CHAPTER ONE
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Stephen E. Henderson defines literature and its related aspects as follows:

Literature … is the verbal organization of experience into beautiful forms, but what is meant by ‘beautiful’ and by ‘forms’ is to a significant degree dependent upon a people’s way of life, their needs, their aspirations, their history — in short, their culture.¹

The aim of this study is to advance the theoretical aspect of Black aesthetics in African American literature with special reference to the three prominent novelists Richard Wright, James Baldwin and Toni Morrison.

African American literature was launched in North America before the Pre-Revolutionary War period in the second half of the 18th century. At first African American literature focused on slavery before the American Civil War. African American writers are interested in a creative dialogue with American literary ethos. Slave narratives essentially struggled to define Black people’s plight in the days of slavery. African American literature is rich in meaningful subtlety and social intuition, offering descriptive appraisals of American identifications and history. In the United States, White people apparently didn’t know about Black culture, Black history etc. Ishmael Reed reveals that —
…Westerners usually are not aware of the African cultural tradition.\(^2\)

African American literature can be divided into around six ages as follows:

1) Age of Apprenticeship (from the beginnings until 1830)
2) Age of Abolitionists (from 1830 until 1895)
3) Age of Negro Nadir (from 1896 until 1920)
4) Age of the Harlem Renaissance (from 1920 until 1930)
5) Age of Richard Wright (from 1930 until 1960)
6) Age of the Black Militant (from 1960 onwards)

James Baldwin's period started from 1960s and continued roughly till 1970s. Since the 1970s African American literature became a part of mainstream modern literature and literary theory.

In fact, a kind of second Renaissance happened in Black fiction from the mid-1960s up to now. The new generation of Black writers continues to explore in a powerful way the anxieties and images of the past.

Black literature in America developed in the same way as White literature. That is, it began with pedagogic poetry and didactic prose such as slave narratives, diaries and sermons and was later on followed by lyric poetry and fiction and it also expanded to drama. Besides this, Black literature dealt with the social, literary, historical, political and economic conditions of the Black people. Richard Wright in his essay “Introduction: Blueprint for Negro Writing” says:
Generally speaking, Negro writing in the past has been confined to humble novels, poems, and plays, prim and decorous ambassadors who went a-begging to white America.³

In the United States, African American literature, like any literature, was influenced by other literatures and literary theories. Some Black writers also were influenced by modern European literature. Carol Aisha Blackshire-Belay declared that —

African American language and literature are the twin generators of a productive cultural thrust into American literature…In Black Literature and Literary Theory, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and others introduced the discussion of African American literature within the context of modern European literary theory.⁴

Most of the literature by African American writers describes past slavery and their culture, with regard to who they were and what the White people did to them. African American literature initially focused on the issue of slavery as presented in one of its popular subgenres called slave narratives. The history of African American people was the story of their forced journey from one continent to the other; a story of their oppression, slavery and liberation. In most of the works of African American writers, we have a depiction of African cultures and the slave trade due to which many of the Africans lost their freedom. It is also the story of their survival, of how they suffered
misery and trouble during this period and of how they escaped from slavery.

In America, the citizens of that country are aware of the nation’s racial and cultural diversity. They came from different parts of the world carrying with them their distinctive cultures. Like other races, the Africans also came from different parts of Africa, but once they were in America, all of them became parts of the same oppressive system run by the Whites. Their black colour was treated as a sign of inferiority in America and was synonymous with slavery.

The word ‘Negro’ came to English language through the Portuguese who were the first traders in the slave trade and who, resultantly, for the first time took Africans from Africa to Europe and America.

Genoan Christopher Columbus had discovered America in 1492. After the discovery of America, the Atlantic slave trade took a new and rapid turn. The Slave trade was known as triangular trade. In Europe ships carried goods for African markets and sold them there. After the slave trade came into full swing, these ships, instead of goods, now started transporting slaves from African slave markets and sold them to the American and Caribbean (West Indies) and traded with goods for European Markets. This circle of trade is known as Middle Passage. In the year 1719 the English had completed their colonization of Africa which, further, gave a boost to slave trade.

The experience of Blacks in America, for all its variety, has been a unique experience, and therefore the novels and short stories which
illustrate that experience have also been special and have stood on their own. The point to emphasize is not only that there has been conformity between the experiences and the different stories, but that the stories have been similar to each other as well. While a number of literary movements and deviations were taking place in the nation at large over the past eighty years, Black fiction has continued to function within patterns peculiarly its own. It is the prevalence existence of the patterns, not simply of common external experiences, which makes the African American writing a realistic one.

Bernard W. Bell in his book *The Afro-American Novel and Its Tradition* divides the history of African American novel into three periods as follows:

In tracing the movements of the early Afro-American novel toward social realism and beyond, I have discovered that its history conveniently divides into three periods: Antebellum Novels (1853-65), Postbellum Novels (1865-1902), and Pre-World War I Novels of the Old Guard (1902-17).\(^5\)

He added the following passage about Postbellum Negro literature:

As in the postbellum period, the novels appearing between 1902 and 1917, when the United States entered World War I, continued to explore the tragicomic vision and heroic struggle of black Americans.\(^6\)
African American writers writing in the United States are one of the influential groups in American literature. They are expanding the Black art and culture and their writings are proving to be quite impressive in American society. Steven Watson in his book *The Harlem Renaissance* quotes W. E. B. DuBois who said as follows:

*The great mission of the Negro to America and the modern world is the development of Art and the appreciation of the Beautiful.*

The history of the Negro in America has mingled with American history. This history started with the coming together of two cultures, that of America and Africa, and one of the results was the Black literature. Ralph Ellison in his interview stated that —

*The history of the American Negro is a most intimate part of American history. Through the very process of slavery came the building of the United States.*

The Africans transported to America by force were subjected to all kinds of menial and demeaning works without any wages. Black children were separated by force from their parents and vice versa and Black wives were separated by force from their husbands and vice versa.

Barbara Smith in her essay “Toward a Black Feminist Criticism” (1977) stated that —

*Any discussion of Afro-American writers can rightfully begin with the fact that for most of the time we have been in this country we have been categorically denied not only*
literacy, but the most minimal possibility of a decent human life.\textsuperscript{9}

If there was lack of progress in Black life in American society, it was because there weren’t any facilities for Black people such as education, freedom, income, and power to facilitate them to move up higher than slavery. They didn’t have opportunity to show their ability and talent and they were always oppressed by White standards. They were not allowed to go to school, public places, and so on.

Black writers attempted to define Black identity and Black humanity in the unjust society of America. They believed that White people were not in any way superior to Black people. Black people also, like other people, should have equal human rights and good life. As Richard Wright states in his essay “Introduction: Blueprint for Negro Writing”—

…the Negro was not inferior, that he was human and that he had a life comparable to that of other people.\textsuperscript{10}

In his book \textit{The Afro-American Novel and Its Tradition} Bernard W. Bell quotes Richard Wright’s statement thus:

The history of the Negro in America is the history of America written in vivid and bloody terms; it is the history of Western Man writ small. It is the history of men who tried to adjust themselves to a world whose laws, customs, and instruments of force were leveled against them. The Negro is America’s metaphor.\textsuperscript{11}
Black art and Black life have been developing and growing in America for the last many years. Black writing today is not new and Black writers believe that only Blacks themselves could change their situation in areas like social life, art, politics etc. In his book *The Black Aesthetic* Addison Gayle quotes Pauline Hopkins who says art is —

…of great value to any people as a preserver of manners and customs—religious, political, and social. It is a record of growth and development from generation to generation. No one will do this for us; we must ourselves develop the men and women who will faithfully portray the inmost thoughts and feeling of the Negro with all the fire and romance which lie dormant in our history…

Gayle further quotes William Pickens who states —

“It is not simply that the white story teller will not do full justice to the humanity of the black race; he cannot.”

Tejumola Olaniyan in his article “From Black Aesthetics to Afrocentrism (or, A Small History of an African and African American Discursive Practice)” written for “West Africa Review” quotes Steve Biko who opines —

Black culture above all implies freedom on our part to innovate without recourse to white values. This innovation is part of the natural development of any culture. A culture is essentially the society’s composite answer to the varied problems of life. We are experiencing new problems
every day and whatever we do adds to the richness of our cultural heritage as long as it has man as its centre. The adoption of black theatre and drama is one such important innovation which we need to encourage and to develop.\textsuperscript{14}

When we study the life and culture of the African Americans, we find that they had been familiar with art, literature, music etc before their first appearance in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619 (i.e. when the first slave Negroes were brought there and before their contact with the Western world). In African American literature, we find traces of a number of West African concepts related to artistic creations. If we refer to the origins of African American literature and history, we realize that Black Americans are not without influence of their African past, culture and history.

Meanwhile, the period of slavery continued for a long time and many generations of Blacks were lost till they were able to create African American literature and art. In short, we observe that, culturally speaking, the Black race did not come empty-handed to America from their native continent of Africa. Therefore, it can be stated that African American literature has far deeper roots in the history of cultural and/or artistic products.

