DUTCHMAN

D-File

Authors: Amy Abrigo and Ian Notte

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

(CONTINUED)

DUTCHMAN OVERVIEW

INTRO TO THE PLAY (IAN)

Lula is a ghostly and beautiful woman bent on destroying young and educated Black men. She rides the subway "heaped in modern myth" like a specter hungry for souls. Her game of strategy begins with flirtation, then builds to seduction and ends mysteriously. Can Clay, her next “wide-eyed prey” evade her cunning traps? *Dutchman* is a play where nothing is at it seems. It runs deep with myth and allusion. Is this a retelling of the Flying Dutchman, the legend of a ship cursed to wander the seas forever bringing death to any vessels unlucky enough to meet it? Is it an allegory about racial tensions in the United States: the story of how the black middle class has been seduced by the false invitation to be bedfellows of white elites? Come see for yourself.

INITIAL RESPONSE: AMY

1. **Positives**
   - Goddamn, Goddamn, Goddamn
     - The dialogue between Lula and Clay has it's edgy moments and I certainly wouldn't identify it as every being normal, but the moments when Lula tests Clay by saying direct racist remarks like "I bet you never once thought you were a black n*****" evoke a strong emotional response for me.
     - These moments vocally freeze the dialogue like a camera taking a photograph and force Clay to choose wisely what his next step will be.
     - These evoke a strong emotional response for me because I understand that these are things white people used to say without blushing and because black men are still being shot in the street like dogs in 2019.
   - The Cycle of Life
     - By including the ending scene of the Young Negro entering the train, Baraka confirms the cyclical nature of this story and implies why he decided to title the play "Dutchman". I was surprised to find out the story by Wagner is a romance.
     - The train itself is serving Baraka as a modern day flying dutchman ship, and the cyclical nature of the story reminds me of the cyclical nature of White America to hunt and kill black men.
     - I believe this is a really powerful way to end the play and it would be wise to directly parallel the images of Lula approaching Clay at the beginning of the play with Lula and the Young Negro.
   - Well, I Don't Know What I Expected.
     - Throughout the entire play the tensions between Lula and Clay are clearly building, but I never expected Lula to straight up murder Clay. Especially not in front of everyone.
     - I don't know how I expected the play to end, but I certainly didn't expect her to stab him and then tell the passengers to get his dead body off of her and then for the passengers to follow her orders and throw Clay off the train like a bag of trash.
     - I think it is important for the production staff to work on capturing the shock-factor of this moment and avoid releasing any hints of it in marketing.
   - Somebody Blew Up America
     - Baraka's poetic stage directions are so beautiful that they behoove directors and designers to do their best to accomplish the soul of them.

    - For example, on page 3, Baraka says the play takes place, *"In the flying underbelly of the city. . . The subway heaped in modern myth."*
    - How does someone go about creating the flying underbelly of the city or a subway heaped in modern myth?
- Can I Sit Here?
    - Baraka says the train is empty at the beginning of the show, so when Lula asks if she can sit next to Clay, despite all other seating choices, I found it to be very funny.
    - Generally, I think it would be wise for directors and actors to take advantage of these small comic moments Baraka offers to them.

2. **Challenges**

- Come On, Ride the Train
    - Directorally, I think it will be an interesting challenge to determine when the passengers come and go during scene two as they are meant to come and go throughout as well as when specified in the script.
    - I think it is important to find a way to build this ever moving 'background' without losing focus on Lula and Clay. Perhaps there a good stopping points in the text during which a passenger might enter or depart.
- Creating The Underbelly
    - Baraka's poetic stage directions are so beautiful that they behoove directors and designers to do their best to accomplish the soul of them.
    - For example, on page 3, Baraka says the play takes place, *"In the flying underbelly of the city. . . The subway heaped in modern myth."*
    - How does someone go about creating the flying underbelly of the city or a subway heaped in modern myth? I would love to play with sound design and how it sounds beast-like.
    - How abstract or realistic can this scenic design be? The lights? Props? Costumes? Casting?
- You've Got Mail
    - What is the message of this piece? Be complacent? Don't be complacent? Start a war? Go out and murder some white people so you don't have to write poetry or sing songs? Perhaps that's the point - to instill questions not answers.
    - Either way, I think it might be important to consider what purpose Baraka had for writing this piece and how this piece might send the same or different messages now.
- ALL the References!

