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*Harlem to Infinity: An Intellectual History and critique of historical frameworks on the New
Negro Renaissance.*

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City University of New York."*

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Introduction

A part of the process in which historians reflect on their craft is the manners in which history is recorded. Amid said reflection, a desire to reanalyze periods from a less observed lens is quite common. This revisionist process critically ensures that historians continue to build a more holistic understanding of what the people, as well as the events of the time, were. However, this revisionist process is particularly important for the history of disenfranchised communities, such as descendants of the African diaspora. The popularized Winston Churchill quote, “history is written by the victors,” demonstrates how the telling of history is naturally vulnerable; that vulnerability exponentially increases for oppressed communities. When communities are systemically oppressed across generations, and being forced to excel in these flawed systems to be seen or heard, misinformation and miseducation about these communities are inevitable. Yet, what does this miseducation look like? More importantly, what effects does this miseducation have on the way scholars view histories of the oppressed?

When examining the ways in which systemic racism dictates education in the United States, several individuals tackle the subject. Prominent figures include American historian Carter Godwin Woodson, also known as the father of black history, and Trinidadian historian Cyril Lionel Robert, also known as CLR James.¹ In the specific case of educating black Americans in an oppressive educational system, Woodson tackles the notion in his work *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. Woodson’s challenge of frameworks that black North American people learn from

¹Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History. June 06, 2005. Accessed April 01, 2019. <https://web.archive.org/web/20110401191535/http://www.america.gov/st/diversity-english/2005/June/20080207153802liameruoy0.1187708.html>; Fraser, C. Gerald. "C. L. R. James, Historian, Critic and Pan-Africanist, Is Dead at 88." The New York Times. June 02, 1989. Accessed April 01, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/06/02/obituaries/c-l-r-james-historian-critic-and-pan-africanist-is-dead-at-88.html>.

demonstrates how a system blatantly built to oppress a group can perpetuate other manners of oppression. Woodson's examples of miseducation range from not only the student but also the educator, even if the educator is black. On the topic of the student receiving the information, Woodson speaks on being a black student in a white-led classroom initially. Woodson states,

At a Negro summer school two years ago, a white instructor gave a course on the Negro, using for his text a work which teaches that whites are superior to the blacks. When asked by one of the students why he used such a textbook, the instructor replied that he wanted them to get that point of view. Even schools for Negroes, then, are places where they must be convinced of their inferiority.²

As stated, the white led learning environment is inherently difficult because of how it is created and supported. The white instructor not only reinforces the notion of black inferiority by using a textbook that teaches white supremacy, but also by affirming the idea that the white supremacist "point of view" is essential. A white instructor teaching a course on the Negro may naturally lead to spreading ideas of black inferiority via implicit bias or active subversion, regardless of intent. However, this example is not the only one Woodson gives.³ What seemingly troubles Woodson as much as the white instructor who reinforces the notion of black inferiority is also the black instructor who does not understand the importance of the Negro. In the text, Woodson writes,

For example, an officer of a Negro university, thinking that an additional course on the Negro should be given there, called upon a Negro Doctor of Philosophy of the faculty to offer such work. He promptly informed the officer that he knew nothing about the Negro. He did not go to school to waste his time that way. He went to be educated in a system that dismisses the Negro as a nonentity.⁴

Through polar opposite examples, Woodson shows that the idea of black inferiority is inescapable for the black student, and asserts that "The thought of the inferiority of the Negro is drilled into

²Woodson, Carter Godwin. *The Mis-education of the Negro*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990.2

³KAHN, JONATHAN. "DEFINING AND MEASURING IMPLICIT BIAS." In *Race on the Brain: What Implicit Bias Gets Wrong About the Struggle for Racial Justice*, 21-40. NEW YORK: Columbia University Press, 2018. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/kahn18424.5>.

⁴Woodson, 2

him in almost every class he enters and in almost every book he studies” and may only be defeated through recognition and counteraction.⁵ Additionally, Woodson recognizes the powerful effect that such education has not only on others but on himself as well. If the myth of black inferiority is the foundation of an entire education system that oppresses, how is that system built and modeled?⁶ Furthermore, how is it sustained? More importantly, how does one correct an education system that actively miseducates? These questions are highly relevant in the current academic landscape, particularly in the field of history and established historical frameworks. Given the prospect that an academic writer’s implicit biases will find its way into historical works, why wouldn’t those same biases reflect in the frameworks that structure that work? These questions are imperative in recognizing how miseducation shapes our understanding of history.

A great example of miseducation of History is how we structure our understanding of the New Negro Renaissance. Popularized as the “Harlem Renaissance,” the New Negro Renaissance spans a period traditionally considered to have begun in the 1910s throughout the USA and ending with the Harlem Riots of 1935.⁷ However, as historians evolve into using frameworks that are less constrained by time, geographical location, sexuality, and gender but instead use the lens of lineage and tradition, one can recognize the connections between currently separated eras of black contributions.⁸ Instead, by observing the New Negro Renaissance as a long-term, intergenerational, and intersectional 20th-century movement, historians can appreciate the New

⁵Ibid, 2

⁶Miller, L. Scott. "The Origins of the Presumption of Black Stupidity." *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 9 (1995): 78-82. Accessed July 22, 2020. doi:10.2307/2962640.

⁷Hutchinson, George. "Harlem Renaissance." Encyclopædia Britannica. November 26, 2019. Accessed July 22, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Harlem-Renaissance-American-literature-and-art>.

⁸Joyce Elaine King. "Education Research in the Black Liberation Tradition: Return What You Learn to the People." *The Journal of Negro Education* 86, no. 2 (2017): 95-114. Accessed July 22, 2020. doi:10.7709/jnegroeducation.86.2.0095.102-104

Negro Renaissance's influence on Black and American history, which has a long standing tradition of black radical progressive activism that continues till this day.

In an effort to highlight a complete historical lens of The New Negro Renaissance, this work explores an intellectual history focused on understanding how historical systems rooted in miseducation are built and sustained. By examining the process of miseducation through historiographical analysis, one can see how incorrectly periodizing and marginalizing peoples' histories ultimately accentuates miseducation of black history. Furthermore, this project will argue the importance of utilizing different lenses, specifically a more temporally, geographically, gender and sexually diverse lens, to study the histories of oppressed people. By exploring examples of existing frameworks that expand the New Negro Renaissance geographically, intergenerationally, and intersectionally, this work will highlight the benefits of understanding the New Negro Renaissance outside of traditional confines.

Background

History is a relatively young academic field that is highly respected, making historical writing often susceptible to miseducating.⁹ Born primarily out of a rigid, manuscript-based system of sources, the study of history serves as a window into understanding how miseducation is perpetuated.¹⁰ A field built and sustained through retrospection and manuscripts has pushed the boundaries of manuscripts' initial purpose: merely keeping a record of events. Yet, the same manuscript-based system is smeared with the implicit biases of the authors of those very manuscripts; their intentions appear in histories explored in-depth, histories explored only

⁹ Butterfield, Herbert, and Adam Watson. *The Origins of History*. New York: Basic Books, 1981.196

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 197

fractionally, and histories not explored at all. Records of events become narratives at the hands of historians, who write with an intentional focus on their goals and perspectives.

While the field of history expanded into using Marxist and Annales interpretations, the biases grew. Marx's influence and racist beliefs would swirl together, and the emerging social histories would be of those people whose stories were already told in the form of ledgers and records.¹¹ The histories of those not as fortunate would often be left by the wayside, forgotten. When the histories of the less fortunate arose in opposition to the dominant narratives, the histories would be confined into an already existing narrative. Their works would then be dispersed into general academia, where they would later be discussed and, if considered substantive, then taught and regurgitated. In the field of history, this is the miseducation of the Negro that Woodson spoke of in his work.

Many people attempt to combat the process of miseducating, like Woodson. The list is extensive, and so are the methodologies. The methods of historiographical analysis help to debunk the usefulness of the information and change the way history is written, though the system is still flawed. Woodson's work shows how white supremacy works when educating the oppressed. However, that system of oppression not only perpetuates itself by the miseducation of black people but also by reinforcing inaccurate points of view to the general public as well; this, in turn, creates a self-sustaining oppressive narrative. Although Woodson does not speak directly towards this, his contemporary CLR James does this in his work, *The Black Jacobins*.

CLR James' *The Black Jacobins*, released five years after Woodson's work, primarily builds on the same ideas that Woodson argues. However, the significant difference is that unlike Woodson, James opts to challenge a specific interpretation of a historical event rather than the

¹¹Williams, Walter E. "The Ugly Racism of Karl Marx." The Daily Signal. May 10, 2017. Accessed January 16, 2019. <https://www.dailysignal.com/2017/05/10/ugly-racism-karl-marx/>.

educational system. Focused mainly on the Haitian Revolution, James sets out to challenge the conventional Eurocentric view on the subject. Before even beginning the text, James makes the point,

Great men make history. But only such history as it is possible for them to make. Their freedom of achievement is limited by the necessities of their environment. To portray the limits of those necessities and the realization, complete or partial, of all possibilities, that is the true business of the historian.¹²

This portion of the preface is vital to understanding the goal of his work because James spends the bulk of the work arguing a new interpretation of the Haitian Revolution. James' work is essential to undoing the miseducation that Woodson explains because it is an example of what using a more diverse lens looks like in practice. James' work is a testament to using frameworks based on diverse lenses to analyze black history. James' work not only challenges an inherently damaging eurocentric view of a specific event but also uses a lens or framework that is distinct from other interpretations which perpetuate the oppressive cycle of racism. Though Marx's racist background arguably detracts from James' Marxist leaning argument, James acknowledges the limitation of his work. From the beginning, James notes that he is only able to work with what resources are available to him and does not shy away from that fact. Nor does he attempt to reconcile the dubious nature of Marx's racist background because, like those before him, he has no choice but to use the tools he is provided. Works like *The Black Jacobins* extend the importance of undoing miseducation and illuminate pathways for historians and educators of the African diaspora. James' work, though centered in Haitian history, not only provides a new framework for historians and educators of the African diaspora, but other historians as well. For instance, Edward Said built on

¹²James, C. L. R. *Black Jacobins*. New York: Vintage Books, 2nd Ed., 1963.X

the idea of breaking down the oppressive system of racism within history and discourse from individuals like Woodson and James and added onto their work.¹³

Outside of the histories of the African Diasporic people, individuals like Edward Said challenged how scholars created and used the concept of the orient to perpetuate miseducation via stereotypes. Said's *Orientalism* helped generate a wave of historians known as the Subaltern Studies Group, who became critical of those who wrote histories of the "other" and how these histories were written. In the text, Said makes the argument that "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient-dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short."¹⁴ Said's work centers on acknowledging and breaking down the very ways that western society actively and systematically maintains authority over the concept of "the Orient" by dictating everything about it from their perspective. Furthermore, Said makes it clear that his intent in deconstructing the field of Orientalism is so that he may also "show that European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as sort of a surrogate and even underground self."¹⁵ Said's work shows that these systems intentionally exist to suppress oppressed communities while elevating the west. Said's work is important because along with James and Woodson's hypothesis, it is abundantly clear that the system of oppression exists and is antagonistic towards non-eurocentric histories. When such a suppressive nature is coupled with the miseducation that Woodson coined, there is a clear need to reassess existing historical efforts because of oppressive influence, as mentioned. Additionally, historians may have internalized the same oppressive force in their attempt to undo the damaging effects of said influence.

