

A SHADOW OF THE SELF: THE ARCHETYPE OF THE SHADOW IN AARON
DOUGLAS'S ILLUSTRATIONS FOR JAMES WELDON JOHNSON'S
GOD'S TROMBONES

by

ANNE G. HARRIS

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Art History
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

March 2010

“A Shadow of the Self: The Archetype of the Shadow in Aaron Douglas’s Illustrations for James Weldon Johnson’s *God’s Trombones*,” a thesis prepared by Anne G. Harris in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Art History. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:

Dr. W. Sherwin Simmons, Chair of the Examining Committee

2/24/10

Date

Committee in Charge: Dr. W. Sherwin Simmons, Chair
 Dr. Kate Mondloch
 Dr. Karen Ford

Accepted by:

Dean of the Graduate School

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Anne G. Harris for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Art History to be taken March 2010

Title: A SHADOW OF THE SELF: THE ARCHETYPE OF THE SHADOW IN
AARON DOUGLAS'S ILLUSTRATIONS FOR JAMES WELDON
JOHNSON'S *GOD'S TROMBONES*

Approved: .

Dr. W. Sherwin Simmons

In 1927, James Weldon Johnson published *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse*, a book of poems based on sermons heard in the African American Church. There are eight accompanying illustrations by Aaron Douglas. These images visually interpret the subject matter of the poems in a style that blends Cubism, Orphism, and Art Deco. Douglas depicted all the figures in these images, human and supernatural, in the form of shadow silhouettes, a stylistic practice he continued throughout his artistic career. The shadow is an ancient archetype in human mythology and psychology. This thesis looks at the depiction of shadows in a Jungian context. I explore the possibility that the use of the shadow allows deeper communication between the audience and the image by accessing the collective unconscious. I also examine the shadow as a metaphor for the socio-political oppression of African Americans rampant in the period between the wars.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Anne G. Harris

PLACE OF BIRTH: San Francisco, California

DATE OF BIRTH: July 4, 1980

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
University of California, Davis

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, Art History, 2010, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, English, 2002, University of California, Davis

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

African American Art
Polynesian Art

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Visual Resources Center, University of
Oregon, Eugene, 2007

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
A SHADOW OF THE SELF.....	1
BIBLIOGRAPHY	59

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Baseball Cartoon from the San Francisco Chronicle	15
2. Egyptian Papyrus.....	18
3. Dan Mask from the Ivory Coast.....	19
4. The Process of Creating a Silhouette	25
5. A Diagram of Facial Profiles	26
6. Listen, Lord-A Prayer	32
7. The Creation	34
8. The Prodigal Son.....	37
9. Go Down Death--A Funeral Sermon.....	41
10.Noah Built the Ark.....	44
11.The Crucifixion	47
12.Let My People Go	51
13.The Judgment Day.....	54

A SHADOW OF THE SELF

The dates of the Harlem Renaissance vary depending on the source. The movement began after the end of World War I, when African American soldiers who fought overseas, and experienced a more racially egalitarian society, returned to America and were confronted with prejudice and violence.¹ The leaders of the African American community, including W.E.B. DuBois, Alain Locke, and James Weldon Johnson, responded with the New Negro movement, the idea that fostering and developing unique African American culture and art could help to remove the oppression and negative perceptions placed on African Americans at the time. David Levering Lewis describes the Harlem Renaissance as a “...forced phenomenon, a cultural nationalism of the parlor, institutionally encouraged and directed by the leaders of the national civil rights establishment for the paramount purpose of improving race relations in a time of extreme national backlash...”² The New Negro artistic movement flowed through the 1920s, slowing when the financial crisis hit in 1929. The Harlem Renaissance ended during the Great Depression, many citing 1935, when Harlem experienced riots, as the final year, though, again, the dates are

¹ Mark Robert Schneider, *African Americans in the Jazz Age: A Decade of Struggle and Promise* (Lanham, M.D.: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 7.

² David Levering Lewis, ed., *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), xiii.

debatable.³ The Harlem Renaissance included all varieties of cultural expression: music, dance, painting and drawing, sculpture, poetry, literature, drama, and editorial prose.

One of the most well-known Harlem Renaissance painters and illustrators is Aaron Douglas. The work of Aaron Douglas has always interested me, especially in the broader context of the artistic flourishing of the post-World War I period. After reading Johnson's *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* and seeing the accompanying images, I was fascinated by how the illustrations functioned in a larger cultural context. Looking into the topic, I found these images, along with many of his other illustrations, to be less researched and discussed than his murals and paintings. In the multiple copies of a book, they would have been more widely available to both an African American and a white American audience and their impact would have been greater. These images needed to be further explored and more seriously considered.

Aaron Douglas was born in Kansas in 1899 and is one of the most celebrated artists of the Harlem Renaissance. He studied art in college, receiving his BFA from the University of Kansas in 1923. He then taught art in high school before moving to New York in 1925.⁴ Once in New York, he was introduced to Winold Reiss, who became an important mentor. Right away, Douglas did drawings and illustrations for magazines and books. His images

³ Lewis, xv.

⁴ Romare Bearden and Harry Henderson, *A History of African-American Artists from 1792 to the Present* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), 127.

for Johnson's *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* are an example of this early work.⁵ Douglas also did murals and continued his studies as the New Negro movement progressed. He traveled to Pennsylvania and Paris to study, and traveled in Tennessee and Chicago while completing commissions.⁶ Douglas articulated his main intentions as wanting "to establish and maintain recognition of our essential humanity, in other words, complete social and political equality."⁷ This objective facilitated his participation in the Harlem Renaissance, which strove to utilize art to eliminate racism and prejudice. As can be seen in his illustrations for *God's Trombones*, Douglas intended his work to "present a unified portrait of black people in relation to their spirituality." Douglas purposely utilized mythic symbols to facilitate communication between the races.⁸

James Weldon Johnson, originally from Florida, was a well-known leader in the New Negro movement. Immensely talented, Johnson practiced law, started a newspaper, wrote musicals and songs, acted as an official United States diplomat, was head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and wrote novels and collections of poetry, including *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* in 1927.⁹ *God's Trombones* was

⁵ Bearden, 128.

⁶ Ibid., 130.

⁷ Ibid., 132-3.

⁸ Ibid., 134.

⁹ Lewis, 753.

extremely popular and the verses were often read or recited at large artistic and literary gatherings in Harlem.¹⁰

In Europe during the period between the wars, the ideas of Freud and his followers were well known and widely accepted. William A. Shack notes that “during these ‘crazy years’ of 1919-1929...surrealism, gaiety, and bodily abandonment swept aside old ideas of dignity and tradition...Freud’s advice to get rid of inhibitions was accepted...”¹¹ It was during that decade that artists and writers from Harlem traveled to Paris and other parts of Europe to live and study, including Aaron Douglas.

Jung began developing the concept of the shadow self in 1913, when he was still amicably involved with Freud and Freudian practice and theory.¹² The behaviors, thoughts, and urges that a person has that are not acceptable to society are rejected, but they do not disappear. They remain a part of the self, stored in a part of the psyche known as the shadow. It is the embodiment of all that a person represses. “Everyone carries a shadow, and the less it is embodied in the individual’s conscious life, the blacker and denser it is...it is repressed and isolated from consciousness...[it] is liable to burst forth suddenly in a moment of unawareness.”¹³ Jung continued to expand upon this initial formulation throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.¹⁴

¹⁰ Ibid., 754.

¹¹ William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars* (Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 2001), 50.

¹² Carl Jung, *Memories, Dreams, and Reflections*, ed. Aniela Jaffe, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Pantheon, 1962), 181.

¹³ Carl Jung, “The History and Psychology of a Natural Symbol,” in *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung: Psychology and Religion: West and East, Vol. 11*, ed. Sir Herbert Read,

It is Jung's concept of the shadow that will inform part of my exploration of Douglas's images. I will be examining Douglas's use of the shadow as a visual symbol in his illustrations as well as how the shadow in these works of art acts as an archetype to help access the viewers' unconscious minds, another Jungian concept. Jung's concepts provide a way to analyze the images, but I do not want to claim a formal Jungian analysis, as I am far from knowledgeable enough to do one. Another part of my approach is to look at how the interplay of light and dark in the illustrations could communicate ideas of racial equality as outlined by the leaders of the New Negro movement. I will explore how the use of the shadow and the use of the combinations of dark and light in the visual representations communicate Harlem Renaissance ideals.

The Harlem Renaissance was a concentrated blossoming of the arts in the years in between the World Wars. Houston A. Baker, Jr. defined this idea of 'renaissancism' as a "*spirit* of nationalistic engagement that begins with intellectuals, artists, and spokespersons at the turn of the century and receives extensive definition and expression during the 1920s. This spirit is one that prompts the black artist's awareness that his or her only possible foundation for authentic and modern expressivity resides in a discursive field marked by

Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, and William McGuire (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1958), 76.

¹⁴ Jung discussed the shadow in several essays including "Psychotherapists or the Clergy" in 1932, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity" in 1948, and "The Shadow" in 1951. The first two essays can be found in *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung: Psychology and Religion: West and East, Vol. 11*. The final one can be found in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung: Aion, Vol. 9, Part II*.

formal mastery...”¹⁵ Along those lines, an important factor in the burgeoning artistic production and recognition of African American artists was the idea that achievement in the arts could establish a collective, proud racial identity for African Americans while correcting the prejudicial and oppressive treatment that was common in America during that time period. As Amy Helene Kirschke has stated, “white power was maintained by telling history through white historical memory.”¹⁶ The leaders of the African American cultural world believed that art could visually reclaim African American history and express it in a way that was powerful, uplifting, and dignified. W.E.B. DuBois, Alain Locke, and others urged young artists to look to their artistic heritage as they saw it: African artistic traditions and the rural folk-culture that developed in America. By appropriating the themes, designs, and iconographies of the past, African Americans could create a collective identity that instilled racial pride and participated equally in American life.

