

# *Blues for an Alabama Sky*

## Dramaturgy



“What happens is that one brilliant person who did something wonderful for the race will be plucked out of whatever community they were a part of, and we study them in isolation. But they’re rarely placed in the context of a community of people. I was really interested in not plucking the person out of community. I didn’t want to write about Langston Hughes and Adam Clayton Powell and all of them. I wanted to write about the people who knew them [...] because I think that we forget sometimes that these people are a part of a group of people. I think that’s real important.”

-Pearl Cleage

Dramaturg: Cara McHugh

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## **Chapter 1: The Harlem Renaissance Defined**



Figure 1

“What a crowd! All classes and colors met face to face, ultra-aristocrats, bourgeoisie, Communists, Park Avenuers galore, bookers, publishers, Broadway celebs, and Harlemites giving each other the once-over. The social revolution was on.”

-Geraldyn Dismond (Cited in Watson 4)

### **What is the Harlem Renaissance?**

Also known as the New Negro Movement, the Harlem Renaissance was a movement that sought to show the rich cultural merit of the African American community through the arts, music, politics, and religion. “The arts offered a way to express racial pride, racial consciousness, and to dispel stereotypical white myths about blacks” (Evans 96). The Harlem Renaissance used the arts as a powerful agent to uplift and advance the black race in hopes of improving race relations and ending racism and discrimination in America. “Music, theatre arts, graphic arts, film, and literature culled folk sources in order to depict African American life with accuracy, with complexity, and above all sensitivity for its inherent humanity” (Hutchinson 97). Organizations such as The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and the Universal Negro Improvement Association were born. “In like fashion, ‘the New Negro’ movement embraced more than literature: it included race-building and image-building, jazz poetics, progressive or socialist politics, racial integration, the musical and sexual freedom of Harlem nightlife, and the pursuit of hedonism” (Watson 8-9).

### **When was the Harlem Renaissance?**

Speculation exists on the exact dates of the Harlem Renaissance but most scholars claim the dates to be 1918-1935. The events that sparked the Harlem Renaissance were the return of American soldiers from World War I and the emergence of jazz music from the popular Jazz Age. The events that are contributed to the demise of the Harlem Renaissance are the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression.

### **Intelligentsia of the Harlem Renaissance**

The intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance were also termed “The Niggerati”. The most well-known intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance were W.E.B. Dubois, Jessie Redmon Fauset, and Alain Locke. All three played a significant role in the emergence of the Harlem Renaissance. W.E.B. Dubois developed the idea of the “Talented Tenth” which asked the small percentage of

black intellectuals to come together and lead the black community in fighting for black rights (Chambers 40). Alain Locke wrote and spoke about the New Negro versus the Old Negro. The Old Negro of the South was said to be uneducated and subservient while the New Negro represented someone with an education, self-sufficiency, and intelligence (Evans 96). These ideologies became very influential throughout black art, literature, and politics. Black intellectuals promoted the arts to educate whites on the strong black culture. Intellectuals introduced emerging artists to white patrons helping fund the movement. One important liaison in the movement was Charles Johnson. Charles Johnson held a dinner on March 21, 1924 at the Civic Club where he invited white publishers, white writers, and aspiring black writers. He hosted this dinner in hopes of connecting black writers and white publishers. His dinner proved successful with lasting relationships being made. This group was later reunited at the *Opportunity's* awards dinner where poems by Hurston, Hughes, and Cullen won contest awards (Watson 26-27).

### **Literature of the Harlem Renaissance**

If the intelligentsia are associated with the start of the Harlem Renaissance, the literary figures were the key to its survival. Zora Neale Hurston, Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Jean Toomer, Nella Larsen, Sterling Brown, Rudolph Fisher, and Richard Bruce Nugent are just some of the influential writers of the Harlem Renaissance. These writers examined the life of the African American through their words and vernacular. There were two sides to the approach of literature during the Harlem Renaissance. On one side there were writers like W.E.B. Dubois who believed that black artists should write in a way that highlighted the race in the belief that "all art is propaganda". On the other side stood artists like Claude McKay and Langston Hughes who believed that the black experience should be written as it is and not made to be anything else. It turned into a literature war of propaganda versus folklore with proponents of literary propaganda writing about lynchings, soldiers, and war and folklore proponents writing about race, sex, and gender identity. Another huge contribution to the emergence of black artists were magazines such as *Fire!!*, *Crisis*, and *Opportunity*. The *Crisis* was the magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and *Opportunity* was the magazine of the National Urban League. "*Crisis* was dominated by black politics, while *Opportunity* focused on black culture" (25). *Fire!!* was a radical magazine that "celebrated jazz, paganism, blues, androgyny, unassimilated black beauty, free-form verse, homosexuality- precisely the "uncivilized" features of Harlem proletarian culture that the Talented Tenth propagandists preferred to ignore" (91). These magazines helped in showcasing the works of new artists.

## Music of the Harlem Renaissance

The Harlem Renaissance occurred during the crazed Jazz Age of the 1920s. Musicians of the Harlem Renaissance made monumental contributions to jazz and started their own musical movement consisting of the blues and ragtime. Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, Gladys Bentley, Florence Mills, Josephine Baker, and Ethel Waters were among some of the most popular singers of the Harlem Renaissance. Band leader Duke Ellington, songwriter Billie Holiday, and composer Fats Waller all made major contributions to the musical scene of the Harlem Renaissance. These singers and musicians performed in clubs and cabarets in Harlem such as the Savoy Ballroom, the Cotton Club, Connie's Inn, Small's Paradise, The Nest Club, Barron's, and the Sugar Cane. These clubs offered bootlegged liquor during a time when the sale of alcohol was made illegal due to the Volstead Act. These popular nightclubs and cabarets were located on 133<sup>rd</sup> street between Lenox Avenue and 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue in Harlem (Hillstrom 65). Clubs and cabarets were not the only places where singing, dancing, and entertainment by African Americans became a phenomenon. African American theatre also took flight during the Harlem Renaissance. *Shuffle Along*, which consisted of jazz music, energetic dancing, and soulful singing, premiered in 1921 and instantly became a Broadway hit launching the careers of both Josephine Baker and Florence Mills.

## Living in Harlem during the Harlem Renaissance

Harlem is located in the northern region of New York City in the neighborhood of Manhattan. "Rents were high in Harlem; most apartments cost \$12 to \$30 more per month than similar housing in other parts of Manhattan. Simply paying the rent could cost a typical working-class family 40 percent of its income" (Chambers 22). Therefore, "rent parties" were very common in Harlem. Tenants who could not afford their rent would host rent parties where they would supply entertainment, food, and drinks and the guests would be charged admission into the party that would go towards the hosts rent. The new "Black Mecca" was the perfect locale for the Harlem Renaissance. As James Weldon Johnson said, "so here we have Harlem- not merely a colony or a community or a settlement- not at all a "quarter" or a slum or a fringe- but a black city located in the heart of white Manhattan, and containing more Negroes to the square mile than any other spot on earth. It strikes the uninformed observer as a phenomenon, a miracle straight out of the skies" (Hillstrom 23). Harlem was one of the poorest and most crowded neighborhoods but a popular quote stated it best, "I'd rather be a lamppost in Harlem than the Governor of Georgia".

