Lucy Terry) 1:32—read by Arna Bontemps; from the Folkways album Anthology of Negro Poets in the U.S.A. (FL 9792)

 C&R, p. 91
- "Earl of Dartmouth" (Phillis Wheatley):50—read by Dorothy F. Washington; from the Folkways album The Negro Woman (FH 5523)

 C&R, p. 100
- 5. "Speech at Akron Convention" [excerpt] (Sojourner Truth) 2:05—read by Ruby Dee; from the Folkways album What If I Am A Woman? (FH 5537)

 C&R, p. 261
- 6. "The Meaning of July 4 for the Negro" [excerpt] (Frederick Douglass) 2:37—read by Ossie Davis; from the Folkways album The Meaning of July 4 for the Negro (FH 5527)

 C&R, p. 320
- "Wade in the Water" (arr. Patsy Ford Simms/Jenson Pub.) 2:22—performed by Fisk Jubilee Singers; from the Smithsonian Folkways CD African American Spirituals: The Concert Tradition (40072)
 C&R, p. 238
 "When Malindy Sings" (Paul Laurence Dunbar) 3:51—read by Margaret Walker; from the Folkways album Mar-
- garet Walker Reads (FL 9796)

 C&R, p. 606

 9. "Banjo Player" (Fenton Johnson):50—read by Arna Bontemps; from the Folkways album Anthology of Negro Poets
- in the U.S.A. (FL 9792)

 C&R, p. 623

 10. "Atlanta Exposition Address" [excerpt] (Booker T. Washington) 1:17—delivered by Booker T. Washington; from

xxxii Contents

- "John Henry" (traditional) 4:02—performed by Brownie McGhee, vocal and guitar and Sonny Terry, vocal and harmonica; from the Smithsonian Folkways CD Brownie McGhee & Sonny Terry Sing (40011)
 C&R, p. 563
- "Titantic" (Huddie "Lead Belly" Ledbetter) 4:04—performed by Lead Belly, vocal and guitar; from the Smithsonian Folkways CD Lead Belly's Last Sessions (40068/71)
 C&R, p. 814
- 13. "Go Down Death" (James Weldon Johnson) 5:46—read by Margaret Walker; from the Folkways album Margaret Walker Reads (FL 9796)

 C&R, p. 821
- "Precious Lord" (Thomas A. Dorsey/Unichappell Music, BMI) 3:49—performed by The Philadelphia Ambassadors: Carolyn Bolger-Payne, vocal and Evelyn Simpson Cureton, piano and director; from the Smithsonian Folkways CD African American Gospel: The Pioneering Composers (40074)

 C&R, p. 804
- "If We Must Die" (Claude McKay):58—read by Claude McKay; from the Folkways album Anthology of Negro Poets (FL 9791)
 C&R, p. 883
- "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" (Langston Hughes)—read by Langston Hughes; from the Smithsonian Folkways CD
 The Voice of Langston Hughes (47001)

 C&R, p. 889
- "Ma Rainey" (Sterling Brown) 2:08—read by Sterling Brown; from the Smithsonian Folkways CD The Poetry of Sterling Brown (47002)
 C&R, p. 999
- 18. "Backwater Blues" (William Broonzy) 2:47—performed by Big Bill Broonzy, guitar and vocal; from the Smithsonian Folkways CD Big Bill Broonzy Sings Folk Songs (40023). (The lyrics are interpolated in the "Ma Rainey" poem; also see the sections on "Classic Blues Lyrics" and "Rural Blues Lyrics of the 30s and 40s" in Part IV, pp. 797–802.)
 C&R, p. 999
- "For My People" (Margaret Walker) 5:41—read by Margaret Walker; from the Folkways album Poetry of Margaret Walker (FL 9795)

 C&R, p. 1159
- "The Children of the Poor: Sonnet Two" (Gwendolyn Brooks) :52—read by Gwendolyn Brooks; from the Folkways album Anthology of Negro Poets (FL 9791)

 C&R, p. 1168
- 21. "I Have A Dream" [excerpt] (Martin Luther King, Jr.) 4:49—delivered by Martin Luther King, Jr.; from the Folkways album We Shall Overcome (FL 9795)
- "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round" (traditional) 2:30—performed by The SNCC Freedom Singers: Cordell Reagon, Bernice Johnson Reagon, Rutha Harris, Charles Neblett, vocals; from the Smithsonian Folkways CD Sing for Freedom (40032)