But African American art, like all the other art of the period, was not created, viewed, and interpreted in a vacuum. The Harlem Renaissance artists, while actively part of the New Negro movement and its racial aims, were also American artists and beyond that part of the international artistic community during the 1920's. They operated within the context of the stated objectives of the Harlem Renaissance, but also within the post-World War I atmosphere present in America and Europe. They were a part of all the artistic changes and

¹⁵ Houston A. Baker, Jr., *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 91.

¹⁶ Amy Helene Kirschke, *Art in Crisis: W.E.B. DuBois and the Struggle for African American Identity and Memory* (Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 2007), 6.

experimentation that flourished globally, as well as the various traditions, motifs, and styles that had been explored and practiced for millennia. To be able to understand the art of the Harlem Renaissance in the broadest way, it must be analyzed in multiple ways: as African American art created by an oppressed portion of American society to further the advancement of a segregated race; as American art showing the influences of American art trends, the fascination with the idea of “the exotic,” the issues raised by participation in a devastating war, the social atmosphere of a shifting demographic, and the beginnings of American experimentation with visual abstraction; and finally, as a part of the changing context of the global art world, incorporating various themes, methods, materials, and psychological processes.

In the first half of the 20th century, the written word and the visual arts both began to explore non-realistic expression. Stream of consciousness novels; cubist paintings and collages; poems filled with angst, vulgarity, and free-form verse--all danced within the new context of globalization, nationalism, disillusionment, and celebration. This was also the period of the widening of psychoanalytic psychology’s influence. Sigmund Freud and his disciples introduced ideas of the subconscious, neuroses, psychoses, the unconscious, and the experience of repression and sublimation into the culture of the Western world.

Carl Jung, once a favorite disciple of Freud, developed these ideas further on his own, exploring notions of a collective unconscious and mythical universal archetypes that provided symbols and stories to modern man’s myths. He then related these ideas to the practice of art. The issue of the

interaction between art and psychology was discussed in his 1922 essay “On the Relation of Analytical Psychology to Poetry”: “Although the two things cannot be compared, the close connections which undoubtedly exist between them call for investigation. These connections arise from the fact that the practice of art is a psychological activity and, as such, can be approached from a psychological angle.”¹⁷ This psychological angle can be applied to a locally-produced work of art, facilitating an analysis that stretches beyond one group or location.

Jung’s psychological approach has supported the idea of a collective mythic unconscious, which can be explored by comparative mythology and frequently supported through references to works of art. The key underlying concept of common or global myths is the idea that all human societies share basic, inherited archetypes and archetypal stories that repeat across time. These myths and characters common to human culture are then depicted in visual and verbal symbols, in literature, music, and art. Joseph Campbell states that “symbols stem from the psyche; they speak from and to the spirit...they are in fact the vehicles of communication between the deeper depths of our spiritual life and this relatively thin layer of consciousness by which we govern our daylight existences...Out of the myths, cultural forms are founded.”¹⁸ Art is a vehicle for the mythic tradition, communicating with both the present and the past:

¹⁷ Carl Jung, “On the Relation of Analytical Psychology to Poetry,” in *The Spirit in Man, Art, and Literature*, trans. R.F.C. Hull (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 65.

¹⁸ Joseph Campbell, *Pathways to Bliss: Mythology and Personal Transformation*, ed. David Kudler (Novato, C.A.: New World Library, 2004), 23-4.

But to this end communicative signs must be employed: words, images, motions, rhythms, colors, and perfumes, sensations of all kinds, which, however, come to the creative artist from without and inevitably bear associations, not only colored by the past but also relevant to the commerce of the day.¹⁹

Art communicates on a personal level, on a societal level, and on a cross-cultural level, commenting on the present while accessing the past.

In *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse*, James Weldon Johnson looked to the local religious traditions of the South to create his poems. His inspiration was drawn from folk sermons common within the African American Christian church, "sermons," Johnson explained, "that passed with only slight modifications from preacher to preacher and from locality to locality."²⁰ This subject matter appears on the surface to be local and racially specific in impact; it is an American collection of poems based on African American religious interpretations. However, by selecting Christian subject matter for his poems, Johnson broadens the scope of his expression. Christian myth has played a part in the visual and poetic language of much of the Western world for millennia. Any use of this subject immediately and inexorably connects Johnson to a large portion of Western society and Western psyches.

To illustrate the book, Johnson enlisted the services of Aaron Douglas, a painter and illustrator well-known in the Harlem publishing world. Douglas's eight illustrations not only provided imagery for these poems and their

¹⁹ Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God: Creative Mythology* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 93.

²⁰ James Weldon Johnson, *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 1.

Christian subjects, but they visually and symbolically expanded on Johnson's mythological verses. The eight illustrations depicting Christian myths and practices became a part of a vast mythic and artistic tradition.

God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse was published in 1927 by the Viking Press in New York. Aaron Douglas provided an image for each of the verses and for the prayer that began the volume. The volume started, after a preface by Johnson, with "Listen, Lord--A Prayer," included to "factor in the creation of atmosphere."²¹ This was then followed with verses entitled "The Creation," "The Prodigal Son," "Go Down Death--A Funeral Sermon," "Noah Built the Ark," "The Crucifixion," "Let My People Go," and "The Judgment Day." The book was well-received, praised by the critics, including W.E.B. DuBois who stated that Douglas's illustrations were "wild with beauty, unconventional, daringly and yet effectively done."²² Douglas himself considered these works to be his best up to that point and later reworked the images as full-color paintings on masonite. These were the only early illustrations that Douglas revisited in this manner.²³

Each of these eight illustrations demonstrated Douglas's blending elements of the traditions of the African, the African American, and the Christian experience. The original illustrations published in 1927 were full-page images placed on the page facing the beginning of each verse. They were colored in tonal gradations of black and white. The figures in the images were

²¹ Johnson, 11.

²² Caroline Goeser, *Picturing the New Negro: Harlem Renaissance Print Culture and Modern Black Identity* (Lawrence, K.S.: University of Kansas Press, 2007), 152.

²³ Goeser, 167.

all depicted in silhouettes, mirroring the flatness of the text on the facing pages. Douglas utilized a halftone process to create the images.²⁴

Douglas utilized settings, figures, and symbols from Africa in his pictures to illustrate the racial heritage of African Americans all the way back to Biblical times. Douglas's art must be viewed in triplicate. The illustrations were paired with text drawn from African American folk culture as it was in the early 20th century demonstrating local and racial relevance. They incorporated plentiful visual references to Africa and elements of African arts, along with traditional Christian imagery. The style in which Douglas worked references the artistic developments of the period as well as incorporating Jungian psychological concepts that were issuing from Europe. Each of these analytic areas contributed to the effectiveness of the images. His work successfully demonstrates the artistic attitudes put forth by the Harlem Renaissance leaders, reflects social and emotional situations present in America, and creates a group heritage through the intricate *mélange* of his visual vocabulary.

Jung, when applying his analytic process to art, stated:

all pictorial [sic.] representations of processes and effects in the psychic background are symbolic. They point, in a rough and approximate way, to a meaning that for the time being is unknown. It is, accordingly, altogether impossible to determine anything with any degree of certainty in a single, isolated instance.²⁵

Jung correctly asserts that there is no possible way to ascertain precisely what a painting means. The viewers each have their own individual interaction with the work; the artist is as unreliable an asserter of meaning as the audience. A

²⁴ Ibid., 166.

²⁵ Carl Jung, "Picasso" in *The Spirit in Man, Art, and Literature* (see note 17), 136.

work is created in one context but viewed in many. The meaning is variable and that variability is continually changing with time. An exploration of artwork, as will be done here with Douglas's illustrations, is just that: an exploration. The meaning cannot be concretely stated, but it can be discussed and propositions made. This thesis will concern itself with a discussion of possible racial and historical implications of the images and the psychological and mythological references within the pictures that connect these works to a larger collective tradition. The images will be viewed within the context of the New Negro movement. They will be considered in relation to the goals and proscriptions outlined by the leaders of the "talented tenth"²⁶ in regards to art and literature. The analysis will also expand into the socio-historical context of the intra-war period, considering the impact that would have been made in a segregated society.

Some of the terms utilized in this analysis will seem overly general or potentially offensive in their lack of nuance. Any discussion involving the thoughts or behaviors of more than one person will raise the issue of the veracity and usefulness of collective terminology. Groups are made of individuals and as such cannot ever truly be said to have one opinion or belief and socially constructed delineations are often misleading, naïve, or obsolete. Terms I will be using, such as "African American community" or "Western

²⁶ W.E.B. DuBois conceived of the term "the talented tenth" to describe the top ten percent of the African American population that were educated and middle class as well as potential artistic, social, or political leaders. This group he called upon to, as Sharon F. Patton states in *African American Art*, "lead the way, and consequently prove their worthiness as American citizens, and provide role models for less fortunate African Americans." Sharon F. Patton, *African American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 114.

Christian tradition” have these problems of generalization. However, as this thesis involves race, local communities, and religious groups and traditions, terms inherently prone to controversy have to be employed. I have tried to work within the context of the material I am using: the African American community as it was thought of by the leaders of the Harlem Renaissance; the traditions and religious practices as they were viewed by the artists articulating them; the racial groupings and labels as they were applied contemporary to the period.