¹³Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994. 279-281

¹⁴Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.3

¹⁵ibid,4

Said's *Orientalism*, like the works of James and Woodson, spawned works that were critical of this oppressive force of Occidentalism. Academics like The Subaltern Studies Group were born out of the efforts of individuals such as Said. Both Said and The Subaltern Studies Group's work, built on the ideas of individuals like Woodson and James.¹⁶ Their combination of methodologies both acknowledge and are critical of their heritage, while simultaneously steeped in the culture the writers acknowledge; this is critical to creating a historical framework that benefits the histories of the oppressed. However, these individuals often did not include African Diasporic people in their work.

Critics of the Subaltern Studies Group, such as historian Frederick Cooper, still praised them for the efforts to undo the oppressive forces of Westernism. At the same time, Cooper points out that the very people who resisted Westernism fell into the trapping of "Western self-indulgence... endless critiques of modernity, of the universalizing pretensions of discourse."¹⁷ Cooper argues that because of the dualistic nature of the Subaltern Studies Group's arguments, their solutions did not apply to others.¹⁸ This dualistic nature is what caused a rift between the works of the Subaltern and works about the African Diaspora. The lack of inclusion of works about the African Diaspora when there is a clear connection by way of a similar framework between the works of Woodson, James, and Said ultimately displays the importance of having works that directly challenge the canon of African Diasporic history.

¹⁶Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994.54; The Subaltern Studies group included individuals like Ranajit Guha who studied the peasantry of colonial India in his work *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* and more.

¹⁷Cooper, Frederick. "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History." *The Mutual Dependency of Force and Law in American Foreign Policy* on JSTOR. December 01, 1994. Accessed January 16, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2168387.1518>

¹⁸Ibid, 1518

Challenging the canon is imperative to ensuring that history is being preserved in a manner that does not reinforce the notion of black inferiority. The work of the Subaltern Studies Group would indirectly lead to a more nuanced manner of undoing the marks of white supremacy. The work of the Subaltern Studies Group would be imperative in pointing out the pervasive ways of white supremacy. However, these same individuals took approaches that lacked nuance concerning other groups. The consideration of subgroups within marginalized groups is almost nonexistent when looking at the works of the Subaltern Studies Group. Their actions are essential but do not consider the ways that forms of oppression compound on one another. Yet, this does not mean the scholarship has not been done. Individuals such as Kimberlé Crenshaw would coin terms such as intersectionality, a term that examines the effects of interlocking oppressive systems like white supremacy and patriarchy not only on African Diasporic people as a whole but in marginalized groups within African Diasporic people such as women. Individuals like Crenshaw demystify the manner in which miseducation affects further marginalized groups within African Diasporic people and the importance of acknowledging these subgroups to create solutions for the miseducation of black history.

Written into *The University of Chicago Legal Forum 1989*, Kimberlé Crenshaw's, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics" is a legal text that introduces the concept of intersectionality. In the text, Crenshaw approaches the issue of black women's exclusion, "...from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are

predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender.”¹⁹Crenshaw asserts further,

These problems of exclusion cannot be solved simply by including Black women within an already established analytical structure. Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the way Black women are subordinated. Thus, for feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse to embrace the experiences and concerns of Black women, the entire framework that has been used as a basis for translating ‘women’s experience’ or ‘the Black experience’ into concrete policy demands must be rethought and recast.²⁰

With this understanding, Crenshaw then sets out to utilize a new framework that does not further exclude the particular experiences and oppression that black women face.²¹ Crenshaw first sets out to prove that this intersectional issue exists. Crenshaw utilizes multiple court cases such as *DeGraffenreid v. General Motors*, *Moore v. Hughes Helicopter* and *Payne v. Travenol* to provide evidence of legal discrimination towards black women in a manner completely unique from white women and black men.²² In each case, Crenshaw points out the unique forms of discrimination that black women face. In the Degraffenried case, black women are discriminated against explicitly because they were not considered a particular group that needed protection by the law.²³ The Moore case falls under a similar notion, with the defense team arguing that since the plaintiff is a black woman, her argument discredited the experiences of white women.²⁴ The Payne case shows that there is a recognition of discrimination. Yet, discrimination towards black women was the only form acknowledged. However, the women who filed the court case originally did it on behalf of all the black workers of the company. By means of examining these cases, Crenshaw postulates

¹⁹ Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989 (1989): 140

²⁰Ibid, 140

²¹Ibid, 140

²²Ibid, 141

²³Ibid, 142

²⁴Ibid, 144

that, “Black women can experience discrimination in any number of ways and that the contradiction arises from our assumptions that their claims of exclusion must be unidirectional.”²⁵

Crenshaw likens this to an analogy of a traffic stop:

...traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination.²⁶

Crenshaw argues that both acknowledging and addressing this intersection is important because the issues of black women do not just affect black women, but instead all black peoples at large.²⁷

Crenshaw advocates that the only manner for racism and sexism to end is to expand the feminist and antiracist theory to include the intersection.²⁸ Crenshaw’s work is not only a testament to her predecessors’ work, but is particularly crucial because it demonstrates the necessity of including the experiences of the further marginalized groups of African Diasporic peoples to undo miseducation. While Woodson and James take an innovative approach in comparison to their predecessors, both still maintain a more traditional approach via providing evidence and counter-narratives. Crenshaw extends their efforts even further, showing the depths and complexity of finding a correct solution to undoing the miseducation that is brought on by white supremacy and patriarchy via an even newer theoretical framework. Through Crenshaw’s lens, loosening the chains of white supremacy requires more than generalizations, but a nuanced understanding that accounts for the freedom of more types of African Diasporic peoples. Through Crenshaw’s work, doors open to examining the versions of oppression that African Diasporic peoples of all kinds go

²⁵Ibid, 149

²⁶Ibid, 149

²⁷Ibid, 162

²⁸Ibid, 166-167

through. Crenshaw's work is centered in a black feminist context, which she traces to Sojourner Truth, but the principles can be extended outward to Gender or Sexual Diverse (GSD) Black peoples as well.²⁹ Crenshaw's work shows that ensuring the preservation of African Diasporic people must include marginalized groups and works such as Ashley D Farmer's *Remaking Black Power: How Black Women Transformed an Era* only further support this notion.

When looking for a relevant contemporary example of unraveling miseducation post-Subaltern Studies Group that follows Crenshaw's model, *Remaking Black Power: How Black Women Transformed an Era* by Ashley D Farmer is a strong example. Farmer's work not only acknowledges the plight of her predecessors but also challenges them in the form of inclusivity by way of presenting the contributions of women during the 20th century, specifically during the black power movement.³⁰ Farmer argues that despite the different forms and functions of oppression internalized, black women have made overwhelming yet underappreciated contributions to the Black Power movement.³¹ Through introducing, "political speeches, essays, pamphlets, and artwork" Farmer shows that thanks to black women, Black Power was inclusive and developed a legacy that, "encouraged us to reimagine blackness, womanhood, and liberation anew."³²

Farmer proves her assertions through two significant steps. The initial chapter sets up a background context. Referencing the "Militant Negro Domestic," Farmer portrays a political identity that frames domestic workers as political activists who advocated for community control,

²⁹Ibid, 153-160

³⁰Farmer, Ashley D. *Remaking Black Power: How Black Women Transformed an Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017. Epub Ebook, Under "Introduction."

³¹Ibid, Under "Introduction"

³²Ibid, Under "Introduction"; Ibid, Under "Epilogue"

black self-determination, self-defense, and separate black cultural and political institutions.³³ Farmer argues that the Militant Negro Domestic, “linked the ideologies and symbols of early twentieth-century black nationalism to the burgeoning Black Power movement of the early 1960s, making both black women and womanhood foundational to Black Power–era thought.”³⁴

Next, Farmer shows the ways black women’s radical activist traditions influenced successive generations. Farmer tracks these traditions to solidify the legacy of radical activism by black women.³⁵ Part of this process includes showing the ways that the tradition branched out into different forms, such as cultural nationalist approaches and more.³⁶ These women also pushed the boundaries of revolutionary thought and action by rejecting conventionalities, similarly to the women before them and of other nations.³⁷ By showing the different ways the tradition branched, Farmer proves that there is an intergenerational, multicultural continuity of activism, or, “a road map for radical activism” that allowed, “black men and women [to] begin to dismantle their complicity in the daily reproduction of patriarchy and capitalism...[for a] fertile ground on which to rethink black liberation and generative space for developing truly inclusive versions of black revolution.”³⁸

Farmer’s work, specifically her methodology of locating a continuity of activism and depicting the continuity through a plethora of evidence is essential to the undoing of the miseducation primarily because of how powerful it is. Farmer’s approach is not only inclusive, which is imperative to undoing internalized white supremacy, but also innovative. Farmer’s

³³Ibid, Under “Chapter One: The Militant Negro Domestic, 1945-1965”

³⁴Ibid, Under “Chapter One: The Militant Negro Domestic, 1945-1965”

³⁵Ibid, Under “The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party”; Ibid, Under “The Origins of the Panthers’ Black Revolutionary Woman Ideal”

³⁶Ibid, Under “Chapter Three:”; Ibid, Under “Chapter Four: The Pan-African Woman, 1972-1976”

³⁷Ibid, Under “Chapter Four: The Pan-African Woman, 1972–1976”

³⁸Ibid, Under “Epilogue”

innovation takes form in a continuity. In the process of providing evidence for the contributions of radical black women's activism in the Black Power movement, Farmer inherently proves that the histories of African Diasporic people are not neatly separated into conventional bubbles. Farmer's work shows that contemporary understanding of the histories of African Diasporic people has been tied incorrectly to periodization, and the incorrect periodization is most likely a byproduct of miseducation.

Though Farmer's initial choice for context is the 1940s, by acknowledging an intergenerational, multicultural continuity of activism, Farmer opens a myriad of possibilities beyond contemporary boundaries. Consideration of the legacies of individuals like Zora Neale Hurston or Madame CJ Walker becomes viable because of their contributions to black liberation. Additionally, continuity holds potential in its consideration of the future. The legacy of these women transcends beyond the end of Farmer's observed time period. Although Farmer does not actively engage in discussing the scale of impact of these women's work beyond the observed time period, Farmer's framework creates that possibility to do so. Farmer shows the importance of a framework that acknowledges further marginalized groups within the African Diasporic context and how inclusion helps to undo miseducation of black history; by forcing historians to recognize and utilize unconventional methods, like re-periodizing the histories of African Diasporic people, one is able to combat the internal and external consequences of white supremacy.

In undoing the miseducation Woodson's work introduces, the new frameworks that exist and will exist for studying the histories of oppressed people connected to the African Diaspora are needed. Utilizing a process that analyzes existing discourse like Said, acknowledging the undeniable ties to oppressive academia like Woodson, re-determining the value of expressed history like James, and utilizing an inclusive, innovative approach like Crenshaw and Farmer, this

project will hypothesize and add another perspective to the ongoing process. The hope is that by both examining the current level of discourse and then presenting another framework to utilize, it will continue the process of undoing the miseducation of which Woodson spoke of.