    - There are some specific references in the text younger generations of today might not be familiar with like Bessie Smith and Charlie Parker.
    - I think they will still understand what the references are about as long as the actors understand the references, but I would hope to explain some references in the program or in my lobby display.
- Classic Eve
    - This play perpetuates the stereotype of women as bringers of evil.
    - I think I'm willing to sacrifice this stereotype for the larger message of the play, but it is something to be aware of when producing *Dutchman*.
    - There is also a lack of recognition of black women as Baraka focuses on Clay, though he does mention Bessie Smith.
- What If I Just Left?
    - Working on this play and understanding all of the cultural references makes it a challenge to stay on board as dramaturg because I would prefer to drop out of my career as a theatre artist and become a full time activist.
    - Perhaps I can consider this production as my method of activism.
- Look At Me
    - If I were selected as the dramaturg for this production, I am a hispanic woman with white skin who would only know half of the experience.
    - However, when has anyone let that stop them in the past? Also, this is probably a poor excuse to not study something and gain a new understanding.
    - However, it is still important to recognize that no matter how much I understand about cultural or historical references, I can never fully understand the trauma or discrimination black people experience in their daily lives.

3. **Questions**
    - Why is Lula ten years older than Clay? Is it to follow the stereotype of her being older and wiser? Does this mean she has been doing this for ten years, or was cursed ten years ago to wander the Earth in this way, or does it really matter? Did she have a bad experience with a 20 year old black man and has been murdering this 'type' ever since, or is this way too much of a realist approach to a story that might be more allegorical?
    - What magazine is Clay reading at the beginning of the show? How can this prop tell the audience more about who Clay is trying to be? In this same regard, what books does Clay have with him?

- What are the "other anonymous articles" in Lula's net bag?
- What is a net bag and why did Baraka choose for Lula to specifically have a net bag instead of a plain old purse? Is it because it looks like the nets that would have been aboard *The Flying Dutchman*? Is this another parallel for the trap Clay is in once he smiles?
- Why this day? Why Warren Enright's birthday?
- On page 22, when Lula says, "Or walking up uninhabited Seventh Avenue in the twenties on weekends." Does she mean 1920s or 20 degrees fahrenheit?
- What rhythm and blues song might Lula be singing snatches of on page 12 in scene one?
- What are the titles of Lula's books? Are these Lula's books or books she has stolen from other victims and therefore trophies?
- What perfume does Lula wear and why does Baraka specify this?
- How should one go about choreographing the people getting on and off the train throughout scene two as Baraka says people occasionally come and go?
- What song does the conductor sing and how is his soft shoe choreographed? Could the dance parallel the famous jim crow dance as a tribute and reminder?

4. **Crack/Thread**
   - This play is difficult for me to watch because black men are still being murdered in the streets while police are labelled victims and black people are labelled criminals. We are living through genocide and yet most of us serve the systematic oppression just like the passengers on the train who dump Clay's dead body. I think this play is important because it is so relevant and because people need to understand how it was and understand that it has not changed much.
5. **Audio and Visual Moments**
   - Train Scream
     - There is so much opportunity for play regarding this particular sound cue at the beginning of the play.
     - I think it is important because train whistles are normally a caution signal to passengers that the train will be leaving soon and it is also a caution sign that danger is in store.
     - Like the style of the play, this particular sound cue is a perfect blend of realism and abstract reality.
   - The Cycle of Life
     - The image of Clay and Lula at the beginning of the show paralleling the image of Lula and the Young Negro Boy at the end of the show are important bookmarks that give new meaning to this story.