*"Chant another song of Harlem;  
Not about the wrong of Harlem  
But the worthy throng of Harlem,  
Proud that they belong to Harlem;  
They, the over-blamed of Harlem  
Need not be ashamed of Harlem;  
All is not ill-famed in Harlem,  
The devil, too, is tamed in Harlem."  
-Anonymous, "Harlem"*

## Chapter 2: Who's Who: People of the Harlem Renaissance

**Josephine Baker (1906-1975)** Actor, singer, and dancer of the Harlem Renaissance. Baker was raised in St. Louis in a poverty-stricken home. She performed as a Dixie Stepper with the Jones Family Band and then as a chorus girl in *Shuffle Along*. She performed in *Chocolate Dandies* which, like *Shuffle Along*, attracted national attention. In 1925, she moved to Paris to perform in the *Revue Negre*. Baker was known for her unique sense of style, elaborate costumes, and for her seductive performances. Baker returned to America and then quickly went back to France to enjoy the racial freedom France offered that the U.S. did not. For more information, visit her website at: <http://www.cmgww.com/stars/baker/index.php>.



Figure 2

**Gladys Bentley (1907-1960)** Famous blues singer of the Harlem Renaissance. Bentley sang in several of Harlem's nightclubs.

**Countee Cullen (1903-1946)** Writer of the Harlem Renaissance. Cullen, a rumored homosexual, declared that he wanted to be seen as a poet and not a black poet. However, most of his works centered on racial identity and racial discrimination. On April 9, 1928, Cullen married W.E.B. Du Bois' daughter, Yolande Du Bois, which soon after ended in divorce. Cullen produced such works as *Color* and the collections *The Ballad of the Brown Girl* and *Copper Sun*.

**Aaron Douglas (1899-1979)** Artist of the Harlem Renaissance. Douglas created the famous mural *Aspects of Negro Life* and many other popular art pieces.



Figure 3

**W.E.B. Dubois (1868- 1963)** Intellectual of the Harlem Renaissance. Dubois was the first African American to receive his PhD from Harvard. He authored *The Souls of Black Folk* and developed the idea of the "Talented Tenth" which encouraged the small percentage of black intellectuals to come together and lead the black community towards racial uplift and social equality. Dubois held the idea that "All Art is Propaganda" and so all art should be created in a way to elevate the race and end racism (Hutchinson 58). He was also a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of *Crisis* magazine. In 1961, he joined the Communist Party and moved to Ghana.

**Duke Ellington (1899-1974)** Famous band leader of the Harlem Renaissance. Ellington joined the Novelty Orchestra where they played at Manhattan's Kentucky Club. In 1927, the band was renamed "Duke Ellington Orchestra" and started playing for the Cotton Club. Ellington's music was deeply rooted in African history and culture.

**Jessie Redmon Fauset (1884-1961)** Intellectual of the Harlem Renaissance. Writer and literary editor for *Crisis* magazine. Fauset wrote *There is Confusion* which focused on the mindset of the black middle-class.

**Marcus Garvey (1887-1940)** Started the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) to help improve race relations and encourage racial uplift on an international level. Garvey wrote and spoke about black pride and encouraged separatism from other races. He went so far as to meet with the KKK to promote blacks moving to Africa which caused much dissent in the black community. Garvey published the newspaper, *The Negro World* where he shared his political and social ideas. Garvey was a huge opponent of contraceptives and family planning. He saw it as genocide of the black race. In 1925, Garvey served three years in jail for mail fraud.



Figure 4



Figure 5

**Langston Hughes (1902- 1967)** Poet of the Harlem Renaissance. Hughes' vernacular in his poetry captured the music of the Harlem Renaissance, particularly blues and jazz. He also incorporated other styles such as "gospel songs, ballads, street calls, church testifying, [and] overhead conversations [...]" (Hutchinson 122). Hughes wrote about the struggling working class as the main subject in his works. He believed by representing the middle class in black society, he could accurately portray black culture through the complexities that exist in the race and show how fully human his subjects were. Other black writers of the Harlem Renaissance, such as Dubois, disliked his work since they said he showed the "darker side" of African American life that did not aid in elevating the race. However, Hughes did not give into the critics' pleas to write to elevate the race but instead wanted to show the authenticity of the lower class blacks and their struggles. Hughes said, "We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our dark skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know that we are beautiful. And ugly too. The tom-tom cries and the tom-tom laughs. If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not their displeasure doesn't matter either" (Hillstrom 50).

**Zora Neale Hurston (1891-1959)** Acclaimed writer of short stories, novels, folklore, essays, and dramas. One of Hurston's most famous novels is *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. She was also the associate editor for *Fire!!* magazine. She believed that art should stay true to its own Volksgeist or folk spirit. Hurston believed that "jook joints, honkey tonks, rural churches, and everyday southern life set the stage for pure folk drama" (Hutchinson 59).

**Georgia Douglas Johnson (1880-1966)** Successful writer of the Harlem Renaissance. Johnson wrote such plays as *Plumes* and *Blue Blood* and many poetry volumes such as *An Autumn Love Circle*.

**James Weldon Johnson (1871-1938)** Secretary of the NAACP who advertised black writers in his column and in his book, *The Book of American Negro Poetry*. He also used the Bible and religion in his vernacular to capture the black experience and culture. Johnson wrote the words to the Negro National Anthem, "Lift Every Voice and Sing" which was set to music by his brother Rosamond Johnson.

**Nella Larsen (1891-1964)** Health educator and writer of the Harlem Renaissance. Larsen traveled teaching health awareness to immigrants before she became an acclaimed writer. In 1926, she published *Quicksand* which mirrored the displacement she felt growing up as a female mulatto. Her second work, *Passing* also dealt with the same issues of race and gender identity.



Figure 6

**Alain Locke (1885-1954)** Intellectual of the Harlem Renaissance. Locke was the first Rhodes Black Scholar. He wrote *The New Negro: Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* where he advertised black culture in hopes of improving black relations. Locke also wrote about the New Negro vs. the Old Negro. The Old Negro was considered the Negro of the south who was seen as "subservient" and "uneducated" where the New Negro represented an educated, independent, and intelligent individual.

**Claude McKay (1889-1948)** Writer of the Harlem Renaissance. McKay wrote the novel *Home to Harlem* which became the first best seller by a writer of the Harlem Renaissance. "McKay's book focuses on the poor, the debauched, and the criminals of black urban life" (Chambers 96).

**Richard Nugent (1906-1987)** Writer of the Harlem Renaissance. Wrote articles for *Fire!!* magazine that included controversial topics such as drugs and homosexuality.

**Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. (1865-1953)** Minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church and co-founder of the National Urban League. He used his religious position to advocate for social institutions in Harlem and created public soup kitchens, education classes, and recreation centers.

**Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (1908-1972)** Religious and Political figure of the Harlem Renaissance. Powell, Jr. became minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in 1937 after his father, Adam Clayton Powell, Sr.'s retirement. Powell, Jr. was much more liberal in his religious and political thinking than his father. Powell, Jr. is also known for being the first African American to be elected into Congress in the state of New York. He served in Congress for nearly thirty years fighting for civil rights and much needed social organizations. Powell, Jr. married Isabel Washington in



Figure 7

1933 and they divorced in 1945. For more information, view his biography at <http://baic.house.gov/member-profiles/profile.html?intID=33>.

**Ma Rainey (1886-1939)** Famous blues singer of the Harlem Renaissance. Rainey sang in several of Harlem's nightclubs. She recorded such songs as "Black Bottom" and "Moonshine Blues".

**Paul Robeson (1898- 1976)** Actor of the Harlem Renaissance. Robeson was the third African American to graduate from Columbia Law School. However, he turned from law to acting and starred in *All God's Chillun Got Wings*. Robeson was also known for politically identifying with the communist party.