Due to a plethora of pre-existing work and being tied primarily to the English language, this work will tackle the North American context precisely. The work will also look at the 20th century. Similar to James' work, focusing on a region and specific time frame is essential to not only analyze discourse but also demonstrate the importance of diversifying frameworks successfully. Although this should already be abundantly clear, as a single historian with a background in North America, attempting to take on a global perspective or even another context without the proper understanding would be disingenuous. In addition, due to the unique characteristics of each historical context, the possibility of this framework not working universally is genuine. A theoretical discussion as to whether this is the case may very well take the form of an entirely separate work. However, the real possibility of a non-universal manner to diversify frameworks is not a deterrent. The most accurate measure of success will not be in perfect replication, but in using the framework, created for the North American context, to help build and create a similar model in a different context. If there are traceable signs of diversity of histories through inclusion in other contexts, then this work will indeed be successful. Similar to the way Henry Louis Gates describes recurring motifs across literature with the signifying monkey.³⁹The visible signs of inclusion or adaptation may be anything from a mention via citation to an adaptation of the framework. If this contribution helps expand the histories of the African Diaspora, then the work itself is successful in that manner.

³⁹Gates, Henry Louis. "The Blackness of Blackness: A Critique on the Sign and the Signifying Monkey", *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Eds. Julie Rivkin & Michael Ryan. 992.; Gates' Signifying Monkey is a text that observes imitation as well as repetition and how those techniques are used as a means of passing down culture from generation to generation.

To clearly display the need to diversify frameworks, the process will be broken into two parts. The first will utilize studies already completed. The analysis of pre-existing work will assist in determining the current level of effectiveness historical frameworks currently have in expressing the histories of North American people of African Diaspora heritage. Works that will be engaged in the first portion will include the writing of figures such as Howard Zinn, Eric Foner, Davarian L. Baldwin, and Nathan Irvin Huggins, who all take varied approaches. These figures were chosen because each work falls onto a spectrum that ranges from making a general overview approach to a much more specific and in-depth approach. Zinn and Foner's works act as overviews and provide an understanding as to how seminal academic works on American history treat the movement. Baldwin's *Escape From New York: The New Negro Renaissance Beyond Harlem* is an anthology. Baldwin's work is based on essays and he creates his outline with the intention to consider nontraditional viewpoints of the 1920s and 1930s. Baldwin does this so that students can gain a more robust perspective of the period beyond those who are canonically known as significant figures. However, this is not the case for Huggins. Nathan Irvin Huggins' *Harlem Renaissance* is on the furthest end of the spectrum from Baldwin et al. who makes arguments in favor of the time. Huggins' work aims to take an in-depth look at the period by arguing that the movement was a failure, which was symptomatic of more substantial pre-existing socio-racial issues. By observing these works that have varying degrees of specificity and audiences, along with a few other works, a spectrum of what the general discourse is saying about this period will be created. This spectrum will then be observed and analyzed just as each individual work will be.

The spectrum of work used to observe and analyze is imperative for showing the importance of a more diverse framework. Utilizing a range is vital to the process because, like Woodson's work, a varying discourse helps to garner a more robust understanding of what the

current information disseminates. In addition, individuals like Earl Lewis who observe the manner in which these histories were and currently are written will be used as a resource to break the work down to their strengths along with their weaknesses.⁴⁰ One should note that an important factor of the examination will also be to determine the degree of intersectionality found in the examined text. This is a critical factor because as Crenshaw makes clear, without an intersectional understanding of the histories that include gender inclusion efforts, inherently oppressive histories continue to work towards the disenfranchisement of all black people.⁴¹ In addition, one may also argue that this is the same for sexuality specific inclusion as well. When the weaknesses are determined, there will be an analysis of the potential origin of the flaws. Understanding the origins of the defects helps to show how the fault further adds to miseducation. The works will then be assessed to determine their effectiveness, as well as the overall efficiency of the currently existing mainstream frameworks on the period. This will lay the foundation for the second portion, which focuses heavily on combining the strengths of the examined, and blending the strengths into a mixture of a framework based on Woodson, Said, Crenshaw, Farmer, and James to make a framework that may be altered depending on the context.

The second portion of this project will focus on showing the importance of diversifying frameworks when observing the history of the North American context. By utilizing a more diverse framework, one will be able to not only allow for the input of new information but also to reconsider the current historical view of black history, such as the New Negro Renaissance. More specifically, by looking at the framework's application on the New Negro Renaissance what should become clear is that the temporal boundaries are limited due to various factors not being

⁴⁰Lewis, Earl. "To Turn as on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diasporas." *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (1995): 765-87. Accessed January 7, 2020. doi:10.2307/2168604.

⁴¹Crenshaw, 166-167

considered such as gender-based contributions, GSD contributions, the definition of Renaissance in this context and how it fits in the canon of American history

In order to re-examine current frameworks as well as diversifying said frameworks for the New Negro Renaissance, one must first define the New Negro Renaissance. The New Negro Renaissance is considered to have occurred during a time period liberally estimated between 1925 to the 1940s across the United States of America where there was an explosion of Black political, social, and cultural forms of expression.⁴² With individuals such as Alain Locke and Sterling Brown recognizing that the movement that was occurring was much bigger than just Harlem, a new term was needed.⁴³ The term that would be used in place of the Harlem Renaissance is instead the New Negro Renaissance. This shift of terminology was to show and acknowledge the explosion of political, social, and cultural expression which not only occurred in Harlem but reverberated across the United States.⁴⁴ By using the expanded, more inclusive version of the period in terms of geography like Davarian Baldwin, one will be able to assert a much clearer image of what this period was. Therefore, from this point on, all work that references this time period that is focused on specifically Harlem will be relegated to the larger, more inclusive movement and the studies about the movement in general.

When applying this framework to the New Negro Renaissance, historians will have an expanded understanding of the Renaissance as a primary example of what histories of the people of the African Diaspora should look like. With a more diverse framework in use, the work will then be evaluated like the former texts. This evaluation will be done in order to ensure the former criteria as well as the practicality of the framework in the context of the New Negro Renaissance.

⁴²Baldwin, Davarian L., and Minkah Makalani. *Escape from New York: The New Negro Renaissance beyond Harlem*. University of Minnesota Press, 2013.18-22

⁴³Ibid,6 ; Ibid, 94

⁴⁴Ibid, 404

In addition, this will also help to determine how a more diverse framework compares to existing frameworks. Just as intersectionality was important in determining the strength and weaknesses of the evaluated text, both intersectionality and the degree of its usage are also major factors in this portion as well. The failure to ensure that the framework is intersectional will mean that the framework failed from its inception. The successful completion of these steps will lead to a framework that continues Woodson and Carter's work and be of immediate and practical use to historians and potentially even educators.

The goal is to re-evaluate the way historians generally observe the histories of people of the African Diaspora, and how those histories are written and studied, and add a method that adds greater value to these histories by including the contributions of women in general and GSD folk in particular. While works that challenge the existing canon already exist, those works tend not to be valued nor supported the same way that works that maintain the current canon do. Another framework that continues to build upon both past and recent attempts to correct the canon is needed because until these histories are valued by the academic community as just as, if not more important to the tapestry that is traditional history, the very way that peoples of the African Diaspora are educated and even treated will continue to be threatened. Moreover, if the framework simply builds upon past attempts and does not expand and include a greater and more specific expression than the peoples of African Diaspora, their educations, and furthermore their existence will still be threatened. As James states in his preface, "the true business of the historian" is to portray "the limits of those necessities and the realization, complete or partial, of all possibilities, that is."⁴⁵ What such a notion means today is that unless paths that not only include but consider

⁴⁵James, C. L. R. *Black Jacobins*. New York: Vintage Books, 2nd Ed., 1963.X

the roles of women and GSD folk alike, then as stated before, the work is one that fails and continues to threaten the education and existence of all people of the African Diaspora.

PART 2

To grasp a sense of where the discourse of the New Negro Renaissance is, one must look at the different works that present it. This range includes a mix between older to more recent works as well as works that survey the movement as part of a larger history and works that focus primarily on the movement. By observing this range through historiography, historians are able to recognize, acknowledge, and appreciate the changes in the discourse on the New Negro Renaissance. However, on that same token, historians are also able to recognize that particular narratives, specifically narratives centered on isolating and minimizing the scope of the movement, are often the prevailing narratives.

When looking towards prevailing US history textbooks as examples of how historians view the New Negro Renaissance, the resources surrounding the subject are slim. Howard Zinn's *People's History of the United States* is a great example of a work that is considered to be seminal for historians to understand American history.⁴⁶ However, throughout the text, Zinn only mentions the New Negro Renaissance once and as the Harlem Renaissance at that.⁴⁷ In addition, Zinn

⁴⁶Zinn's *A People's History of the United States: 1492 to Present* was a finalist in the National Book Awards category in "History - Paperback" in 1981. In addition, it was also highly lauded by other historians such as Eric Foner; Foner, Eric. "Majority Report; Majority Authors' Queries." *The New York Times*. The New York Times. Accessed April 29, 2021. <https://nyti.ms/3tZLU13>. Published in the New York Times on Sunday March 2nd 1980

⁴⁷Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States: 1492 to Present*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2010. PDF. Under, "17. "Or Does it Explode?"

references the movement tangentially as he only acknowledges it to introduce Claude McKay's perspective on black sentiment during the early 20th century. At no point does Zinn directly engage with the movement beyond that point and instead focuses on the Harlem Riots as a means of codifying his argument of growing dissent.⁴⁸ In fact, Zinn goes as far as to reference Nathan Irvin Huggins, who is famously known by historians for his rejection of the movement. Through these particular choices, historians are able to infer Zinn's position on the movement to be one similar to Huggins. The position or lack thereof that Zinn takes on the movement is not surprising as this is a repeating pattern with works of a similar nature. While Zinn's work is not a direct reflection of all works on American history, the general malaise or lack of focus or attention on the movement is consistent. A great example of this is Eric Foner's *Give Me Liberty!* Series of textbooks as even though Foner does acknowledge the movement in comparison to Zinn, the acknowledgment itself is thin and lacking, rendering it comparable to Zinn.

Eric Foner's *Give Me Liberty!* is a volume of textbooks that are also considered seminal in understanding American history.⁴⁹ Throughout the volume, Foner attempts to cover as much as American history as possible. Unlike Zinn, Foner does acknowledge as well as address the movement. However, Foner's scope and discussion of the movement are limited. To give context, out of almost 1200 pages in a single volume and nearly 2000 pages of writing, overall Foner spends approximately two to three pages in total, giving an overview of the movement. In those image accompanied paragraphs, Foner uses Claude McKay as a lens to segway to Churchill's reference

⁴⁸Ibid, Under, "17. "Or Does it Explode?"

⁴⁹Foner's *Give Me Liberty!: An American History*. Is currently the most cited work out of 9 million English-language syllabi from 140 countries according to the non profit research organization, Open Syllabus; "Explorer," Open Syllabus, accessed April 29, 2021, <https://opensyllabus.org/result/author?id=Eric%2BFoner.>; Karaganis, Joe. "About Open Syllabus." The Open Syllabus Project. Accessed April 29, 2021. <https://blog.opensyllabus.org/about-the-open-syllabus-project/>.

of McKay and then proceeds to move onto the great depression.⁵⁰ The other included sections are short blurbs within the glossary at the end of the textbook that vaguely defines the period as an “African-American literary and artistic movement of the 1920s centered in New York City’s Harlem neighborhood; writers Langston Hughes, Jean Toomer, Zora Neale Hurston, and Countee Cullen were among those active in the movement.”⁵¹ However, unlike Zinn, who directly quotes Huggins, Foner instead cites David Levering Lewis’ *When Harlem Was in Vogue*. Foner’s citation of Lewis instead of Huggins is notable as Lewis’ stance is opposed to that of Huggins, though not in direct opposition. Though Zinn and Foner’s works are not the only works that address the movement, these two works are important to understanding how historians generally view the movement due to the works being considered seminal in both teaching and learning American history. The lack of attention and depth represents an even greater lack of care towards the movement in relation to American history. These works, which are used in curriculums in classrooms and lecture halls to teach American history, ultimately show how historians at large consider the value of the movement. Furthermore, one may argue that the minimization of the movement in these works only further proves that Woodson’s assertion of miseducation is true. Yet, what of works focused on the black perspective?