 C&R, p. 1390
- 23. "Nikki-Rosa" (Nikki Giovanni) 1:13—read by Nikki Giovanni; from the Folkways album Legacies (FL 9798)

 C&R, p. 1557
- "Summer Words of a Sistuh Addict" (Sonia Sanchez) :55—read by Sonia Sanchez; from the Folkways album A Sun Woman For All Seasons Reads Her Poetry (FL 9793)

 C&R, p. 1493
- "Dope" (Amiri Baraka) 5:02—read by Amiri Baraka; from the Folkways album Before Columbus Foundation (FL 9702)
 C&R, p. 1508
- 26. "Big Nick" (John Coltrane, Jowcol Music/BMI) 5:18—performed by George "Big Nick" Nicholas, tenor saxophone, John Miller, piano, Billy Hart, drums, Dave Jackson, bass; from the India Navigation album Big Nick (10066) (Although this selection is not in the anthology, see the sections "Bop & Cool Jazz" in Part V, pp. 1099–1101, and "Avant-Garde Jazz" in Part VI, p. 1393.)

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PREFACE

In response to the call of many teachers, critics, and writers of African American literature, we, the editors of Call and Response: The Riverside Anthology of the African American Literary Tradition, are proud to present this groundbreaking textbook that joins students in centuries of conversations. It is the first comprehensive anthology of literature by African Americans presented according to the Black Aesthetic, a criteria for black art developed by Americans of African descent. As proponents of the aesthetic, we believe that African American literature is a distinct tradition, one originating in the African and African American cultural heritages and in the experience of enslavement in the United States and kept alive beyond slavery through song, sermon, and other spoken and written forms.

The uniqueness of *Call and Response* is that our aesthetic approach enables us to give equal place to the oral and written dimensions of African American literature. By broadly defining the literature, we represent in the anthology the centurieslong emergence of this aesthetic in poetry, fiction, drama, essays, speeches, letters, autobiographies, sermons, criticism, journals, and folk literature from secular songs to rap. Unlike other literature anthologies, *Call and Response* unfolds the historical development of the oral tradition simultaneously with the written literature.

In order to enhance its usefulness, clarity, and coherence, we have drawn from three motifs unique to the African American experience to give shape to the anthology. The first is the distinct African and African American antiphonal pattern of call and response. This black folk sermonic and literary technique is one of black America's major cultural art forms that fosters and reinforces a dynamic, artistic, and cultural relationship between the individual and the group. Accordingly, we use call and response in a variety of ways. Not only do we present the pattern as it is most often recognized, that is, in black sermon, song, and speech, but we also use it structurally and thematically. Structurally, we incorporate it in each section of the volume to shown the written literature answering the call of the folk culture. Thematically, we use it to feature African Americans throughout American history raising important socio-political issues and the responses to those issues either by their contemporaries or heirs in succeeding generations.

The second is the theme of the journey of African American people toward freedom, justice, and social equality. We present the culture, history, and literature of African Americans in a double structure of the literary tradition, that of the narrative of slavery through black spirituals and the poetic blues response to that experience. When the blues receives and responds to the historical call of the spirituals, the black communal voice becomes easily discernible.

xxxiii

Preface

The third motif overlaying the call and response pattern and black musical idioms is that of turning points. In other words, we present the oral and written literature in continual crossroads of African American experience, those crucial points throughout African American history where a decision has had to be made by Americans of African descent. We highlight this crossroads that links the African American experience from an ever-shifting past to a never-ending struggle for a more promising future.

THE ORGANIZATION

Arranged chronologically, Call and Response is divided into six historical periods that trace the journey of African American people from the arrival of the first slave ship to the North American continent to the Exodus and, then, through slavery's aftermath. Carrying through on the book's title, the first three periods, which are titled with lines from the spiritual "Go Down, Moses," trumpet the call for deliverance from slavery and oppression. They are "Go Down, Moses, Way Down in Egypt's Land" (1619-1808), "Tell Ole Pharaoh, Let My People Go" (1808-1865), and "No More Shall They in Bondage Toil" (1865-1915). As indicated in the subtitles of these chapters, these periods are constructed as a four-part slave narrative: the description of the conditions of slavery and/or oppression; the explanations of the desire for freedom; the escape to freedom; and the considerations of whether the new freedom is the ideal freedom. Shifting from the spirituals to the blues are the latter three periods: "Bound No'th Blues" (1915-1945), "Win the War Blues" (1945-1960), and "Cross Road Blues" (1960 to the present). The subtitles of these chapters take on the form of the blues idiom. Based on Langston Hughes's blues poem "Misery," they sound the responding but repetitive chords of the people's ongoing struggle for freedom and social equality, beginning with the Great Migration from the rural South to the urban North and, eventually, to the crossroads of complex social issues facing contemporary African Americans.