Hazel Arnett Ervin in his book \textit{African American Literary Criticism, 1773 to 2000} pointed out:

\begin{quote}
\textit{According to the sociologist, the ideal past for the African American is one of Truth, Beauty, and Justice.}
\end{quote}
Furthermore, the writer has the responsibility of ensuring such a past.\textsuperscript{15}

Black writers believe that their work is not inferior to White writers’ work merely because the Whites have a fair colour and they don’t have it. Black writers write about their culture, race, colour, beauty, their so-called ugliness, slavery, discrimination against them, their emancipation, etc. Culture is a basis of all their ideas, beliefs, values, images, truths, actions, etc.

Larry Neal in his essay “The Black Arts Movement” reveals that:

Without a culture Negroes are only a set of reactions to white people.\textsuperscript{16}

Also he believes that there are seven criteria for culture:

1. Mythology
2. History
3. Social Organization
4. Political Organization
5. Economic Organization
6. Creative Motif
7. Ethos.\textsuperscript{17}

Books by African Americans are representative of all African Americans in the United States and it could be found that writings by African Americans generally are utopian, perfectionist, idealistic and optimistic. Most of the books written on the life of African Americans
are written about how America has been proved to be an unjust society for the African Americans.

Generally, Black literature is synonymous with literature of protest. They protest against exploitation, limitations, restrictions, discrimination, intolerance, inequality etc to which they are subjected by the Whites in the United States. As is amply clear by now, Black literature springs from the life of the Black people and it records the experiences of Black life. In fact, life of those who come from Black race is as human as it is of any other race and is in no way inferior to the life of other races. According to DuBois —

   Negro art is today plowing a difficult row. We want everything that is said about us to tell of the best and highest and noblest in us. We insist that our Art and Propaganda be one. We fear that evil in us will be called racial, while in others it is viewed as individual. We fear that our shortcomings are not merely human.18

Black writing has become more outstanding in recent years. Charles H. Fuller, Jr., in an article on website, explained that —

   Black writing is socio-creative art. It is a manner of self-expression, an artistic form born directly from the collective social situation in which the Afro-American found himself in this nation, and this nation only. It is the only art form in the world directly related to the historical, economic, educational, and social growth and
development of a people and as such maintains a unique position in the literature of the world.$^{19}$

African American writing addresses both the White and the Black audience about injustices done to the Blacks in American society and their struggle for freedom. Negro folklore is a kind of record of people who fought for getting liberty, equality, fraternity, justice etc for the Blacks.

According to Herbert Hill —

... Negro writers are demonstrating the responsibility of the artist to the disciplines and traditions of art and literature...$^{20}$

Black Art is representative of the Black condition and shows their experience in America. It demonstrates the reality of the Black life in American society. As Ron Karenga said —

Black art, like everything else in the black community, must respond positively to the reality of revolution. It must become and remain part of the revolutionary machinery that moves us to change quickly and creatively.... Black art must expose the enemy, praise the people, and support the revolution.... It must be functional like the poem of another revolutionary poet ... it must be collective. In a word, it must be from the people and must be returned to the people in a form more beautiful and colorful than it was in real life.$^{21}$
Black writing speaks about sociological, ideological, political and cultural situations created by an unjust oppression, repression, harshness and marginalization of the Blacks in the States. The earliest duty of the Black writers is to recover and improve sublimity by invoking and reorganizing a heroic African past. Black writer doesn’t pay any attention to the reflexes of the behaviour of others, especially of the White community. They had started writing about Blacks with pride and pleasure. Langston Hughes in his essay “The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain” pointed out —

We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn’t matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too. The tom-tom cries and the tom-tom laughs. If coloured people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn’t matter either. We build our temples for tomorrow, strong displeasure doesn’t matter either. We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves.22

There are two kinds of Black writers in America: 1) those who were expatriated to Europe like Richard Wright, James Baldwin, Chester Himes, William Gardner Smith and 2) those who remained in America like Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), Toni Morison, Alice Walker, Zora Neale Hurston etc.
According to Carolyn F. Gerald —

Black writers have also attempted to reflect spiritual oneness by writing within a totally black framework. But white images are implanted at the core of black life, the most obvious example being that of the Church, where God is white.\(^{23}\)

Bernard W. Bell reveals that novels written by Blacks demonstrate the experiences of the Blacks in a hostile society like America:

…approaches to the Afro-American novel that reduce the rich complexities, paradoxes, and ambivalences of different human experiences, especially creativity, to economics, politics, psychology, or linguistics are, at best, incomplete.\(^{24}\)

Black cultural nationalism is a modern social and political movement that began in America, especially among the African Americans. It had started in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. Ron Karenga is one of the outstanding voices in favour of Black cultural nationalism. The aim of the cultural nationalist was to affirm the recognition of a Black society based on a common origin and language. Black cultural nationalism consists of a group of people who cultivated and developed a particular set of cultural traditions including art, music and philosophy.

Ron Karenga in his article, “Black Cultural Nationalism” points out thus:
Let our art remind us of our distaste for the enemy, our love for each other, and our commitment to the revolutionary struggle that will be fought with the rhythmic reality of a permanent revolution.\textsuperscript{25}

Many Negroes were influenced by Marxism and its basic tenets. They searched for equal opportunity in the framework of Marxism and/or Communism. Since many Black writers and Black people were influenced by Communism, it consequently influenced Black literature and culture also in the States.

Bill V. Mullen and James Smethurst reveal that —

\ldots the number of twentieth-century African American writers connected with some segment of the organized Left at a crucial moment of their careers is staggering (and not restricted to the 1930s). Yet this is not reflected in most examinations of twentieth-century African American literature other than studies of a few individuals, particularly Richard Wright and, to a lesser extent, Langston Hughes. If one believes African American literature and culture to be central to literature and culture in the United States, then so is the story of the Left and its influence on culture in the United States. Again, if we put the Left at the centre, then we are forced to place issues of race and ethnicity at the center.\textsuperscript{26}

Richard Wright believed that the Negro is America’s metaphor. If the Negro is America’s metaphor, the same should be true of the Black
writer also. The cruel, repressive and brutal factors in American life which the African American writers have recorded and transformed into art have created a literary tradition of their own.

Negro’s life and culture have now become some of the central parts of American ethos and are merged with it almost inseparably. About Negro life and culture Richard Wright noted —

… Negro life may be approached from a thousand angles, with no limit to technical and stylistic freedom.

Negro writers spring from a family, a clan, a class, and a nation; and the social units in which they are bound have a story, a record. Sense of theme will emerge in Negro writing when Negro writers try to fix this story about some pole of meaning, remembering as they do so that in the creative process meaning proceeds equally as much from the contemplation of the subject matter as from the hopes and apprehensions that rage in the heart of the writer.\textsuperscript{27}

The anti-slavery literature in the United States represents the origins of multicultural literature. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Black and White abolitionists fought against slavery. Several Whites abolitionists like Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Lucretia Coffin Mott, Theodore Weld, and Lydia Maria Child struggled for equal rights for the Blacks. They are also known as early leaders of American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS). Some of the most prominent Black abolitionists of the period were people like James Forten and Robert Purvis.
In other words, abolitionists concentrated on ending the slavery and their struggle was difficult to forget. Black and White abolitionists usually worked together. But their philosophy and method of working were dissimilar in nature in the sense that most of the White abolitionists concentrated only on eradication of slavery while Black abolitionists supported an all-inclusive struggle for Black dignity. John Herbert Nelson stated:

Abolitionists tried, by making many of their characters almost white, to work on racial feeling as well. This was a curious piece of inconsistency on their part, an indirect admission that a white man in chains was more pitiful to behold than the African similarly placed. Their most impassioned plea was in behalf of a person little resembling their swarthy protégés, the quadroon or octroon.28

Besides this, there are some White writers who write about the mythical Negro life, the tragic mulatto, the Black misery etc. In this regard, Hazel Arnett Ervin quotes John O. Killens thus:

The challenge to the Negro writer is to explore and create means of achieving deeper and broader dimensions of artistic reality in his interpretation of who he is and where he comes from and where he is going….The challenge … in the era of the new southern…Negro is to dig and dig for an artistic reality much bigger than the apparent truth, a reality which is sometimes ugly and at the same time
contains a terrible beauty…. Is there a real community of cultural, social and economic experience in the United State which is historically known as “Negro life”? If the Negro writer were to listen, would he hear in this community a rhythm of living which might suggest to him an aesthetic way of life, differing in structure and in style from that portrayed by other American writers?²⁹

Black fiction in America contained a world of mass culture and yet it has neither been a product of mass culture nor did it contain those elements which put such a culture at odds with art. Black writers’ effort is to record the struggle of the Blacks during their long journey.

Negroes played an important role in American life, art, literature, culture and history and their relationship to America dates back to days even before 1619 which means it is as old as America itself.

Black literature in America is the literature of reality and of facts and everything written in the name of Black literature refers to the Black community in the States. Also Black literature is literature of protest against white racism in American society. On this issue, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. quotes Richard Wright as follows:

…if white racism did not exist, then black literature would not exist, and he predicted the demise of the latter with the cessation of the former.³⁰

Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King, Jr. were two prominent Americans to struggle against racism, discrimination and they too had
to suffer quite a lot for Black emancipation. Abraham Lincoln, as the President of America, signed the Emancipation Proclamation for Black American people on the 22nd day of September, 1862 A. D. He declared that slaves would be “forever free”. However, slavery was not abolished immediately and in some states like Texas, Blacks remained in bondage until 1865. Emancipation neither brought real freedom nor relief to them from the stigma of colour.