**Margaret Sanger (1883-1966)** Social advocate for family planning and reproductive rights. She believed women should have control over their bodies and saw it as much healthier and safer for women to use contraceptives rather than aborting unwanted pregnancies. She harbored this belief due to her experiences as a nurse in New York City's Lower East Side where she saw many women die from illegal abortions. Sanger was jailed multiple times fighting for her cause to educate and advocate on healthy family planning.

Figure 8

**Augusta Savage (1892-1962)** Artist of the Harlem Renaissance. Her sculptures focused on black physical features.

**Bessie Smith (1894-1937)** Known as "The Empress of the Blues". "By 1927 she was the highest paid black artist in the world" (Chambers 19). She used her talented storytelling techniques to describe and highlight the black female experience. She began by performing with Ma Rainey and had such hits as "St. Louis Blues", "Backwater Blues", and "Me and My Gin".

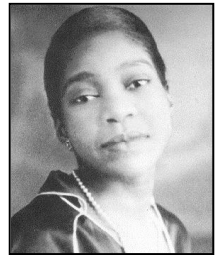


Figure 9

**Wallace Thurman (1902- 1934)** Chief editor of *Fire!!* Thurman wanted the magazine to expose issues present in his life such as homosexuality and alcoholism. He also encountered racism by whites and lighter-skinned blacks which prompted his novel *The Darker the Berry*. Thurman wrote the play *Cordelia the Crude, A Harlem Sketch* that told the story of a 16-year old prostitute which later became a Broadway hit.

**Jean Toomer (1894-1967)** Writer of the Harlem Renaissance. Toomer authored the novel *Cane* which described the rich cultural merit of the south based on his experiences living in Sparta, Georgia. This is said to be his most significant piece of work.

**James Van Der Zee (1886-1983)** Popular photographer of the Harlem Renaissance.

**Carl Van Doren (1885-1950)** White literary editor for *The Nation* and *Century Magazine* who promoted black artists and published their works in his magazines.

**Carl Van Vechten (1880-1964)** Infamous patron of the Harlem Renaissance. He would host parties inviting black and white artists to come to his house and collaborate on new works. He authored the novel *Nigger Heaven* which focused on the segregation of blacks and whites in theatres. However, many people in the black community saw the novel as racist.

**A'Lelia Walker (1885-1931)** Hostess of the Harlem Renaissance. Walker was an heiress of millions from her mother, Madame C.J. Walker, who created hot combs used to straighten black women's hair. Walker threw notorious parties in her numerous mansions that combined whites and blacks from all lifestyles.

**Fats Waller (1904-1943)** Popular musician and composer that wrote such hits as "Ain't Misbehavin'" and "Black and Blue".

**Booker T. Washington (1856-1915)** Intellectual of the Harlem Renaissance. Washington was born a slave in southwestern Virginia. He attended the Hampton Institute and graduated in 1875. He served on the faculty at the Hampton Institute until 1881 when he left to found the Tuskegee Institute which was a vocational school for blacks. Washington was a huge advocate for education and rallied with whites to help fund the many schools he started. He also wrote books, including his autobiography, *Up From Slavery*.



Figure 10

**Isabel Washington-Powell (1909-2008)** Entertainer and social advocate of the Harlem Renaissance. With her fiery personality, Isabel Washington entertained audiences both at the Cotton Club as a chorus girl and in many Broadway productions as an actress. She became Isabel Washington-Powell when she married Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. and became very involved in her community and in local social organizations. In 1945, the couple divorced. For more information, visit her website at:

<http://adamandisabel.com/MeetIsabel.html>.

**Ethel Waters (1896-1977)** Blues singer that sang such hits as "Down Home Blues", "Heat Wave", "Shake That Thing", "Dinah", and "Stormy Weather".



Figure 11

### Chapter 3: Where's Where: Places of the Harlem Renaissance

“Jook joints were the southern rendition of a night club. They were not fancy but this is where blues and jazz were born. Blacks brought this idea of jook joints with them when they migrated to the north” (Evans 93).

**The Cotton Club-** Located on the corner of Lenox Avenue and 142<sup>nd</sup> street, the Cotton Club opened its doors in September of 1923. The Cotton Club was most notorious for its high prices and strict regulations of Jim Crow laws. Duke Ellington’s band performed at the Cotton Club and due to his popularity, the Cotton Club eventually dismissed their adherence to Jim Crow laws. The club was owned by gangster Owen Madden and closed in 1939.



Figure 12

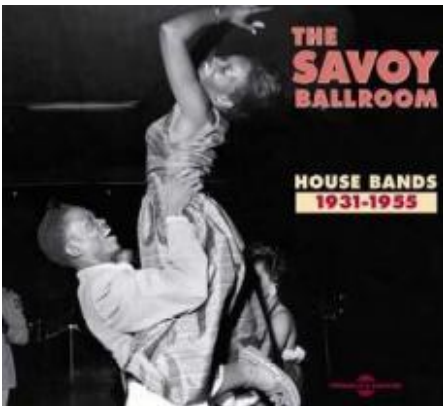


Figure 13

**The Savoy Ballroom-** Located on Lenox Avenue, the Savoy Ballroom opened in March of 1926. The Savoy Ballroom had a mixed clientele of white and black guests. Fletcher Henderson and his Rainbow Orchestra performed at the Savoy. The Savoy was known for its non-stop music and spectacular dancing.

**Jungle Alley-** 133<sup>rd</sup> street in Harlem where many of the popular clubs (Connie’s Inn, the Nest Club, and the Cotton Club) were located.

**580-** The name for the famous apartment that Ethel Ray Nance, Regina Anderson, Louella Tucker, and Ethel Waters shared on 589 St. Nicholas Avenue. Visiting artists came to 580 to have these influential women show them around Harlem (Chambers 62).

**Edmund’s Cellar-** A Harlem basement where Ethel Waters performed (19).

**Lafayette Theatre of Harlem-** Run by Anita Hill, the Lafayette Theatre of Harlem was one of the most successful African American theatre companies during the Harlem Renaissance.

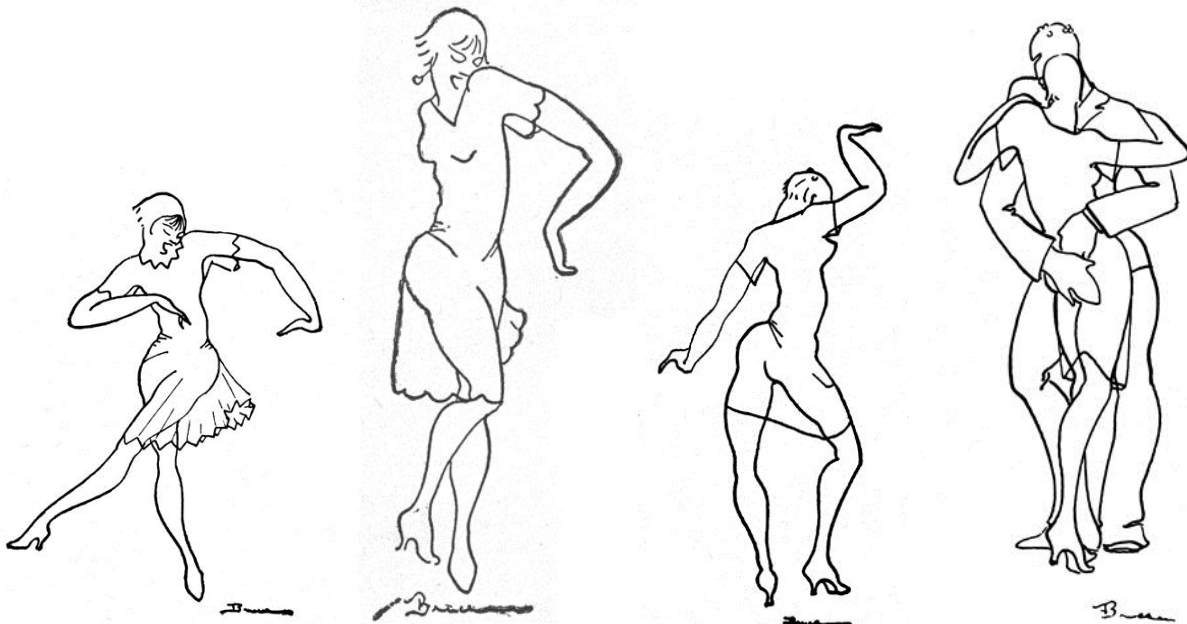
**S Street Salon-** The term coined for Georgia Douglas Johnson’s home where “Saturday Nighters” a group of intellectual scholars and artists met for conversation.