THE SELECTIONS: AN AIM OF INCLUSIVENESS

For each historical period, we have woven selections, extensive introductions, and author headnotes into a unified approach to African American literature and the culture that informs it. Call and Response features over 150 authors, both major and minor writers, and over 550 selections, both major and minor works. It highlights one full-length slave narrative, Frederick Douglass's The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave; four full-length plays, Lorraine Hansberry's A Raisin in the Sun, Alice Childress's Wedding Band, Amiri Baraka's Dutchman, and August Wilson's Joe Turner's Come and Gone; one full-length novel, Toni Morrison's The Bluest Eye; and three novellas, Ann Petry's "Miss Muriel," Paule Marshall's "Barbados," and Ernest Gaines's "Three Men." Rather than reprinting lengthy novels by writers, we have chosen numerous, significant, and sometimes difficult-to-find short fictional works, selections that illuminate the relationship between these literary artists and the black culture within which they were writing. Along with several excerpts from novels that extend from William Wells Brown's Clotelle (1853) to Terry McMillan's How Stella Got Her Groove Back (1996), we have reprinted over thirty short stories, includ-

ing Alice Dunbar-Nelson's "Sister Josepha," Rudolph Fisher's "Miss Cynthie," Richard Wright's "Long Black Song," Chester Himes's "Marihuana and a Pistol," James Baldwin's "Sonny's Blues," and Dorothy West's "The Richer, the Poorer." Our volume also contains several contemporary classics such as Alice Walker's "Everyday Use," James McPherson's "Solo Song: for Doc," and Albert Murray's "Train Whistle Guitar" as well as Kristin Hunter's previously unpublished tale, "Forget-Me Not," Toni Morrison's single skillfully crafted short story "Recitatif," and Randall Kenan's fascinating piece, "The Foundations of the Earth."

In addition to providing a substantial range of period and theme within the literary tradition, the anthology underscores the delicate balance of gender. In particular, Call and Response redresses the long neglect of African American women authors, many of whom have been critically misunderstood or summarily dismissed from existing anthologies. Over seventy women are represented and the most recent research in African American women's studies is discussed in the appropriate introductions and headnotes. Not only does Call and Response explore the themes of the double standard and women's rights in the works, ranging from such literary figures as Maria W. Stewart, Frances Watkins Harper, Sojourner Truth, and Anna Julia Cooper to Toni Morrison, Toni Cade Bambara, Alice Walker, Audre Lorde, and Ntozake Shange, but it also reveals the secondary positions to which black women writers had been relegated in both the Harlem Renaissance and Black Arts Movements. Of special interest are the selections and discussions on works that represent different brands of feminism embraced by black female intellectuals: black feminism, womanism, and Africana womanism. They include essays such as Barbara Smith's "Toward a Black Feminist Criticism," bell hooks's "Black Women: Shaping Feminist Theory," Alice Walker's "In Search of Our Mother's Gardens," and Clenora Hudson-Weems's "Africana Womanism: An Historical, Global Perspective for Women of African Descent." Appealing to both the beginning and the advanced student, the volume can be used in a variety of courses, whether focused on gender, genre, historical period, or theme.

THE INTRODUCTIONS AND HEADNOTES: EXTENDED SCHOLARSHIP

To place the generous selections within a historical and sociopolitical context, we have written thorough introductions to each section, information that appears with a refined clarity so appropriate for newcomers to the scope and breadth of African American literature. In each introduction we inquire into contested ideas and theories that will challenge even professionals in the field. The author headnotes contain a critical analysis and selected bibliography of each author's works. We trace each author's career and address the question of that writer's place in African American and American history.

