THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE AND THE REVITALIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN POETRY

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The Harlem Renaissance (approx. 1920-30) represents the most important period in American Negro literary history from the Emancipation to the 1950s[1]. It was closely related to both literary trends in America and to the Pan-African movements resulting from the emerging importance of Africa in the Western world.

In this essay, I am primarily concerned with the Renaissance literary production which attempted to integrate Negro oral traditions (work songs, tales, sermonizing, blues, jazz, etc) and Euro-American literary traditions. However, as the acceptance of Negro literature depended not only on literary excellence but on the socio-economic position of the negro within American society as well, the ideological aspect of the Renaissance must also be taken into consideration.

As a preliminary step to examining the ideological basis of the Renaissance of Negro literature, the review of some historical events, both without and within the United States may be useful. The generally held opinion of African peoples as "culturally backward" had much to do with the predicament of Blacks in the United States, for they did not enjoy full status as American citizens, nor could they proudly point to an esteemed cultural heritage as could European immigrants. Little was known of African literatures (consisting mostly of oral tradition) or African music, and although African art had begun to exert an influence upon Western art at the beginning of the 20th century (Fauvists, cubists), it was in the most part looked on as "primitive". African states had little political power or recognition on the international scene, as witnessed by their colonization by European powers from about 1875 to the beginning of WWI[2].

Within the United States, two salient events to be considered are the Great Migration and the rise of a Negro intelligentsia. The importance of the Great Migration of the rural population[3] to urban centers during this period is evidenced by the two million Negroes[4] who migrated to large cities, mostly in the North. Harlem, for example, doubled its population from 1900 to the 1920s.

With the formation of an urban proletariat, a new race consciousness arose, encouraged by a Negro intelligentsia which disavowed the leadership of Booker T. Washington[5]. In order to offset Washington's influence, the Negro writer and sociologist W. E. B. DuBois[6] and other college-trained Negroes founded the Niagara Movement, which became the forerunner of the N.A.A.C.P. (1909)[7]. As it became increasingly clear that Negro participation in WWI had not effected

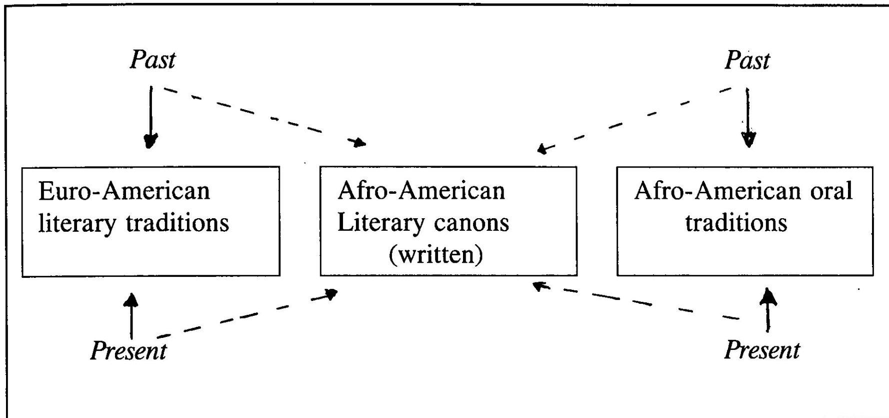
substantial changes in the socio-economic structure of the United States, more vociferous dissenters turned toward leaders such as the rather quixotic Marcus Garvey, who created the Universal Improvement Association (1919), edited the weekly *Negro World* (which supported the return of American Blacks to Africa) and founded the African Orthodox Church, in which Black worshippers revered a Black Virgin Mother and Satan and his followers were white[8]. Garveyism was not a success, but it did constitute the first mass movement among American Negroes, thus providing a foundation for future Black nationalist movements. Meanwhile, DuBois, convinced that "the recent course of the United States toward weaker and darker peoples in the West Indies, Hawaii and the Philippines" had made back-to-Africa schemes impossible, organized the World's first Pan-African Congress in Paris in 1919. The results of the Congress itself were meager, but the ground was laid for the first intellectual ties between Blacks in African and American nations.