**Niggerati Manor**- Located at 267 West 136th Street, “Niggerati Manor” was the home of Wallace Thurman and where he met with other artists to create *Harlem*. This was a magazine that would exhibit the more radical lifestyle similar to Thurman’s consisting of homosexuality and alcoholism. Frequent guests of the Niggerati Manor included Richard Bruce Nugent, Aaron Douglas, and Langston Hughes.

**Harlem Artists Guild:** The Harlem Artists Guild was an “organization of black painters and sculptors founded in 1935” (Hillstrom 69).

**Other Clubs/ Cabarets in Harlem:**

- Connie’s Inn
- Small’s Paradise
- The Nest Club
- Barron’s
- The Sugar Cane
- The Kit Kat Club



Images of Harlem Dancers  
Richard Bruce Nugent  
1928

## Chapter 4: Migration of African Americans to the North

“The Harlem Renaissance was in many ways the result of the Great Migration. Between 1900 and 1930, nearly three million African Americans left the South to seek their fortunes in the North, sending the black population of the North soaring by 400 percent. Although African Americans had been moving north since the time of the Civil War, the largest migration boom occurred around World War I, when nearly half a million rural blacks left the South in search of racial equality and greater economic opportunity” (Chambers 26).

### Causes of Migration

#### **A. Safety Concerns**

1. Rise in lynchings in the South
2. Resurgence of the KKK
3. Strict Jim Crow Laws and abidance in the South
4. Financial Hardships/ Poverty

#### **B. Economic Opportunities**

1. Increase in industrial jobs in the North
2. Opportunities for work and education in the North
3. Henry Ford hiring African Americans in his northern factories

#### **C. Northern Progress**

1. Northern intellectuals making a difference in racial progress → Go to where progress is being made
2. The idea of the American Dream in the “New Black Mecca”



**AFRICAN AMERICAN MIGRATION NORTHWARD, 1910–1920**

## **Effects of Migration**

### **A. Population Increase**

It is predicted that Mass Migration began in 1915. “Over the next 15 years the number of blacks living in New York City soared from fewer than 92,000 to nearly 328,000” (Hillstrom 14). “By 1910, less than 25 percent of the more than 60,000 blacks who lived in Manhattan had been born in New York” (Chambers 29).

### **B. Political Change**

The migration led to the support of Truman and desegregation in the election of 1948.

### **C. The White Flight**

The White Flight was the term coined for the flight of whites out of Harlem as soon as blacks moved in fearing home depreciation and a decrease in social status (Evans 94).

### **D. Emotional Displacement**

A lot of artists talked about the emotional displacement they felt from moving from the South to the North. Most people still considered their southern state to be “home” and the South was the subject for a lot of works. There was a universal feeling of loss of identity in those who had migrated.

## **Chapter 5: Economy**

### **During the Harlem Renaissance**

“Harlem suffered from serious social and economic problems in the 1920s and 1930s (Hillstrom 74). There was a small middle class in Harlem but most blacks still worked in low-paying jobs (Evans 95). Overpopulation led to an unsuccessful economy during the Harlem Renaissance. Overpopulation also caused sanitary problems which led to the rapid spread of diseases and health issues in Harlem. Also, most black workers of the Harlem Renaissance did not have the education needed for higher end jobs so they were forced to take positions in factories which paid low wages and had poor working conditions. Blacks were charged higher rent than whites and were also taxed on commodities such as furniture and clothing. Many blacks were unable to pay their rent so they hosted “rent parties” where they would provide entertainment, food, and drinks and guests would pay an admission that would go towards the tenants rent. “Rent parties” were very common during the Harlem Renaissance as rent was usually around half of one’s income, due to the rent tax imposed on blacks. Harlem was one of the poorest and most crowded neighborhoods but a popular quote stated it best, “I’d rather be a lamppost in Harlem than the Governor of Georgia”.

### **During the Great Depression**

“In Harlem, the Great Depression was devastating. According to a 1930 *New York Herald Tribune* report, the 1929 stock market crash had ‘produced five times as much unemployment in Harlem as in other parts of the city.’ By the end of 1930, 50 percent of the African-American population in Harlem was out of work” (Chambers 111-12). Jobs that had been typically performed by blacks were then taken by whites who were unemployed, leaving even more joblessness in the black community. “During the 1930s, African Americans experienced higher rates of illness, infant death, malnutrition, and suicides than whites. Even more ominously, lynchings increased as whites attacked blacks whom they regarded as competitors for employment” (111). Black artists were hit hard by the depression. The Great Depression caused a decrease in club-goers since customers could no longer afford the luxury of entertainment. The end of Prohibition in 1933 caused even more of a decrease in the attendance of clubs since people did not need to go to a cabaret to drink alcohol anymore. This led to a majority of Harlem clubs and cabarets shutting down. During the depression it was hard for blacks to find jobs but even harder for black females and even harder for black performers. The depression hit the artists of the Harlem Renaissance hard when funders could no longer keep funding the arts.

## **Chapter 6: Femaleness/ Reproductive Rights**

“She is conscious that what is left of chivalry is not directed toward her. She realizes that the ideals of beauty, built up in the fine arts, have excluded her almost entirely. Instead, the grotesque Aunt Jemimas of the streetcar advertisements proclaim only an ability to serve, without grace or loveliness. Nor does the drama catch her finest spirit. She is most often used to provoke the mirthless laugh of ridicule; or to portray feminine viciousness or vulgarity not peculiar to Negroes. This is the shadow over her. “

- Elise McDougald (Cited in Hutchinson 131)

### **Being a Black Woman during the Harlem Renaissance**

Black women struggled with identity during the Harlem Renaissance. They were faced with overcoming both race and gender discrimination. Anna Julia Cooper talked about the “colored woman’s unique position. She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem and is as yet an unknown or unacknowledged factor in both” (Wall 12). Black females struggled with their image as they were always publically associated as being the Aunt Jemimas, the mammy caricatures, the sex object, or the primitive. However, “the Harlem Renaissance could not have happened without the invaluable contributions of women writers and artists. The drama and irreverence of Zora Neale Hurston, the intellectual brilliance of Jessie Fauset, the iconoclastic themes of Nella Larsen, and the talent and enthusiasm of artists Gwendolyn Bennett and Augusta Savage were essential to the development of the distinct African-American artistic voice that grew out of the Harlem Renaissance” (Chambers 62).