We begin the volume with a chapter on the transplantation of African culture to North America and its transformation to African American orature. We give a broad survey of African cultural survivals in Colonial slave folk culture and an overview of the re-Africanization of Christianity. We provide extensive research on the unmistakably African origins of African American music and folklore such as African praise songs and oral epic narratives.

Preface

The forms of these and other black folk idioms in the anthology are explained in headnotes that were prepared by editor Patricia Liggins Hill. She, along with editors Bernard Bell and Trudier Harris, also wrote the folk culture sections in the introductions. For the research on the oral tradition, we, the editors, are greatly indebted to Hildred Roach's Black American Music: Past and Present (1992), Eileen Southern's The Music of Black Americans (1971; 1983, second edition) and the other authoritative sources that follow: Mary F. Berry and John Blassingame's Long Black Memory: The Black Experience in America (1982); J. Mason Brewer's American Negro Folklore (1968); Dena Epstein's Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War (1977); LeRoi Jones's (Amiri Baraka's) Blues People (1963); John Lovell, Jr.'s Black Song: The Forge and the Flame (1972); J. H. Kwabena Nketia's The Music of Africa (1974); John W. Roberts's From Trickster to Badman (1989); Tricia Rose's Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America (1994); and Ben Sidran's Black Talk (1971).

While Call and Response traces the oral literature from Africa to present-day black America, it simultaneously shows the written literature that corresponds and responds to the crossroads reflected in the oral heritage. In the introduction to Part I, editor Sondra O'Neale unveils the historical crossroad of eighteenth-century black tradition, the constant tension between overt and subtle protest against the slave condition. As evidenced in the worksongs, spirituals, and folktales of the day and in the works of such writers as Jupiter Hammon and Phillis Wheatley, the only safe form of resistance in both the written and oral literature has always been a veiled form. As O'Neale points out, the successful attempts at overt protest came after the founding of the Black Church in the northern colonies, when African American authors such as Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and Prince Hall were free to write to and address black audiences. These forms of protest lead to the historical crossroads within the militant black abolitionist movement of the early nineteenth century covered by Part II editor Patricia Liggins Hill, namely, whether leaders of the movement should strive for the black community's emigration from the United States or integration into the mainstream of American society. Liggins Hill also delves into the origins of another crossroad that continues to the present day, the crossroad of black rights versus women's rights as seen in the literary exchanges between Frederick Douglass, Frances Watkins Harper, and Sojourner Truth. As this historical crossroad runs its course throughout the late nineteenth century, Part III editor Trudier Harris presents the decade of the 1890s as both the era of Booker T. Washington and that of the black woman. In the historical introduction Harris features the controversy between the racial accomodationist Booker T. Washington and the black radical W.E.B. Du Bois as to the solution to the black dilemma of overcoming the legacies of slavery and racism.

The latter three periods also highlight the historical crossroad between black colonization and social integration, from Marcus Garvey's Back to Africa Movement of the 1920s to the integrationist philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the separatist ideology of Malcolm X of the 1960s. These chapters also focus on the literary crossroad, namely, whether black art should be art for art's sake or art for people's sake. Part IV editors R. Baxter Miller and Patricia Liggins Hill feature the debate during the Harlem Renaissance between Alain Locke and W.E.B. Du Bois on the theory of black art. The debate as to the nature of black art continues on in Part

V as editors Bernard Bell, Patricia Liggins Hill, and Horace Porter discuss the debate in the 1950 issue of *Phylon* among several black critics, including Hugh M. Gloster and Nick Aaron Ford. With the collaborative efforts of Liggins Hill and O'Neale, Part VI editor William J. Harris presents, in the final and largest section of the anthology, the critical debate of the contemporary period between black aesthetician Joyce Ann Joyce and black post-structuralists Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Houston Baker, Jr., on the Black Aesthetic versus Black Post-structuralism.

ANCILLARIES

A comprehensive instructor's manual and an audio compact disc containing recorded versions of some of the spoken and musical selections accompany the anthology. Prepared with the assistance and expertise of our colleague Johnanna Grimes of Tennessee State University, the *Instructor's Manual* weaves successful practices for generating innovative classroom discussion and ideas for linking authors and selections. Paralleling the content of *Call and Response*, the manual also includes recommendations for effectively introducing the compact disc into both lecture formats and class discussions. The audio disc, produced by our Coppin State College colleague Robert H. Cataliotti, consists of selections that reflect the development of the oral tradition. Beginning with an African griot's exciting version of the African oral epic *Sunjata* (also spelled *Sundiata* or *Sunyetta*), the disc moves forward through decade and century featuring recordings not only of black folklore, music, and speeches, but also of poets Langston Hughes, Sterling Brown, Margaret Walker, Gwendolyn Brooks, Amiri Baraka, Sonia Sanchez, and Nikki Giovanni reading their verse.