Let Nobody Turn Us Around: Voices of Resistance, Reform, and Renewal : An African American Anthology is an anthology of primary source documents that focuses on bringing an overview of United States black history. Marable et al.’s framework utilizes an approach that focuses on chronologically providing works that express blackness and the struggles of blackness over the course of 200 years. More specifically, the work is, “a collection of primary materials,

⁵⁰Foner, Eric. *Give Me Liberty!: An American History*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2017.p.A-59 ; Foner, Eric. *Give Me Liberty!: An American History: Volume 2: From 1865. 3rd Ed.* 3rd ed. Vol. 2. W. W. Norton & Company.p.846-847 ; Ibid, p.A-55

⁵¹Ibid, p. A-55

rare published articles, speeches, and other sources that [tells] the story of how black people made themselves and interpreted the world in which they lived, in their own words and specifically from their own point of view.”⁵² When observing the anthology’s position on the New Negro Renaissance, there are several points of note. The first point is that on the subject of terminology, the anthology refers to the New Negro Renaissance as the Harlem Renaissance. One may, therefore, conclude that on the basis of terminology, the work embodies a traditional view of the New Negro Renaissance by focusing solely on Harlem. When defining the time period that the work deems to be the Harlem Renaissance, Marable et al. does not put a specific timeline for the era. Instead, Marable et al. opted to combine the movement with other historical events of the early 20th century, such as the great migration and World War. With this in mind, the work defines the span of these events to start in 1915 and ends and bookmarks in 1954 with the *Brown Vs. Board of Education* decision.⁵³ In the section, Marable et al. utilize works from figures such as W.E.B Du Bois, Langston Hughes, and more in order to enlighten the audience of the works of the more well-known figures.⁵⁴ In addition, throughout the section Marable et al. take the contributions of both men and women during the period of time in order to paint a more holistic picture of the time via their works. By taking this approach, Marable et al. are able to center the work on and around the ideas and text created by people they believe best shaped the movement.

In terms of strengths, Marable et al.’s anthology has an extensive catalog of works in terms of volume. More specifically, the work utilizes an extensive volume of primary sources by using a simple framework that focuses on chronology, volume, and primary sources. The audience is able to truly get a sense of the feelings of the people of the period. To add to that, Marable et al.

⁵²Marable, Manning, and Leith Mullings. *Let Nobody Turn Us around Voices of Resistance, Reform, and Renewal: an African American Anthology*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.

⁵³Ibid,217 ; Ibid, 343

⁵⁴Ibid, 224-228; ibid, 253-273

included several pieces done by women in order to cement their place within the movement.⁵⁵ Therefore, for an overview anthology, the work is robust. However, that does not mean the work does not retain weaknesses. In terms of weaknesses, the most glaring being the lack of representation of GSD people in the section. Outside of mentioning sexuality in Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson's introduction, the section does not make a larger effort to engage with non-cisgender constructs and sexuality.⁵⁶ With a number of points of entry, such as individuals like known lesbian crossdresser Gladys Bentley with her August 1952 dated letters to EBONY magazine or Richard Bruce Nugent and his, "Smoke, Lilies, and Jade" as a few of the more well-known examples, Marable's lack of acknowledgment of GSD Black people is hard to reconcile when he speaks of his determined period.⁵⁷ Another point of contention is the decision to limit the New Negro Renaissance to Harlem. Marable et al.'s decision to limit the movement to Harlem ultimately took away from the true geographical impact of the era. This choice is intentional, most likely since the anthology attempts to cover 200+ years of sources. However, because of this choice, the audience is left to assume that those individuals mentioned are the main if not only individuals to make contributions worth considering seminal of the period. If this work is designed for collegiate level introductory black history, the scope of blackness is narrow, which is counterproductive to the goal of the work overall. Although this section does a fantastic job of presenting a large volume of primary text to introduce audiences to pivotal black figures, the work homogenizes itself to other works when it does not express a greater diversity of blackness. Works

⁵⁵Ibid, Vi

⁵⁶Ibid,265

⁵⁷Gladys Bentley Articles - Ebony. Accessed July 15, 2020. <http://queermusicheritage.com/bentley6.html>.; Nugent's "Smoke, Lilies, and Jade" is a short work depicting a gay interracial relationship; LÖBBERMANN, DOROTHEA. "RICHARD BRUCE NUGENT AND THE QUEER MEMORY OF HARLEM." In *Race Capital?: Harlem as Setting and Symbol*, edited by FEARNLEY ANDREW M. and MATLIN DANIEL, 221-40. New York; Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2019. Accessed July 22, 2020. doi:10.7312/fear18322.15. p.222-225

like this are important to understand why the current canon for the New Negro Renaissance exists the way it does because even in the 2nd edition, though being almost more than ten years old, the work more or less does not wrestle with established narratives of the period beyond including women. Had the section included more works with introductions wrestling with concepts of Gender or Sexual Diversity or even pieces that reflect it to a degree with a disclaimer, the audience would be forced to acknowledge the idea of Gender or Sexual Diverse people contributing to black history long before the present day.

Escape From New York: The New Negro Renaissance Beyond Harlem is a work that “ [asks] you to reconsider but remain excited about the Harlem Renaissance from a new vantage point.”⁵⁸The 2013 text is a “meditation on the growing efforts of a new generation of scholars to challenge and expand our understanding of the New Negro experience to a version that includes not only Harlem but a more global perspective.”⁵⁹ In the introduction, lead editor Davarian L Baldwin argues that “This collection of essays marks the first attempt to assemble the latest scholarship in what might profitably be called a “renaissance” in New Negro studies.”⁶⁰ As an anthological work meant for academic purposes on a collegiate level, this work aims to expand the notion of what the New Negro Renaissance is to counter the well-intentioned misinformation provided by scholars prior who asserted the idea that the renaissance was primarily if not solely in Harlem.

In order to achieve the goal of proving that the New Negro Renaissance existed well beyond Harlem, Baldwin et al. utilize two main factors in this work. The first being secondary sources in the form of a collection of essays. These essays, though all are different on the subject

⁵⁸Baldwin, Davarian L., Minkah Makalani, and Robin D.G. Kelley. *Escape from New York: The New Negro Renaissance beyond Harlem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.PDF.

⁵⁹Ibid, 22

⁶⁰Ibid, 2

matter, all thematically united under the notion of blackness within the early 20th century. The only times that works do primarily relate or interject Harlem centric notions are not to regurgitate positions that are already popular, but instead to revisit those same positions and interrogate those with a fresher perspective. Each of the essays is filled with a variety of sources that are the basis of the arguments being made. The second factor that Baldwin et al. utilize is a framework. The framework of *Escape From New York* is one that crafts itself around themes that act as pillars of the overall argument presented in the introduction of the anthology. This ranges from countries such as Cuba to as far as Japan. However, the work not only takes a new geopolitical perspective but also expands from the traditional ideological standpoint as well. The work opts to challenge preconceived notions of gender involvement and constructions within the movement, looking at the experiences of black women from Howard University to Paris France, along with marriages based on principles of the movement. Each essay thematically overlaps yet in terms of content, strives to expand what the New Negro Renaissance means beyond just the contributions of Talented Tenth of Harlem.

Section one titled “The Diasporic Outlook,” Baldwin et al. features the works of Jeannette Eileen Jones, David Luis-Brown, and Minkah Makalani. Each of the works focuses on how Pan-African ideologies form globally with each author focusing how Pan-African ideologies form in different African Diasporic cultures. Jeannette Eileen Jones’ work observes the intersection of New Negro Identities and Pan-Africanism over time.⁶¹ In the essay, Jones argues that initially, New Negroes saw themselves almost as saviors of Africa.⁶² However, by the 1920s and then 1930s, the relationship between the New Negro movement and Pan-Africanism evolved from being stemmed in a savior complex to one that was based on pride of the motherland and the imagining of an

⁶¹Ibid, 34

⁶²Ibid, 34

Africa free of colonialism based on cooperative initiatives.⁶³ David Luis-Brown takes a similar approach. However, he particularly focuses on the relationship between the New Negro and Cuba; which he argues that “a transnational and multilingual approach to the new negro movement” is critical because “adopting such a revisionary approach would offer an important transnational and intercultural perspective on the New Negro Movement.”⁶⁴ Lastly, Minkah Makalani takes on the notion of Pan-Africanism in London by observing the work of Amy Ashwood Garvey and C.L.R James in London. Makalani argues that “black anti-colonial activists in the colonial metropole were equally concerned to substantiate their modernity in calling for an end to colonial rule” and elaborates as far as to say that in some respects “black activist– intellectuals [in London] also offered a robust and radical critique of modernity, which would not occur in the United States for some time.”⁶⁵ Makalani essentially concludes her work arguing that the perspectives that individuals like C.L.R James gained from being in London are a “testament to the capaciousness of the New Negro experience for a global political vision” and was essential to his work for the remainder of his life.⁶⁶

Section two focuses on the New Negro and their interactions inside liminal spaces within the periphery of the New Negro movement. Runstedtler focuses on Filipino and Black American interaction, while Onishi focuses on the interaction between the New Negro and the Japanese. Lutenski also focuses on interactions of this nature in what she deems to be “the southwest” such as Mexico. However, Lutenski particularly utilizes Jean Toomer as a lens through which to view the space rather than observing interactions generally as her counterparts do. Each text similarly

⁶³Ibid, 47

⁶⁴Ibid,68

⁶⁵Ibid, 95

⁶⁶Ibid, 95

asserts the importance of these experiences on the periphery within the overall movement.⁶⁷ Section three focuses on the impact of Garveyism within the overall movement in locations such as Cuba and New Orleans.⁶⁸ Each text argues that Garveyism had varying degrees of success outside of Harlem and how it captivated black people in those spaces.⁶⁹ Section four contains works that take a gendered approach to the New Negro movement ideologies. The section observes the lives of black women and men across the globe in various scenarios. From Paris to Howard University, the section shows how individuals of particular genders were able to expand the concept of the New Negro.⁷⁰ Section five observes how the New Negro found ways to express “cultural and economic self-determination” outside of Harlem.⁷¹ The Lester text observes the contributions as well as the influence of Jazz music beyond Harlem on the movement while the Kahrl text observes the origins and evolution of entertainment solicited through black patronage.⁷² Section six observes the parallels between life in Harlem and away from Harlem. The Lewis text observes the parallels of life in and out of Harlem through the lens of writer Claude McKay's *Home to Harlem*, while King's work observes how Harlemites dealt with segregation and police brutality, taking cues from black communities in cities like Jersey City.⁷³ The last section is works that summarize the entirety of the anthology and critique its framework to determine the usefulness of the work in various contexts. Each of the writers in the last section looks at the work as a means of interrogating past interpretations of what being a New Negro meant outside of Harlem. The

⁶⁷Ibid, 121; Ibid, 149; Ibid,176

⁶⁸A definition of “Garveyism” may be found here: “The ‘Back to Africa’ Myth.” Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League. Accessed August 12, 2019.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20090429094305/http://www.unia-acl.org/archive/themyth.htm>.