African American literature and art have had an economic origin, i.e., this literature originated as a result of the slave trade which was basically an economic activity. One of the earliest slave narrative writers was Gustavus Vassa from the present-day Nigeria. He wrote a slave narrative entitled *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*. Those African slaves who had escaped from slavery in the South came in the North and started to write about their miserable life. If we go deeper into the history of African American life, it can be seen that it is full of discrimination, inequity, suppression, segregation etc. Vassa was born in 1745 and was brought into America when he was just eleven years old. Later, he left America and went to England. Black writers created protest literature and challenged the system of slavery.

Jupiter Hammon and Miss Phillis Wheatley, two eighteenth century Negro writers, wrote and published their works about the plight of the Blacks in America. Wheatley was a Black poetess who published her poems in 1773, three years before American Independence. [Historically, America achieved its independence in 1776]. Born in
Senegal, Africa, she was captured and sold into slavery when she was just seven years’ old. Her poetry was popular among Black as well as White readers. It was unbelievable for White people that a Black woman could write poetry. It is said that George Washington thanked her for a poem she had written in his honour.

Jupiter Hammon, considered as the first Black writer, published his first poem in 1760 which was entitled as “An Evening Thought: Salvation by Christ with Penitential [sic] Cries.” It seems that he remained a slave until his death. It can found that he delivered a speech which was entitled as “An Address to the Negroes in the State of New York” which he delivered before African society wherein he is quoted to have said:

If we should ever get to Heaven, we shall find nobody to reproach us for being black, or for being slaves.\textsuperscript{31}

William Wells Brown and Victor Séjour, two of the earliest African American writers, also published their fiction about their experiences of being Black (slaves) in America. In 1837, Séjour published his short story which was entitled as “The Mulatto”. He wrote and published his fiction in French.

Brown was a well-known abolitionist, a lecturer, a novelist, a playwright, and a historian. His novel \textit{Clotel or The President’s Daughter}, (a story about Thomas Jefferson's supposed relationship with a Sally Hemings — Jefferson’s slave), published in 1853, was the first novel by an African American.
Slave Narratives started appearing somewhere in the middle of the nineteenth century. Some authors such as Harriet Jacobs (a pseudonym for Linda Brent) and Frederick Douglass wrote slave narratives.

James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton in *Hard Road to Freedom* reveal that:

A flood of slave narratives telling the stories of those who had experienced the inhumanity of slavery was published in the early and mid-nineteenth century, becoming a powerful weapon in the fight against slavery during the decades before the Civil War.\(^{32}\)

Slave narratives can be categorized into three specific categories as follows:
1. Histories of religious redemption.
2. Histories of abolitionist efforts.
3. Histories of the progress of the slaves in the American society. The histories written by the White and the Black abolitionists are quite popular because they turn back strongly to autobiographical motif.

Frederick Douglass lived in the nineteenth century and was known as a leader of the Black journalist group. He was also one of the outstanding authors of slave narratives and also one of the most significant orators and authors mentioned in African American history. His remarkable book, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself* was published in May, 1845. He
also started a newspaper entitled “North Star” and a magazine entitled “Douglass Monthly.”

After the post-slavery era or the end of American Civil War, some of the African American writers continued to write about the condition of the Black people in the United States. Even after Abraham Lincoln’s announcement in 1862 of emancipation of slaves and even after the actual statutory passing in 1863 of the Emancipation Proclamation, many Blacks had difficulties in finding jobs and supporting themselves. While in the South, living conditions for the Blacks were far more terrible than they were in the North. The Blacks were still discriminated against by most of the White people and they were restricted and segregated time and again during this period. Because of these conditions, more than one million Black Southerners migrated to the Northern part of America because the situation in the Northern America was slightly better for the Blacks since in the North they could find better jobs, send their children to better schools and could even vote. But there were so many problems like racism that remained unsolved.

W. E. B. DuBois was one of the outstanding writers among them and was also one of the most influential Black American Civil Rights activists, leaders, critics, authors, orators, and scholars of the first half of the nineteenth century. He was also one of the Black activists who joined the Communist Party and was also the first African American to earn a Ph. D. from Harvard in 1895. He had an important influence on the Civil Rights Movement of the 50s and the 60s. He published a
collection of his essays in which he described as to in which conditions Black people lived in the country. In a book authored by Howard Zinn and Anthony Arnove, DuBois is quoted to have said:

“The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line.”

Another remarkable writer in this period was Booker T. Washington who believed that initially Blacks should first improve themselves to be equal to the Whites and then only ask for the end of racism.

In the eighteenth century Prince Hall and John B. Russwurm were two remarkable persons who fought for liberty and justice for the Blacks and protested against slavery, segregation and the slave trade. In Virginia, Patrick Henry fought against an injustice and demanded for either liberty or death. At that time Boston was an important centre of the American slave trade and Hall was shocked and surprised when he realized that most of the leaders of the revolutionary movement were themselves engaged in slave trade.

The third Black poet, George Moses Horton, published his book, *The Hope of Liberty*, in 1829. He was the first Negro poet who frankly expressed disagreement with his status as a slave. He also fought for human rights and against lynching of the slaves by their masters (Whites).

Paul Laurence Dunbar was a poet, a short story writer and a novelist. In his novels, he explained social problems and the troublesome aspects of Afro-American life. In 1892, he published his first collection of poems entitled *Oak and Ivy*.

Harlem Renaissance, which is said to have existed from 1920 to 1940, represented the flourishing period of African American literature, music, dance, visual arts and culture in general. The area namely Harlem in New York City was the centre of Black social and cultural movements in the United States and it is well-known for the production of Black literature. The most famous writers in the period of Harlem Renaissance included the poets like Countee Cullen, Arna Bontemps, Langston Hughes and Claude McKay, novelists like Rudolph Fisher, Zora Neale Hurston, Nathan Eugene (Jean) Toomer, James Weldon Johnson and Jessie Redmon Fauset. At this time many of the Black writers and artists, especially who lived in Harlem, started producing a great variety of fine and original works dealing with African American life and culture. Black readers were greatly attracted to and influenced by these works.

Harlem Renaissance became known as the era of ‘The New Negro Movement’ or ‘The New Negro Renaissance’. *The New Negro* was the title of an anthology edited and published in 1925 by sociologist and critic Alain Locke. The term Harlem Renaissance was borrowed from this anthology. The Harlem Renaissance exalted the unique culture of African Americans and redefined their expression. It was a
period of remarkable vigour and creativity at the centre of New York's Black ghetto. According to Steven Watson:

African-American writing existed before these years, of course, and many authors who first found their voices during the 1920s produced significant work in the years following. But the New Negro's organized, self-conscious phase lasted less than a decade.\(^{34}\)

The writers of the Harlem Renaissance describe the reality of Black life in America and their struggle for racial identity. They explained the life of African Americans in the rural South and the urban North. Harlem was the centre of urban Black life. It was considered as the heart of African American life. It was as a symbol of an African American's desired living conditions during the early twentieth century. In this regard Claude McKay states:

The Harlem Renaissance movement of the antic nineteen twenties was really inspired and kept alive by the interest and presence of white bohemians. It faded out when they became tired of the new plaything.\(^{35}\)

Wikipedia explains the phenomenon called The Harlem Renaissance thus:

Characterizing the Harlem Renaissance was an overt racial pride that came to be represented in the idea of the New Negro who through intellect, the production of literature, art, and music could challenge the pervading racism and stereotypes of that era to promote progressive
or socialist politics, and racial and social integration. The creation of art and literature would serve to “uplift” the race.\textsuperscript{36}

Harlem community was the centre and spiritual godfather and midwife of the Harlem Renaissance. During the period of the Harlem Renaissance, there have been a number of remarkable Black writers who wrote about cultural emancipation of African Americans and fought strongly against slavery and the unjust American society. Resultantly, Harlem almost became a holy place for the Blacks and a centre of the Black community in America. The best protest stories by Negro writers were written at this time. They challenged all the cultural values, beliefs, concepts of beauty, ugliness and White-made social problems of the Black people. Steven Watson reveals that:

…”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.\textsuperscript{37}

In this era, a great number of novels, short stories, plays, poems, and articles about the Blacks by Black writers were published. Southern Black musicians brought jazz with them to the North and to Harlem. The Harlem Renaissance was a significant period even for Black music because of great musicals written by remarkable Blacks like Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, Bessie Smith, Dizzy Gillespie,
Charlie Parker and, hence, Harlem Renaissance also came to be called as the Jazz Age.

The Harlem Black communities included American Blacks and many West Indian Blacks. More than ten thousand Blacks in Harlem protested against violence, Black misery, American unjust society, discrimination, towards the Blacks by the Whites and so on. In 1920, Harlem had obtained a symbolic significance for Blacks and it was the centre of Black protest and Black political activity. Steven Watson further points out:

Simultaneous with the establishment of Harlem as the Black mecca, political organizations proposed their strategies for race-building. Chief among them were Marcus Garvey’s African nationalist movement, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the socialist African Blood Brotherhood.  