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Finally, we wish to give thanks to the entire staff at Houghton Mifflin: Chairman, President, and CEO Nader Darehshori; Executive Vice President and Director of the College Division June Smith; Publisher Alison Zetterquist; Sponsoring Editors Jayne Fargnoli and George Kane; Senior Associate Editor Linda M. Bieze; Senior Marketing Manager Nancy Lyman; Senior Project Editor Janet Edmonds; Associate Production/Design Coordinator Jennifer Meyer; Senior Manufacturing Coordinator Marie Barnes; Cover Designer Diana Coe; Permissions Editor Lyn Holian; Contracts and Permissions Supervisor Jill Dougan; Assistant Editor Jennifer Roderick; Administrative Associate Paulie LeComte; Editorial Assistant Terri Teleen; and Marketing Assistant Jennifer Good. Their commitment to publish a refreshingly new anthology of African American literature has made a difference.

The Editors

CALL AND RESPONSE

RESPONSE: THE WRITTEN TRADITION

VOICES OF THE FOLK TRADITION

CHARLES W. CHESNUTT (1858–1932)

Charles Waddell Chesnutt, referred to as the "pioneer of the color line" because of his thematic focus on interracial relationships, was one of the major African American writers to win national prominence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In contrast to his predecessors, he was able to secure the support of large publishing outlets. His development of assimilationist themes in his works and his concern with the African American folk tradition gave his work a flavor that tied together his roots in North Carolina with his cosmopolitan life in Cleveland, Ohio. His depictions of how black people fared during Reconstruction and shortly thereafter won him audiences from the budding African American literary community as well as from the established white literati. Chesnutt achieved success initially through publishing short stories in the *Atlantic Monthly*; he won the support of editors and writers such as Walter Hines Page and George W. Cable, as well as the editors at Houghton Mifflin.

Chesnutt was born on June 20, 1858, in Cleveland, Ohio, to Andrew Jackson and Anne Maria Sampson Chesnutt, free blacks who had migrated from Fayetteville, North Carolina. Andrew Chesnutt served as a teamster in the Union Army, and Anne Maria had secretly taught slaves in North Carolina, so the young Charles was heir to a tradition of racial and national commitment. Andrew moved his family back to Fayetteville in 1866, where Charles helped his father in their grocery business and attended the local normal school. By the time his mother died in 1871 and he had to help support the family, he had acquired enough education to begin teaching school. One job took him to Spartanburg, South Carolina, and another to Charlotte, North Carolina. Between teaching duties, Chesnutt continued his education by studying American history, algebra, Latin and other languages, music, and literature. As early as 1874, he began to keep a journal that would play a significant role in his observation of race relations as well as in his articulation of his role as a writer.

Returning to teach in Fayetteville in 1877, Chesnutt married a fellow teacher, Susan Perry, in 1878. He added stenography to his studies as a way of combatting the stifling effect of small-town America. Although he became principal in 1880 of the normal school he had attended, his education and color (he was a "white" black man) placed him between the races, and he resigned in 1883 to try his hand at legal stenography in the North. He was also becoming increasingly convinced that he should become a writer. Observing Judge Albion Tourgée's success in writing about black people in North Carolina, Chesnutt questioned in his journal why he could not do the same. He determined that, if he wrote, he would write for "a high, holy purpose." His writing would be goal oriented in terms of preparing the way for black people to get "recognition and equality."

The summer of 1883 found Chesnutt alone in New York working as a stenographer and reporter for the New York *Mail and Express.* Within six months, however, he had decided to move to Cleveland, where he took his family, daughters Ethel and Helen Maria ("Nellie") and son Edwin ("Ned") in addition to his wife, in 1884; a third daughter, Dorothy, was born in Cleveland. That city not only would provide refuge for Chesnutt but also would appear in various of his short works, such as "Baxter's Procrustes" and "The Wife of His Youth."