⁶⁹Ibid,197; Ibid,221

⁷⁰Ibid, 243; Ibid, 262

⁷¹Ibid, 352

⁷²Ibid, 328, Ibid, 353

⁷³Ibid, 377; Ibid, 390; Ibid, 393

unifying theme of the last section is the necessity of understanding why challenging predetermined boundaries of periods is important to academia and why works like *Escape From New York* matter.

In terms of strengths, Baldwin et al. have several strengths. More precisely speaking, the greatest strengths of the text are apparent as evidence. *Escape From New York* is not a text that spends an absorbent amount of time reiterating its purpose. Instead, if one considers the curated collection of essays to be evidence, *Escape From New York*'s evidence speaks for itself. Each work crafts compelling arguments from nontraditional perspectives on the New Negro Renaissance that together provide more than enough evidence of the movement existing outside of both Harlem and, at times, the United States. The global, gender cognizant positions that the text takes are ones that only further lends to the notion that the New Negro was so much bigger than just Harlem. The fact that the last section of the text exists to prove that the work is necessary and has practical application in expanding how the audience thinks of the New Negro movement is a testament to the strength of the argument being made. Yet, in the same breath, though this work expands the geopolitical boundaries of the New Negro Renaissance, the work misses' marks on several other positions.

In terms of weaknesses, some of the prevailing weaknesses of this text appear in moments of great strength. While the biggest argument that the anthology makes is that the New Negro Renaissance is greater than its most well-known traditional interpretation, the work retains several traditional boundaries or chooses not to define certain boundaries at all. A great example is the lack of works that consider the notion of sexuality and how the idea of being a New Negro may have impacted perceptions of sexuality. The text does not explore it outside of cis heteronormative standards like traditional marriage. In terms of defining the period, the text instead stays loosely within the traditional timeline of the New Negro Renaissance, being the

early portion of the 20th century and ending in the 1940s.⁷⁴ The ironic choice to maintain this boundary in a text that sets out to challenge the conventional wisdom of the New Negro Renaissance almost feels poetic, particularly as working outside of such temporal boundaries would present even greater opportunities to strengthen Baldwin et al.'s argument. The work easily could have made connections between time periods similar to Marable, but instead of grouping several smaller periods, Baldwin et al. had an opportunity to acknowledge a continuity in the way that works as Farmer does. As a text that focuses on pushing academic boundaries on the New Negro Renaissance, one may argue that the staunchest boundary that exists on the subject is the hard timeline that rarely ever shifts. Though the goal of the editors may have only been to push geopolitical boundaries, one may find it hard to imagine that the audience of this work would not beg the question of just how many ways scholars are able to expand the current understanding of the New Negro Renaissance. Especially considering Marable had already shown a necessity to expand temporally a few years prior.⁷⁵ *Escape From New York* immediately provides evidence that supports the importance of expanding the movement geopolitically but leaves the audience pondering the implications of expansion beyond geopolitics. *Escape From New York* succeeds in displaying the need for a more global understanding but falls prey to the same criticism it levies against prior scholarship. In its own unique way, *Escape From New York* becomes more like the scholarship from which it attempts to set itself apart.

Made for higher-level academia, Nathan Irvin Huggins' 1971s *Harlem Renaissance* is a work that chooses to prove that the Harlem Renaissance, especially the New Negro, is a failed movement. Though Huggins acknowledges that, "the fact that these works were written was a remarkable achievement," "the black intellectuals were searching for their own identity, but they

⁷⁴Ibid, 18

⁷⁵Both editions of Marable et al.'s *Let Nobody Turn Us Around* were released prior to Baldwin et al.'s work

were bound up in a more general American experience than a ‘Harlem Renaissance’ would suggest. For black and white Americans have been so long and so intimately a part of one another’s experience that, will it or not, they cannot be understood independently.”⁷⁶

Starting from the introduction and waning through the first chapter, Huggins argues that the principles the quintessential figures of the movement base themselves on were ones that likened to their “white progressive brothers” who “were committed to reason and truth and enlightened democracy to bring about change.”⁷⁷ Huggins expresses that the rejection of work that would create traditional political leverage as “corrupt” by individuals such as Du Bois or Johnson directly attributed to the lack of “grass-roots attachments” and therefore power.⁷⁸ Huggins contends that because the power of the Harlem intellectual leadership is more dependent on “strategic placement” rather than concrete via political leverage that there were already complications, to begin with.⁷⁹ Coupling the complications of circumstantial power with the relationships between the Harlem Intellectual Leadership and white philanthropists and reformers who cared less for race relations, this made the claims the leaders of the movement made even harder to substantiate.⁸⁰ With the only other option being a voice of the common black folk which Huggins argues is “a deception which left [blacks] to founder in the realities of their limited power” the movement itself failed before it was able to begin.⁸¹ One should note that Huggins acknowledges this failure not as an indictment of the abilities of the Harlem Intellectual Leadership

⁷⁶Huggins, Nathan Irvin. *Harlem Renaissance*. Cary: Oxford University Press, USA, 2014.

⁷⁷Ibid, 48

⁷⁸Ibid, 48

⁷⁹Ibid,48

⁸⁰Ibid, 49

⁸¹Ibid, 49

but instead as a testament to the deep roots of racism that existed prior to these figures even existing.⁸²

Chapter two explores the notion of the New Negro. Huggins dissects works by quintessential figures in Alain Locke's *The New Negro*. Within the chapter, Huggins claims that Locke's notion of the New Negro was a "product of [an] era of race building" where "Afro-Americans were to reforge the long-severed links between the world's black people" and that the desire to do so stemmed from the yearnings of black men "as American provincials, to find meaning and identity in Africa."⁸³ Huggins proclaims that the desire to find identity and meaning in a continent that Afro-Americans had little understanding of due to lack of information was "a measure of the Americanization," which was similar to that of white Americans and their desired connection to Europe.⁸⁴ Huggins asserts that these desires brought on by Americanization is what generated the notion of the New Negro and although he does not blame Locke and his contemporaries for making such a choice, Huggins makes it clear that it is based firstly in American context and whiteness.⁸⁵

Chapter three focuses on the ways that whites utilized black Harlem to their benefits. From sexual fantasies to being able to fill "the wounded soul" Huggins lists the ways that whites benefited from black Harlem and in turn supported it via patronage.⁸⁶ In particular, Huggins spotlights the life and the magnum opus of one Carl Van Vechten. Huggins argues that Van Vechten's life and work is a direct example of how whites fetishized black Harlem in exchange for his placid continuous support.⁸⁷ Furthermore, Huggins argues that the success of Van Vechten

⁸²Ibid, 51

⁸³Ibid, 83

⁸⁴Ibid, 83

⁸⁵Ibid, 65

⁸⁶Ibid, 90-93

⁸⁷Ibid, 93-98

created a lane of works by black writers, “but the trick was to do it so that white men would recognize it as authentic.”⁸⁸ Huggins goes on to use Claude McKay’s *Home To Harlem* as well as Rudolph Fisher’s *Walls of Jericho* as examples of works that appeal to the newfound “white fancy” of black culture and life and compares the works to *Nigger Heaven*.⁸⁹ Huggins also argues that Zora Neale Hurston also found success in a similar manner and concludes the chapter arguing that the seminal figures of the movement made an active choice to accept the white fancy as a means of maintaining and building their personal lives, but in the process gave their white audience more power than they initially bargained for.⁹⁰

The 4th chapter is a detailing of the consequences of accepting white fancy in post-war America. Huggins argues that because of the initial acceptance and pandering to white fancy by different figures of the movement, an identity was created that white people latched onto.⁹¹ Although black intellectuals would eventually attempt to fight the very identity created to profit from white fancy via counter narratives, Huggins argues that the attempts were unsuccessful unless within the confines acceptable by white people.⁹² The inability to shift the perception of the black individual after acceptance of white fancy would lead to black intellectuals seeking to escape from the caricature built on stereotypes that followed but, “what the war and the postwar years seemed to prove , if nothing else , was that the American system had no place for blacks” as the United States became even more structured in formal in its racism with legislation, hangings, and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan.⁹³ This led to an even greater displeasure which in turn led to escapism

⁸⁸Ibid,118

⁸⁹Ibid,118-126

⁹⁰Ibid, 136

⁹¹Ibid,142-143

⁹²Ibid,143

⁹³Ibid,155

through ideas like primitivism and exotica as a means of coping with the reality of the consequences of white fancy.⁹⁴

In chapter 5, Huggins argues that the source of what determines the period to be a failure is the lack of originality in work, stemming from white fancy works originating from *Nigger Heaven* and the rejection of individuals with strong critical and literary minds such as Wallace Thurman and publications like *Fire!*. Huggins argues that individuals like Thurman would have been the key to the period's success but because of his rejection by his contemporaries due to his critical mind along with the propagation of white fancy works led to the failure of the movement.⁹⁵ Chapter 6 acts as an analysis of the role of minstrelsy in which he argues, "Black identity has been, too often, the projection of white vision and white needs."⁹⁶

In terms of strengths, Huggins' chronology and structure is supported by his analysis. Huggins is a masterful narrator and that is clear from the onset as he navigates the complexities of being black in his specified span of time. Throughout the text, Huggins' argument of failure is not one based solely on the abilities or inabilities of those he considers to be central figures of the movement. Instead, Huggins' work is an appeal to the humanity of those individuals. The critique is not what the figures he speaks of should have done, but instead begs the question what more could they have done. In addition, in a way that the other aforementioned works do not, Huggins' argument of Wallace Thurman and individuals like Thurman being the solution is not an incorrect assertion. However, in the process of making such a statement lies the faults in Huggins' argument and work as well.

⁹⁴Ibid,189

⁹⁵Ibid,241

⁹⁶Ibid,301

The weaknesses of Huggins' work become most clear in his discussion of solutions to the conundrum he initially presents. Huggins' argument that the movement was a failure because its ties to whiteness ignores the very solution he presents as Wallace Thurman. Huggins argues that because traditionally considered important figures of the movement rejected Thurman's critiques that the movement failed. Yet Huggins also acknowledges that Thurman himself was a byproduct of these figures as Thurman found inspiration from these figures despite their rejection. If one is to consider Thurman a signifying monkey as Gates describes those who mimic, Thurman is not different but instead an extension of the ideas presented by the figures that reject him. Just as those figures rejected their predecessors, Thurman did as well and thus followed them in tradition. With this perspective, Huggins' argument contradicts itself and in fact makes his solution of individuals like Thurman more akin to the framework of Farmer, where a lineage of tradition is easily drawn. Huggins' work, though over 40 years old, is important to understanding the canon as it is a clear representation of an opposing point of view on the movement. But much more than that, what Huggins' work represents is a clear choice of historians' to attempt to isolate and minimize the movement, which in turn intentionally disconnects the movement from a larger tradition of black liberation and leads to further miseducation. However, if historians instead look towards the similarities between these different figures, one is easily able to recognize the recurring pattern of carrying tradition in some form and this crucial factor helps to connect each generation to the next, despite how they reject some notions.

By analyzing the gambit of these works, one is able to recognize that even at its highest academic level, the canon of the movement is often limited. The limitations take form in different manners depending on the writer or audience, yet the canon consistently remains limited. With this understanding, historians who desire to create as complete an image of the movement as

possible are often left with an understanding that forces one to question the viability of the movement similarly to Huggins. However, by interrogating the potential for miseducation within the canon, historians are able to not only realize that the canon's current form is lacking, but that the lack of consideration for expanding the canon of the movement is virtually by design.