The flowering of the new race-spirit, along with a growing appreciation of, or at least curiosity for, things African, constitute the cultural background of the Negro literary Renaissance of the 1920s. Harlem became a meeting place for Black writers and artists from the American states and from France, the British West Indies and Africa as well[9]. White intellectuals frequented small Harlem nightclubs while the members of the white high society flocked to spectacular cabarets like the Cotton Club. Thus, a catalyst not to be overlooked is the Negro music of the period. Both Negro Music (ragtime, blues and jazz) and Negro dances (Charleston, cake-walk, black-bottom) played important roles in whites' awareness of the beauty and vitality of Black culture, just as Black music and dance would again in the 1930s and 40s with swing and bebop, and in the 50s with rock and roll. It was the Broadway Black musical revue *Shuffle Along* as Langston Hughes observed that "gave just the proper push —a pre-Charleston kick— to that Negro vogue in the 20's that spread to books, African sculpture, music and dancing"[10].

Some scholars have traced the whites' rising interest in Negro life, and particularly in Harlem, to Negro themes appearing in white literary production previous to and during the period: Vachel Lindsay's "The Congo", "When Peter Jackson Preached the Old Testament", 1914; Sandburg's "Nigger", 1914; O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*, 1920; Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven*, 1926, etc. While it is true that these authors enjoyed a wide reading public and therefore provided for increased acceptance of Black authors by the general public, sporadic white literary production based on the theme of "the Negro" could not alone have sustained the prolonged revitalization effort which enabled Black culture to occupy its rightful place within America.

The literary historian Roy Harvey Pearce[11] has observed that poets work both out of and against the general cultural style of their age, which shapes a series of basic poetic styles. These poetic styles are an integral part of the life of a culture, and thus, the cultural context is determinative of a poet's style in the following ways: 1) "it prescribes the direction in which the poet's imagination may move"; 2) "it delimits the areas of experience in which the sensibility may be operative"; and 3) "it supplies his mind with 'content' —a substance of motifs, conceptions,

and the like: in the largest sense, *topoi*". For Afro-American poets at the beginning of the 20th century, the cultural context on which Pearce comments was shaped by very special circumstances indeed. Finding an authentic poetic voice meant mediating between a general Euro-American *written* style on the one hand and an Afro-American *oral* cultural heritage on the other, so that the Afro-American poet felt not only the "simultaneous" or double existence of past and present to which T. S. Eliot referred[12], but a quadruple existence —the present and past of two poetic traditions. This peculiar bi-cultural tightrope can be graphically representd as:



The dual-cultured context forced Afro-American writers to define themselves with regard to their own Afro-American oral traditions, perhaps more clearly and forcefully than was required of white writers. DuBois' penetrating analysis best sums up the resultant situation of "double-consciousness"[13]:

> The innate love of harmony and beauty that set the ruder souls of his people a-dancing and a-singing raised but confusion and doubt in the soul of the true black artist; for *the beauty revealed to him was the soul-beauty of a race* which his larger audience despised, and he could not articulate the message of another people.

Part of the Afro-American writer's inheritance was formed by the models of artistic beauty passed on to each new generation in the form of Black oral traditions —the spirituals, the folktales, the blues lyrics— with their corresponding myths and imagery, their own poetic diction and strategies for public presentation. The other part of the Black writer's inheritance constituted the "message of another people", the literature of white America, with its European perspective and its long tradition of written literature. Black poets of this period could choose to ignore their Afro-American heritage altogether or deal with "double-

consciousness" only on the level of theme, using diction acceptable in white poetry (e.g., Countee Cullen); or, they could try to create a truly Afro-American poetry. The second course entailed changing the literary canon in order to create a written folk poetry. The two fundamental principles of the new canon were: 1) the use of diction acceptable to a general Black public; and 2) the reaffirmation of shared, community values by adopting a performance-centered artistic posture.