### **Reproductive Rights during the Harlem Renaissance**

“Before the Civil War, abortions were legal until the initial movement of the fetus as felt by the woman. It then became illegal to sell or distribute materials that could be used for contraception or abortion” since both were seen as morally corrupt (Evans 110). After being denied reproductive rights since they were seen as a “moral crime”, women searched for ways to get illegal abortions which were extremely dangerous. Illegal abortions were very common during the Harlem Renaissance since women could not afford the economic responsibility of a child in an already tough economy. “By the early 1930’s the average infant mortality rate for blacks in NYC was more than twice as high as it was for whites” (Hillstrom 75). There was also only one public hospital available to Harlem residents, the Harlem General Hospital, which had a mere 273 beds. The Comstock Law enacted in 1873, forbade the mailing of any information regarding birth control, contraceptives, or abortions. This law prohibited any information on contraceptives or family planning to be made public. Sanger and her husband were arrested for violating these regulations of the Comstock Law. Sanger opened a clinic in Harlem in the 1930s and was supported by Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. and the Abyssinian Baptist Church.

## **Controversy over Family Planning**

The controversy over family planning had on one side Marcus Garvey and the church and on the other side Margaret Sanger and social advocates. Garvey saw family planning as a means to destroy the black race. He saw Sanger as advocating black genocide. Sanger promoted birth control for the mission of creating healthy families by placing women in control of their bodies. Sanger believed that if women had the rightful control over their bodies then it would make the black family healthier. Women would then be able to plan their families and wouldn't risk their health by having illegal abortions. Sanger promoted birth control so that women would be able to decide when they wanted to have children, how many they wanted to have, and to reduce the chances of dying during illegal abortions. Sanger advocated for family planning due to her experiences as a nurse in New York City's Lower East Side where she saw many women die from illegal abortions. Sanger was jailed multiple times fighting for her cause to educate and advocate on healthy family planning.

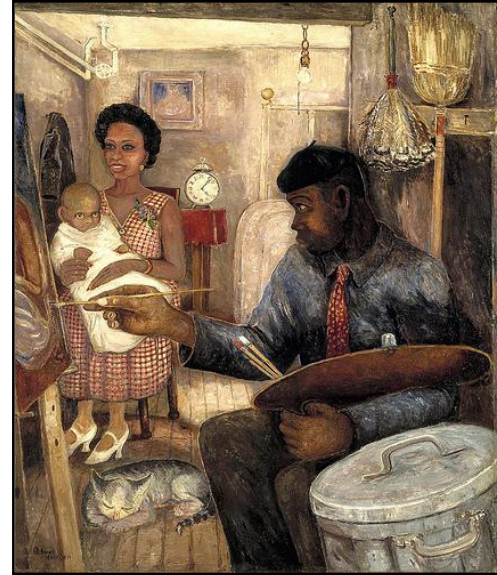


Figure 15

## **Margaret Sanger's Speeches and Letters as a resource for Delia**

"Before condemning it, let the problem be thoroughly, frankly and openly discussed."

-Margaret Sanger

[http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/secure/documents/speech\\_to\\_mothers\\_our\\_duty.html](http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/secure/documents/speech_to_mothers_our_duty.html)

[http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/secure/documents/speech\\_morality\\_and\\_bc.html](http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/secure/documents/speech_morality_and_bc.html)

[http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/secure/documents/speech\\_no\\_healthy\\_race\\_without\\_bc.html](http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/secure/documents/speech_no_healthy_race_without_bc.html)

## **Notes taken from above speeches:**

### **"To Mother's- Our Duty" March 26, 1911**

This speech discusses the responsibilities and duties associated with women to keep up the home, prepare meals, and care for the children. However, in 1911 women who belong to a poor household can not stay home and tend to these "duties" but must be out working day and night to survive. Pregnant women in poverty can not take proper care of themselves and that is leading to the birth of unhealthy children. These children then grow up parentless and moral-less. Childhoods are being stolen from these children who are required to work to help

financially support their families. These children are then not receiving an education and have to work in the poor working conditions of factories. Women should have equal rights as men and the first step towards equality rests in the education of family planning and how to have and raise a healthy child.

**“Morality and Birth Control” February 1918**

Sanger speaks of how birth control is the first step towards female freedom. Sanger provides stories from being a nurse and how she witnessed many women suffer due to the lack of family planning. All her cases show how females cannot get the freedom they deserve without the option of birth control and family planning.

**“No Healthy Race Without Birth Control” March 1921**

This speech describes the requirements needed for women to have and raise healthy children. The women must be physically and mentally healthy. They must also be financially stable before being able to raise a child properly. She speaks about how babies have fundamental rights that should be met such as being wanted, loved, clothed, fed, and disciplined. She preaches on the importance of spreading education to mothers about raising children, taking care of themselves, and options available for the best interest of both mother and child.

For more speeches and documents prepared by Margaret Sanger, visit:  
<http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/aboutmspp/index.html>



Figure 16

*\* Also see inserts A and B.*

## **Chapter 7: Homosexuality in the Black Community**

“Elaborately costumed crossdressers at Harlem drag balls, public wedding ceremonies for black lesbian couples, speakeasies entertaining racially and sexually mixed crowds with illicit drinks and sexually explicit performances-transgressive sexuality clearly represented a visible facet of life during the Harlem Renaissance” (Hutchinson 141).

### **Homosexuality during the Harlem Renaissance**

The Harlem culture was accepting of homosexuality but the black church was not by strict standards. “Conventions of gender and sexuality came under intense pressure. Prohibition provided the context for an enormous increase in illicit social activity, and the age of the nightclub boomed” (7). The rise of the Queer Theory caused the rise of public sexuality during the renaissance which in turn caused a sexual revolution (9). “Thousands of African Americans migrated to the northern urban centers, the “New Woman” emerged and same-sex desire was reconceptualized. Until then explained by the phenomenon of gender inversion- effeminate men desire other men and ‘mannish’ women desire other women- and represented by easily identifiable ‘inverts’, types such as ‘fairies’/’pansies’ or ‘mannish-acting’ women, same-sex desire was now increasingly linked to a discrete and less visible category: homosexuality. While the police and urban anti-vice societies attempted to suppress ‘immoral’ sexual activities, New York’s freshly emerged metropolis Harlem was largely exempt from policing efforts and consequently developed into a popular vice district. Striving for racial uplift, the black bourgeoisie tried to counteract this development by exerting pressure on the black community, but they lacked the power to successfully police Harlem” (141). Lesbians were especially frowned upon by members of the black community. Black women were considered to be the “mothers of the black community” and with their not fulfilling this role, they were seen as hazardous to the race. Also, with their not fulfilling their reproductive role they were seen as even more hazardous by stunting the growth of the black race. Community members were also concerned with the effect homosexual activities would have on youth (143). The church was strictly anti-homosexual and fought for the outlawing of homosexuality.

### **Drag shows and Costume Balls**

The Clam House located on 133<sup>rd</sup> street was a popular homosexual and lesbian hangout. There were homosexual house parties and costume balls that are very similar to a drag show where women would dress in tuxedos and men’s wear and men would dress as women in heels and extravagant dresses. The Savoy Ballroom and the Rockland Palace held drag balls where awards were presented for best dressed. The Bamboo Inn was also known for hosting coming out parties (Watson 134).

## **Homosexuals of the Harlem Renaissance**

“Henry Louis Gates, Jr. summarizes, the Harlem Renaissance ‘was surely as gay as it was black.’ Many Renaissance participants were indeed same-sex interested. Most of them were covertly gay (Alain Locke and Countee Cullen) or bisexual (Claude McKay and Wallace Thurman). Only the bohemian Richard Bruce Nugent dared to openly display his same-sex desire. A secret gay network, headed by Locke, existed” (Hutchinson 142). And due to Nugent’s openness about his sexuality, many of his works went unpublished during the renaissance. One of the most influential writers of the Harlem Renaissance, Countee Cullen, was a closeted homosexual and a devout Christian. His father was a preacher and Cullen struggled with his religious beliefs and sexual identity. “While today there may be relatively orthodox Christian denominations which no longer consider homosexuality a terrible sin, this was not the case in Cullen’s lifetime. Homosexuality was outlawed and homosexuals were frequently prosecuted for their ‘crimes’ in the 1920s and 1930s. If Cullen had been open about his sexuality, he would have not been able to have a career in the New York public schools” (119). Wallace Thurman, chief editor of *Fire!!*, went into debt to start the magazine. Thurman felt very strongly about this magazine since it shined light on issues present in his life such as homosexuality and alcoholism.