Part 3

In order to provide another potential framework for discussing the movement, first one must re-establish basic parameters such as defining the time period and terminology. By doing so, one is able to both understand and establish that The New Negro Renaissance is a movement that not only began prior to the conventional period of observation but also never actually ended. With that said, when observing scholarship on the New Negro Renaissance, there are a number of commonalities within traditional definitions and boundaries of the time period. The most common mainstream definitions often look to confine the movement to only Harlem and bookend the period

based on The Great Depression and the Harlem riots.⁹⁷ Central figure Langston Hughes even argues that the period had ended by 1931 due to the lack of economic prosperity brought on by the depression.⁹⁸ However, these mainstream definitions have been contested by various scholars. In particular, Black Renaissance Scholar Ernest Juilius Mitchell II traced the origins of the term and called contemporary works into question.⁹⁹ By utilizing the context that Mitchell provides in his work, "Black Renaissance": A Brief History of the Concept.", one is able to decide on both terminology as well as a more accurate periodization.

As Mitchell points out in his work, the earliest conception academia has of a black renaissance movement is derived from a work by native Chicagoan Fenton Johnson.¹⁰⁰ Mitchell states that the term "Black Renaissance" first shows up in Johnson's work, "Credit is Due West Indian" published in 1919. Johnson's version is a clear deviation from the mainstream definitions and terminology scholars work with today in two major ways. The first being that Johnson's version is clearly decentralized, which Mitchell points out utilizing an excerpt from "Credit is Due West Indian".¹⁰¹ Johnson's vision of the New Negro Renaissance that he refers to as the "Negro Renaissance" is global. The second major note Mitchell points out is that Johnson temporarily defines the era's origin within the 19th century instead of the 20th.¹⁰² This international and non 20th century binded definition provides further evidence of the black renaissance being bigger than

⁹⁷"Harlem Renaissance, n.". OED Online. September 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www-oed-com.i.ezproxy.nypl.org/view/Entry/84245?redirectedFrom=Harlem+renaissance> (accessed November 05, 2019). One should note this definition is specifically under "Draft additions June 2003" ;

⁹⁸Hughes, Langston, Arnold Rampersad, and Joseph MacLaren. *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2002.249

⁹⁹Mitchell, Ernest Julius. "'Black Renaissance': A Brief History of the Concept." *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 55, no. 4 (2010): 641-65. <http://www.jstor.org/ccny-proxy1.lib.ccny.cuny.edu/stable/41158720>. ; Mitchell's work retains specific footnotes on this subject. Mitchell points out that references of the period being known as a renaissance is as early as 1901.

¹⁰⁰Ibid,642

¹⁰¹Ibid,642-3

¹⁰²Ibid,643

just Harlem New York to begin with. Furthermore, Mitchell continues to substantiate this idea by also unpacking the thoughts and perspective of one of the movement's traditional founding members in Alain Locke.

As per Mitchell, Locke initially centralized the movement in Harlem.¹⁰³ Yet, Locke's initial inclination to centralize the movement to Harlem reversed over his career.¹⁰⁴ Mitchell also pointed out that like Johnson, Locke argued that the movement was much larger than the 1920s and would last beyond it.¹⁰⁵ More specifically, Mitchell quotes Locke's 1925 essay "Our Little Renaissance" where Locke states that:

If then it is really a renaissance- and I firmly believe it is, we are still in the hill-town stage, and the mellowness of maturity has not yet come upon us. [. . .] The Negro Renaissance is not ten years old; its earliest harbingers cannot be traced back to the beginning of the century; its representative products to date are not only the work of the last three or four years, but the work of men still in their twenties [...].¹⁰⁶

To add to that, Locke's definition also argued the movement to be an interracial space as well.¹⁰⁷ Unlike his counterparts, Locke's definition was not purely based in black work and contributions but instead on any contributions that supported the reshaping of America in the image of black culture.¹⁰⁸ Mitchell asserts that the criticism Locke's definition faced was so heavily based on the debate as to whether or not the movement existed to begin with that critics never bothered to question Locke's full definition.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³Ibid,642

¹⁰⁴Ibid,642

¹⁰⁵Ibid, 644

¹⁰⁶Locke, Alain, and Jeffrey C. Stewart. *The Critical Temper of Alain Locke: a Selection of His Essays on Art and Culture*. New York: Garland Pub., 1983. Quoted in Mitchell, Ernest Julius. "'Black Renaissance': A Brief History of the Concept." *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 55, no. 4 (2010): 641-65. <http://www.jstor.org/ccny-proxy1.libr.ccny.cuny.edu/stable/41158720>

¹⁰⁷Ibid,645

¹⁰⁸Ibid,645

¹⁰⁹Ibid,648

Mitchell also argued that by 1931, the definition became less focused on art and instead the race of the individual making the art.¹¹⁰ To add to that, Mitchell states that Hughes' initial use of the term "Harlem Renaissance" was in his autobiography, and that particular occurrence is one of the earliest if not the earliest usage of the term.¹¹¹ Mitchell also notes that regardless of that occurrence, Hughes as well as other luminaries such as Ralph Ellison and Richard Wright still refer to the movement as the "Negro Renaissance".¹¹² Furthermore, Mitchell also further substantiates this claim noting that Hughes himself rarely even used the term "Harlem Renaissance" after that first major time the term was used in print.¹¹³ Mitchell also distinguishes that "Negro Renaissance" is the term that Hughes often uses in place of "Harlem Renaissance".¹¹⁴ Mitchell also points out that these distinctions on the basis of race also happen for Locke as well. Mitchell goes on to argue that Locke specifically separates the idea of the "Negro Renaissance" and his term "New Negro" in his 1950s lecture "Frontiers of Culture".¹¹⁵ Mitchell argues that for Locke, the "New Negro" was a younger generation of talent that would rise every decade or so while the "Negro Renaissance" was a "long-term, trans-generational, and interracial cultural shift."¹¹⁶ Mitchell then goes on to point out that successors of Locke's legacy such as Sterling Brown, who like Locke rejected the conflation of the New Negro and the Negro Renaissance because by definition a Renaissance was much longer than the cycle of time required for the appearance of "New Negroes".¹¹⁷ Brown ultimately rejects the contemporary idea of the movement

¹¹⁰Ibid,648

¹¹¹Ibid,649;

¹¹²Hughes, Langston, Arnold Rampersad, and Joseph MacLaren. *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2002.249 ;Hughes, Langston, Arnold Rampersad, and Joseph MacLaren. *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2002.249 quoted in Mitchell, Ernest Julius. "'Black Renaissance': A Brief History of the Concept." ; Mitchell, 649

¹¹³Ibid,649

¹¹⁴Ibid,650

¹¹⁵Ibid,650

¹¹⁶Ibid,650

¹¹⁷Ibid, 651

being a renaissance due to the spatial and temporal limitations that were put on the movement. Instead, Brown argues that the movement was part of a continuing tradition that, “The Renaissance was not bound in time and space, but a "continuing tradition.”¹¹⁸ Lamentably, Locke and Brown’s attempts at distinction would be essentially futile and not stop the term “Harlem Renaissance” from eventually being popularized in 1967.¹¹⁹

At the turn of the 1960s, the term “Harlem Renaissance” arose in three manners. The first is to distinguish the movement from what was deemed to be a new movement known as the “New Black Renaissance.”¹²⁰ Mitchell attributes this primarily to poet Arna Bonatempo who argued that individuals such as James Baldwin were part of a newer movement that was based on generation and not contribution.¹²¹ The second and arguably the largest cause is Harold Cruse’s *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*. Cruse not only makes a case against the “Negro Renaissance” in favor of the “Harlem Renaissance” since he argues that Harlem was the center of the movement, but also that the movement failed because it was unable to produce a “American cultural revolution.”¹²² Lastly, the third is Huggins’ seminal work “Harlem Renaissance” released in 1971. Mitchell contends that Huggins’ work in conjunction with the other earlier growing usage from the two previous examples and the rise of black studies is what causes scholars to latch on and canonize the term by the 1970s.¹²³ With the end of the 1960s leading to the rise of the Black Arts Movement and creation of collegiate black studies programs, a 1973 December debate interrogating the terminology took

¹¹⁸Logan, R W.. The new Negro thirty years afterward: papers contributed to the sixteenth annual spring conference ... April 20, 21, and 22, 1955. Washington: Howard University Press, 1955. Quoted in Mitchell, Ernest Julius. ""Black Renaissance": A Brief History of the Concept."

¹¹⁹Mitchell, 654

¹²⁰Ibid, 652

¹²¹Ibid, 652

¹²²Cruse, Harold, and Stanley Crouch. *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: a Historical Analysis of the Failure of Black Leadership*. New York: New York review Books, 2005. 56 quoted in Mitchell, Ernest Julius. ""Black Renaissance": A Brief History of the Concept." 654

¹²³Mitchell, 657

place at Harvard.¹²⁴ There, individuals considered leaders on the subject such as Cruse, Huggins, Ralph Ellison and Albert Murray examined the terms “Negro Renaissance”, along with Locke’s legacy in regards to the term.¹²⁵ There each of the figures essentially distance themselves from Locke’s more literal definition in some form or fashion and focus on their interpretations which only further lends to the shifting of the terminology.¹²⁶ With Nathan Huggins’ interpretation considered the foremost work, the academics of the 1970s then produced a number of works on the subject.¹²⁷ These works, Mitchell argues, only further cements the usage of the “Harlem Renaissance”. Through the 1980s, even more scholarly works were produced on the subject of the “Harlem Renaissance”.¹²⁸ By the end of the 1980s the plethora of works that refer to the movement as the “Harlem Renaissance” continued to rise and further substantiated the term so much that it became an area of study.¹²⁹ Mitchell notes that although the term had received a number of critiques of a multitude of varieties, by the 1990s the term was stuck.¹³⁰ Mitchell concludes his work by arguing that the lasting legacy of the term “Harlem Renaissance” is one that is inherently rooted in this notion of a failed movement and that the "Black Renaissance" not only “has also already begun” but also that “it never ended”.¹³¹

By interrogating the terminology and its effectiveness through the context Mitchell’s work provides including the critiques of other academics that he notes, one is easily able to recognize the inherent faults in contemporary mainstream definitions and terminology used in relation to the

¹²⁴Ibid,656

¹²⁵Ibid,657

¹²⁶Ibid,657; One should note that here, Mitchell speculatively attributes the panelists’ decision to distance themselves from Locke’s definition to the rise of black centered movements like the Black Arts Movement as well as the rise of Black Studies programs. This is in direct contrast to Locke’s definitions because Locke’s definition was rooted in interracialism.

¹²⁷Ibid, 658

¹²⁸Ibid, 658-9

¹²⁹Ibid, 659

¹³⁰Ibid, 659

¹³¹Ibid,661

movement. Though Locke's terminology and definitions were also faulty because of their intentional proximity and inclusion of whiteness, Locke's definitions and terminology did not segment the movement from the rest of black radical progressive activism . Therefore, utilizing the term "New Negro Renaissance" but in a manner that accounts for the critiques of Locke and Brown becomes a viable option. In this case, with the understanding that New Negro refers to a generational shift based on decades and Negro Renaissance as a long term movement, the New Negro Renaissance is arguably the best term we have available to describe the movement. In this way, the movement is not only centered in blackness but also acknowledges the consistent influx of new talent that does actually occur every decade or so and adds to the tradition of black radical progressive activism through expansion. To add to that, using the term "New Negro Renaissance" also helps to facilitate the inclusion of women and queer folk alike, considering that it is rooted firmly in Lockian origin while simultaneously leaving room for the addition of newer information. Yet, with a renewed understanding of the terminology, what does this new yet familiar framework look like?