The Harlem Renaissance constituted, undoubtedly, a classic case of what the anthropologist Anthony Wallace has termed "revitalization movement" [14]. Wallace defines a revitalization movement as "a deliberate, organized and conscious effort on the part of members of a society to construct a more satisfactory culture". In order for a group to carry out a revitalization movement, the persons involved must be able to perceive their culture as a *system*, which, at the time of the Renaissance, had been made possible through the concentration of a large Negro population, coming from diverse regions but sharing the same cultural assumptions. Wallace further states that upon judging the prevailing cultural system as unsatisfactory, the persons involved in the revitalization movement will struggle to change more than isolated elements; the objective will be nothing less than the renovation of the entire cultural system, establishing new interpersonal relationships and in some cases, defining new characteristics as norm. According to Wallace, a revitalization movement must achieve the following:

1. 'Mazeway' reformulation: 'mazeway' involves the personality-, cultural-, society system or field, organized by the individual's own experience (e.g., *gestalt*). This means a synthesis of new values and meanings.
2. Establishment of a system of communication.
3. The organization must be headed by charismatic leaders who have disciples.
4. Adaptation must be achieved so as to overcome resistance both from without and *within* the group.
5. A cultural transformation must take place; a group action program must be formulated and carried out.
6. Routinization: if the group action program is successful in reducing or alleviating stress-generating situations, it becomes established as norm.

To understand the significance of the new Black canon is to view the literary movement as part of the broader cultural renovation taking place during the Renaissance period and encompassing such diverse signs as Garvey's mass mobilizations, the prominence of Black dance and music and the literary authentication of what it means to be Black.

As we have just observed, revitalization involves the reformulation of values and meanings to provide for a more satisfactory self- and group-image. Poetry was particularly well-suited for the transmission of oral traditions because it could reflect the musicality of Black speech and it could also assume the performance role of Black music —that soul music that provides for group communication and can galvanize a group of individuals into a community.

In the confrontation between the Euro-American written and the Afro-American oral models, there emerged a written black poetry capable of expanding and extending the values implicit in the group. It was because of the adoption of the performance-centered posture characteristic of the folklore artist that the works of Afro-American poets constituted an act of *group*-definition as well as an act of *self*-definition.

Implicit in the new canon was the portrayal of different types of Black characters —characters who were not the stereotyped "sambos" of the planatation tradition, which by this time had a history of some 80 years or more and had been reinforced in theater by minstrel stereotypes. Writers involved in the revitalization of literary canon tried to portray "Negroes as they really were". This, however, meant depicting aspects of Negro "low-life", which many middle-class Negroes censured as demeaning; such themes did not show the white folks the "finer-quality" Negro.

In building the new canon, some Renaissance writers —most notably Langston Hughes and Sterling Brown— returned to folk materials in order to find the interlacing processes of a living tradition. But the use of folk materials, and especially folk diction, also produced certain resistance; for some Negroes, the use of folk materials meant the perpetuation of racist stereotypes. The prestigious Negro writer and statesman, James Weldon Johnson, had said that Negro diction was "an instrument with but two complete stops, pathos and humor"[15].

At this point, it will be useful to focus on two of the most successful poets in bringing about the revitalization of the Negro literary canon, Langston Hughes and Sterling Brown. Hughes, for instance, in reply to the various criticisms directed against the literary use of folk material and diction, wrote the much-quoted manifesto of the movement[16]:

> So I am ashamed for the black poet who says, "I want to be a poet, not a Negro poet," as though his own racial world were not as interesting as any other world... An artist must be free to choose what he does, certainly, but he must never be afraid to do what he might choose.
>
> Let the blare of Negro jazz bands and the bellowing voice of Bessie Smith singing Blues penetrate the closed ears of the colored near-intellectuals until they listen and perhaps understand. Let Paul Robeson singing "Water Boy" and Rudolf Fisher writing about the streets of Harlem, and Jean Toomer holding the heart of Georgia in his hands, and Aaron Douglas drawing strange black fantasies cause the smug Negro middle-class to turn from their white, respectable, ordinary books and papers and catch a glimmer of their own beauty. We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it does not matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too. The tom-tom cries and the tom-tom laughs. If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn't matter either. We build our

> temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves.