In the first essay in *The New Negro*, Alain Locke discussed the developing culture of African Americans at the time, drawing both on America and Africa as sources of black artistic lineage. Harlem, he claimed, was the center of the “sense of a mission of rehabilitating the race in world esteem from that loss of prestige for which fate and conditions of slavery have so largely been responsible.”²⁷ The “New Negro” embodied the African American imbued with racial consciousness and pride, making social and political contributions, living without the inner psychology of an oppressed race. The New Negro was “keenly responsive as an augury of a new democracy in American culture.”²⁸ He was a product of both Africa and America and was an active participant in both heritages.

Locke extended this definition into the field of artistic influence. In his essay “The Negro Youth Speaks,” also in *The New Negro*, Locke urged the developing generation of artists to utilize their “instinctive love and pride of

²⁷ Alain Locke, “The New Negro,” in *The New Negro* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 14.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

race” to “offer through art an emancipating vision to America.” The New Negro artist, by Locke’s definition, had an “ardent respect and love of Africa, the motherland.” By drawing upon domestic and African sources, “the brands and wounds of social persecution are being the proud stigmata of spiritual immunity and moral victory.”²⁹ The African American, as today’s racial label suggests, was the product of both Africa and America. Incorporating elements of both cultures, Locke suggested, enabled the artist and his audience to change prevailing perceptions of race, allowing a more positive definition of the “negro” and ultimately activating positive changes in society. The African American culture could trace its lineage back to Africa, beyond the suffering experienced in America, allowing the population to overcome racial obstacles.

While the rediscovery of African heritage was highly advocated by the leading intellectuals of the movement, whatever course the artistic journey took, the ultimate goal was one of art inspiring social change and progress. The images of African Americans in American art of the 1920s and 1930s were rife with stereotypes and caricatures: large, colored lips; protruding eyes; excessively large smiles with bright, white teeth; awkward physicality of figures; and frequent dancing or expressions of confusion in the figures’ movements (Figure 1).³⁰

²⁹ Locke, “The Negro Youth Speaks,” in *The New Negro* (see note 27), 53.

³⁰ This line of thought is developed much more thoroughly in Phoebe Wolfskill’s article “Caricature and the New Negro in the Work of Archibald Motley Jr. and Palmer Hayden” in *The Art Bulletin* 91 (Sept. 2009): 343-365.



Figure 1. Baseball Cartoon from the October 11, 1924 San Francisco Chronicle³¹

It was these culturally popular and racially detrimental representations that prompted Locke to advocate the usefulness of African American artists depicting their subjects as capable, complex people instead of propagating the exaggeration and distortion common to the time. He writes in his book *Negro Art: Past and Present* of 1936:

³¹ Authentic History Center, "Stereotypes of African Americans: Essays and Images," the Authentic History Center, <http://www.authentichistory.com/diversity/african/engravings/01.html>.

There is a double duty and function to Negro art--and by that we mean the proper development of the Negro subject as an artistic theme--the role of interpreting the Negro in the American scene to America at large is important, but more important still if the interpretation of the Negro to himself...the Negro's own conception of himself has been warped by prejudice and the common American stereotypes. To these there is no better or (more) effective antidote than a more representative Negro art of wider range and deeper penetration.³²

This was the context of the *God's Trombones* illustrations in the local microcosm, within the African American community. The images should function to uplift and inspire the African American race. Their effect upon American society at large is secondary.

Aaron Douglas moved to Harlem in 1925, in the early years of the New Negro movement, and played an important role in creating a new artistic identity of African Americans, utilizing the suggested methods of the Harlem Renaissance intelligentsia. Early on, he was introduced to Winold Reiss, a German artist who took great interest in ethnography and artistically representing racial groups.³³ Reiss urged Douglas to consider African art as the racial heritage of African Americans. Both Reiss and Locke, with whom Douglas also became acquainted, advocated African art, along with Douglas's own experiences, as sources for him to draw upon.³⁴ Douglas studied African art and even did a year-long internship with the Barnes Foundation and its extensive African art collection.³⁵

³² Alain Locke, *Negro Art: Past and Present* (Albany, N.Y.: J.B. Lyon Press, 1936), 12.

³³ Amy Helene Kirschke, *Aaron Douglas: Art, Race, and the Harlem Renaissance* (Jackson, M.S.: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), 28.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

The continuous influence of African culture can be seen in Douglas's works, as can African American culture. While Africa presented an artistic heritage, Douglas was a thoroughly modern American. Douglas believed the African American artist should "transmit the African suggestion through the medium of his own personality and background."³⁶ Douglas utilized aspects of modernism and African art in combination with the African American experience to create a unique artistic style that came to embody the New Negro movement.

Douglas described his own style as follows: "I wanted to create something new and modern...with Art Deco and the other things that were taking the country by storm. That is how I came upon the notion of using a number of things such as Cubism and a style with straight lines."³⁷ Douglas blended elements from the global art scene, such as Art Deco, Cubism, and Orphism, and incorporated geometric design elements and African iconography to create his individual brand of African American modernism.³⁸ A variety of terms have been used to label Douglas's stylistic amalgamation and the one that suits best, in my opinion, is "Afro-Deco," coined by Richard Powell.³⁹ Douglas's figures were admittedly deliberate appropriations from African art (Figure 2). "I used

³⁶ Mary Ann Calo, *Distinction and Denial: Race, Nation, and the Critical Construction of the African American Artist, 1920-1940* (Ann Arbor, M.I.: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 145.

³⁷ David C. Driskell, "Some Observations on Aaron Douglas as Tastemaker in the Renaissance Movement," in *Aaron Douglas: African American Modernist*, ed. Susan Earle (New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 2007), 89-90.

³⁸ Renee Ater "Creating a 'Usable Past' and a 'Future Perfect Society': Aaron Douglas's Murals for the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition" in *Aaron Douglas: African American Modernist* (see note 37), 106.

³⁹ Goeser, 18.

the Egyptian form,” Douglas explained, “the head was in profile flat view, the body, shoulders down to the waist turned halfway, the legs were done also from the side and the feet were also done in a broad perspective.”⁴⁰

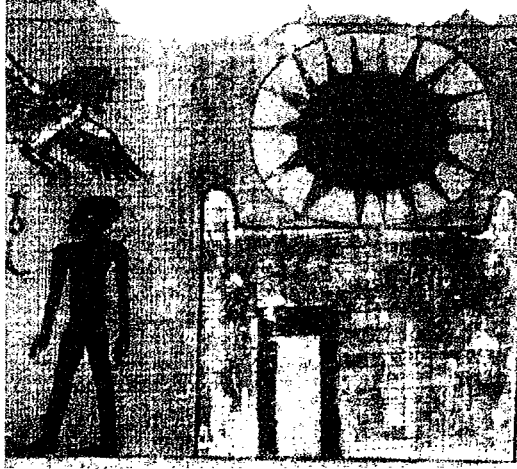


Figure 2. Egyptian Papyrus (c. 1400 B.C.E.)⁴¹

Douglas also used stylized slit-eyes in his figures (Figure 3). This artistic convention was borrowed from African masks, most likely the masks of the Dan peoples of the Ivory Coast and Liberia.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ater, 106.

⁴¹ Victor I. Stoichita, *A Short History of the Shadow* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 13.

⁴² Amy Helene Kirschke, “The Fisk Murals Revealed: Memories of Africa, Hope for the Future,” in *Aaron Douglas: African American Modernist* (see note 37), 116.

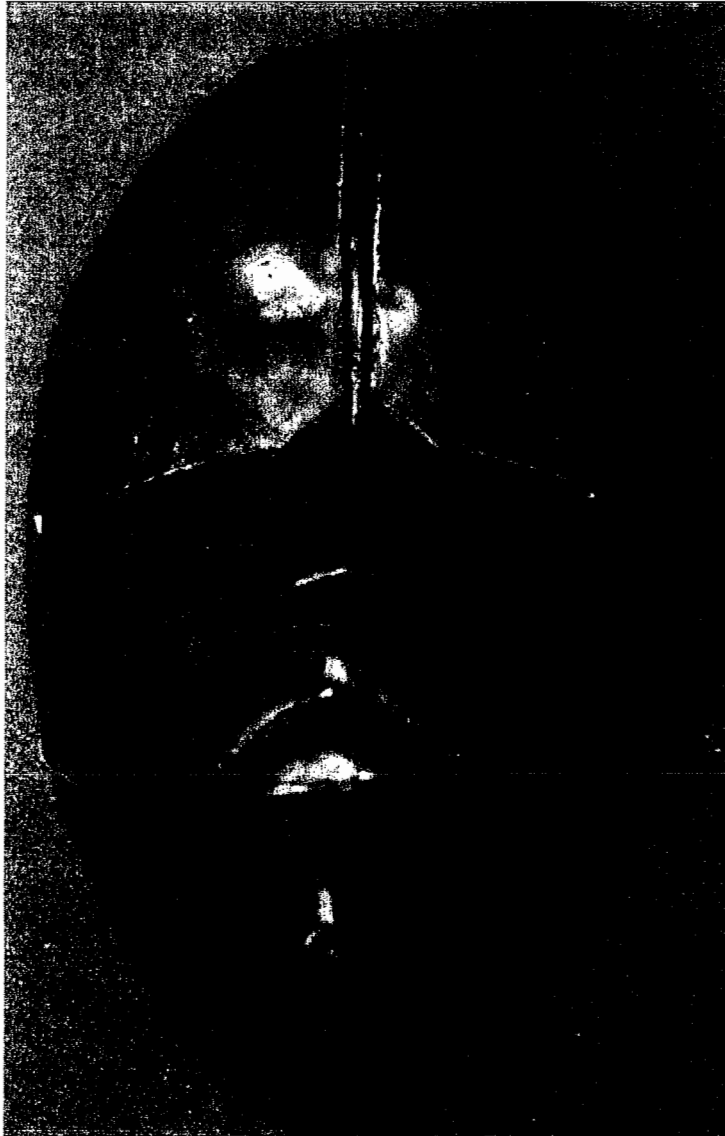


Figure 3. Dan Mask from the Ivory Coast⁴³

Elements of African scenery, flora, and fauna can also be seen in some of the illustrations. Douglas became a leader in the advocated practice of incorporating African art into Harlem Renaissance art.