### **Homosexuals/ Bisexuals/ Lesbians of the Harlem Renaissance**

Carl Van Vechten

Langston Hughes

Claude McKay

Countee Cullen

Alain Locke

Wallace Thurman

Richard Bruce Nugent

Bessie Smith

Ma Rainey

Ethel Waters

*“You didn’t get on the rooftop and shout, I fucked my wife last night. So why would you get on the roof and say I loved prick. You didn’t. You just did what you wanted to do. Nobody was in the closet. There wasn’t any closet.”*

*-Richard Nugent (Cited in Watson 134)*

## Chapter 8: Religion

“Anticipating James Weldon Johnson and Brown, [Langston] Hughes identified the black church and African American worship as a vital dimension of folk culture and a rich source for poetry” (Hutchinson 109).

Religion has always been an integral part of the black culture. From folklore to soul songs, black culture has deeply rooted religious ties. The church was seen as a vital part of black society and “many of the same residents who would stay out celebrating on Saturday nights would spend their Sundays praising God in church services” (Chambers 29). “After church, Harlemites promenaded in their Sunday best. On the stretch between 138<sup>th</sup> and 125<sup>th</sup> streets, one recalled, “you would see every important person you ever knew” (Watson 7). The church was just as social as it was religious.

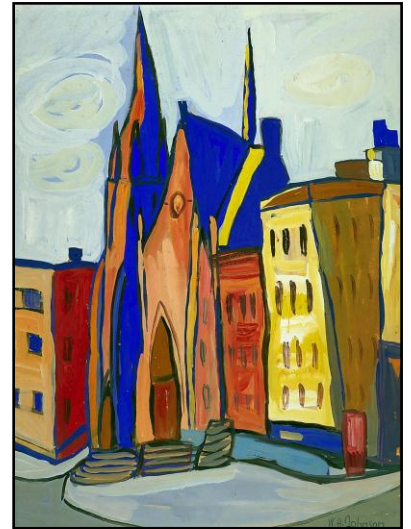


Figure 17

### **Abyssinian Baptist Church**

The Abyssinian Baptist Church originally began as an act of protest against racially segregated churches. The Abyssinian Baptist Church moved from Manhattan to Harlem in 1908 under the leadership of Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. The church was located downtown then moved to West 138<sup>th</sup> St. Migration caused a distinct change in the church. Since many people were migrating from the South and bringing with them their southern religious traditions, the black church had to accommodate both migrants and northern church members. “In urban America, migrants suffered culture shock, northern discrimination in housing and employment, and experienced worship decorum that was alien to them” (Aberjhani and West 2). The church had to change to cater to both audiences and one way it executed this change was through social and educational services. The church became one of the most influential institutions in the black community with these initiatives. The church began many social projects to increase elderly care, to aid employment efforts of African-Americans, and to promote education in the black community. “The church grew in the 1930s to become one of the most prosperous in the United States, with more than 10,000 members, a social and religious education program, and a reputation as a catalyst for change in the African-American community” (2-3). Abyssinian Baptist Church also led the forefront in organizing relief efforts after the stock market crash in 1929. Abyssinian Baptist Church “still remains one of the most influential political, social, and religious institutions in New York City” (Hillstrom 29).

## Chapter 9: Prohibition and Organized Crime

### **Prohibition**

In January of 1920, the Volstead Act was passed causing the sale of alcohol to be illegal. In an effort to circumvent Prohibition whites attended Harlem nightclubs with the knowledge that bootlegged liquor would be available. With this increase in profit, the night life in Harlem boomed. Clubs and cabarets were opened all along Jungle Alley, many of which were owned by mafia members, who had access to the underground network to obtain alcohol. With the sale of alcohol, clubs were able to afford the entertainment of musicians, singers, and dancers that contributed so much to the Harlem Renaissance. Prohibition, underground liquor sales, and the booming nightlife led to a rise in sexual activity making it more public and opening the door to homosexuality. Carl Van Vechten is quoted as saying, “the trouble with Prohibition is that it is making everyone drunk. New York is like Venice, It is swimmingly wet” (Watson 124). The end of Prohibition in 1933 is closely associated with the demise of the Harlem Renaissance. Making the sale of liquor legal diminished the need of whites going to Harlem clubs to purchase alcohol. Without the profit from these much needed customers, nightclubs and cabarets began closing their doors.

### **Organized Crime**

Also associated with nightclubs, was the mafia in Harlem. Gangsters funded many businesses of the Harlem Renaissance. They ran many clubs such as the Turf Club and other popular businesses. “Most knew that poshest cabarets earned big money for gangsters, who lived far from Harlem. They knew as well that black women on or off the chorus line might become objects of exchange between the tourist and the dandy” (Wall 29). New York Street Gangs were well-known during the Harlem Renaissance. They profited from Prohibition and ran underground networks that consisted of prostitution, bootlegging, gambling, and burglaries. Some of the most well known mafia members were Owney Madden, Legs Diamond, and Dutch Schultz. Madden opened and managed the prestigious Cotton Club.

#### New York Street Gangs

Gopher Gang

Hudson Dusters

Boodle Gang

Marginals

Pearl Buttons

Fashion Plates

## Chapter 10: Communism and the Arts

“In America it is much less dangerous to be a Communist than to be a Negro.”

-Claude McKay (Cited in Watson 39)

The Communist Party played an early role in the Harlem Renaissance by helping to fund the Federal Negro Theatre and the Federal Writers Project. Communism was also represented through the magazine *The Crusader*, which started by Cyril Briggs, blamed trade unions as the major cause of racism. Communism first spread throughout the black community in ghettos and slums. The Communist Party fought for equality, free education, and change. It was not until 1935 when the Communist Party built an alliance with the National Negro Congress, did intellectuals and artists of the Harlem Renaissance begin to join and make ties with the Communist Party.

Communism was closely associated with many of the popular artists of the Harlem Renaissance. Many artists rallied behind communism and supported close ties with the Soviet Union in hopes of developing a color blind society similar to that of Russia. “Communism influenced the emergence of black women’s writing at the time” (Hutchinson 49). Writers such as Zora Neale Hurston and Langston Hughes were frequent contributors to such communistic journals such as the *New Masses* (49). Artists like Countee Cullen endorsed the Communist Party Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates in 1932. Langston Hughes was politically considered communist left and publically supported his political beliefs through his poetry and writings. He wrote about oppression and how that was the main cause of class struggle just as the communistic ideology holds (123).

In 1945, the National Negro Congress, the International Labor Defense, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties joined to fight for Civil Rights and defend those on trial during the McCarthy era.

### People of the Harlem Renaissance tied with Communism

W.E.B. Dubois  
Langston Hughes  
Countee Cullen  
Claude McKay



Paul Robeson  
Alain Locke  
Jesse Fausett

Figure 18

## Chronology of the Harlem Renaissance

**1658**

Harlem is established by the Dutch. Harlem remains a predominately white, Jewish community, until the Great Migration of 1915.

**1861-1865**

The American Civil War occurs to end slavery.

**1863**

The Emancipation Proclamation, which ruled to end slavery, takes effect.