Three aspects of this manifesto deserve special attention: 1) the insistence that the depiction of the "Negro world" is as appropriate for literary treatment (i.e., as "universal") as that of any other American ethnic group; 2) the intention of basing literary creation on the values of the Negro folk community, not on those of the middle-class ("mainstream") Negro: and, 3) the intention of revising of Negro literature so that it might serve as an inspiration for future generations, the "temples for tomorrow".

It must be stressed that in no way did Hughes intend that his "young Negro artist" be perceived as un-American, i.e. only Negro, as can be verified in his later writings. The difference between Hughes' generation and the previous one can be observed by comparing his notions of the "duality" of American Blacks with those of DuBois. In *The Souls of Black Folks*, DuBois had written:

> 'One ever feels his twoness, An American, A Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two waring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being worn asunder.'

Hughes did not ignore the "unreconciled strivings". In his "Simple" stories, based on the Harlem character Jesse B. Semple, who is the personification of the accumulated Black experience, Hughes has Semple insist on his Americanness as well as his Blackness. Semple tells a joke about an old woman who goes into a restaurant and orders various dishes of soul-food, only to be told each time, "We don't have that." Finally the lady sighs and says, "I knowed you-all wasn't ready for integration." Semple's unaggressive friend finds this the normal course of affairs and says: "Most ethnic groups have their own special dishes. If you want French food, you go to a French restaurant. For Hungarian, you go to a Hungarian place." Semple then replies: "But this was an *American* place, and they did not have SOUL food." Although the Semple stories were written in the 1950s, the vision of duality is essentially the same as that put forth in the 1926 manifesto; Hughes does not voice *lament*, but rather *demand.*

The second aspect of Hughes' manifesto, the manipulation of Afro-American oral traditions to produce a written folk poetry, entails the third. However, the representation of oral traditions posed daunting problems. To begin with, it had to be made evident to both Blacks and whites that Afro-American oral culture had something truly beautiful to offer to all of America. The West African oral culture had survived in the New World and was transmitted and reinforced in America through Black speech patterns and musical idioms. On the other hand, the basis of mainstream culture was literate, i.e. cultural values being transmitted through written media. Consequently, the two cultures held alternative views as to what constituted relevant information and how this information was to be organized for transmission from one generation to another.

Both Hughes and Brown sought to put down in written form this oral approach to perceiving, organizing and transmitting Black cultural values, while at the same time building on the oral traditions to make them a "temple for tomorrow". Negro cultural traditions of a highly oral nature would have to be re-worked into a written tradition. New techniques had to be found in order to portray the folk performance. But even more important, the new writing would have to enable the poet to carry out the same social function as the folklore artist, i.e., "creator of community", who would provide inspiration for future Negro generations.

Brown's and Hughes' literary adaptations of Black oral traditions are too diverse to present here, but the following table (p. 184), specifying the popular models from which the literary ones were re-worked, may help clarify the folkloric nature of the poems to be presented in the last section of this paper.

Of the popular texts represented in the table, Brown and Hughes are most successful in the graphic literary representation of the blues. In Hughes' poetry, for example, blues texts take on diverse forms: sometimes, the classic formula of three lines; other times, Hughes experiments with modifications which reflect the infinite variety that popular blues artists themselves use. Hughes' skill in representing the blues can be seen in the deceptively simple folk poem, 'Misery'.

Play the blues for me. *A*
Play the blues for me. *A*
No other music
'll ease ma misery. *B*

Sing a soothin'song.
Sing a soothin'song.
Cause de man I love's done
Done me wrong.

Can't you understand,
Oh, understand
A good woman's cryin'
For a no-good man?

Black gal like me,
Black gal like me
'S got to hear a blues
For her misery.

Here Hughes bases his stanza on the traditional 3-line blues repetitional pattern (AAB), that is a statement, a repetition of the statement, usually word for word, and a resolution or comment. In each of the three lines of four bars (4/4), there is a call and response pattern, the singer providing the "call" for 2 or 3 bars (8 or 12 beats), and the musical accompaniment filling in the rest of the line. Hughes represents the stanza in four lines by breaking down the last blues line (B) into two parts.