⁴³ Jennifer Eisele, "Multicultural Resource Center," Saint Paul Public Schools, <http://www.mrc.spps.org>.

While the utilization of African motifs may have been a deliberate act by Douglas in accordance with the New Negro movement's artistic philosophies, it was also an act which draws upon the collective unconscious and links mythic traditions through their visual symbols. The African arts that influenced Douglas, namely the Egyptian and West African, are ancient artistic traditions. Africa is the birthplace of the human race. The myths and corresponding images that arose from that continent are among some of the oldest in the world. By transferring them into a modern context, the symbols are reoriented while still visually triggering a connection to the unconscious residing within the audience's minds.

The Egyptian form is one of the most prominent appropriations utilized by Douglas, and is seen in each of the illustrations he completed for *God's Trombones*. This borrowing seems especially appropriate for illustrations of Christian myths. Jung stated, "the Christian era owes its name and significance to another antique mystery, that of the god-man, which has its roots in the archetypal Osiris-Horus myth of ancient Egypt."⁴⁴ The Christian mythic tradition developed out of several ancient systems, including those from Africa. Jung also believed the use of religious material could be utilized also to heal a split within society of the time. "Archetypes create myths, religions, and philosophical ideas that influence and set their stamp on whole nations and epochs...myths of a religious nature can be interpreted as a sort of mental

⁴⁴ Carl Jung, quoted in Robert A. Segal, *Encountering Jung: Jung of Mythology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 95.

therapy for the sufferings of mankind...”⁴⁵ Jung’s theory on the healing power of myth is copasetic with the aims of the New Negro movement. Art, which depicts myths and their symbols, can be used to heal the social rifts between races as well as to redress the sufferings of a portion of the population and uplift them.

Another “guideline” for New Negro artists was the use and complimentary depiction of African American folk culture as it was viewed by the participants of the New Negro movement. Johnson’s folk sermon poems are an example of the glorification of African American culture. The introduction Johnson penned for the book explains his deliberate use of a neglected part of African American culture: “A good deal has been written on the folk creations of the American Negro: his music, sacred and secular; his plantation tales, and his dances; but that there are folk sermons, as well, is a fact that has passed unnoticed.”⁴⁶ All these aspects of the culture along with the people who practiced them were subject to comic depictions, exploitations, or caricatures. Johnson, in a manner that would have greatly pleased Locke, took the “old-time Negro preacher” who had only been shown as a “semi-comic figure” and introduced him to the world as serious and important part to African American life. Johnson argues that “it was through him that the people of diverse languages and customs who were brought here from diverse parts of Africa and thrown into slavery were given their first sense of unity and solidarity. He was the first

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Johnson, 1.

shepherd of this bewildered flock.”⁴⁷ Johnson takes a neglected and misrepresented part of African American history and uses it to promote a positive and inspirational image to both his white and black readers.

The subject of the poems and images, the African American church, was a pervasive part of many African Americans’ lives, and thus a theme that was easily identified with by a large portion of black readers. It was also a common African American cultural tradition recognized by American white society. DuBois stated that “The Negro church of to-day is the social centre of Negro life in the United States, and the most characteristic expression of African character.”⁴⁸ As multiple parts of the American population would be familiar with the importance of the church to the African American community, the use by Johnson of church sermons for poetic versification was an effective way to communicate ideas of New Negro art to a broad audience. *God’s Trombones* was published by Viking Press, which was a national, white-run publishing company. The audience of the book thus included both African American and white American readers.

The images that illustrated these poems are intimately related to the subject matter and thus to the source of the verses. Douglas created pictures that would be forever tied to African American folk culture, while being available to America as whole. Most of the images focused on Biblical scenes, which could be viewed in a local or a broader Western context, but as they are literally bound to folk-based poems, they will, at least superficially, be viewed in

⁴⁷ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁸ W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Terri Hume Oliver (New York: Norton and Company, 1999), 121.

the New Negro/African American tradition. By simply creating such images as illustrations, regardless of the content, Douglas endorsed the Harlem Renaissance theories of racial advancement through art.

W.E.B. DuBois's writings shaped a great deal of the explanations and the aims of the New Negro movement. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, DuBois posits his theory of the veil of double-consciousness felt by African Americans:

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, gifted with second-sight in this American world, -a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feel his two-ness, -an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.⁴⁹

The idea of a second self and a darkness that covers the true self of an oppressed and misunderstood man conceptually coincides with the concept of a repressed shadow self. In fact, DuBois frequently compared the African American to a shadow. He stated that heritage of the black race contains "the shadow of a mighty Negro past."⁵⁰ The current situation of the black man is dark due to the presence of "the shadow of a vast despair."⁵¹ DuBois's personal memories are colored by the "awful shadow of the veil."⁵² The power of this visual metaphor was vast. This concept of the shadow self, the double of a man

⁴⁹Ibid., 10-11.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 14.

⁵² Ibid., 48.

who contains all that society hates and shuns, was also conceptualized by Jung and his followers. This image of an oppressed shadow figure is a mythic archetype and the depiction of shadow figures could facilitate the viewer's access to a pan-human unconsciousness.

Many parts of the world associated the shadow/silhouette with black people. Just as many young Harlem Renaissance artists traveled to France to study and to experience a place without Jim Crow laws, many of the New York jazz musicians toured in France and settled in Paris. The clubs that sprung up in Montmartre marketed themselves to capitalize on the popularity of Jazz and its predominantly black musicians. The names reflected this fascination with the idea of the New Negro and his culture: Swing Club, Cotton Club, The Don Juan, Big Apple, and Club Harlem.⁵³ One of these clubs was La Silhouette, located in "the heart of...Harlem in Montmartre."⁵⁴ The image of the silhouette was linked closely enough to black culture that the Parisian public would understand the association. The implied blackness in a shadow or a silhouette was a universal concept, stretching across New York, America, and even the Atlantic Ocean.

The shadow and the silhouette, essentially a depiction of one's shadow, have been associated with lower classes and oppressed people for hundreds of years in Western societies and their cultural traditions. "Scientific research" in the 18th and 19th centuries utilized silhouettes to illustrate racist physiognomic treatises. One of the pioneers of physiognomy was Johann Caspar Lavater, an

⁵³ Shack, 100.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 109.

authority on the practice of utilizing physical features to determine the intangible character of a person. Lavater's methods and books employed silhouettes traced from the projected shadows of individual faces (Figure 4).

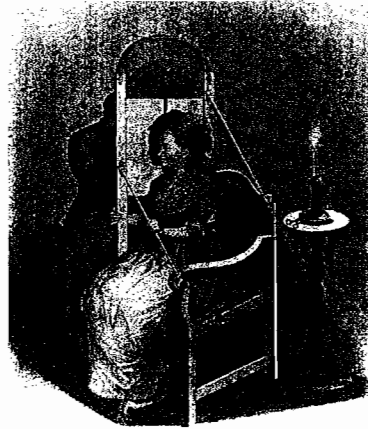


Figure 4. The Process of Creating a Silhouette⁵⁵

To this end, Lavater collected silhouettes to be used for interpretation. His collection numbered approximately 22,000 shadow tracings.⁵⁶ Lavater believed the outline of the profile was the truest depiction of man. He stated “Physiognomy has no greater, more incontrovertible certainty of the truth of its object than that imparted by shade.” The shadow of a man’s face was a reflection of his soul.⁵⁷

Lavater published his theories in *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beforderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*, a four volume set

⁵⁵ Stoichita, 156.

⁵⁶ Richard T. Gray, *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), xxxiii.

⁵⁷ Stoichita, 157.

released between 1775 and 1778. By 1810, there were 16 German, 15 French, 20 English, two Russian, one Dutch, and one Italian editions of the works.⁵⁸ His work continued to be popular and influential in to the early 1900's; physiognomy, argues Richard T. Wayne, "became one of the primary tools deployed by civil society for this fabrication of the individual according to preordained ethical, characterological, national, or racial definitions."⁵⁹ The lowest racial group on Lavater's shadow hierarchy was the black race, including Africans, black American slaves, and Moors (Figure 5). "The stub nose and the protruding lips of the *Moor* testify...to a peculiar mixture of dull animality in the intellectual sphere with powerful passions in the physical domain."⁶⁰

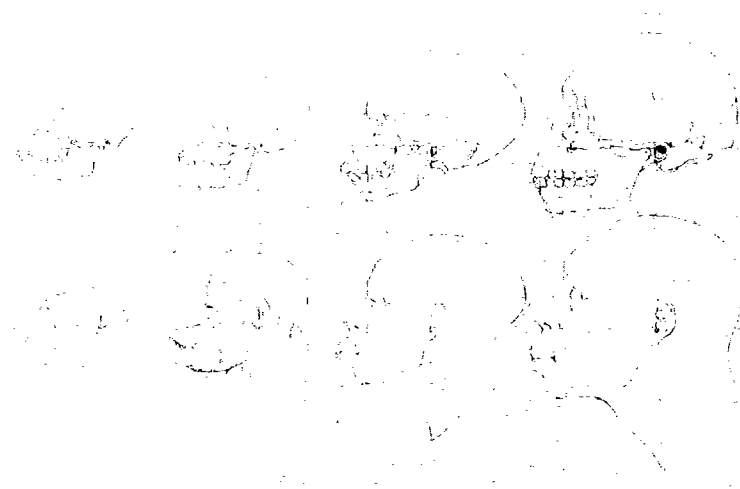


Figure 5. A Diagram of Facial Profiles Comparing the Facial Angles of Apes and Blacks (1791)⁶¹

⁵⁸ Gray, xxx.