    - Not only is Lula murdering this one black man, but she has most likely murdered many and she is going to murder another and another unto infinity.
- Double-Pre-Slap
    - The moment when Clay slaps Lula not only once but twice is important because it physical demonstrates a shift in power in their relationship.
    - Until this moment Clay has allowed for Lula's words to slide off of his back and used humor to diffuse tension.
    - This is a moment when he can no longer sit by complacent.
- Now Die!
    - I believe the moment Lula stabs Clay is the climax of the conflict and it would be wise for this moment to be clearly seen by all audience members.
    - It gives meaning to the play because it explains nearly everything Lula has said throughout the show that may not originally have made sense.
    - For example, when she talks about how Clay's friends will talk about him after they learn of his death and how their feelings towards him will shift because he was murdered.
- Tossed Out Like Trash
    - The image of the passengers tossing Clay's dead body out of the train like the trash is powerful and important to the play because it demonstrates how the passengers are Lula's *Dutchman* ghost crew.
    - Because Baraka specifically says the passengers are both black and white, this image shows how all can contribute to the systematic oppression whether they agree or not.
- Do A Little Dance
    - The soft shoe completed by the conductor is an important visual moment because it demonstrates that Lula does not kill the black men who serve her and entertain her properly.
    - It can also be used to parallel the famous minstrel show dance called Jim Crow.

6. **Concretes**
    - Apple
        - The apple could be a biblical reference paralleling the apple Eve gives to Adam from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which causes them to learn of negative concepts such as evil and shame in the story of "The Fall".
            - In the story, because Adam and Eve eat the forbidden fruit and the serpent persuaded them to do so, God curses all three of them.

        - God sentences Adam/mankind to a lifetime of hard labour followed by death and no one can have immortality.
        - God also sentences Eve/womankind to the pain of childbirth and *supposedly* to subordination to her husband.
        - Then, God sentences the serpent to go on his belly and suffer open hostility of all of humanity.
        - After punishment, God clothes Eve and Adam, who have become god-like through their new knowledge of good and evil.
        - God then clothes the nakedness of the man and woman, who have become god-like in knowing good and evil, then banishes them from the garden lest they eat the fruit of a second tree, the tree of life, and live forever.
    - This story of accessing forbidden knowledge could parallel Clay's previously forbidden access to higher education and Lula could be punishing him for attempting to be a "Black Baudelaire."
    - It could also be autobiographical and the forbidden knowledge offered could be Amiri Baraka's new knowledge of the systematic oppression throughout America and the world and how he no longer will be able to be complacent like Clay with this knowledge and needs Clay to 'die' so that Baraka can move forward and make real change in the world.
    - In the famous words of James Baldwin, "To be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time."
- Books
    - This could also be referencing the forbidden knowledge as mentioned above.
    - The books demonstrate Clay's "type": a complacent black man attempting success and education for himself despite the oppression of others or himself.
    - These books also easily parallel Clay with the young negro who boards the train at the end of the play. It is an easy way for the audience to identify them both as the same "type" Lula murders.
- Ghost-like Passenger Effect
    - I believe it is important to fulfill Baraka's stage directions regarding the passengers.
    - Additionally, I think it would be a nice touch for the passengers to appear and leave in a ghost-like manner to replicate the ghost seamen of the Flying Dutchman ship.
    - I would be curious to play with how aware the passengers act on the subway (do they know Lula is planning to kill Clay or are they hoping she will fall in love with him?) and what can Lula do

that will break their curse and set them free (if the rules even work the same way)?
    - Either way, there visual is important and because Baraka specifically says the passengers are both black and white, which shows how all can contribute to the systematic oppression whether they agree or not.
- Lula's Notepad
    - The notepad and pencil Lula takes out at the end to make a note is a concrete because it might show something has changed in the pattern of Lula's experience murdering black men.
    - The note Lula makes *notates* this experience is different and she has to make a note to remind her of the shift so she can do better next time.