ADAPTATIONS OF ORAL TRADITIONS FOR LITERARY USE

Model/ Text	Topic/Content	Mode of Presentation	Stylistic features
signifying sounding	"kinship"; miscegenation; racial oppresion ritual insults (family members)	One participant to group, or, against another participant melopeia; call & response; chanting	Repetition; Rhyming Alliteration; double entrende; onomatopeia; braggadoccio; inversion of meaning; polyrhythmic
toasting folktale ballad	hero tale; kinship (male); perverseness of urban life; trickster figure	Participant to group Rhythmic recitation in rhyming couplets	Repetition; metaphor; alliteration; narrative scheme; 4 beats/verse syntactic parallelism; "topoi"; braggadoccio; incremental repetition;
work song freedom ballad	hardships of manual labor; lost love;	Leader followed by group in unison call & response; chant	Repetition; onomatopeia parallelism; "topoi"; braggadoccio; beat timed according to rhythm of work
"sermonizing" testimonials	kinship community "chosen people" fidelity; wickedness of modern life; Receiving the spirit	Participant to group call & response; "talk-singing" lining-out; exhortation	Repetition; parallelism; onomatopeia; Biblical "topoi"; alliteration; aphorisms; diverse prosodic features used by preachers
rapping	kinship love; society racial struggle Diverse social topics	Participant to individual, or to the group	Repetition; Rhyming; Alliteration; double entendre; braggadoccio; puns; musical "topoi"; metaphor
blues jazz	kinship loneliness; infidelity; social injustice low life;	Singer to group; singing; humming; "talk-singing"; chanting; call & response; "scat" singing	Incremental repetition; Rhyme; Metaphor; double entendre; Biblical "topoi" mixed with "low-life "topoi"; onomatopeia

One frequent comment made about blues is the ability of a good singer to conjure up a general atmosphere of misery, singing as if the experience described were personal, and then to *transfer* this feeling to the listeners. Michael Haralambo, in "Soul Music and the Blues: Their Meaning and Relevance in Negro U. S. Black Ghettos"[17] explains that in the experiencing of the blues there is usually a general belief that the blues singer is describing a situation which she/he has actually experienced. Haralambo points out that the singer's role is that of crystalizing, synthezising and expressing a mood or feeling. He interviewed many blues singers who stressed the importance of the "shared experiences, their recognition, and expression in a blues song and the implied understanding of the audience". This suggestion of transfer of feeling is summed up in Haralambo's quote of B. B. King's statement on the dynamics of the singer-audience relationship:

> When I sing the Blues, the whole song may not be about the person, but there are certain things in it that they will recognize, that have happened to them or some of their friends, and when this happens, *they feel it.*

It follows then that a good blues poem should reflect that "shared experience" and transfer of feeling. Hughes' poem "Misery" does just that. A brief analysis reveals other blues features present in the poem:

1. Use of the blues structure: AAB
2. Use of meaningful "blues diction": "*ma* misery/"*de* man I loves *done me wrong*" (conjures up a "no-good man", etc.)/ "Black *gal*"
3. Evocation of the *performance function* (1.l: "Play the blues for me")
4. Use of the dative case pronoun and passive verbs to express subjection
5. Transfer of feeling (1st stanza) to the change in the 3rd stanza ("Black gal *Like* me"; not *me*, but you *Black gal*, who are listening to me)

The contextual posture of the persona-poet is set from the first line: "Play the blues for me". This is no superficial comment on the role of the Blues performer. Rather, it is the performer's role that Hughes is taking on: the performer who "knows the lore, can perform it effectively, and is permitted to perform"[18], thus giving him a status and a power role in the community.

Sterling Brown succeeded in adapting the ballad stanza so that it could convey the rhythm of Black speech, in both narrative and dialogue form. For example, in "Slim Hears the Call", one of the four poems which deals with 'Slim Greer, sportin' man', Brown portrays for us one of the typical characters of the Black community, first through the narration of the poet-narrator and then through the dialogue of Slim himself:

"Slim Hears the Call"

Down at the barbershop	*narrator*
Slim had the floor.	
"Ain't never been so	*Slim*
Far down before."	