⁵⁹ Ibid., xlii.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 107.

⁶¹ Michael D. Harris, *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 26.

The denigration of the black race was a key element of physiognomic study. The silhouette, the tracing of the void cast by a person's shadow, became the image associated with this form of debasement.

The silhouette as an art form was wildly popular in Europe throughout the 18th century, and by the beginning of the 1800s, silhouette cutters, the people who operated the tracing machine and cut the image out of the paper, were more prolific than painters. The practice of paper cutting quickly spread to New England and the rest of America, where both blacks and whites became silhouette cutters.⁶²

One of the early American practitioners in silhouette cutting was the painter and collector Charles Willson Peale. Peale owned a physiognotrace, a machine that traced projected shadow profiles in a small size. The machine could be operated by the sitter, but was most often operated by a silhouette-cutter. The machine produced four identical small silhouettes.⁶³ Peale acquired a physiognotrace in 1802 and placed it in his museum as an attraction as well as a souvenir selling opportunity. Peale charged 1 cent for a sitter to operate the machine and keep the resulting images, and 8 cents for his professional silhouette artist do create and cut the images, which was by far the most popular choice. This artist was Moses Williams, a former slave of Peale, who earned his freedom by cutting silhouettes.⁶⁴

⁶² R. L. Megroz, *Profile Art through the Ages: A Study of the Use and Significance of Profile and Silhouette from the Stone Age to Puppet Films* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949), 91-2.

⁶³ Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 306.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

Moses Williams was one of the best known paper-cutters (as they were called at the time) in America. Williams was a slave until age 27, when he began to work at Peale's museum operating the physiognotrace. Peale freed him once he was able to support himself with silhouette art. He was gifted at creating and cutting the profile images. It was said that he was so good, "his eye could be better trusted than the machine."⁶⁵ In 1803 alone, Williams cut 8,880 profiles and earned enough money to buy a large house and marry a white woman.⁶⁶ While physiognomy texts utilized silhouettes to intellectually justify the oppression of the black race, the actual art of shadow tracing allowed Williams and other early African American cutters to participate in white society and in white artistic culture.

These contrasting experiences with silhouettes may have influenced Douglas when he began to depict the figures in his art in profiled shadow form. The shadow silhouette form was multifunctional. Within the New Negro context, the similarity to African profile art referenced the artistic heritage of the African American in accordance with the ideals put forth by the leaders of the movement. It also more directly accessed the history of African American artists, who were involved early on in America's silhouette trade. Within the context of American art as a whole, the use of simplified profile forms represented well the trends popular in the art world between the wars. It incorporated an Art Deco streamlined finish with a reductive abstractionist substance. Douglas's transformation of the figures in the images updated the

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

older motif being depicted, making it more accessible to contemporary readers. The use of the shadow to depict black people taps into the Jungian idea of the repressed shadow self, paralleling the predominant attitudes towards black people at the time: dangerous, unpredictable, exotic, and ultimately excluded and unincorporated. The simple use of a shadow figure allows Douglas to depict black people as they exist within the context white society applied to them. The application of shadow/profile figures also made a connection to the popular beliefs propounded by physiognomy. The profile, usually depicted in simplified silhouette, was used to analyze the facial and cranial features in groups of people. The physical traits of the races were then used to support the prejudices of the time. Physiognomic devotees pointed to the shadow profiles of different races as justifications for prejudice. By taking this form of image, Douglas appropriated the silhouette and utilized it to refute stereotypes and ultimately to create a positive image of the race through his art. He subverts the negative trope into a positive model of the New Negro.⁶⁷

Listen, Lord-A Prayer is the first poem in the collection. It is written in the manner of an invocation or an introduction to the poem sermons that followed. Johnson describes the experience that inspired the piece and the reason for its inclusion:

One factor in the creation of atmosphere I have included-the preliminary prayer...It was the prayer leader who directly prepared the way for the sermon, set the scene, as it were. However, a most

⁶⁷ This approach to the utilization of shadow silhouettes in African American art was further developed by contemporary artist Kara Walker. Walker's pieces employ solid silhouette depictions of figures that incorporate the caricatured exaggeration of facial features as a way of transforming the negative image. For information on Walker please refer to Kara Walker's monograph, *Kara Walker: Narratives of a Negress* (Cambridge, M.A.: M.I.T. Press, 2003).

impressive concomitant of the prayer, the chorus of responses which gave it an antiphonal quality, I have not attempted to set down. These preliminary prayers were often products hardly less remarkable than the sermons.⁶⁸

This prayer was a key part to the African American church experience and thus an essential part of this collection. This poem also includes the idea of the shadow as a benevolent symbol. The middle of the prayer says, “And now O Lord, this man of God,/Who breaks the bread of life this morning--/Shadow him in the hollow of thy hand,/And keep him out of the gunshot of the devil” (22-5). The reference of God shadowing man in his hand as a form of protection brings the concept of the shadow into the reader’s mind in a positive light. The shadow reference also echoes the shadow form seen at the beginning of the poem, imparting continuity between the text and the image.

The accompanying image shows a dark, silhouetted figure, visible from the knees up, in the Egyptian manner Douglas described (Figure 6). The figure looks upwards, towards the unseen source of several rays of light. The man raises one hand up while the other disappears into the ground. Jagged bolts of lightning streak in from the right side of the picture. These waving streaks may be suggestive of the sound waves contained in the antiphonal responses that Johnson omitted from his verses. They may also highlight the presence of a great power, itself responding to the verse of prayer directed towards it and to the figure, partly in light, partly in shadow. The figure’s mouth and eyes are highlighted, with his lips parting as if speaking the prayer. The eye is depicted as a slit, a practice that can be seen in most of Douglas’s works. The very first

⁶⁸ Johnson, 11.

image in the collection introduced both the artistic heritage of Africa, embodied in the profiled depiction of the figure and in its features, and an experience of African American culture, seen in the religious practice of prayer depicted. Much like the poem it accompanies, the image is introductory, previewing in a straightforward manner the artistic style and motifs seen in the rest of the illustrations, and also essential, debuting the shadow symbol that will trigger the viewer's conscious and unconscious associations throughout the collection.



Figure 6. Listen, Lord-A Prayer⁶⁹

⁶⁹ James Weldon Johnson, *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (Documenting the American South, 2004), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/johnson/johnson.html>. All of the images used in Figures 1-8 in this thesis are sourced from this site. © This work is the property of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It may be used freely by individuals for research, teaching and personal use as long as this statement of availability is included in the text.

The first official poem in the book is *The Creation*, a telling of the creation of the world and man as described in the Book of Genesis. Fundamental to the creation of the world was the division of light and dark. The poem emphasizes this dichotomy. Early in the process God smiled, “And the light broke,/And the darkness rolled up on one side,/And the light stood shining on the other,/And God said: That's good!” (10-13). A few lines later, God creates the earth. “Then down between/The darkness and the light/He hurled the world;/And God said: That's good!” (22-5). The universe was created to include both dark and light; the world is placed by God at their juncture. This is not only an account of the Biblical creation myth, but it could also be an argument for the peaceful co-existence of white and black races. As God created it, neither is dominant, neither is deemed better than the other, both are in equal harmony stamped with God’s approval.

Douglas’s illustration for this poem continues the motif of the shadow figure, while accessing African and African American traditions and appropriating white Christian traditions and visually transforming them (Figure 7). The illustration shows the silhouetted profiled shadow figure Adam standing in Eden looking up at a giant hand of God extending down from the heavens. God’s hand, which is also depicted in dark shadow form, delicately drops nine orbs into the sky, which is suggestive of the planets of our solar system. A rainbow, a symbol of the covenant between God and man, arcs across the background. A small plant reaches upwards next to the silhouetted figure of Adam and wavy lines of water flow across the ground. Adam is shown in pitch black silhouette, darker than the praying figure in *Listen, Lord-A*

Prayer, which has tones of grey incorporated. God's shadowy hand is a lighter grey. This pairing of dark and light suggests that God embodies the light of the universe and man embodies the darkness. Both are needed to complete God's vision.



Figure 7. The Creation

The profiled features again referenced Africa, allowing the viewer to see Douglas's Adam as an African, as a black man. Goeser argued that Douglas's "application of African features to this biblical figure mark a radical appropriation, visually shifting the location of Judeo-Christian origins from a white Garden of Eden to a black African setting."⁷⁰ This artistic interpretation challenged the traditional Christian iconography that was frequently utilized to justify prejudice and racism.

The hopeful and traditional creation theme is followed by a modern update to the New Testament story of the Prodigal Son. Johnson's version transfers the setting into a contemporary Jazz-Age city, a modern-day Babylon with similar temptations: drinking, women, and gambling. Early in the poem, Johnson refers to boxing, a popular sport among the African American community in the first half on the 20th century.⁷¹ It is clear that this poem is a transformation of the old myth, a relocation of the story into a modern setting and context. This process is discussed by Campbell in *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology*:

Primitive Mythology:

...a mythological process--seldom mentioned in the textbooks of our subject but of considerable force and importance nevertheless--to which the late Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy referred as *land-nama*, "land-naming" or "land-taking." Through *land-nama*...the features of a newly entered land are assimilated by an immigrant people to its imported heritage of myth.⁷²

⁷⁰ Goeser, 207.