During this era, many Black Americans come to stay in Harlem although they had basically migrated from the rural, agricultural South to the urban industrial centres of the North like Harlem. Majority of the Blacks who came to North of America settled in Harlem. Among them there were musicians, writers, artists and so on. Therefore, Harlem became some kind of a hub of literary, cultural sophistication and artistic talent.
Steven Watson further explained:

The task of the New Negro movement was to identify and articulate a community consciousness rather than to overthrow existing institutions. 39

Watson added that writer and intellectual W. E. B. DuBois had exerted a substantial influence on this movement:

Any discussion of the Harlem Renaissance must begin with W. E. B. Du Bois, the towering Negro intellectual of the early twentieth century. 40

W. E. B. DuBois edited the magazine entitled The Crisis which was published by National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). One more important monthly magazine of the period entitled Opportunity was edited by sociologist Charles S. Johnson and was published by the National Urban League (NUL). These periodicals were quite instrumental in creating awareness among the Blacks in this era. About DuBois, Steven Watson stated —

A social scientist and political leader, Du Bois was also Harlem’s first culture czar. 41

About the positive changes that the Renaissance brought about in the lives of the Blacks, Alain Locke stated —

The younger generation comes, bringing its gifts. They are the first fruits of the Negro Renaissance. Youth speaks, and the voice of the New Negro is heard.

…Here we have Negro youth, with arresting visions and vibrating prophecies; forecasting in the mirror of art what
we must see and recognize in the streets of reality tomorrow, foretelling in new notes and accents the maturing speech of full racial utterance.\textsuperscript{42}

Most of the commentators claim that ‘The New Negro Movement’ was successful in creating foundational steps in the age-old African American arts tradition. But some others believe that the Renaissance was a failure.

The major themes of the Black Arts Movement included love, beauty, ugliness, identity, Blackness, humiliation, historical phases, changes, music, cultural phenomena etc. A theme that seems to be running throughout almost the whole of African American cultural artistic productions is the theme of the preservation of Black culture, Black identity and it further includes dealing with guilt, social effects of race, shame, gender, class distinctions, violence, coming to terms with White standards of beauty etc. Black art related itself to historical, economic, educational issues as well as to social growth and development of a people.

In this regard, Bernard W. Bell notes that African American literary art can also be described as:

\begin{quote}
…a hybrid narrative whose distinctive tradition and vitality are derived basically from the sedimented indigenous roots of black American folklore and literary genres of the Western world.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}
The Harlem Writers’ Guild focused on prose – primarily fiction – which did not have the mass appeal that poetry had achieved in the dynamic vernacular of the time. Larry Neal states —

Poetry is a concrete function, an action. No more abstractions. Poems are physical entities: fists, daggers, airplane poems, and poems that shoot guns. Poems are transformed from physical objects into personal forces…[^44]

During the Second World War period, Black writers in America, like other writers in the country, started to write about the war. But in the post-war period, Black writers started writing about new aspects of African American life; they wrote about the living conditions of Black people in America.

Civil Rights Movement refers to the equal treatment to be given to all citizens of America irrespective of their race, gender, class, colour etc and it also refers to laws which invoke claims of positive liberty. The African Americans also resisted and protested against racial segregation and discrimination by adopting to strategies such as civil disobedience, non-cooperation, non-violent resistance, protests etc.

In the era of Civil Rights Movement, Black activists struggled for getting freedom, ending segregation, racism and projecting a new understanding of Black Nationalism. The Civil Rights and Black Power movements created a powerful impression on Black voices in the 60s.
The late 1940s of African American writing was a period dominated by a writer like Richard Wright. He was powerful with words and the images which he created about the Blacks and Black life in America and he had also immensely influenced other Black writers of this period. The Age of Richard Wright began after the Harlem Renaissance, i.e. around the 1930s and continued to the end of the 1950s. All these things will be discussed in detail in the second chapter.

Further, the 1960s was a period in which James Baldwin dominated African American writing. He came out as a major voice of the African Americans in the times of Black Power Movement which grew out of Civil Rights Movement. Baldwin re-established the personal essay to its place as a form of creative literature. He was a well-known Black writer whose work addressed race and sexuality. As the Civil Rights Movement progressed, it was supported and fortified across the country by groups such as Black workers, communist organizations, Black membership in unions, Black artists, creative writers and socialist groups like the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the Black Panthers.

It was around 1970 that African American literature became almost a part of the mainstream American literature and had earned widespread critical acclaim. During this period, African American literature had been recognized nationally as well as internationally. Besides, at this time, African American books were included in the bestsellers lists. Toni Morrison was one of the important writers
among the notable authors of the day. She is the first African American woman to win the Nobel Prize for literature in 1988.

Some of the other remarkable African American writers include Alice Walker, Zora Neale Hurston, Ishmael Reed, Jamaica Kincaid, John Edgar Wideman in fiction; and LeRoi Jones (or Amiri Baraka as he is known by his pen-name), Larry Neal, James Emanuel etc in poetry.

History of African American women records the journey of their life from slavery through Reconstruction, Harlem Renaissance and Civil Rights to the recent times. Black women writers have played a major role in African American literature in the United States.

African American women were also a part of the Harlem Movement. They also continued to write about Black slavery in general and women’s slavery in particular through their texts. Black women’s struggle to gain acceptance, identification, acknowledgement, consciousness, respect, and honour in society has gone through a very long process and it has begun to be appreciated from the last century only. They protested against violence towards Black women including things such as childhood sexual abuse, intimate partner violence, sexual assault, sexual misconduct and sexual interference etc. Of course, there are differences between Black women’s writings and White women’s feminist texts. Black women writers’ works usually include a desire for acknowledgment of their life and culture, loss of human status, complexity of social relations both in the White world and the Black world and spiritual rediscovery.
Karla F. C. Holloway quotes Mary Poovey who says —
that “woman” is currently both a position within a
dominant, binary symbolic order and that that position is
arbitrarily {and falsely} unified. On the other hand, we
need to remember that there are concrete historical
women whose differences reveal the inadequacy of this
unified category in the present and the past. The multiple
positions real women occupy – the position dictated by
race … class … or sexual preference – should alert us to
the inadequacy of binary logic and unitary selves.45

Black women in the past were used as domestic servants, slaves,
workers, and housekeepers etc, but after the emancipation, Black
women have been active in American society as writers, artists,
performers, nationalists, representatives of women, Human Rights
activists etc. They wrote about their living conditions while working as
domestic servants. A large number of the Black women authors were
slaves or daughters of slaves, but few came from slightly affluent
families also. Some of them became school teachers and university
lecturers or worked as abolitionists and religious leaders. Black
women have struggled to achieve their identity as White women have
done, but there were two dominant things that adversely affected
Black women’s existence. The first was slavery and second was the
word ‘woman’ which kept them out of the mainstream of both African
American and American life and, resultantly, they suffered lot of
misery and trouble. But they were persistent, patient, purposeful and
determined in their way.
Barbara J. Marshall quotes Mary Helen Washington who says —

If there is a single distinguishing feature of the literature of black women ... women talk to other women in this tradition, and their friendships with other women -- mothers, sisters, grandmothers, friends, lovers -- are vital to their growth and well-being.

...Women (usually two) gather together in a small room to share intimacies that can be trusted only to a kindred female spirit.46

Describing the output of the women writers, Carol Aisha Blackshire-Belay added:

Women writers such as Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, Gloria Naylor, Toni Cade Bambara, and Paula Marshall wrote novels and short stories depicting areas of African American life that had gone untouched by many male African American writers.47

**Brief History of Aesthetics**

A proper study of aesthetics in any of the arts, including White or Black literature, requires that one defines aesthetics precisely. There are quite a few definitions and explanations of aesthetics some of which are mentioned here.

*Encyclopaedia Britannica* available on website defines aesthetics as: also spelled *esthetics*
the philosophical study of beauty and taste. To define its subject matter more precisely is, however, immensely difficult. Indeed, it could be said that self-definition has been the major task of modern aesthetics. We are acquainted with an interesting and puzzling realm of experience: the realm of the beautiful, the ugly, the sublime, and the elegant; of taste, criticism, and fine art; and of contemplation, sensuous enjoyment, and charm.\(^{48}\)

In a reply to the question, ‘What is Aesthetics?’, Austin Cline wrote:

Aesthetics is the study of beauty and taste, whether in the form of the comic, the tragic or the sublime. The word derives from the Greek *aisthetikos*, meaning “of sense perception.” Aesthetics has traditionally been part of philosophical pursuits like *epistemology* or *ethics*, but it started to come into its own and become a more independent pursuit under Immanuel Kant, the German philosopher who saw aesthetics as a unitary and self-sufficient type of human experience. Because of art’s historical role in the transmission of religion and religious beliefs, atheists should have something to say on this topic.\(^{49}\)

R. G. Collingwood in his book *The Principles of Art* explained that — …aesthetic theory is the theory not of beauty but of art. The theory of beauty, if instead of being brought (as it rightly was by Plato) into connexion with the theory of love
it is brought into connexion with aesthetic theory, is merely an attempt to construct an aesthetic on a ‘realistic’ basis, that is, to explain away the aesthetic activity by appeal to a supposed quality of the things with which, in that experience, we are in contact; this supposed quality, invented to explain the activity, being in fact nothing but the activity itself, falsely located not in the agent but in his external world. 50

Plato is the first writer to attempt a systematic study of beauty which is a major part of aesthetics as we know it today. He defines beauty only in ambiguous, mystical terms, leaving the problem of a more circumscribed, secular definition to philosophers, poets and critics. During much of the history of the Western world, aestheticians have been the Whites; therefore, it is not surprising that, symbolically and literally, they have defined beauty in terms of whiteness. Beauty is the expression of emotion and all such expression, without any exception, is beautiful.