7. **Echoes, Repetitions, Returnings**
    - Apples
        - See description in Concretes.
        - However, there isn't just one apple. Baraka has Lula eat and offer multiple apples throughout the play.
    - Uncle Tom
        - Lula mentions Uncle Tom several times throughout the show in various iterations.
        - Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* centers on the character Uncle Tom.
        - The term "Uncle Tom" is also used as a derogatory name for someone who is complacent and subservient especially when that person is aware of their own lower-class status based on race.
        - This could be Amiri Baraka's poking at complacent black men (especially but not exclusively) who need to wake up and be revolutionaries for the cause.
    - Murder
        - There are several references to murder and an actual murder during the show.
        - Lula tells Clay in the beginning of the play that he is a murderer and he brushes it off as nonsense, but later tells Lula he could kill any of the passengers in the train in a heartbeat.
        - Lula alludes to all those she has murdered in her past at the beginning of the play and Clay talks about how so many famous black artists such as Charlie Parker and Bessie Smith could have saved so much time making art if they would have just murdered some white people.
        - This could be about our society's obsession and curiosity about murder, murderers, motive and justice, which is also reflected in the musical *Chicago*.

    - This could also be another calling from Baraka for black people (and others) to stop being complacent when they are being murdered in the street like dogs.
    - This could also shed light on how murder can be justified in many different ways and this could especially shed light on how when a white person kills a black person it is generally called self-defense, but if a black person kills anyone it is called murder, criminal, savage, etc.
- Sexuality
    - There are many references throughout the show regarding sexuality from both Lula and Clay.
    - Clay is willing to go blindly into a social relationship with Lula despite her odd behavior if it means he will enjoy some sex as a result.
    - Clay also lectures Lula about how she thinks she knows everything about being a black person just because she's slept with one black man.
    - The reason Baraka includes sexuality might be because sexuality is another way many people escape reality and refuse to face the oppression surrounding them.
    - Sexuality is also a way some people might be able to gain power in a society that oppresses them.
- Beginning and Closing Image
    - There is a visual repetition with Clay and Lula paralleling the visual of Lula and the Young Negro at the end.
    - There are no other passengers on board, it is just the two of them and this is their opportunity to break the curse and/or pattern.
    - The cyclical nature seems hopeless, but perhaps when Lula makes a note in her notepad it shows that maybe it is not completely hopeless if we wake up.

8. **Summary (WTPN)**
    - Because in 2019 unarmed black people are being shot in the streets, in their cars, in front of their families, in their homes, in the park where they are playing as children, in their grandmother's backyard because they were holding a cell phone, and they are being incarcerated on mass in a systematically oppressive genocide. As marijuana is legalized, many people (most of whom are black) are still locked in their cell for 25 to life because Bill Clinton said addicts, survivors, and entrepreneurs who have experienced employment and housing discrimination, who are black, should be held to a criminal justice system that parallels baseball. "Three strikes, you're out!"

INITIAL RESPONSE: IAN

1. **Positives**
   - Layers of Lula
     - One of the most enchanting aspects of the play is they layering of allusion. As Baraka advocated for a Black culture that was independent and counter to white culture, it places such an interesting tension with the lasagna of reference that is *Dutchman.* Lula alludes to many biblical women. She is Eva offering Clay apples and trying to seduce him. She is the Strange Woman from the biblical Proverbs as falling for her seductive wiles is the death of her young victim[1] and a score of others. She is such a deliciously referencing character. She appears to change as her actions allude to these and many other cultural hallmarks. But she is steadfast in her intention to destroy Clay.
   - Seduction
     - Lula's seduction of Clay can be read an allegory for the seduction of the black middle class by white culture. They are promised to be the bedfellows of the white elite if they put on the airs of white society and reject militant Black culture. But just like Lula, the seduction is about the disempowering of Black people rather than achieving of equality.

   - "Kiss my black, unruly ass"
     - Although the phrase didn't exist in 1964, Clay's description of black cultural appropriation by the white middle class still rings true today. He describes Charlie Parker or Bessie Smith as expressing a powerful anti- colonial message through their art. This could have been written about Black intellectuals now.
   - The power of knowing and being unknown
     - Lula is never pinned down but she makes it clear to Clay at every turn that she knows him because she knows his type. She makes it clear that she knows he lives in New Jersey, has a skinny friend with a fake English accent and knows the political leanings of his parents.

---

[1] Baker, Christopher. "A Trip with the Strange Woman: Amiri Baraka's Dutchman and the Book of Proverbs." *South Atlantic Review* 78 (2013): 110.