⁷¹ Johnson, 21.

⁷² Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 199.

The Biblical myth is reoriented into an American, specifically an African American, location. The myth is millennia old, but through the process of relocating it to modern Harlem, through this process of *land-nama*, the story develops a closer relationship with the New Negro experience.

The Prodigal Son illustration is a modern, Jazz Age image set in an urban cabaret (Figure 8). The Prodigal Son dances in the center of the illustration with two women. All figures are depicted in black shadow silhouettes. They are surrounded by the symbols of Harlem-era vice: dice, cards, horns, money, and neon signs. The only light source is man-made, a swinging overhead lamp. This is a scene of humanity and not divinity. The setting of the image suits the content of the verse, which updates the parable by describing Babylon as having “brass bands” and “drinking dens” along with dancing, gambling, and “sweet-sinning women.”⁷³ The image reflects this modernization of the parable by showing it as an experience of modern African American life. Underneath the surface of the image, though, again lies the mythic unconscious. The shadows are again symbols that the viewer’s unconscious would recognize and thus connect the image to a larger mythic tradition. The mythic importance lies within the human symbols, a very Jungian depiction. Robert Segal explains that “the heart of religion for Jung is neither belief nor practice but experience, and myth provides the best entrée to the experience of God, which means to the unconscious.”⁷⁴ The utilization of one’s own human experiences allows the person to access the mythic/religious material that lies within his unconscious

⁷³ Johnson, 23-24.

⁷⁴ Segal, 35.

mind, inherited from the collective unconscious. Douglas's choice of a modern setting for the scene creates an immediate relevance to the viewer and allows easy access to the symbols that will then access the archetypes that can communicate the mythic importance of the parable.



Figure 8. The Prodigal Son

A distinction should be made here concerning Jung's terminology about the psychology of myth. In Jung's interpretative labeling, "archetypes are not themselves pictures but rather the inclination to form them in typical ways. Symbols are the actual pictures formed...Each archetype requires an infinite number of symbols."⁷⁵ An archetype, for example, could be the hero on a quest. The symbol of this would be Odysseus. Further, "archetypes are transmitted by heredity; symbols, by acculturation. Archetypes are the same universally; symbols vary from culture to culture."⁷⁶ The human race has an inherent concept of the hero's journey. Odysseus was a symbol of that archetype for the Greeks, Rama was a hero for India's Vedic tradition, Jonah's adventures in the digestive tract of a whale exemplified the Christian version of the hero's journey into the unknown.

Johnson and Douglas are working with symbols. The stories Johnson recounts in his poems (Noah and the flood, the creation of the world, Moses leading the Jews out of Egypt, etc.) are all myths, full of the Christian symbols for universal archetypes. Douglas takes these verbal symbols and translates them into images. The artistic interpretations also function to stimulate the unconscious and allow it to access the archetypal databank. The viewer beholds only the symbols. The associations and subsequent meanings all occur on an unconscious level.

The universal experience of death and loss is explored in Johnson's next poem, *Go Down Death: A Funeral Sermon*. The poem tells of God's summoning

⁷⁵ Ibid., 40.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

of the angel of death to go down to earth and collect a woman to take her to rest with Jesus in Heaven. Again in the text we are presented with imagery of light and dark and with references to shadows. God calls upon Death, his voice “reached away back to that shadowy place,/Where Death waits with his pale, white horses” (22-3). Death rides a white horse and he lives in the dark, in the shadows. This is the same contrast seen in *The Creation*, when light and dark separate into the coexisting night and day. Also, the shadow is utilized as a symbol of the unknown, feared, repressed part of life. No one knows what death is like, most don’t spend much time dwelling on thoughts of death and what is involved after the last breathe leaves the body. Even the poem shows the reluctance and denial expressed around the concept of death. The poem ends with “Weep not—weep not,/She is not dead;/She’s resting in the bosom of Jesus” (77-9). Death remains a shadow, repressed and avoided, even when it is clearly the destination of the deceased.

The image Douglas created for *Go Down Death--A Funeral Sermon* was the only one in the series that did not contain a human figure (Figure 9). This illustration is filled with movement and anticipation, drawing the viewer into the poem that followed. The background is dark. Concentric, circular geometric forms fill the bottom of the illustration. The largest circle appears volumetric and thus resembles a keystone in an arch. This could be an interpretation of the “pearly gates” that Death rides out of on his way to collect Sister Caroline (45). Douglas adapted the traditional imagery of the gates to his own geometric, Art Deco style. Above them, highlighted by a beam of light, is winged Death galloping across the picture on his horse. Streaking along with

Death, as described in the poem, “the foam from the horse was like a comet in the sky” (48). The figures of Death and of his horse are indistinct; Death is associated in the poem with darkness and the horse is “pale, white” (23) and yet Douglas blends the forms into one grey-toned shadow. In death, the distinctions and dichotomies of life are nonexistent. The conjoined shape of Death and his mount are placed in front of a striking contrast between light and dark. A wide beam of white light radiates out from the lower left side of the picture, punctuating the black background in the upper half of the image. Again, the pairing of light and darkness is emphasized; the two coexistent sections are linked by the shadow figure incorporated into both visual fields.



Figure 9. Go Down Death--A Funeral Sermon

The repression of black peoples by whites was a global phenomenon. The justifications for this kind of prejudicial and often cruel treatment included the science of Lavater and the approval of God, via the stories of the Bible. The

next poem and corresponding image, *Noah Built the Ark*, would have been especially significant to an African American reader. The story of Noah was frequently cited as Biblical justification for slavery, prejudice, and oppression of black people. Noah, after having safely steered the ark to dry land, planted a vineyard, and subsequently passed out drunk and naked. His son Ham, the father of Canaan, saw him and told his brothers about it. His brothers, hiding their eyes, went and covered him with a garment. Because Ham had seen him naked, Noah cursed Ham's descendants to be "servant[s] of servants," or slaves (Gen. 9:20-27). White oppressors argued that black people, believed to be the descendants of Ham, were intended for slavery by God.⁷⁷ This Biblical curse was also used in folktales to link black people to the Jews, another persecuted group.⁷⁸ While the text of the poem "Noah Built the Ark" related the story of Noah building the ark and waiting out the deluge, the African American readers, who were by-and-large Christian, would be well aware of the episode that followed this scene in the Bible. The racial significance was implicit.

On a mythic level, any reference to waters, a deluge, or flooding is a symbol. In general, water is associated with regeneration or transformation. According to Campbell, the concept of water in myth is intimately linked with the process of birth or rebirth:

In the imagery of mythology and religion this birth (or more often rebirth) theme is extremely prominent; in fact, every threshold passage...is comparable to a birth and has been ritually represented, practically everywhere, through an imagery of re-

⁷⁷ Goeser, 215.

⁷⁸ Nella Larsen, *Passing*, Norton Critical Edition (New York: Norton and Company, 2007), 19.

entry into the womb. This is one of those mythological universals that surely merit interpretation, rather from a psychological than from an ethnological point of view.⁷⁹

The flood in the Biblical tale wiped away the sins and sinners on earth that God found so offensive and allowed the earth to start over, to be reborn, with another chance to realize its positive potential. As the New Negro movement was oriented around re-creating the image of African Americans and erasing the negative stereotypes and attitudes that were common for the time, Johnson's inclusion of this mythic metaphor of the Biblical deluge is highly appropriate.

Douglas's accompanying image, *Noah Built the Ark*, is filled with activity and no water (Figure 10). A massive ark occupies most of the picture plane. At the prow of the ship is the figure of Noah, directing the loading of the vessel. Animals walk up a ramp into the belly of the ark while Noah's sons load supplies. Birds fly in from the right and lightning streaks down on the left side of the picture, hinting at the rapidly approaching storm. Light shines down from the heavens, highlighting Noah and the pair of animals. These animals appear to be lions or some form of big cat, which would be a clear reference to Africa. Douglas's selection of an animal indigenous to Africa as well as sacred to many African religions and thus to ancestors of African Americans connects the Christian myth to universal mythic traditions. The collective unconscious is once again being visually triggered by his selection of symbols. In the bottom right corner, a dark shadow profile of a man observes the scene before him, a

⁷⁹ Campbell, *Primitive Mythology*, 61-2.

figure, it has been speculated, perhaps intended to represent author James Weldon Johnson.⁸⁰



Figure 10. Noah Built the Ark

⁸⁰ Kirschke, *Aaron Douglas*, 100.

The figures in *Noah Built the Ark* are all portrayed in Douglas's Egyptian-style silhouettes with West African slit eyes. These figures again connect the viewer to the idea of the shadow self, while they also continue the artistic theme of converting Biblical figures into African people. With Noah shown as a black man, along with all of his sons, the story of Ham as justification for prejudice is countered. The racial recasting of the Christian characters also places Noah's act of salvation of the human race in the hands of a black man. "For Douglas," Goeser writes, "African Americans needed to reconceive religious tradition, creating Christian gods in their own image." Douglas himself wrote in a letter to poet Langston Hughes, "Let's also make gods. Black gods. Disconcertingly black. Variations of black."⁸¹ Throughout these illustrations, Douglas did just that. He erased the popular notions of a Bible populated by white characters and, in so doing, he also broadened the scope of the transformation.