The New Negro Renaissance

When observing the New Negro Renaissance through a more inclusive manner, it is much easier to make an argument of a continuity similar to Farmer's work. Often, this looks like choosing figures to highlight in movements that they were crucial in but receive less praise than the more conventionally easy figures to highlight and show how their contributions also help to maintain the black radical progressive activist continuity. When historians filter not only via lens

but also connecting contributions with these figures, not only are historians able to create a fuller picture, but also recognize and truly appreciate the continuity. Figures like Pauli Murray and Ella Baker are perfect examples of this. Often, these figures are relegated to more minor roles in the retelling of the movement if not mentioned at all despite having extremely crucial contributions. Looking through a lens that focuses on the contributions and legacies of figures who had complicated relationships with the movement. Their work, though crucial, was being treated as a lesser contribution by being otherized for either being Gender or Sexually Diverse or simply not being cisgender heterosexual men.

Multi-hyphenate activist Pauli Murray's life is important to understanding the New Negro Renaissance. Despite Murray's lack of widespread respect and acknowledgement, Murray was not only crucial to several parts of the movement but an active supporter and figure.¹³² Murray, who grew up in North Carolina was raised by her Aunt and Grandparents after the tragic passing of her mother and later on her father.¹³³ Murray, who taught herself to read from a young age would eventually leave her family in North Carolina in order to pursue higher education at a collegiate level. Murray traveled to New York city to eventually enroll into Hunter College and during that time, she would meet and befriend a number of larger, more well-known figures such as Langston Hughes and W.E.B Du bois. Murray also actively attended lectures by the likes of Mary McLeod Bethune and paid to go to The Apollo to support artists like Duke Ellington despite having little to no money as a college student who got by living off of waitressing.¹³⁴ Murray's poetry would be featured in *The Crisis*, a magazine run by The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The same magazine that published works of figures like Countee Cullen, Eric

¹³²Murray, Pauli. "INTRODUCTION by Patricia Bell-Scott." Essay. In *Song in a WEARY THROAT: An AMERICAN PILGRIMAGE*. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.Ebook

¹³³Ibid,Under "Daughter of Agnes and Will"

¹³⁴Ibid, Under "Making it through College"

Walrond, Langston Hughes, Jessie Fauset, Gwendolyn Bennett, Harold Jackman, Regina Anderson, Wallace Thurman, Nella Larson, Zora Neale Hurston, Richard Bruce Nugent and more, conversations and ideas discussed at these events found their way out into the world.¹³⁵ Though Pauli's work was not held with similar esteem by historians as some of the larger aforementioned figures, the fact that Pauli's contributed to *The Crisis* shows the cruciality of her work to the larger movement due to the importance of the magazine during a period where of decreasing black illiteracy rates and increasing distribution of knowledge which would find the magazine itself, as well as the works and concepts discussed around the world.¹³⁶ To add to that, Murray's accomplishments go even further beyond this crucial contribution. The aforementioned distributor, also referred to as the NAACP, would eventually find its way back to Murray's writing but not in the form of poetry, but instead a final legal paper that her former Professor Spottswood Robinson would present to Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP, the team that eventually won the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954 and admitted directly to Murray that her work was crucial in their process some odd years later.¹³⁷ In fact, the same team headed by Marshall also referred to Murray's work in other instances as well. Specifically Murray's American Civil Liberties Union distributed "States' Laws on Race and Color" which Marshall himself referred to as "The Bible" of *Brown v. Board of Education*.¹³⁸ By way of these examples, Murray's diverse contributions are clearly instrumental to the success of the NAACP, in multiple decades and facets. On top of the immense struggles that Murray had faced on the basis of gender throughout her life, externally from her peers, and internally with her body via what is now characterized as gender

¹³⁵Hill, Under "The Fire" ; Christa Schwartz's seminal work *Gay Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (2003) tracks the complexities of queer sexual expression of the majority of the aforementioned names.

¹³⁶ See Baldwin et al section; Cohen, Dale J., Sheida White, and Steffaney B. Cohen. "Mind the Gap." *Journal of Literacy Research* 44, no. 2 (2012): 123–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1086296x12439998.125>

¹³⁷Murray, Under "Further Adversities"

¹³⁸Murray, Under "STATES' LAWS AND VISITS WITH MRS. R"

dysphoria.¹³⁹ Murray also connected this feeling of being “fused into one with parts of each sex” to her , “very natural falling in love with the female sex.”¹⁴⁰ Both of these hardships weighed on Murray throughout her life as these pivotal cultural and legal events her work supported went on. Murray’s work and life are both crucial to reimaging the New Negro Renaissance in a more expansive and inclusive manner for a bevy of reasons. Firstly because her work was crucial as a black radical progressive in the fight for greater Civil Rights. But also because Murray was not just radical in thought, but in existence and achievements while living in a world that she often described to reject and deject her at every turn for a multitude of reasons. In this particular way, Murray’s story is intergenerational, beyond the boundaries of space, and is a great key figure to observe from the New Negro Renaissance because her life is a testament to black radical progressive perseverance despite her insecurities, frustrations, and the systems that oppress her, which would continue to be upheld throughout the century by other contributors.

The NAACP’s groundbreaking work during the 20th Century was not only supported by women like Murray either. In fact, the NAACP had at times housed a number of other crucial black radical progressives that were often relegated to the margins of historical retellings. At one point, new, passionate and enthusiastic members such as Ella Baker, along with the leadership of Thurgood Marshall, Roy Wilkins and Walter White, the organization continued to center itself in legal policy and protest.¹⁴¹ The fruits of their labor were not always plentiful, but meaningful nevertheless. From A Phillip Randolph’s march on Washington to defend the rights of the

¹³⁹Panic Panic!! [Pauli Murray] to Page [Bigelow], February 20, 1974, PM Papers, Schlesinger Library, Box 93, Folder 1623. Quoted in Rosenberg, Rosalind. *Jane Crow: The Life Of Pauli Murray*. Oxford University Press, 2017.

¹⁴⁰Pauli Murray, Notes to herself, written at the Long Island Rest Home, December 14– 17,1937, PM Papers, Schlesinger Library, Box 4, Folder 71. Quoted in Rosenberg, Rosalind. *Jane Crow: The Life Of Pauli Murray*. Oxford University Press, 2017.

¹⁴¹Sullivan, Patricia. *Lift Every Voice the NAACP and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: New Press, 2010. Ebook, Under “In the Shadow of War: Battlefields for Freedom”

Brotherhood of the Sleeping Car Porters in 1941 to the follow up on their 1938 *Gaines* case in 1942 and culminating in 1948's executive order 9981 abolishing segregation in the armed forces.¹⁴² As the 1960s rolled in, institutions like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as well as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee would transition into that spot.

The brilliant former NAACP assistant turned branch president Ella Baker sought new pastures. Baker found herself organizing meetings in the south through her work with the NAACP but was transfixed on the clear unrest existing in those areas.¹⁴³ Gravitating towards the powerful words and work of an Atlanta pastor. The pastor, formally known as Martin Luther King Jr, had been building a track record of civil rights work in an American south growing in unrest.¹⁴⁴ The Birmingham Alabama bus boycotts sparked by both by local NAACP chapter activist Rosa Parks as well as the Montgomery Improvement Association lasted a year and some change starting the monday after Park's refusal.¹⁴⁵ Parks, admittedly inspired by Baker's work and presence, pressed forward with the help of King.¹⁴⁶ There, Baker was able to work closely with King and decided she would help him organize. In 1957, Baker along with Bayard Rustin, a GSD pivotal front line figure during the 1941 march on Washington, helped to organize the first meeting of the SCLC.¹⁴⁷ From 1957 to 1960, Baker committed herself to the work of the organization. However, Baker found more frustration in the way that they operated rather than the type of action she desired.¹⁴⁸ By 1960, they would split ways.¹⁴⁹ The organization itself would go on to find national recognition and spark a national dialogue on civil rights through strategic tactics of nonviolent protest across

¹⁴²Sullivan, Under "In the Shadow of War: Battlefields for Freedom"

¹⁴³Ibid, Under "GIVE PEOPLE LIGHT AND THEY WILL FIND THE WAY"

¹⁴⁴Under "The Preacher and the Organizer: The Politics of Leadership in the Early Civil Rights Movement".

¹⁴⁵Under "The Preacher and the Organizer: The Politics of Leadership in the Early Civil Rights Movement".

¹⁴⁶Under "The Preacher and the Organizer: The Politics of Leadership in the Early Civil Rights Movement".

¹⁴⁷Ibid, Under "The Preacher and the Organizer: The Politics of Leadership in the Early Civil Rights Movement".

¹⁴⁸Ibid, Under "The Preacher and the Organizer: The Politics of Leadership in the Early Civil Rights Movement"

¹⁴⁹Ibid, Under "The Preacher and the Organizer: The Politics of Leadership in the Early Civil Rights Movement"

several southern states that would be met with strong amounts of violent retaliation.¹⁵⁰ The retaliation would be noted on an international level, and responses would take form not only through further unrest from a political perspective, but artistically as well. Artists like international musical powerhouse Nina Simone would be infuriated by the extreme levels of targeted violence and in response released a scathing political commentary in “Mississippi Goddam.”¹⁵¹ Simultaneously Baker moved further away from organizations like the SCLC and NAACP, where bureaucracy and political strategy had become the forefront of activity. Baker, disillusioned with those strategies, was determined to return to her grassroots of organizing.¹⁵² Baker’s return to her grassroots organizing would take flight in the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Within months, the newly formulated Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee found structure.¹⁵³ Baker’s contributions not only provided blueprints for the students to use to enact the civil disobedience but provided much needed structure and internal mediation to smoothen the process.¹⁵⁴ SNCC found life blood in a number of young talented activists like Gwendolyn Patton (previously part of the Montgomery Improvement Association) and direction from Baker and Bob Moses.¹⁵⁵ Moses, at the request of veteran activist Bayard Rustin initially found himself at SCLC but defected and became an integral figure in SNCC.¹⁵⁶ SNCC, along with its sister organization CORE, took more radical steps on a grassroots level than its more established counterparts of the

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, Under “The Preacher and the Organizer: The Politics of Leadership in the Early Civil Rights Movement”

¹⁵¹For a lyrical breakdown of the songs content, visit here:“Nina Simone – Mississippi Goddam.” Genius, March 1, 1964. <https://genius.com/Nina-simone-mississippi-goddam-lyrics>.