As early as 1872, Chesnutt had published a short story in a local newspaper in Fayetteville. In 1885, he published "Uncle Peter's House," another short story, with the S.S. McClure newspaper syndicate. He also developed his first long-standing literary friendship during this period; he and George W. Cable exchanged letters and essays. In one radical essay, Chesnutt urged an end to all forms of segregation in the South. Cable tried unsuccessfully to get Chesnutt's "Rena Walden" published in Century Magazine. That story, and the many versions of it Chesnutt worked on over the years, formed the core of what became The House Behind the Cedars (1900, originally titled "Rena Walden"), a novel depicting the tragic consequences of a young black woman passing for white. Although Chesnutt passed the Ohio bar in 1887 and joined a Cleveland law firm, he nonetheless continued his lucrative business as a court reporter as well as his profession as a writer.

"The Goophered Grapevine," the first story in *The Conjure Woman*, appeared in the August 1887 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, after which Walter Hines Page of Houghton Mifflin approached Chesnutt about reading all the short fiction he had written. That contact resulted in the selection and publication of the seven stories in *The Conjure Woman*, which appeared in 1899. Consciously drawing on the tradition of Uncle Remus telling stories to a little white boy, which had been popularized by Joel Chandler Harris in the 1880s, Chesnutt created Uncle Julius, a kindly trickster who tells tales in dialect for his own benefit and that of a northern white couple who have relocated to the South. The volume demonstrates the peculiar position of a black writer trying to make inroads into a white reading audience; while Chesnutt may have wanted to be critical of slavery and the conditions under which blacks lived during Reconstruction, he could only do so by veiling his messages in tales wrapped in fantasy and superstition in order not to offend his audience. Chesnutt also published a biography of Frederick Douglass, *Frederick Douglass*, in 1899 (Boston: Small, Maynard).

In 1900, Houghton Mifflin published Chesnutt's The Wife of His Youth and Other Stories of the Color Line. (The title story was originally published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1898.) Explorations into miscegenation and other cross-racial sexual encounters, the nine stories weigh the value of human relationships and attachments against the dictates of communities that would keep the races separate. They also explore the intraracial color bar, where black people adopt the value system and prejudices based on color as practiced by the larger society. In "The Wife of His Youth," for example, the leader of Groveland's (Cleveland's) Blue Veins must make the wrenching choice of marrying a very light-skinned black woman or accepting the very dark-skinned "wife of his youth," to whom he had been married during slavery and from whom he had run away more than twenty-five years before. In another instance, a white sheriff who has fathered a black son must make a decision to acknowledge that son when he is jailed or continue to deny kinship to him.

Color, Chesnutt asserts, frequently takes priority over morality and conscience, and human beings distort innate affection in favor of societally prescribed roles that can negate their very essence as beings with altruistic feelings. The psychological traumas of people of mixed blood, combined with the racial hatred and mob violence sometimes directed toward them, did not make for the romantic times that proponents of the Plantation Tradition advocated. Reviewers such as William Dean Howells and Hamilton Wright Mabie applauded Chesnutt's craft, but others were less enthusiastic about his focus on such disturbing subjects.

Chesnutt's efforts not to offend, therefore, did not last long. When he published The Marrow of Tradition (1901), a fictionalized account of the Wilmington, North Carolina, massacre of black people who tried to vote in the 1898 election, his critics began to see some bitterness in his work. Sales were disappointing enough (less than five thousand copies sold instead of the projected twenty to thirty thousand) for Chesnutt to reopen in 1902 the court-reporting business he had closed in 1899 to pursue writing full-time. When he published The Colonel's Dream (1905), a hardhitting account of the brutal responses to a kind-hearted Southern white man's effort to transform his prejudiced community, the critical response was so negative that Chesnutt gave up trying to make his living from publishing literary works on race problems in the South. He did not stop writing, however. He had completed two novels, The Rainbow Chasers and Evelyn's Husband, before 1905 (both focusing on white characters) that did not win publication. After them, he wrote Mrs. Darcy's Daughter; Paul Marchand, F.M.C.; The Quarry; and two additional novels; none he submitted for review was judged to be publishable. His revisions of them continued into the 1920s. Uneasy with the direction being taken by some of the writers of the Harlem Renaissance, Chesnutt joined W.E.B. Du Bois and William Stanley Braithwaite in advocating and producing a counterliterature; his efforts were not successful.