Even a brief survey of the diverse graphic representations shows that Brown and Hughes experimented with many forms. They knew how to use the visual impact on the page, for example, in the graphic representation of "call and response" with different margins, or with italics. In jazz poetry, Hughes utilized short lines to capture the instrumental vigor and aggresiveness of urban life reflected in jazz rhythms. In the "Cat and the Saxophone", Hughes uses graphic devices to suggest, through the juxtaposition of human voices, the complex interaction taking place among musical instruments in a jazz session:

EVERYBODY
Half-pint, —
Gin?
No, make it
LOVES MY BABY
corn. You like
liquor,
don't you, honey?
BUT MY BABY
Sure. Kiss me.
DON'T LOVE NOBODY
daddy.
BUT ME.
....

Hughes uses incremental repetition, so frequent in blues and jazz, in the initial and final stanza of *Ask your Mama*, a poem based on the discourse structure of 'signifying':

IN THE
IN THE QUARTER
IN THE QUARTER OF THE NEGROES

THE TV'S STILL NOT WORKING.
SHOW FARE, MAMA, PLEASE.
SHOW FARE, MAMA
SHOW FARE.

The graphic representation the of ubiquitous 'call & response', for jazz, blues, testimonials, sermonizing, etc., has been diversely represented. Brown, for example,

has used the following graphic representation to portray the "work song" environment. The leader of the group sings one line, the signal for the group of workers to raise the shovel, spade, etc., and the group sings the following line as it puts the shovel into motion, thereby establishing a stable and coordinated rhythm for manual labor:

"Southern Road" (Sterling Brown)

Swing dat hammer —hunh—
Steady, bo'; (twice)
Ain't no rush, bebby,
Long ways to go.

Burner tore his —huhn—
Black heart away; (twice)
Got me life, bebby,
An'a day.

Often the traditional folkloric forms, such as "signifying" (a type of ritual insult) or "toasting" (black folk epic) are overlaid on a jazz rhythm, underscoring the intimacy between poetic forms and black music. In *Ask Your Mama,* Hughes reverses cultural norms, using a jazz montage with musical notation in the right margins as an instrument for free association (stream of consciousness) in order to "signify on" whites' fear of miscegenation:

AND THEY ASKED ME RIGHT AT CHRISTMAS
IF MY BLACKNESS, WOULD IT RUB OFF,
I SAID, ASK YOUR MAMA

In "Strong Men", Sterling Brown "signifies on" whites by using a series of metaphorical style-shifts, i.e., changing from a General American English variety (speakers identified as "they") to Black English (speakers identified as "you"). Although a *chant,* the poem uses a technique frequently found in jazz music — the sudden incorporation of well-known Black musical themes into a riff — as a kind of intertextual reference to both white written and Black oral poetry. Brown, drawing on Sandburg's image of "young" and "strong men" whose courage and independent spirit build a nation, makes use of refrains taken from Black spiritual and gospel songs to symbolize the resolution of young Black men who will fight for their own identity as Blacks and Americans:

Strong Men

The young men keep coming on
The strong men keep coming on
Sandburg

They brought you in like oxen,
They scouraged you,
They branded you,
They made your women breeders,
They swelled your number with bastards...
They taught you the religion they disgraced.

You sang:
Keep a-inchin' along
Lak a po'inch worm...

....
You sang:
Bye and bye
I'm gonna lay down dis heaby load...

....
You sang:
Walk togedder, chillen,
Dontcha git waery...
The strong men keep a-comin' on
The strong men git stronger.

Brown intended the verses in standard English to be recited with only one voice, while the lines taken from songs would be performed in "talk-singing" and the lines referring to "strong men" would be chanted by several Black male voices.