2. **Challenges**
   - Poetic and profound stage directions
     - So much is conveyed in the stage descriptions, especially at the beginning. Much of the allegory of the Flying Dutchman is set up in Baraka's preamble that the audience never sees. How can this be conveyed to the audience? I recently saw a version of J.M. Barre's *Mary Rose* that had a narrator speak Barre's elaborate and poetic stage directions. I wonder if this might be a solution to this problem in *Dutchman*. If that does not fit with the production, the opening description should perhaps, be printed in the playbill.
   - Lula the slippery story teller
     - Lula first gives a false name "Lena the Hyena" who was a cartoon character of the ugliest woman in the world. She then says her name is Lula shortly after admitting that she "lies a lot." From the outset she has reveals herself as an unreliable source of information. However, she drives the action to the climax. With such a slippery instigator, her intentions will be difficult to convey. It is ironic that she is the driver of the story in that she tells the audience about Clay because he is a type. It is part of her power play to know her opponent but never reveal her true self.
   - Making it visible.
     - Most of the action happens while seated in a train car. Only at the end to they get up. How will this work on stage? There are some very important gestures and movements that will be hard for the audience to see. When Lula grabs Clay's thigh, when she puts her head on his lap, and when she stabs him are just a few examples of this. Anthony Harvey's film version breaks Baraka's stage direction for Clay's murder by placing it standing in the isle rather than the seat.
   - Clear Physical Acting for Changing Tactics
     - The piece is certainly a riveting moment in theater in its own right but it is even more compelling if some of the allegory is conveyed to the audience. It does become as sort of game to see how many allusions one can draw. But this is also part of the challenge of the piece. Carrying the plot at the personal level of Lula and Clay's struggle is essential, but conveying the layers of allusion is important in delivering Baraka's political message. Clear and very intentional physical acting seems like a good way to delineate Lula's changing tactics.
3. **Questions**
   - Why doesn't Clay just move to another after the promise of sex has evaporated? Certainly calling a black man an Uncle Tom is fighting

words. But why does Clay get sucked into such an obvious trap. Lula is so effective manipulated him to rage that he slaps her. She is then guaranteed that no one on the train will intervene in his murder. I think it might be effective if the audience can see this coming before Clay does. Making the slippery slope visible before the fall, can make the fall that much more uncomfortable.

- The layers of allegory are stunning. Given how loaded the text is, I am sure there are layers I am not even aware of. What does each represent and why is it so hard to discern them one from the next? I am reminded of a candy jaw breaker, a hard candy too hard to bite that is consumed by dissolving layer after layer. It is likely that this reflects the apparently changing yet insidious nature of racism in the United States. How can the repetition, which even the title demands, be best achieved through the changing allegories?
- Staging this play now poses unique challenges given the politics of feminism and the Black power movement. Although I reject it, there is some sentiment that feminism is at odds with Black power as manifest in Black Lives Matter. Accusations of "White middle class feminism" usurping or detracting from the success of black liberation are rampant. Because this play utilizes the tropes of woman as seductress and murderer it could easily be misread as misogyny. How can this be played to best address the issues of racial equality without opening the misogyny can of worms?

4. **Crack/Thread**
   - My way into Dutchman is through the allegories. It is such a powerful way to speak of current social issues without becoming heavy handed. The play is like a filo-dough pastry where there are layers and layers of allegory. This has both allowed it to stand the test of time by having something for everyone. Certainly it is very entertaining to watch Lula's constant yet evolving tactics to destroy Clay. But at a deeper level telling the story of the Black middle class's aspirations to be accepted into the folds of white power is like the the legend of *Flying Dutchman.* The train rumbles of forever without a stop and Lula is the terrible captain constantly seeking out new prey. And on a level deeper still, it was Dutch merchants who brought the first African slaves to Jamestown. Her attempt to seduce middle class black men alludes to both the book of Genesis and the original sin as well as the book of Proverbs in the seductress who will kill a suitor foolish enough to step into her trap.
   - The way that cultural appropriation fits in is also so layered, that it can speak to many levels of experience. Lula is likely a reference to "Be bop a Lula," a rock-a-billy song by Gene Vincent. A version was released shortly before Dutchman was written. Certainly Baraka's position as one of the preeminent critics of black music would have

made him hyper-aware of the cultural theft of rock and roll from Black music. Lula has the sex appeal and seeming rebellion of rock and roll, which was yet one more thing stolen by white culture. But it is false, just like the cultural appropriation of Charlie Parker or Bessie Smith. White culture is not seeking equality with Black artists, simply another thing to steal. Even the train echoes the building of the railroad by coerced Black labor.