The next poem in the series centers on the last night of and the crucifixion of Jesus. *The Crucifixion* begins with Jesus walking in the garden before being betrayed by Judas and follows the subsequent events up to the point of Jesus's death on the cross. Throughout the poem settings are described as "dark," again emphasizing the presence of darkness in the world as a counterpart to lightness. Johnson introduces Jesus as he is "walking in the dark of the Garden" (2) and "praying in the dark of the Garden" (10). Judas enters the scene "sneaking through the dark of the Garden" (27). He is described as "black-hearted" (26). Johnson places both Jesus, the human

⁸¹ Goeser, 220.

embodiment of the light of God, and Judas, the epitome of man's capability to commit evil, dark deeds, in a context containing both light and dark. The white of Jesus in the black garden and the black heart of Judas in the light of a life as a devoted disciple create a complete yin-yang symbol. Both are neither wholly dark nor wholly light; their interaction exemplifies the required coexistence of dark and light in the world.

Douglas's illustration for *The Crucifixion* brings the contrast of dark and light again into a visual demonstration, while also creating an artistic emphasis on the role of a black man, Simon of Cyrene (Figure 11). The cross is vibrant black, a white beam of light shines down past it. The figure of Jesus, so vividly white it is hard to distinguish by the viewer, is framed by black silhouettes of a Roman soldier and his horse. Simon is done in a dark grey. The contrasts create a visually balanced composition while symbolically reminding the audience that darkness and light co-exist and are present in each of us.



Figure 11. The Crucifixion

Douglas's interpretation of this processional scene inverted the traditional Christian iconography. The haloed figure of Jesus is placed just below the center of the picture, silhouetted in white. Jesus, while normally

portrayed as the main subject of his crucifixion in Western artistic tradition, is one of the smallest figures in Douglas's scene. Towering above him, filling the picture plane from left to right and almost top to bottom is the figure of Simon of Cyrene, the black man who carried Christ's cross for him. Simon, done in a dark grey shadow form, drags the cross along in both of his arms as he looks up towards heaven, his brow seemingly furrowed in the effort of the task. Light shines down from above, landing on Jesus, and concentric tonal circles radiate out from the figure of Christ, but the focus is on Simon. The spears that poke in from the edges of the illustration point beyond the figure of Christ to Simon above him. Douglas highlights Simon as a concurrent symbol, along with Jesus, of suffering, linking Christ's sacrifice to the struggles endured by African Americans.⁸²

In both the verse and the image, the role of a black Biblical character was emphasized. Douglas visually highlighted him and Johnson states "...they lay hold on Simon,/Black Simon, yes, black Simon;/They put the cross on Simon,/And Simon bore the cross" (58-61). The audience would receive reinforcement in image and in verse of the importance of this black man in the story of Jesus becoming Christ. As a way of combating the racist interpretations of Christian stories, some African American Biblical scholars interpreted the Bible to highlight the roles of characters described as being African or dark-skinned, such as one of the Magi in the Christmas story or Simon of Cyrene.⁸³ This approach was known as Ethiopianism, which African

⁸² Goeser, 218.

⁸³ Ibid., 212.

theologians began to develop around the turn of the 19th century. Passages that indicated a rise to power for Africa were also cited. Psalm 68 prophesied “Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God” (Psalms 68:31). The ideas of Ethiopianism, which Douglas had studied through the work of Edward W. Blyden, were incorporated into slave narratives and Negro sermons.⁸⁴

The next sermon and illustration, *Let My People Go*, tell the tale of Moses and the Exodus out of slavery in Egypt. This tale of the end of slavery and the salvation of a group of people was a popular one in the African American church, for obvious reasons. The story and even the phrase “let my people go” were utilized by African American activists well into the 1960’s Civil Rights Movement. The local cultural context is implicit, as it is a story of triumph over discrimination and oppression. Darkness again plays a part in the story and also in Johnson’s selection of imagery. In the Biblical story, there are plagues visited upon the Egyptians, including a plague of darkness. Darkness in this situation is filled with fear and the unknown, the potential for horrendous danger. These qualities in a human are all associated with the shadow self. Later in the poem, Johnson chooses to incorporate darkness once again, and in that description, he expands the negative aspects of the dark onto all participants in the tale. As Moses and the Jews flee through the Red Sea, they are chased by the Pharaoh and his army. Johnson describes the scene as thus: “Now, the Children of Israel, looking back,/Saw Pharaoh’s army coming./And the rumble of the chariots was like a thunder storm,/And the whirring of the

⁸⁴ Ibid., 215.

wheels was like a rushing wind,/And the dust from the horses made a cloud that darked the day” (155-59). In these lines, Johnson casts the oppressors as the creators of darkness. The darkness, the shadow, is inherent; everyone has a part of themselves that they repress for various reasons. The use of darkness in association with both the oppressed and the oppressors may have functioned to highlight the common aspects of both groups demonstrating equality between them.

In the accompanying image, Douglas again plays with the interaction of light and dark (Figure 12). The figures are all portrayed in shadow profile form. Given the setting of the poem, the Egyptian style that Douglas appropriated is perfectly fitting. The gradations of dark and light are applied to accent the commonality of darkness in all groups of people. The soldiers and their horses are done in black silhouettes. The Jews on the lower right-hand side crossing through the parted Red Sea are done in the same shade. While the viewer may have positive associations with those fleeing and negative associations with those pursuing, both are identical in their darkness. All people have shadow selves, a part of the unconscious that cannot be pigeonholed into “good” or “bad.”



Figure 12. Let My People Go

In *Let My People Go*, Douglas also took his interest in Ethiopianism one step further and visually recast Biblical characters generally thought of as white as black. In this picture, Douglas depicted all the figures, Moses, along with the Pharaoh's soldiers, as black men. The soldiers, shown in dark silhouette

and wearing Egyptian headdresses, are being swallowed by the stylized curves of the Red Sea as it crashed back upon itself. The figure of Moses, also silhouetted, kneels on the other side, looking up to heaven and bathed in a holy ray of light. His arms reach out to the sides, a practice seen in African American church worship, waiting to embrace the Holy Spirit.⁸⁵ Douglas not only references Africa, with his Egyptian and Western African stylistic borrowings and his casting of Moses as a black man, but he also references contemporary African American experience, utilizing worshipping practices common in the African American church. This image activates multiple contextual realms in the minds of the audience.

The final poem in this sequence is entitled *The Judgment Day* and tells of the end of days, when God and Jesus call souls to them and place them in Heaven or in Hell for the rest of eternity. The end of the world nicely rounds out the end of the book, which had begun with *The Creation*, mirroring the layout of the tales in the Bible. The use of light and dark in this poem is fairly predictable and traditional: light and whiteness are illustrative of the contents of Heaven and Hell is depicted black and dark. These are associations that would be archetypically appropriate. Both light and dark are present at the beginning of the world and at its ending. They coexist throughout the progression of stories as they coexist in each person's psyche. The associations of the two sides in this poem are not innovative, but they do reinforce the motif and message seen throughout Johnson's words.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 224.

Douglas's final image in the collection was for *The Judgment Day* (Figure 13). This image is filled with the figure of the angel Gabriel blowing his trumpet. His legs span the entire space and his wings extend beyond the frame. He is presented in dark silhouette. Concentric circles radiate from the ground and rays of light shine from the top edge. Smaller figures, also in shadow form, cower beneath Gabriel's figure, while one kneels, arms outstretched on the right. This is a reference to the African American church practice of worshippers raising their hands to receive God's spirit. Through this image, the viewer can see that in Douglas's eyes the angels were black. The prominence of light shades at the top of the image and darker shades towards the bottom reinforces the association found in the poem and in the mythic tradition of Heaven containing lightness and Hell containing darkness.



Figure 13. The Judgment Day

Jung believed both art and language were symbols of activity within our inner selves, within our souls. He stated that “language...is simply a system of signs and symbols that denote real occurrences or their echo in the human

soul.”⁸⁶ In a work like this, an illustrated book of poetry, Jung would have analyzed both the images and the text with an interactive approach. While this thesis is an examination of the images Douglas created, the pictures would not exist without the text. The subject matter of each may have been addressed by Douglas in his artistic career at some point, but the group of images in a certain order with certain themes is completely dependant upon the text. Taken together they enhance and reinforce one another.

The psychology of creative work is bound to mythological experience and thinking. Words and images evoke symbols which represent archetypes. Archetypes are the letters of the mythic language of humanity. Communication of universal themes requires a universal language. “It is therefore to be expected,” argued Jung, “that the poet will turn to mythological figures in order to give suitable expression to his experience.”⁸⁷ Johnson expressed himself through the stories of Christian myth, an ancient tradition of myth making. Throughout these poems the pairing of light and dark as well as the use of the shadow as a symbol is noticeable. In the illustrations, they are not only noticeable, but the dominant feature. Obviously, there is not a single meaning to any work of art, whether in pictorial or linguistic form. I am presenting one possibility of the meaning behind this book, a possibility heretofore unexplored.

The stories are myths; this requires no argument as they are directly drawn from the Biblical and Christian traditions. Johnson himself begins the work with an explanation of their source: the African American Christian

⁸⁶ Carl Jung cited in Segal, 111.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 179.

church. The poems are Christian myth being re-voiced by a Harlem Renaissance poet. This selection of material enabled Johnson to connect with an ancient mythic tradition. While he was an example of the New Negro and a proponent of the movement's agenda, Johnson reached a broader audience by utilizing core Western myths. As Douglas's images are illustrations of this mythic subject matter, he too had access to a larger audience. And the strictly visual nature of these works could provide an even broader forum, for example to an audience that was illiterate. The use of myth in *God's Trombones* created a broad stage on which the varied meanings of the work could be accessed and explored.