Art is a product of man’s natural attraction towards beauty, love, truth, wisdom, goodness and similar virtuous qualities. Therefore, art has a human and a social appeal. At every point, it connects itself with and rests upon human nature, human needs, and human action and tendencies.

Gorge Dickie in his book Aesthetics: An Introduction declares that:
R. G. COLLINGWOOD in *The Principles of Art* develops a comprehensive and influential expressionist theory of art. He attempts to work out systematically and on a large philosophical scale the widely held view that there is an essential connection between art and the expression of emotion. His book is a sustained and complex argument in support of his conclusion that *art is imaginative expression*.51

Human tastes and requirements, admiration of beauty in life and in art have developed in the process of labour. The primary duty and responsibility of art is to look for the beautiful in life, to generalize it, exemplify it, mirror it in artistic images and bring it to man, satisfying his aesthetic necessities and developing his aesthetic tastes and sensibilities.

Alex Neill and Aaron Ridley in their book *Arguing About Art: Contemporary Philosophical Debates* explained that:

* A LARGE PART OF OUR AESTHETIC experience and enjoyment is experience and enjoyment of nature.52

Moreover, Allen Carlson, as quoted by Alex Neill and Aaron Ridley, says:

...to aesthetically appreciate nature we must have knowledge of the different environments of nature and of the systems and elements within those environments. In the way in which the art critic and the art historian are well equipped to aesthetically appreciate art, the naturalist and
the ecologist are well equipped to aesthetically appreciate nature.53

For human beings, art is a reflection of truth through artistic images. In reflecting the world around us, art helps us to understand it and serves as a powerful tool of political, moral and artistic education. The varieties of phenomena, events and different methods of reflecting them in works of art have given rise to various types of artistic expressions such as literature, theatre, music, architecture, painting, sculpture etc.

Addison Gayle, Jr. in his essay “Cultural Strangulation: Black Literature and the White Aesthetic” writes:

For Plato, there were two kinds of symbols: natural and proscriptive. Natural symbols corresponded to absolute beauty as created by God; proscriptive symbols, on the other hand, were symbols of beauty as proscribed by man, which is to say that certain symbols are said to mean such and such by man himself.54

In his book Modern Aesthetics: An Historical Introduction, The Earl of Listowel quotes R. G. Collingwood who says:

… art is “imagination”, or “pure imagination”, and that imagination is an “activity” which is prior to the logical judgment; thus we find that art, as a spiritual activity, is the first of the five successive stages — artistic, religious, scientific, historical, and philosophical — in the
development of man’s spiritual life, and that its specific and characteristic feature is pure imagination.\textsuperscript{55}

The word ‘aesthetic’ not only means beauty, but it also means philosophy of art, giving to this word the meaning of the Hegelian school rather than the meaning of the theory according to which aesthetic is the branch of philosophy dealing only with beauty or the beautiful whether in art or in nature.

In fact, the word ‘aesthetic’ is transformed from the Greek word ‘aisthetikos’ which meant perceptive, insightful and appropriate to things perceptible by the senses.

The word “aesthetics” was initially used by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten in section 116 of his 1735 doctoral thesis to include the science of sensuous knowledge whose aim is beauty as contrasted with logic whose aim is truth. Paul Guyer quotes Baumgarten as follows:

“Aesthetics (the theory of the liberal arts, lower gnoseology, the art of beautiful thinking, the art of the analogue of reason) is the science of sensitive cognition.”\textsuperscript{56}

Baumgarten pointed out that aesthetics was ‘the science of sensitive cognition’ only, or a science that was concerned with ‘obscure’ knowledge, that knowledge which does not admit of sufficient presentation in words. Along the similar lines, George Dickie states that —
The eighteenth century was a critical time in the history of aesthetics. During this period a number of British Thinkers worked intensively on “the philosophy of taste” and provided the basis for aesthetics in its modern form. About the middle of the century, the minor German philosopher Alexander Baumgarten (1714-1762) coined the term “aesthetics,” which in time became the name of the field.⁵⁷

Baumgarten’s contribution to aesthetics has been very positive, consisting in having first used the word “aesthetics” to designate a philosophy of beauty. As a German philosopher, he has some historical importance from the pre-Kantian period. Baumgarten was a pupil of Christian Wolff. In that period, German works of art were thought to be as referring to sensations of pleasure, fear, pity, etc which they aroused in the reader. Aesthetics is the science of beauty and in our daily lives, we speak of various things describing them as beautiful — e.g., a beautiful flower, a lovely animal and, especially, a beautiful woman or a girl. Therefore, the topic(s) of aesthetics becomes co-extensive with the beautiful. Therefore, Baumgarten in his best known book Aesthetica investigates the problem of beauty regarded by him as a recognition of perfection by means of the senses.

Kant talked of a priori principle related to sensuous cognition. He also distinguished between the beautiful and the sublime and referred to the natural phenomena as sublime.
The current sense of aesthetics is derived from the title of Hegel’s article entitled “Aesthetik” (1820). He also explained that aesthetics is science rather than philosophy and is more particularly related to fine arts.

The word “aesthetics” in this context is used in the sense of the philosophy of art in general. Beauty is considered as one of the most important categories of aesthetics. Aesthetics deals with beauty, the science of the laws of art, and the theory of artistic creation. Beauty is such an important category of aesthetics that no aesthetic phenomena, general laws of art and the nature of creation can be understood without the presence of the idea of beauty. In the fundamental categories of aesthetics which expose the aesthetic approach of man towards reality around him, we find sub-elements such as the beautiful, the sublime, the tragic, the comic etc. And among them all, the category of beauty has the first place.

About beauty and its aesthetic representation, Paul Guyer stated thus —

…the beauty of an aesthetic representation or work of the imagination lies in the richness of the objects represented, in both syntax and the semantics of the representation, that is, the coherence of the complex representation both with itself and with the things represented, and with the richness of the other dimensions of the representation, such as its diction and style.\(^58\)
The idea of beauty is quite a complex and a multi-faceted phenomenon and is realized in a variety of contexts. The spirit of man has felt the sweetness and charm of beauty in all ages and climes without having ever been able to completely account for such sensations of pleasure in the presence of phenomena beauty or to describe the source, nature, essence, purpose and mission of beauty. We speak about beautiful scenery, beautiful eyes, beautiful idea, beautiful deeds, beautiful words, beautiful language, beautiful thoughts etc and we can easily see that the contexts of all these usages greatly differ from each other.

Some of the aestheticians have stressed unity, harmony, stability, balance and proportion as being the constituent factors of beauty. Some of them said that unity in diversity and variety is the secret of beauty. However, some others have stated that the essential factor is order. And others have declared that rhythm is the essence and spirit of beauty. Some others believed that colour, form, brightness, expression and elegance constitute beauty.

Paul Guyer quoted Kant on the issue of beauty as follows:

…the beautiful is the symbol of the morally-good; and also only in this regard (that of a relation that is natural to everyone, and which everyone also imputes to others as a duty) does it please with a claim to the agreement of everyone else, whereby the mind at the same time is conscious of certain ennoblement and elevation above
the mere receptivity for a pleasure through sensory impressions... 59

The exact core of the concept of beauty is considerably difficult to pinpoint. The phenomena of beauty are diverse in art and life. It appears quite easy to extract from surrounding realism the phenomena of beauty as also the realities and occurrences which give us aesthetic pleasure. However, it is extremely hard to answer the question: why are they beautiful? what do we actually think is beautiful in them? and what is the exact nature of beauty?

In studies about the nature of beauty (aesthetics), there are two main trends: idealistic and materialistic which are opposed to each other in their basic tenets. Idealistic aesthetics uses the diversity of the tenets of beauty and describes them as unachievable. According to the idealists, beauty appears in infinitely varied forms. The idealists believe that each man has his own taste which is exclusively individual. They further believe that the conception of beauty has been different in various historical circumstances, in different countries and in different cultures. For them there is nothing in the idea of beauty that could be explained as stable, unrepeatable, objective, inevitable and commonly acceptable. Consequently, beauty is an anonymous and logically unmarked category. It is completely in the sphere of uniqueness, of individual events and tastes. It belongs to the area of the irrational. Accordingly, beauty is subjective because the mental existence is deprived of objectivity.
The materialistic concept of aesthetics attaches utmost significance to the objective elements in the evaluation of beauty; it clarifies changes of attitudes towards beauty and establishes the basis of historical conditions, but it keeps close to the principle of the objectivity of beauty.

Aristotle’s theory of beauty was one of the most excellent of the early theories. His theory was an ideal combination of both materialism and idealism. In his view, the substance of beauty consists of “‘symmetry, order and proportion’”, quantity, measure, purpose etc. Aristotle declared that ‘Beauty’ consists of size and order. A thing of beauty must be neither too large nor too small. The main quality of Aristotle’s theory of beauty is considered to be his establishment of the concept of measure as a criterion of aesthetic phenomenon. Aristotle did not identify any absolute beauty above and beyond the relative things which mention and express it. He possessed an analytical mind. So he clearly differentiated the beautiful from the good. He, however, felt and saw that love of beauty is not like sense-desires which crave for exclusive possession. In Aristotle’s view, the emotion of beauty is a disinterested emotion. He affirmed that the major features of beauty are articulated through order, proportion and definiteness.