With their revision of Black poetic canon, both Brown and Hughes demonstrate how folkloric texts can be used in a written medium. First, they propose that it is not necessary to disown Black English, declaring it an unworthy medium for serious subjects. In fact, some themes associated with myth of "kinship" could not be presented in a language unfaithful to the collective memory. Second, although it is difficult in a written medium to produce the effects kinesic or prosodic — that arise in a folkloric rendition, this does not mean that the Black poet must adopt a posture alien to live performance. Certain stylistic devices, such as the intertextuality in Brown's "Strong Men", can capture performance characteristics. And finally, the Black poet need not renounce his social function. The role of verbal artists of Black blues men and preachers is well-known. What Brown and Hughes propose is that Black poets assume the role of verbal artists as well. The poet need not sever the bonds which link him to the collective spirit, as the Black poet Dunbar had proposed, thus searching for a poetic voice which speaks: "from some high peak, voicing the world's absorbing beat." The Black poet has a rhythm of his own which can be articulated in acts of kinship. It is through these that the audience as well as the performer create "shared moments".

Notes

1. It is debatable whether the Harlem Renaissance would have been considered a "literary movement" by the Negro writers of the period, many of whom neither lived in Harlem nor wrote about it. Nevertheless, its literary and continuing historical significance is made manifest by the number of present-day Black writers who turn to this period as a source of inspiration.
2. Those powers were Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain. So intense was the rivalry of European nations (particularly that between Great Britain and Germany) for African territory that their holdings threatened the stability of international relations. As a result, King Leopold II of Belgium organized a conference, held in Berlin in 1884-85, at which the powers defined their spheres of influence and laid down the rules for the future "development" of Africa.
3. In 1860, one-sixth of American people lived in urban areas, by 1900, one-third.
4. G. Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, (New York, 1962), pp. 191-96.
5. Washington had advised "sensible" Negroes to refrain from aggressive behavior in their demands for social equality. (See Washington's Atlanta Address, 1895). Many within the emerging Negro intelligentsia looked on Washington's statements as conciliatory to whites and as the sequel to the tenets of the plantation tradition.
6. In *The Soul of Black Folks* (1903, rpt. in *Three Negro Classics*, New York. Avons Books, 1965, p. 246), DuBois challenges Washington's programs: "Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; ...Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things —First, political power; Second, insistence on civil rights; Third, higher education of Negro youth."
7. See "How the N.A.A.C.P. Began", *The Crisis*, Feb. 1959, pp. 71-78.
8. See E. David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey* (Madison, Wisc., 1955).
9. For the role of Harlem in the literary Renaissance, see A. Locke, "The New Negro", in *Black Voices* (New York), 1968, pp. 512-517,. and J. K. W. Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, (New York, 1930). Johnson observes that the total West Indian population of Harlem in 1930 was about 50,000. Most were from the British colonies, although there were also Spanish-speaking and French-speaking West Indians.
10. L. Hughes, *The Big Sea* (New York, 1940), p. 224. Also see discography, *Shuffle Along*, RCA.. Regarding whites in Harlem, see the Black author Rudolf Fisher ("The Caucasian Storms Harlem", *American Mercury*, Vol XI, Aug. 1927; rpt. in N. I. Huggins, *Voices from the Harlem Renaissance*, New York, 1976, pp. 74-82) observed: "Granted that white people have long enjoyed the Negro entertainment as a diversion, is it not something different, something more, when they bodily throw themselves into Negro entertainment in cabarets? (Before, whites had come to Harlem cabarets to see how Negroes acted.) Now Negroes go to their own cabarets to see how white people act."
11. *The Continuity of American Poetry* (Princeton, 1961, rpt. 1977), pp. 10-13.
12. T. S. Eliot, *American Poetic Tradition*, ed. Perkins (New York, 1972), p. 220.
13. *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903. Rpt. in *Three Negro Classics*, (New York; Avon Books, 1965), p. 216.

14. A. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements?, *American Anthropologist*, 58, pp. 264-81.
15. James Weldon Johnson, Prologue to *God's Trombones* (N.Y.: Viking), pp. 7-8.
16. L. Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain", *Nation* 122, (June 16, 1926). Rpt. in A. Gayle (ed.), *The Black Aesthetic* (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971).
17. M. Haralambo, in *Afro-American Anthropology*, Whitten and Szwed (eds.), (N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace, Janovich, 1976), pp. 367-384.
18. Roger Abrahams, "Personal Power and Social Restraint in the Definition of Folklore", *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 84 (1971), p. 28.