**1865-1877**

Reconstruction takes place which prompts southern states to end discrimination against blacks.

**1867**

The Fourteenth Amendment takes effect causing African Americans to be legally considered as citizens.

**1870**

The Fifteenth Amendment, which guaranteed black voting rights, takes effect.

**1876**

The first round of Jim Crow laws is passed. The Jim Crow laws were state mandated and enforced severe segregation based on "separate but equal". Therefore, all public places were segregated based on color. Public transportation, public restrooms, public schools, and restaurants were all segregated with the black facilities having much less than the white facilities.

**1896**

*Plessy vs. Ferguson* rules "separate but equal".

**1898**

*Williams vs. Mississippi* rules that restrictions will be placed on African American voting rights.

**1909**

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is founded.

**1910**

The National Urban League is founded.

**1910**

*Crisis* magazine is first published.

**1914**

World War I begins.

**1915**

“The Great Migration” takes place where tens of thousands of blacks move from the South to the North.

**1917**

The “Silent Protest” takes place in New York City to protest recent race riots and lynchings.

**1917**

The United States enters World War I.

**1919**

The Red Summer of 1919 takes place where race riots and lynchings occur, killing over 60 blacks.

**1919**

The return of American troops from World War I.

**1920, January**

The Eighteenth Amendment (Prohibition), also known as the Volstead Act, takes effect causing the sale of liquor to be an illegal act in the US.

**1920, August**

The Nineteenth Amendment takes effect allowing women the right to vote.

**1921**

*Shuffle Along*, the most successful musical written and performed by African Americans at this time opens on Broadway.

**1922**

The Harmon Foundation is founded which helped fund many aspiring African American artists of the Harlem Renaissance.

**1922**

*Opportunity* magazine is first published.

**1922**

Abyssinian Baptist Church arrives in Harlem.

**1923, September**

The Cotton Club opens.

**1926**

*Fire!!* magazine is first published.

**1926, March**

The Savoy Ballroom opens.

**1929**

The Wall Street Crash of 1929 occurs leading to the Great Depression.

**1931, March**

The start of the Scottsboro Trial in which nine young African Americans were accused of raping two white women. This was a case that reeked of discrimination, racism, and unjust legal proceedings.

**1933**

The Twenty-first Amendment takes effect which ends Prohibition making the sale of liquor legal.

**1935**

The Harlem Race Riot occurs due to a rumor that a white business owner beat a black boy to death for stealing. The attacks between black community members and white business owners caused three deaths and millions in damages.

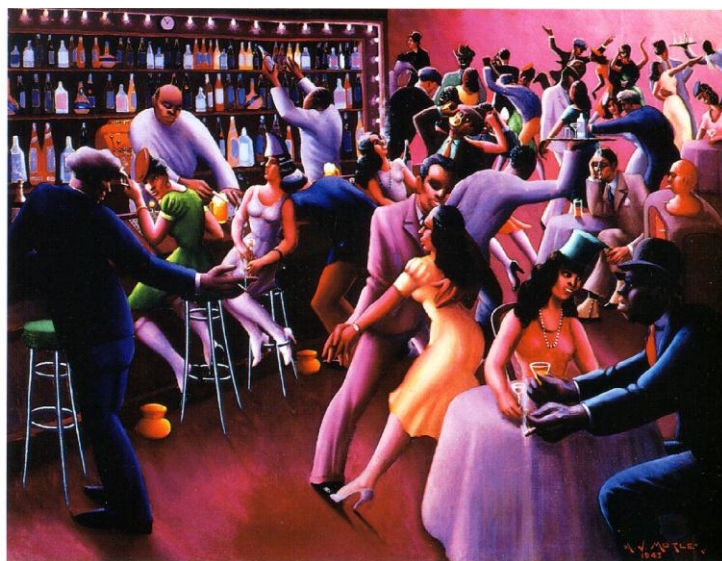


Figure 19

## Works and Images of the Harlem Renaissance

“The Negro of the folk-song has all but passed away: the Negro of the emotional church is fading. A hundred year from now these Negroes, if they exist at all, will live in art.”

–Jean Toomer (Cited in Watson 45)

### **If We Must Die was in reference to the Red Summer of 1919- Claude McKay**

If we must die, let it not be like hogs  
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,  
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,  
Making their mock at our accursed lot.  
If we must die, O let us nobly die,  
So that our precious blood may not be shed  
In vain; then even the monsters we defy  
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!  
O kinsmen we must meet the common foe!  
Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,  
And for their thousand blows deal one deathblow!  
What though before us lies the open grave?  
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,  
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

[http://public.wsu.edu/~wldciv/world\\_civ\\_reader/world\\_civ\\_reader\\_2/mckay.html](http://public.wsu.edu/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/world_civ_reader_2/mckay.html).

### **Weary Blues- Langston Hughes**

Droning a drowsy syncopated tune,  
Rocking back and forth to a mellow croon,  
I heard a Negro play.  
Down on Lenox Avenue the other night  
By the pale dull pallor of an old gas light  
He did a lazy sway . . .  
He did a lazy sway . . .  
To the tune o' those Weary Blues.  
With his ebony hands on each ivory key  
He made that poor piano moan with melody.  
O Blues!  
Swaying to and fro on his rickety stool  
He played that sad raggy tune like a musical fool.  
Sweet Blues!  
Coming from a black man's soul.  
O Blues!  
In a deep song voice with a melancholy tone  
I heard that Negro sing, that old piano moan--

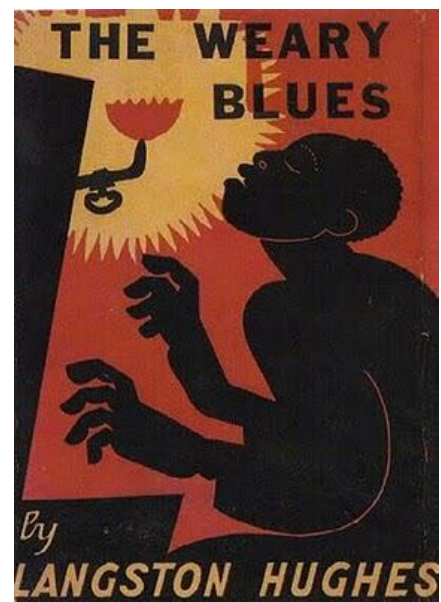


Figure 20

"Ain't got nobody in all this world,  
Ain't got nobody but ma self.  
I's gwine to quit ma frownin'  
And put ma troubles on the shelf."

Thump, thump, thump, went his foot on the floor.  
He played a few chords then he sang some more--

"I got the Weary Blues  
And I can't be satisfied.  
Got the Weary Blues  
And can't be satisfied--  
I ain't happy no mo'  
And I wish that I had died."

And far into the night he crooned that tune.  
The stars went out and so did the moon.  
The singer stopped playing and went to bed  
While the Weary Blues echoed through his head.  
He slept like a rock or a man that's dead.

<<http://www.poets.org/viewmedia.php/prmMID/15612>>.