In the measure which Aristotle established in accordance with his entire teaching, man is always present in his abilities, in his character and in his way of perceiving reality. What Aristotle says is quite understandable and comprehensible because there is a natural
relationship between Aristotle’s aesthetics and the development of art in old Greece.

According to Plotinus, the idea of beauty is one and perfect. All less significant beauties, spiritual and physical, are contributions in the one, superlative beauty. The element of the beautiful which Plotinus stresses the most is magnificence; it consists of shining-forth of the spiritual essence of the beautiful thing. In this regard Angraj Chaudhary states:

Plotinus thinks that the one conqueres matters into form and being. In him, therefore, we find a happy blending of Plato’s concept of Absolute Beauty and the Aristotelian concept of beauty having measure, proportion and pattern.61

The materialistic theory of beauty suggests that elements such as proportion, harmony, symmetry, measure, make an object beautiful.

In many of the Renaissance books on aesthetics, the laws of rhythm and symmetry, the pleasant relationship between the parts and the whole as well as the unity in variety are treated as some of the basic elements of the theory of beauty conditioned by nature. These ideas were used for establishing the rules of artistic creations.

The concept of beauty besides harmony, measure and proportion was also based on the characteristics of the objects in the outer world. The weak thread in this concept is that it paid attention only to
the external features of the life-phenomena, neglecting its very nature and inner substances.

This theory has been frequently criticized even by idealistic aestheticians. The idealistic theory of beauty did not agree with the view that beauty can have of a mathematical proportion and can be expressed in a fixed formula. It states that beauty can not be measured scientifically, not even with the help of mathematics. They stated that beauty of the face of a piece of Renaissance sculpture was neither due to any of its special proportions nor its external structure, but due to expressiveness and spirituality in it and due to the outer manifestation of the inner human world.

Although idealistic aesthetics appears fallacious from a philosophical point of view, we should appreciate its emphasis on the substance of beauty. Idealistic aesthetics holds that beauty is never a ‘form’ but a substance; so, it is a substantial category rather than a formal one. It emphasizes the beauty of life and man’s attitude towards various phenomena of life.

The beautiful phenomena in life are those which represent our conception of beauty in the fullest possible sense, the phenomena that suit our ideas of life. Man endeavours to bring beauty into his life as much as he can. Whichever things he creates or makes, even things of practical use, he tries to make them as beautiful as he can. So, it could be said that the sense of beauty is inherent in human nature although all the beautiful things that exist are not created by man’s hands alone. The notions of beauty are imitated from
surrounding environment of life, the nature of their existence, historical conditions, class structure of human societies, national traditions etc.

According to Plato, our love of beautiful things on the earth is due to the search by our soul for the Absolute Beauty realized and enjoyed by us in an anterior and purer state of being. All visible things are types in which are mirrored the beauty of eternal archetypes.

George Dickie in his book *Aesthetics: An Introduction* declared:

CONSIDER FIRST the theory of beauty presented by Plato (428-348 B.C.) in the *Symposium*. The general theme of the Symposium is love. Each of the characters in the dialogue gives a speech about love, and the question of beauty arises because it is concluded that beauty is the object of love. 62

In the Middle Ages the quality of sublimity was admired above all others and beauty was pushed into background by removing all the sensual elements from its substance. In the time of the Renaissance, man again became a measure of beauty — the richness of his emotional world and physical perfection. The Age of Classicism established the rationalistic and normative notions of beauty. The leading principle of the Romantic Movement was to establish the notion of beauty as human in its substance.
Realistic art seems to be covering a rather wide range of the basic ingredients of beauty. Realism stated that beauty was a vigorous expression of life taken in its eternal progress.

There are two more essential questions that will have to be raised in any discussion of aesthetics — the first, what is beauty and the second, what is art? The former question lies inside the speculative sphere of a branch of philosophy and the latter is related to a certain class of actual objects and thus lies inside the empirical field as a part of the social and cultural levels. To answer these questions from the supposition that the beautiful in art is the qualitative aspect of parts to the whole within a whole, we have to come to the conclusion that beauty is the value emanating from any actual organization of parts when its parts approximate a perfect relation to the organization of the whole. The term ‘perfect’, used here, suggests that the beautiful is an ideal which can never be completely attained by any actual thing or physical manifestation of the idea of beauty. It can only be approached or participated in by approximation and dialectically. It means that an object of beauty which has an adequate number of parts to its whole has the greater chances for beauty.

In the history of aesthetics there have been theories according to which the beauty in arts was determined exclusively by taking into account the beautiful phenomena of reality. By presenting the beauty of nature, art itself had to be beautiful. This attitude found its best expression in the normative aesthetics of Classicism.

Paul Guyer, quoted Kant who stated that:
…all aesthetic response is an expression of the freedom of the imagination: “It turns out that everything flows from the concept of taste as a faculty for judging an object in relation to the free lawfulness of the imagination.”

Art is a specific and a particular field of beauty. There are beautiful and ugly things in life; but, till recently, it was thought that in art everything is beautiful. However, it does not mean that art is concerned only with things that are beautiful. There is no greater phenomenon than nature. However, the beauty in art is not a photocopy of nature. The question of preference of beauty between the two — life or art — is absurd. The beauty of nature and the beauty of art have their distinct / unique qualities. The beauty of nature does not determine the beauty of art, nor does the beauty of art recover the beauty of nature. The makings of the works of art, which are, by and large, based on the events in the actual world, are efforts to increase the amount of beauty in actuality.

For Hegel, beauty had been the embodiment of reason, reason not indeed abstract nor explicit, but rather implicit and fused in sense. But since this fusion in sense was a less perfect mode of reason than its explicit emergence in a “concrete” philosophy, it was indeed a stage to be superseded both by the individual and the human race — it was difficult to exhibit its wholly rational necessity.
Herbert Spencer attributes art to the play-impulse*. Aesthetic feelings are aroused not by the uses of things but by the things themselves. There is beauty in nature, but it requires a working of human thought to elicit it from nature; a beauty not of parts and single persons but of complex totalities, a beauty not of flesh and blood, but of mind, imagination and feeling. It is the synthetic, intellectual, spirit-penetrating beauty to which the arts aspire.

George Dickie explained that:

Kant uses the term “aesthetic” in a very broad sense to include not only judgments of beauty and the sublime but also judgments about pleasure in general. For Kant, all aesthetic judgments focus on pleasure, which is a property of the experiencing subject rather than of the objective world. Such judgments are subjective because pleasure does not play a role in the cognition of the objective world external to the subject.64

Thus all aesthetic judgments are really subjective; that is, they are the judgments made from the point of view of the observer rather than the objective world of the observed. Beauty certainly falls into this perspective. In this regard, Dickie further added:

Kant divides the discussion of his theory of beauty into four parts, each of which treats a major concept. These concepts are 1) disinterestedness, 2) universality, 3) the

form of purpose, and 4) necessity. The theory may be summarized in a sentence: A judgment of beauty is a disinterested, universal, and necessary judgment concerning the pleasure which everyone *ought* to derive from the experience of form.65

In Kant’s aesthetics, nature has a prominent place as offering the only example of what he calls “free beauty”, beauty that can be appreciated without the mediation of any polluting concept. Art, for Kant, was not merely one among many objects of aesthetic interest; it was fatally flawed in its dependence upon intellectual understanding.

Croce says that beauty is the expression of emotion and that aesthetic pleasure is caused in a person by the successful communication of beauty. According to him, art is independent of science and of the useful and of the moral. The beauty of nature is the discovery of the human imagination. Art affirms itself as a manifestation of feeling and does not possess value except from its lyrical character and from the imprint of the artist’s personality on this expression.

Artistic beauty was treated in books on aesthetics as the unity of the idea and the way of presentation — the unity of the artistic substance and form. But it is not quite true. The beauty of art lies not in the unity of substance and form, but first of all in the substance of art which, from the point of view of the ideals of beauty, reflects the reality, representing through the most perfect artistic forms.
For Plato the true art, the beautiful art, is always the art of living. Talking about Plato’s idea of beauty, George Dickie states that for Plato

...beauty transcends the world of sense experience, which means that the experience of beauty (not beautiful things) is unlike what would be described as aesthetic experience today.⁶⁶

In the hierarchy of human values, aesthetic values hold a peculiar position. Their appeal is as broad as humanity itself. There is no age in human history which has not enjoyed and cherished aesthetic values. The role of aesthetic values has been so great that sometimes these values are assigned absolute or intrinsic importance. After having tried to understand aesthetics from the White perspective, it would be extremely appropriate to review it from the Black perspective.

**History of Black Aesthetics**

Aesthetics proper has its relevance to art studies and it can well analyze different art practices. But the present dissertation does not aim at dealing with the formal aesthetics of literature; it deals mainly with Black aesthetics.

Aesthetics -- which is a branch of philosophy of art — covers a broader area of valuation of various creations in the world. The words beautiful and ugly — from functional point of view — are
ambiguous and from the point of view of meaning and concept are more cerebral. That is the reason why we can divide objects in the world as beautiful or ugly. Usually, different people and cultures have different ideas about beauty and they use the word beautiful for different objects. The Black literature also has its own aesthetics.

While dealing with the aesthetic approach to reality (and with Black art), we have to admit our indecision in describing and analyzing it. The history of Black art is fundamentally different from that of the classical art or the modern art.