¹⁵²Ibid, Under “Mentoring a New Generation of Activist: The Birth of the Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee

¹⁵³Carson, Clayborne. *In Struggle SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001.PDF.31

¹⁵⁴Sullivan, Under “Mentoring a New Generation of Activist: The Birth of the Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee ;Carson, 31

¹⁵⁵Carson, 31

¹⁵⁶Carson, 46 ; Moses helped organize Rustin’s second integrated schools youth march.

era. The Freedom Rides, a series of bus rides strategically placed throughout the south in order to protest segregation.¹⁵⁷ Helmed by CORE but supported by SNCC, The Freedom Rides were designed to push southern racial consciousness and develop a greater sense of militancy.¹⁵⁸ In that specific manner, the Freedom Rides were successful.¹⁵⁹ The evermore militant grassroots operations of SNCC would be noticed by the federal government, more specifically the executive administration.¹⁶⁰ So much so that meetings with the federal government and representatives from SNCC, CORE, SCLC took place in 1961.¹⁶¹ After internal division on future direction post sit down with attorney general Robert Kennedy, the direction of SNCC shifted to voter registration.¹⁶² With seeming support by famed Jamaican-American musician activist Harry Belafonte, SNCC dived into voter registration.¹⁶³ SNCC's shift would cause the organization to gear itself towards its most monumental undertaking yet, the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer project.¹⁶⁴ With the lofty goals "to draw the nation's attention to the rampant disenfranchisement of Southern blacks, register black Mississippians to vote, and create the infrastructure for a homegrown civil rights movement" SNCCs members, by the thousands, mobilized.¹⁶⁵ SNCC raised money "for and led literacy schools, voter education rallies, and courthouse protests that gradually increased" thanks to the efforts of individuals like Ruby Doris Smith Robinson and Joyce Ladner which was mirrored by other members such as Gwendolyn Patton and Gwendolyn Simmons in adjacent states.¹⁶⁶ The event would culminate in an unsurprising but nevertheless frustrating defeat of the

¹⁵⁷Ibid, 37

¹⁵⁸Ibid, 37

¹⁵⁹Ibid, 37

¹⁶⁰Ibid, 39

¹⁶¹Ibid, 39

¹⁶²Ibid, 39

¹⁶³Ibid, 40

¹⁶⁴ Farmer, Ashley D. *Remaking Black Power: How Black Women Transformed an Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017. Epub Ebook, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁶⁵Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁶⁶Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

newly formed Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party led by local leaders Fannie Lou Hamer, Victoria Gray, and Annie Devine at the National Democratic Convention in New Jersey.¹⁶⁷ The defeat would ultimately cause a major internal rift in SNCC as to how to approach activism in the coming years.¹⁶⁸ However, 1964 was not lost. The Civil Rights act, previously rejected was pushed through on the heels of President John Kennedy's assassination and through the collective efforts of the organizations was followed up by the 1965 voting rights act. Both of which were pivotal accomplishments for all civil rights organizations of the 1960s.¹⁶⁹ The success of SNCC, the NAACP, and SCLC during Ella Baker's tenure is imperative to reimagining the New Negro Renaissance because of not only their achievements but also because Baker falls in lock step with Murray by virtue of importance by both solely existing and achieving while living in a world that often rejects and dejects her at every turn for a multitude of reasons. The ability to do so connects them both to black radical progressive tradition because they contributed despite, often in spite of the systems that oppressed them. In the case of Baker's legacy, Baker directly influenced political and social change while supporting another generation that would carry the tradition that would follow her footsteps.

Despite the success for Civil Rights, for SNCC, the defeat was a reminder of heart breaking reality. So much so that the impact was transformational. Bob Moses left the organization and in place was the black centric rise of Stokley Carmichael.¹⁷⁰ The rise of Carmichael and a black centric approach renewed a sense of hope for some, but also further fissured the organization.¹⁷¹ The seemingly irreparably broken SNCC coupled with the increasing activity of the covert

¹⁶⁷Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁶⁸Ransby, Under "A POLITICAL GAMBLE IN ATLANTIC CITY"

¹⁶⁹Farmer, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁷⁰Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁷¹Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

government subversion group known as COINTELPRO would seem to be the downfall of the organization.¹⁷² However, seeds that Carmichael and Patton sowed in Alabama in 1964 would help to give rise to a new type of black centric wave that took a newer more radical approach to activism would help to continue the long standing tradition of generational talent that would send shockwaves through American culture.¹⁷³ To add to that, the tactics and policy change that the organizations of the 1960s would reverberate into the 1970s as well.

Towards the end of the 1960s two major movements arose. In 1966, two young men by the name of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale heard of the exploits of a group from Lowndes County Alabama. The group, which formulated during SNCC's Freedom Summer Project, was devised and created with the help of SNCC activist Carmichael and Patton.¹⁷⁴ Both Carmichael and Patton recognized that in order for political and social change to occur within the 80% black populated Lowndes county, a new political party would have to be formed to take control of local elections. Together with Lowndes county residents, "an independent, third political party designed to grow the black electorate and "control the county" by electing local black residents to county positions."¹⁷⁵ This party would be known as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.¹⁷⁶ The secretary Ruth Howard would come up with the logo of a black panther to represent the organization and both the logo and name Black Panther Party would stick.¹⁷⁷ The group helped to boost black voter registration and looked to shift local elections. However, their efforts were not

¹⁷²Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"; Moore, Dhoruba. "STRATEGIES OF REPRESSION AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT." *The Black Scholar* 12, no. 3 (1981): 10-16.

<http://www.jstor.org/ccny-proxy1.libr.ccny.cuny.edu/stable/41066755.11>

¹⁷³Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁷⁴Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁷⁵Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁷⁶Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁷⁷Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

enough.¹⁷⁸ Despite the failure to secure a political office, the ideas of black power and black centric politics spurred on by the LCFO, rise of Malcolm X, and Carmichael's 1966 Black Power speech inspired Newton and Seale.¹⁷⁹ Conferences were held in Oakland, both in support of the LCFO and in opposition of the idea of black power and what it meant.¹⁸⁰ The two would go on and form the Oakland Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in an antipoverty center within a month.¹⁸¹ They created a ten point program that focused on the correction of black disenfranchisement in the United States independently of government interference.¹⁸² The Oakland Black Panther Party for Self-Defense later shortened to the Black Panther Party was a cultural zeitgeist. The existence of the group and black power spawned iconography that would evolve to be symbolic of the decade. However, the patriarchal, homophobic and misogynistic overtones would be a constant point of contention.¹⁸³ Even as Newton publicly denounced misogyny and homophobia in a letter, there was only so much he was able to control.¹⁸⁴ But this was not symptomatic of just the Black Panther Party. The frustrations of black women and GSD folk were always existing, but now they reverberated even louder. The notion of third or even fourth class citizenship in comparison to their cis male straight counterparts was no longer a sacrifice for the "greater good" that was touted in during the King era.¹⁸⁵ With King's assassination also went those compromises.¹⁸⁶ Black women, and GSD folk fought against these notions.

¹⁷⁸Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁷⁹Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁸⁰Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁸¹Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁸²Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁸³Ibid, Under "The Rise of Black Power and the Black Panther Party"

¹⁸⁴ Newton, H.P. (1970, August 21). A letter from Huey to the revolutionary brothers and sisters about the Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements. *The Black Panther*, 5 quoted in Porter, Ronald K. "CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR: A Rainbow in Black: The Gay Politics of the Black Panther Party." *Counterpoints* 367 (2012): 364-75. <http://www.jstor.org/ccny-proxy1.libr.ccny.cuny.edu/stable/42981419>.

¹⁸⁵Farmer, under "The Origins of the Panthers' Black Revolutionary Woman Ideal"

¹⁸⁶Farmer, under "The Origins of the Panthers' Black Revolutionary Woman Ideal"

There were many women who were integral to The Black Panther Party and contributed to the work done by the party. Some of the members include Kathleen Cleaver, Linda Green, and visual artist Tarkia Lewis. With the rise of blaxploitation films depicting exaggerated ideas of blackness, the women of the Black Panther party fought against the narrative that was depicted in films by keeping the party grounded in activism.¹⁸⁷ Outside of the party existed a number of women who sought roles within other organizations such as Amina Baraka. The 1969 Stonewall riots saw the emergence of trans black woman activist Marsha P. Johnson who together with Sylvia Rivera formed an organization known as the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries or STAR for short.¹⁸⁸ Their work focused on providing assistance and housing for trans women, with particular focus placed on transwomen of color.¹⁸⁹ The 1970s saw no shortage of women who fought across the movement for the sake of pushing American history in culture towards a less oppressive state by their own means. These women, similarly their male counterparts, built on the legacies of their predecessors.¹⁹⁰ With their individual and important contributions added together, the women defined the generations after Murray and Baker. Their perseverance and crucial contributions would help to define decades of black radical progressive activism in a world that resisted them. Their contributions added to a legacy that is still very much alive, and can be traced similarly to the legacies of Murray and Baker.

By viewing the contributions of black radical progressive activist across 20th century through a lens not bounded by space, or fully through time but instead tradition, historians are able to view the New Negro Renaissance as a success. The foundational contributions of Murray and

¹⁸⁷Farmer, under “Internationalism, Intercommunalism, and the Black Revolutionary Woman”

¹⁸⁸Karma R. Chávez. "Civil Rights and Beyond, and Further Beyond." *Journal of Civil and Human Rights* 3, no. 1 (2017): 119-24. doi:10.5406/jcivihumarigh.3.1.0119.123 ; Farmer, under “From Us to CFUN: Cultural Nationalism Goes National”

¹⁸⁹Ibid,123

¹⁹⁰Farmer, Under “The Militant Negro Domestic, 1945–1965”

Baker allowed for other generations to rise and maintain the tradition of activism through contributions as well. From the legal work of Murray to the iconography of Howard, all of these contributions assisted in the betterment of African diasporic people of the United States. Centering these often marginalized legacies is imperative to undoing the miseducation Woodson highlighted. Combined with the legacies that are often revered, a more holistic historical definition of the New Negro Renaissance highlights it as an ongoing shift in all spheres of black life in the United States via a diverse collective contribution of individuals from all walks of black life looking to persevere despite circumstances based on systemic oppression. It is a tradition that they all uniquely adhere to based on blackness but varies per individual. Through use of a definition like this, one is able to see that the greatest miseducation that is derived from using a more conventional definition is the inability to see one's self as a potential contributor as well as there is opportunity to contribute regardless of circumstance.

Conclusion

As a discipline, history often creates and segments eras and periods to categorize and distinguish time. While this may regularly work for non-diasporic accounts, what remains clear

is that this technique may not always work for diasporic records. Uncovering and understanding the history behind the mainstream conventional terminology of the “Harlem Renaissance” proves this notion. Like Mitchell stated, "Works produced under the term “Harlem Renaissance,” maintain an undertone of failure, disconnection, briefness as well as isolation." Yet, when the terminology becomes less restrictive and not determined by time nor space but instead lineage and tradition, what becomes abundantly clear are the connections between eras of black contributions.

The implications of observing black history as a long term intergenerational dialogue are not new. Scholars like Ashley Farmer and Mitchell have proven through their own works the need to maintain the study of blackness in an open and connected stream is imperative to truly understanding the importance and impact the efforts of those prior have had on the present and even the future. By maintaining a more open understanding and the inclusion of topics like gender and sexuality, scholars are presented with a richer understanding of black diasporic history through a more accurate depiction. The legacies of crucial figures like Murray and Baker represent not only the tradition of black radical activism, but simultaneously the everyday black person, GSD or not, that is able to achieve despite and in spite of a world that resist their efforts. Such a rich and accurate depiction allows scholars to continue to embrace the process of re-education that Woodson fought for to dismantle the oppressive system of white supremacy.

Therefore, with this understanding, scholars of these types of histories must continue the tradition of questioning, interrogating, and relearning manners of approaching black history to ensure progress towards a world free of white supremacy. While life may be short, the efforts

put into dismantling white supremacy are enduring. Until white supremacy is dismantled, the struggle of black radical progressive activists goes on.

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