Once the minds of the audience were stimulated by the mythic stories and familiar symbols, the underlying archetypes could be accessed to enable the communication of deeper meaning. This is where the recurrent idea of the shadow comes into play. In the pictures, the shadow becomes real in the silhouetted forms of Douglas's imagination. The figures in the images are based on artistic technique that utilized shadows to create pictures. They look like a person's shadow placed within a picture plane laced with the interplay of light and dark tones. The contrasts of light and dark and the use of the shadow are omnipresent in Douglas's illustrations. They are important elements to the interpretations of the works, although they are not necessarily interdependent or mutually informing.

In Jungian thought and analysis, the shadow is the part of the self that has been repressed, ignored, or abused. It is unwanted, unpredictable, and undesirable. It is not a great leap to look at the attitudes of much of white

American society during the Harlem Renaissance in regards to blacks and see the same treatment. Ever since the first slaves arrived in America, African Americans have been treated maliciously, oppressed, neglected, feared, and degraded. If America was metaphorically a person, African Americans could be viewed as the shadow of that self. The dark side of a person, the shadow, is a universal archetype, lying within the collective unconscious present in all humans. Douglas utilized this symbol. It cannot be determined if it was a deliberate or unconscious act, but either way the use of that symbol is relevant.

The New Negro movement stated in its goals that art should be used to create a new racial identity, one that was proud and equal to the racial identity of white Americans. Art would show the capabilities of African Americans, the inherent goodness within them, the dignity that they have and should be treated with. Art would address the horrendous treatment often bestowed upon the African American community and seek to amend it. Douglas's images used the shadow symbol. By placing this powerful symbol within the context of a mythic tradition of the Western world, Douglas symbolically asserts African American's right to be an equal part of this culture and community. The ideals expounded by the leaders of the Harlem Renaissance were certainly being illustrated in these images.

God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse contained beautiful, fertile poetry and vivid, inspiring images. What each person takes away from this complex work of art is unique, but it can be said that both Johnson and Douglas created moving vehicles for communicating their ideas and the form

these communications took enabled them to echo out into the micro- and the
macrocosm of our world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ater, Renee. "Creating a 'Usable Past' and a 'Future Perfect Society': Aaron Douglas's Murals for the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition." In *Aaron Douglas: African American Modernist*, edited by Susan Earle, 95-114. New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Authentic History Center. "Stereotypes of African Americans: Essays and Images." The Authentic History Center. <http://www.authentichistory.com/diversity/african/engravings/01.html> (accessed February 18, 2010).
- Baker, Jr., Houston A. *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Bearden, Romare and Harry Henderson. *A History of African-American Artists from 1792 to the Present*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993.
- Benton, Charlotte, Tim Benton, and Ghislaine Wood, eds. *Art Deco, 1910-1939*. London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2003.
- Blake, Jody. *Le Tumulte Noir: Modernist Art and Popular Entertainment in Jazz-Age Paris, 1900-1930*. University Park, P.A.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.
- Calo, Mary Ann. *Distinction and Denial: Race, Nation, and the Critical Construction of the African American Artist, 1920-1940*. Ann Arbor, M.I.: University of Michigan Press, 2007.
- Campbell, Joseph. *The Masks of God: Creative Mythology*. New York: Penguin, 1991.
- _____. *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology*. New York: Penguin, 1991.
- _____. *Pathways to Bliss: Mythology and Personal Transformation*, ed. David Kudler. Novato, C.A.: New World Library, 2004.
- Driskell, David C. "Some Observations on Aaron Douglas as Tastemaker in the Renaissance Movement." In *Aaron Douglas: African American Modernist*, edited by Susan Earle, 87-94. New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 2007.

- DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Norton Critical Edition. Edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Terri Hume Oliver. New York: Norton, 1999.
- Earle, Susan, ed. *Aaron Douglas: African American Modernist*. New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Eisele, Jennifer. "Multicultural Resource Center." Saint Paul Public Schools. <http://www.mrc.spps.org> (accessed November 9, 2009).
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. and Karen C. Dalton. *Josephine Baker and La Revue Nègre: Paul Colin's Lithographs of Le Tumulte Noir in Paris, 1927*. New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1998.
- Gray, Richard T. *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004.
- Goeser, Caroline. *Picturing the New Negro: Harlem Renaissance Print Culture and Modern Black Identity*. Lawrence, K.S.: University of Kansas Press, 2007.
- Guillaume, Paul and Thomas Munro. *Primitive Negro Sculpture*. London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 1926.
- Harris, Michael D. *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- The Hayward Gallery and the Institute of International Visual Arts, London. *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance*. Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 1997.
- Hutchinson, George. *The Harlem Renaissance in Black and White*. Cambridge, M.A.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Johnson, James Weldon. *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*. New York: Viking Press, 1933.
- _____. *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse*. New York: Penguin Books, 1990.
- _____. *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse*. Documenting the American South, 2004. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/johnson/johnson.html> (accessed September 14, 2009).
- Jung, C.G. *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung: Aion*, Vol. 9, Part II. Edited by Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, and William McGuire. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.

- _____. *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung: Psychology and Religion: West and East*. Vol. 11. Edited by Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, and William McGuire. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- _____. "The History and Psychology of a Natural Symbol." In *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, Vol. 11 Psychology and Religion: West and East*, Edited by Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire, 64-105. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- _____. *Memories, Dreams, and Reflections*. Edited by Aniela Jaffe, translated by Richard and Clara Winston. New York: Pantheon, 1962
- _____. "Picasso." In *The Spirit in Man, Art, and Literature*, translated by R.F.C. Hull, 135-141. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- _____. "On the Relation of Analytical Psychology to Poetry." In *The Spirit in Man, Art, and Literature*, translated by R.F.C. Hull, 65-83. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- _____. *The Spirit in Man, Art, and Literature*. Trans. R.F.C. Hull. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Kirschke, Amy Helene. *Aaron Douglas: Art, Race, and the Harlem Renaissance*. Jackson, M.S.: University Press of Mississippi, 1995.
- _____. *Art in Crisis: W.E.B. DuBois and the Struggle for African American Identity and Memory*. Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- _____. "The Fisk Murals Revealed: Memories of Africa, Hope for the Future." In *Aaron Douglas: African American Modernist*, edited by Susan Earle, 115-135. New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Larsen, Nella. *Passing*. Norton Critical Edition. Edited by Carla Kaplan. New York: Norton, 2007.
- Leininger-Miller, Theresa A. *New Negro Artists in Paris: African American Painters and Sculptors in the City of Light, 1922-1934*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2001.
- Lewis, David Levering, ed. *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*. New York: Penguin Books, 1994.
- _____. *When Harlem Was in Vogue*. New York: Penguin Books, 1997.

- Locke, Alain. *Negro Art: Past and Present*. Washington, D.C.: Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936.
- _____. *The Negro in Art: A Pictorial Record of the Negro Artist and of the Negro Theme in Art*. Chicago: Afro-Am Press, 1969.
- _____, ed. *The New Negro*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997.
- _____. "The New Negro." In *The New Negro*, edited by Alain Locke, 3-18. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997.
- _____. "The Negro Youth Speaks." In *The New Negro*, edited by Alain Locke, 47-56. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997.
- McElroy, Guy C. *Facing History: The Black Image in American Art, 1710-1940*. San Francisco: Bedford Arts Publishers, 1990.
- Megroz, R.L. *Profile Art through the Ages: A Study of the Use and Significance of Profile and Silhouette from the Stone Age to Puppet Films*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949.
- Osofsky, Gilbert. "Symbols of the Jazz Age: The New Negro and Harlem Discovered." *American Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (Summer, 1965): 229-238.
- Patton, Sharon F. *African American Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Pinder, Kymberly N. "'Our Father, God; our Brother, Christ; or are We Bastard Kin?': Images of Christ in African American Painting." *African American Review* 31, no. 2 (Summer, 1997): 223-233.
- Powell, Richard J. *Black Art and Culture in the 20th Century*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997.
- _____. *The Blues Aesthetic: Black Culture and Modernism*. Washington, D.C.: Washington Project for the Arts, 1989.
- _____. "Linguists, Poets, and 'Others' on African American Art." *American Art* 17, no. 1 (Spring, 2003): 16-19.
- Reynolds, Gary A. and Beryl J. Wright. *Against the Odds: African-American Artists and the Harmon Foundation*. Newark, N.J.: Newark Museum, 1989.
- Rodgers, Kenneth G. *William H. Johnson: Revisiting an African American Modernist*. Durham, N.C.: North Carolina Central University Art Museum, 2006.

- Schneider, Mark Robert. *African Americans in the Jazz Age: A Decade of Struggle and Promise*. Lanham, M.D.: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, 2006.
- Segal, Robert A. *Encountering Jung: Jung of Mythology*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Sellers, Charles Coleman. *Charles Willson Peale*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969.
- Shack, William A. *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars*. Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 2001.
- Shaw, Gwendolyn DuBois Shaw. "Moses Williams, Cutter of Profiles': Silhouettes and African American Identity in the Early Republic." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 149, no. 1 (March 2005): 22-39.
- Stoichita, Victor I. *A Short History of the Shadow*. London: Reaktion Books, 1997.
- Walker, Kara Elizabeth. *Kara Walker: Narratives of a Negress*. Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press, 2003.
- Wallis, Brian. "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes." *American Art* 9, no. 2 (Summer, 1995): 39-61.
- Wolfskill, Phoebe. "Caricature and the New Negro in the Work of Archibald Motley Jr. and Palmer Hayden" in *The Art Bulletin* 91 (Sept. 2009): 343-65.