The discussions of the Black Arts Movement (BAM) concern the Black art which developed between 1965 and 1975 and is called the ‘movement of the sixties.’

About the history of ‘The Black Arts Movement’ Kalamu ya Salaam proclaimed that:

The Black Arts movement, usually referred to as a “sixties” movement, coalesced in 1965 and broke apart around 1975/1976. 67

And this movement broke immediately after the Blacks started producing literature within the framework of Civil Rights* and seems to have moved to an unbelievable, unthinkable, and unachievable Black Power.

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* The Civil Rights Movement (Literature) was the great catalyst for social protest in the sixties.
There have been many aesthetic movements in the history of the search for the core of beauty. Black arts produced both quantity and quality.

The African American writers show artist’s responsibility to the disciplines and traditions of art and literature. African American literary criticism, like White criticism, does not examine the aesthetics of the work, but rather it examines the function of the work in the life of the writer, his community and his audience:

The question for the black critic today is not how beautiful is a melody, a play, a poem, or a novel, but how much more beautiful has the poem, melody, play, or novel made the life of a single black man? How far has the work gone in transforming an American Negro into an African-American or black man? 68

The concept of beauty has changed from time to time. In American society, the concept of beauty was defined as per white standards. However, this concept determined through White perspective was not acceptable to all cultures such as Black American culture. In Toni Morrison’s work, particularly in her novel The Bluest Eye, we will find a scathing criticism of White concept of beauty.

As George Dickie, in his book Aesthetics: An Introduction further stated:

Before the eighteenth century, beauty was a central concept; during the century, it was replaced by the concept of taste; by the end of century, the concept of
taste had been exhausted and the way was open for the concept of the *aesthetic*.

Art has usually been formalistic and therefore appealing to the viewers/readers. Along the same lines, like almost all arts, Black art also has a form of its own and hence it appeals directly to the senses of the viewers/readers. Herbert Hill stated that:

> The element of black anger is neither new nor …passé.

The Black in the American society was at war with everything that was unjust in American society and American history. But the Blacks protested against only the prejudices thrust upon them by the White majority and not at the White people. In a way, the struggle of the Blacks was against the White mentality/tendency and not against White individuals per se. As Addison Gayle said:

> They waged war not against the society but against the societal laws and mores that barred them from equal membership.

However, it appears that Black art in the past was expressed only as a vendetta against the oppression of and injustice towards the Blacks by the White people. Larry Neal becomes the leading spirit and voice of the Black Arts Movement. In his essay, “The Black Arts Movement”, Neal proclaimed that:

> Black Art is the aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power concept.
The Black experience — although it yields its essence with difficulty and only to the sensitive participant — has vivid facets handily available to the literary craftsman. Such a statement, which is unarguable and is not significant in itself, does keep alive the possibility that the Black aesthetics will not falter on any grounds.

Black writers in the United States had to answer the question of whether their work was aesthetic or political. One could read a political statement into any work by Richard Wright, for example; or aesthetics into Toni Morrison’s novels. But the writer establishes his/her identity in each of his/her work. Cecil Brown states:

“A black writer can write about anything, … literally, and what he has to say will still be said by a black man.”

Addison Gayle comments that the core of the Black aesthetics lies in the fact that the Blacks in America were de-Americanized; that is, they were isolated and considered un-American (by the Whites or by non-Blacks). This notion is expressed in Black art as below:

The problem of the de-Americanization of Black people lies at the heart of the Black Aesthetic.

The present study aims at a social analysis of the condition of the Blacks in American society and the direct confrontation of the Blacks with prejudices, stereotypes and racial mythologies that allowed the Whites to continue the worst possible social conditions imposed by them on the Blacks till the last decades of the nineteenth century. Simultaneously, the present study also analyses from the point of view of aesthetics the reflections of the conditions of the African
Americans into creative works written by African American writers. A period of outstanding literary vigour and creativity took place in the 1920s, changing the character of literature created by Black Americans—from works of quaint dialects and conventional imitations of White writers to sophisticated explorations of Black life and culture that revealed and instilled a new confidence and racial pride among the African Americans.

The Black aesthetics serves as a link from the past to the present and it also represents the determination to create a revolution for the people through art. As Julian Mayfield eloquently puts it:

For those of us who read and write books and plays and poetry, the Black Aesthetic has to do with both love and killing, and learning to live, and survive, in a nation of killers, so that our children may breathe a purer and freer air.\(^7^5\)

Black art needs to respond to the reality of revolution as much as to any other thing in the Negro community. It must reveal its enemies and praise the Black people. As one of the main aspects of the movement for Black empowerment, Black aesthetics emerged in the 1960s and reflected the economic, political and cultural conditions of the African Americans. It came to prominence as the Black Arts Movement. However, it could be said that the Blacks who were forcibly brought to America had, behind them, a tradition of aesthetic creations in their tribal life in Africa. Hence, in other words, we could
say that the Blacks had, knowingly or unknowingly, a knowledge of aesthetic creations even before the Middle Passage.

Julian Mayfield once again proclaims that the Black aesthetics became an inseparable part of Black culture and psyche and hence that is one thing which can never be stolen from the Blacks:

It is in our racial memory, and the unshakable knowledge of who we are, where we have been, and, springing from this, where we are going. Where we have been?  

The Black aesthetics comes from the experience, from the history of Black people and from the road that they have travelled from Africa to America. Black writers have always had to face the issue of whether their work was primarily political or aesthetic. Addison Gayle points out:

The good “Negro Novel,” we are told by Robert Bone and Herbert Hill, is that novel in which the subject matter moves beyond the limitations of narrow parochialism. Form is the most important criterion of the work of art when Black literature is evaluated, whereas form, almost non-existent in Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, and totally chaotic in Kafka’s *The Trial*, must take second place to the supremacy of thought and message.  

Black writers want to show that the Black was in no way inferior to anybody, that he was human and that he was like, or had qualities comparable to, other people. The mere fact that a Black could write
creative works was astonishing to the Whites.

Abu Shardow Abarry writes that there is nothing superior or inferior in the racial and cultural aesthetics —

…the Afrocentric aesthetics is not supposed to be superior or inferior to any other variety of racial or cultural aesthetics. But it consists of a special framework, values, and perspectives that should be taken seriously into consideration by any African American or European American, or Europeanized African critic or writer who embarks on a critical interpretation of a literary or artistic work based on, or emanating from, any part of the African world.  

Henry Louis Gates Jr. has been quoted in the book *Figures in Black: Words, Signs, and the “Racial” Self* wherein he states that:

…black literature is a verbal art like other verbal arts. “Blackness” is not a material object, an absolute, or an event, but a trope; it does not have an “essence” as such but is defined by a network of relations that form a particular aesthetic unity.  

Black aesthetics was a new intellectual, cultural, literary discipline in America and it was also a search for a new racial consciousness among the Blacks and all this began in the last half of the 1960s and continued up to the mid-1970s.
John O’Neal explained the term aesthetics and Black aesthetics as follows:

Aesthetic: a philosophical term — the principles of art.
Black Aesthetic: the principles of Black Art.\(^{80}\)

Addison Gayle, Jr. quotes Hinton Helper’s statement about Black and White in the following two headings:

“Black: A Thing of Ugliness, Disease”;…
“White: A Thing of Life, Health, and Beauty.”\(^{81}\)

Further, Gayle again quotes Helper as follows:

Under the first heading, Helper argues that the color black “has always been associated with sinister things such as mourning, the devil, the darkness of night.” Under the second, “White has always been associated with the light of day, divine transfiguration, the beneficent moon and stars … the fair complexion of romantic ladies, the costumes of Romans and angels, and the white of the American flag so beautifully combined with blue and red without ever a touch of the black that has been for the flag of pirates.”\(^{82}\)

There is Black aesthetics because there is White aesthetics. As Addison Gayle, Jr. again writes:

Most Americans, black and white, accept the existence of a “White Aesthetic…”\(^{83}\)

In his mind, a White man thinks himself to be superior to a Black man because of his white colour. Addison Gayle, Jr. says in this regard:
The distinction between whiteness as beautiful (good) and blackness as ugly (evil) appears early in the literature of the middle ages — in the Morality Plays of England…. To be white was to be pure, good, universal, and beautiful; to be black was to be impure, evil, parochial, and ugly.\(^8\)

Moreover, Hoyt W. Fuller quotes Mrs. Carolyn Fowler Gerald who says that the Whites have created such an atmosphere that majority of the people are almost forced by the Whites to accept:

“… white as the symbol of goodness and purity; black as the symbol of evil and impurity.”\(^8\)

New approach and new aesthetics have effected a great change in the attitude of new generation of the Whites as well as the Blacks to life. Black writers are also turning to Black aesthetics and are finding a new spiritual quality in Black life and literature. Julian Mayfield proclaimed that:

The Black Aesthetic, if it is anything, is the search for a new program, because all the old programs spawned out of the Judaeo-Christian spirit have failed us. It is the search for a new spiritual quality, or the recapture of an old one, lost and buried deep in our African past.\(^8\)

Kalamu ya Salaam in his essay “B. A. M. Spanning the Period” on website writes:

Both inherently and overtly political in content, the Black Arts movement was the only American literary movement
to advance “social engagement” as a sine qua non of its aesthetic. The movement broke from the immediate past of protest and petition (civil rights) literature and dashed forward toward an alternative that initially seemed unthinkable and unobtainable: Black Power.  