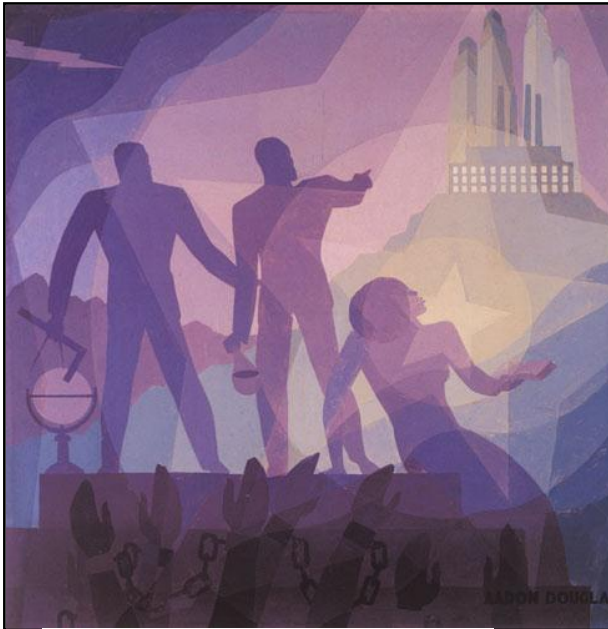


Figure 21

### Song of the Son – Jean Toomer

Pour O pour that parting soul in song  
O pour it in the sawdust glow of night  
Into the velvet pine-smoke air tonight,  
And let the valley carry it along.  
And let the valley carry it along.  
O land and soil, red soil and sweet-gum tree,  
So scant of grass, so proligate of pines,  
Now hush before an epoch's sun declines  
Thy son, in time, I have returned to thee,  
Thy son, I have in time returned to thee.  
In time, for though the sun is setting on  
A song-lit race of slaves, it has not set;  
Though late, O soil, it is not too late yet  
To catch thy plaintive soul, leaving, soon gone,  
Leaving, to catch thy plaintive soul soon gone.  
O Negro slaves, dark purple ripened plums,  
Squeezed, and bursting in the pine-wood air,  
Passing, before they stripped the old tree bare  
One plum was saved for me, one seed becomes  
an everlasting song, a singing tree,  
Caroling softly souls of slavery,  
What they were, and what they are to me,  
Caroling softly souls of slavery.

Oh! this New Negro Art;  
This “peculiar” art;  
On the gullible public  
We’ve fostered our “Art.”  
By stupendous logrolling and licking of boots,  
And fawning around influential galoots;  
We have gotten a place ‘neath the calcium flare.  
And paying our room rent and eating good fare.  
—George S. Schuyler (Cited in Watson 65)

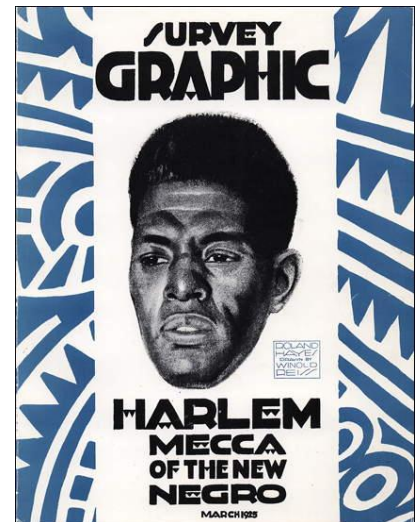


Figure 22

I am not tragically colored. There is no great sorrow dammed up in my soul, nor lurking behind my eyes. . . . Even in the helter-skelter skirmish that is my life, I have seen that the world is to the strong regardless of a little pigmentation more or less. No, I do not weep at the world—I am too busy sharpening my oyster knife.

From Zora Neale Hurston’s, “How It Feels To Be Colored Me”



Figure 23

## Footnotes

1. **Young Reverend Adam Clayton Powell** (Time and Place)- Refer to Chapter 2: Who's Who
2. **Marcus Garvey** (Time and Place)- Refer to Chapter 2: Who's Who
3. **Margaret Sanger** (Time and Place)- Refer to Chapter 2: Who's Who
4. **Josephine Baker** (Time and Place)-Refer to Chapter 2: Who's Who
5. **Oui, ma chérie** (p.10)- French for "Yes, my darling"
6. **très, très elegant** (p. 10)- French for "very, very elegant"
7. **Voilà** (p.11)- French for "here it is"
8. **Folies Bergère** (p.11)- A famous music hall in Paris, France where Josephine Baker performed.
9. **high-tones from Sugar Hill** (p.19)- Sugar Hill is a wealthy neighborhood in Harlem. The high tones are the conservative members of Sugar Hill. The community shared the same beliefs and strongly opposed birth control, family planning, and any other liberal-minded ideas. W.E.B Dubois and Duke Ellington lived in Sugar Hill.
10. **Langston Hughes** (p.23)- Refer to Chapter 2: Who's Who
11. **Commet ça va** (p.25)- French for "how are you"
12. **Champs Élysées** (p.28)- Famous street located in Paris, France known for its luxurious stores and cafes.
13. **Bruce Nugent** (p.28)- Refer to Chapter 2: Who's Who
14. **demimonde** (p.28)- Term used for a group of people who did not abide by the more traditional rules of the bourgeoisie. The behaviors that were frowned upon include drinking, gambling, drug use, and sexual promiscuity.
15. **Fats Waller** (p.35)- Refer to Chapter 2: Who's Who
16. **Garveyites** (p. 36)- The term coined for Marcus Garvey followers.
17. **literati** (p.37)- Term for intellectuals interested in literature and the arts.
18. **The Lafayette** (p.40)- a large Harlem theatre located on Seventh Avenue between 131st and 132nd streets.



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## Photo Credits

Cover Page Photo: *Saturday Night*, Archibald Motley, Jr., 1935.

Figure 1: *Jeunesse*, Palmer Hayden, no date.

Figure 2: Josephine Baker. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://www.cmgww.com/stars/baker/about/photopages/photo09.html>>.

Figure 3: W.E.B. Dubois. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://www.nsm.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny-dubois.html>>.

Figure 4: Marcus Garvey. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://www.marcusgarvey.com/wmview.php?ArtID=531>>.

Figure 5: Langston Hughes. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://www.poets.org/poet.php/prmPID/83>>.

Figure 6: Alain Locke. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://www.notablebiographies.com/Ki-Lo/Locke-Alain.html>>.

Figure 7: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://baic.house.gov/member-profiles/profile.html?intID=33>>.

Figure 8: Margaret Sanger. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Jsanger.htm>>.

Figure 9: Bessie Smith. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://www.nndb.com/people/217/000022151/>>.

Figure 10: Booker T. Washington. Google Image Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://www.biography.com/articles/Booker-T.-Washington-9524663>>.

Figure 11: Isabel Washington Powell. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://adamandisabel.com>>.

Figure 12: "Maude Russel and Her Ebony Steppers," performers in "Just a Minute," a Cotton Club revue (1929). *Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library*.

Figure 13: The Savoy Ballroom Housebands 1931-1955. Image Google Search. Web. 12 August 2011. <<http://www.audio-archives.com/images/obj/FA5189.jpg>>.

Figure 14: Map of the Great Migration. Image Google Search. Web. 12 August 2011.  
<<http://seventhgradehistory.wikispaces.com/file/view/DIV1517.jpg/187088853/DIV1517.jpg>>.

Figure 15: *The Janitor Who Paints*, Palmer Hayden, 1930.

Figure 16: Margaret Sanger. Image Google Search. Web. 8 August 2011.  
<<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Jsanger.html>>.

Figure 17: *Church on Lenox Ave*, William Johnson, ca 1939-40.

Figure 18: *Voice of Action*, Richard Correll, 1935.

Figure 19: *Nightlife*, Archibald Motley, Jr., 1943.

Figure 20: *The Weary Blues*, Miguel Covarrubias, 1925.

Figure 21: *Aspiration*, Aaron Douglas, 1936.

Figure 22: *Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro*, Winold Reiss, 1925.

Figure 23: *Street Life, Harlem*, William H. Johnson, ca. 1939-40.

Figure 24: *Midsummer Night in Harlem*, Palmer Hayden, 1938.