As politically active personally as he was in his literary works, Chesnutt publicly espoused a number of causes in the two decades following 1905. He joined Booker T. Washington's Committee of Twelve, a group of speechwriters and pamphleteers who composed essays that depicted blacks sympathetically to influence white public opinion. He also supported the efforts of the Niagara Movement, which would lead to the founding of the NAACP. Chesnutt joined other blacks in protesting the showing of D.W. Griffiths's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). He completed a series of articles on black and white intermarriage as a solution to race problems.

A few recognitions and rewards came to Chesnutt in the 1920s. In 1921, black filmmaker Oscar Micheaux bought the rights to *The House Behind the Cedars*, made the movie, and showed it to black audiences. The Chicago *Defender* serialized *The House Behind the Cedars*. The NAACP presented Chesnutt with its Spingarn Medal in 1928 for his pioneering work as a literary artist, and, in 1930, Houghton Mifflin reprinted *The Conjure Woman* in a handsome edition; it was the first time in many years that one of Chesnutt's works was back in print.

Color provided Chesnutt with the unique perspective of being caught between cultures and races. His observations on passing, miscegenation, and assimilation enabled him to create a body of works reflective of the peculiar state of American race relations at the turn of the century. Although his works were read in his lifetime, Chesnutt's true literary value has been uncovered in more recent years when quieter

political times have allowed readers to appreciate the difficulty as well as the artistry of his achievements.



Chesnutt's short stories have been collected by Sylvia Lyons Render in a volume titled *The Short Fiction of Charles W. Chesnutt* (1980).

The earliest biography of Chesnutt is by his daughter, Helen M. Chesnutt, titled Charles Waddell Chesnutt: Pioneer of the Color Line (1952). Another biography, by Frances Richardson Keller, is An American Crusade: The Life of Charles Waddell Chesnutt (1978). A notable biographical and critical study is William L. Andrews's The Literary Career of Charles Waddell Chesnutt (1980).

Book-length critical studies are few: J. Noel Heermance, Charles W. Chesnutt: America's First Great Black Novelist (1974); Sylvia Lyons Render, Charles W. Chesnutt (1980).

The Goophered Grapevine

Some years ago my wife was in poor health, and our family doctor, in whose skill and honesty I had implicit confidence, advised a change of climate. I shared, from an unprofessional standpoint, his opinion that the raw winds, the chill rains, and the violent changes of temperature that characterized the winters in the region of the Great Lakes tended to aggravate my wife's difficulty, and would undoubtedly shorten her life if she remained exposed to them. The doctor's advice was that we seek, not a temporary place of sojourn, but a permanent residence, in a warmer and more equable climate. I was engaged at the time in grape-culture in northern Ohio, and, as I liked the business and had given it much study, I decided to look for some other locality suitable for carrying it on. I thought of sunny France, of sleepy Spain, of Southern California, but there were objections to them all. It occurred to me that I might find what I wanted in some one of our own Southern States. It was a sufficient time after the war for conditions in the South to have become somewhat settled: and I was enough of a pioneer to start a new industry, if I could not find a place where grapeculture had been tried. I wrote to a cousin who had gone into the turpentine business in central North Carolina. He assured me, in response to my inquiries, that no better place could be

found in the South than the State and neighborhood where he lived; the climate was perfect for health, and, in conjunction with the soil, ideal for grape-culture; labor was cheap, and land could be bought for a mere song. He gave us a cordial invitation to come and visit him while we looked into the matter. We accepted the invitation, and after several days of leisurely travel, the last hundred miles of which were up a river on a sidewheel steamer, we reached our destination, a quaint old town, which I shall call Patesville, because, for one reason, that is not its name. There was a red brick market-house in the public square, with a tall tower, which held a four-faced clock that struck the hours, and from which there pealed out a curfew at nine o'clock. There were two or three hotels, a courthouse, a jail, stores, offices, and all the appurtenances of a county seat and a commercial emporium; for while Patesville numbered only four or five thousand inhabitants, of all shades of complexion, it was one of the principal towns in North Carolina, and had a considerable trade in cotton and naval stores. This business activity was not immediately apparent to my unaccustomed eyes. Indeed, when I first saw the town, there brooded over it a calm that seemed almost sabbatic in its restfulness, though I learned later on that underneath its somnolent exterior the deeper currents of life-love and hatred, joy and despair, ambition and avarice, faith and