Black artists generally or naturally write about Black identity and nationalism and they talk to people about morals and virtues. According to Larry Neal:

…the Black Arts Movement is an ethical movement…. The Black Arts Movement believes that your ethics and your aesthetics are one. That the contradictions between ethics and aesthetics in western society is symptomatic of a dying culture.

The relationship between Black artist and his community was naturally an inherent relationship. For the Black artist, the community was the source of his inspiration and his art. Amiri Baraka, in the following manner, also explains in his poem “Black Art” that there is an integral and intrinsic relationship between Black art and Black people:

…Let Black people understand that they are the lovers and the sons of lovers and warriors and sons of warriors Are poems & poets & all the loveliness here in the world
Like most of the cultural, intellectual, social creations and activities, Black poetry in American literature serves as a bridge between the Black poet and his Black audience making them believe that they too are Americans, beautiful and, therefore, the White people must accept them as their equals. John O’Neal quotes as follows W. E. B. DuBois’ poem entitled “coon trap” from DuBois’ collection of poems entitled *The Souls of Black Folk*:

I, Too
I, too, sing America
I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
when company comes,
But I laugh
And eat well
And grow strong
Tomorrow,
I’ll be at the table
When company comes
Nobody’ll dare
say to me
“Eat in the Kitchen,”
Then,
Besides
They’ll see how beautiful I am
and be ashamed—
I, too, am America.\(^\text{90}\)
The Black aesthetic movement is certainly studied while studying African American literature. This literature had its identity, history and development when the Black Arts Movement was in currency in the “sixties” and this movement flourished around 1965. The origin of Black aesthetics can be traced back to the slave narratives (middle of the nineteenth century) and Black writers continue to produce literature within the framework of Black aesthetics till today.

New generation of African American writers is moving further from the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s. LeRoi Jones — who has also taken on himself the name of Amiri Baraka — is one of the important and effective figures and leaders of the Black Arts Movement. He was very famous in this movement as a poet, a musician and especially as a playwright. There are other playwrights also like Ron Milner, Ed Bullins, Ben Caldwell, Jimmy Stewart, Joe White, Charles Patterson, Charles Fuller, Aisha Hughes, Carol Freeman, and Jimmy Garrett.

LeRoi Jones and Larry Neal edited a book entitled *Black Fire* in 1968 comprising essays, poetry, fiction and short plays by Black writers. Jones also opened the Black Arts Repertory Theatre/School (BART/S) in the mid-1960s in Harlem. BART/S became the most significant cultural group within the Black Arts Movement.

Within the framework of Black Arts Movement, a Black artist is expected to create a relationship between his art and the Black community. In a way, he has the responsibility to project, through his writings, the miseries of and oppressions heaped upon his people
and community. His writings should be the voice of people who are subjected to misery, desolation, segregation, discrimination etc because of their Black colour which is supposed to be unpleasant and ugly according to the so-called White standards of beauty.

Larry Neal is one of the prominent authors and philosophers of The Black Arts Movement. He is well-known for his significant work in this movement. About the role and responsibilities of the Black artist, Neal, in his most famous essay, “The Black Arts Movement,” stated:

> The Black artist must create new forms and new values, sing new songs (or purify old ones); and along with other Black authorities, he must create a new history, new symbols, myths and legends (and purify old ones by fire). And the Black artist, in creating his own aesthetic, must be accountable for it only to the Black people.91

Every culture has different view(s) about aesthetics of its own which distinguishes it from other cultures. It is this feature which gives a culture its own identity. Along the similar lines, African Americans also have an identity of their own. The Black aesthetics developed from the Harlem Renaissance and developed with the Black Arts Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. The most important developments for Black arts happened in the field of literature. All arts — such as music, dance, literature, theatre, drama, etc — have an aesthetics of their own. Since almost all literatures have their aesthetics, African American literature also has an aesthetics of its own.
However, those Whites who have traditional prejudices against the Blacks, do not seem to accept that Black literature and arts have any aesthetics in them. In this regard, in an article on the website of University of Michigan, USA, it is stated —

…the Black Arts Movement stands as the single most controversial moment in the history of African-American literature -- possibly in American literature as a whole.92

Black Power Movement was more influential than the Black Arts Movement. Black Power represented racial dignity, economic and political condition of the Blacks in American society. The roots of “Black Arts” have quite an ancient origin. To substantiate this view, Larry Neal quotes LeRoi Jones as follows:

We are unfair
And unfair
We are black magicians
Black arts we make
in black labs of the heart

The fair are fair
and deathly white

The day will not save them
And we own the night93

In one of his essays, Tejumola Olaniyan quotes Amiri Baraka, one of the founding members of Black Arts Movement, who tries to define Black art in his own ways. Baraka felt that art should be committed to
the cause of nationalism otherwise it would not be valid as art. He also felt that Black art must be political. Some more opinions of his on this issue are as follows:

I would like to . . . say that my conception of art, black art, is that it has to be collective, it has to be functional, it has to be committed and that actually, if it's not stemming from conscious nationalism, then at this time it's invalid. When I say collective, that it comes from the collective experience of black people, when I say committed, it has to be committed to change, revolutionary change. When I say functional, it has to have a function to the lives of black people.94

Further, in this regard, Steven Watson stated that Black art should remain aesthetic, but should still appeal to the people on whose life it is based (i.e. Black people). It should be beautiful, but use a language peculiar to its writers and audience:

African-American experience must be filtered through the lens of beauty and articulated in a vocabulary that did credit to the race.95

Marc C. Conner quotes Addison Gayle who echoes this sentiment in somewhat different words. Gayle claims that as far back in history as the Old Testament, the writers referred to White and Black aesthetics. This is a matter of literary interpretation and needs investigation. However, White aesthetics — historically referred to as Western —
has been in currency for a long time. On the issue of Black and White aesthetics, Gayle says:

“The white aesthetic, despite the academic critics, has always been with us…. the poets of biblical times were discussing beauty in terms of light and dark — the essential characteristics of a white and black aesthetic — and establishing the dichotomy of superior vs. inferior which would assume body and form in the 18th century.‖

Since the White culture in America denied the tools and materials for their traditional aesthetic expression, the Blacks created a separate language and a genre of literature of their own which later on came to be called — and is still called — African American (or Black) literature. This has been illustrated through the works of DuBois, Langston Hughes, LeRoi Jones and the writers whom we shall study in detail in this thesis.

Yvonne Atkinson writes about this situation as below:

When the Africans were brought to America as slaves they were denied the tools needed to create their traditional arts. Without access to these tools, the African slaves found another outlet to express the emotions of their souls: language. The language of the slaves became their canvas and clay. Their voices became the forms through which they practiced their arts."
It is stated by most of the African American writers and scholars of African American literature that a practitioner of Black aesthetics and art, like his White counterpart, must relate his creations to his audience / readers. Though no one can say for sure that Black aesthetics was derived from White aesthetics, it is seen that both the Whites and the Blacks have been influenced by it. What is certain is that the new Black writers have modelled their aesthetics somewhat on the White one, but have infused it with their own language, images, expressions etc. It is with these issues in mind that the works of African American writers like Richard Wright, James Baldwin and Toni Morrison — who are chosen for a detailed study in this dissertation — will be analysed.
Notes


6. Ibid., p. 91.


13. Ibid., p. xvii.


17. Ibid., pp. 126-127.


34. Steven Watson, op. cit., p. 8.

35. Ibid., p. 160.

36. Wikipedia, the free Encyclopaedia, internet
   http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harlem_Renaissance


38. Ibid., p. 13.

39. Ibid., p. 16.

40. Ibid., p. 17.

41. Ibid., p. 19.

42. Ibid., p. 29.

43. Bernard W. Bell, op. cit., p. xii.

44. Larry Neal, op. cit. p. 125.


47. Carol Aisha Blackshire-Belay, op. cit., p. 5.
48. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Available on website:
   http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9106009
53. Ibid., p. 153.
58. Paul Guyer, op. cit., p. 32.
59. Ibid., p. 223.
61. Ibid., p. 63.
62. George Dickie, op. cit., p. 3.
65. Ibid., p. 27.
66. Ibid., p. 4.
67. “The black arts movement.” available on website:
   http://authors.aalbc.com/blackartsmovement.htm
68. Addison Gayle, Jr. op. cit., p. xxiii.
69. George Dickie, op. cit., p. 32.
70. Addison Gayle, Jr. op. cit., p. xv.
71. Ibid., p. xviii.
72. Larry Neal, op. cit., p. 272.
74. Addison Gayle, Jr. op. cit., p. xxii.
76. Ibid., p. 27.
77. Addison Gayle, Jr. op. cit., p. 45.
81. Addison Gayle, Jr. op. cit., p. 43.
82. Ibid., p. 44.
83. Ibid., p. 40.
84. Ibid., p. 41.
86. Julian Mayfield, op. cit., p. 28.
88. Larry Neal, op. cit., p. 275.
89. Ibid., p. 276.
90. John O’Neal, op. cit., p. 49.
91. Larry Neal, op. cit., p. 274.
92. http://www.umich.edu/~eng499/
93. Larry Neal, op. cit., p. 275.
    http://www.africaresource.com/war/issue9/olaniyan2.html
95. Steven Watson, op. cit., p. 93.