5. **Audio and Visual Moments**
   - Looking through the window is so laden with possibility. Anything could happen. But something interesting certainly will.
   - The Empty train car is the perfect setting for a ghost and a murder.
   - The apple is a pretty loaded image for a seductress. Coupled with the phrase "It always starts with eating apples" really drives home the idea that a sin is about to happen
   - The description of the party as a frivolous affair where Black and white bohemians intermingle. The Black middle class are doing silly things at a time when militancy is required.
   - Description of going back to Lula's apartment as Juliette' tomb. This is of course where Romeo dies, but Juliette's death was false.
   - Suddenly there are other people on the train. The whole world is watching.
   - Demeaning Dances – the Nasty and belly rub followed by Lula's pole dance are reminders that white culture does not understand the grit and desperation that the Black arts grow out of. All the white people see is animalistic and sex- obsessed culture.
   - Bessy Smith and Charlie Parker wouldn't need to make revolutionary art if they were militants
   - for the Black Power movement.
   - "Overcoats with big hats and an arm raised" is such a powerful image of something under the surface. It feels dangerous and unpredictable because the true identity and what is being held cannot be ascertained.
   - A little knife is all it takes to murder Clay. After Lula goads him to strike her, securing the support of the other passengers, nothing remains but for her to kill her middle-class prey.
6. **Concretes**
   - <u>The Apple</u>
     - As noted above, Clay is being seduced into sin.
   - <u>The First People</u>
     - Starting play with spot light view and nobody but Clay and Lula. They are like Adam and Eva. The train is later populated with a lot of spectators. But none will stand up for the injustice and humiliation Clay endures, not even the Black riders.
   - <u>Middle Class Trappings</u>

    - The books and newspapers that Clay and his successor (the young Black man at the end) signal that they are from the educated class of Black people.
- Pole Dancing
    - The crisis scene right before Clay snaps has Lula doing a sexual pole dance. This represents the objectification of Black people. They are accepted into white culture only in what they can do. They are objects of work, entertainment and even sex. But they are always objecting.

7. **Echoes, Repetitions, Returnings**
    - Dutchman is a reference to the Flying Dutchman doomed to repeat forever. The final scene creates a spooky déjá vu new young black intellectual about to be consumed by Lula. The train is Flying Dutchman and the Dutch slave ship brought 1st slaves to Jamestown.
    - Lula's seduction summed up in nine words: Lies and promises. Lies and promises. Humiliation and murder.
    - Apple and first sin. Sin necessitates intention. Clay's sin is his turning his back on the Black Power movement with middle class collusion.
    - Act 2 mirrors Act 1 but it feels a bit less anonymous. Clay seems like he has a chance to achieve equal statues, but Lula just leads her "wide-eyed" prey to destruction. She never gives up the power of knowing his type even though she doesn't know him
    - Clay's body is thrown out like her Lula's apple cores.
    - The newspaper that Clay has and is echoed by the newspaper that he tears out of the hands of the rider during his rage. Both obscure the owner from what is happening. Clay can't see Lula's trap because of his middle class aspirations. The newspaper signifies this. The rider literally uses the newspaper to not see what is happening to Clay.
8. **Summary (WTPN):**
    - Great poetry and allegory are always timely. The rhythms of the piece are so evocative and the language so natural that its place in the canon of 20th Century drama is a given. However, the politics that it addresses are as relevant now as ever. Although it is neither legal or socially acceptable to deny services or credibility based explicitly on race, the effect is the same for much of the Black community. The racism has become embedded in class and geography. A good example of this can be seen in a common sociological fact of comparing salary to net worth. It is not legal to pay employees with the same job differently based simply on race. So much of the Black middle class will have salaries that equal their white coworkers. But if you compare the net worth, the average white family has eight times the net worth of the average Black family. This is largely a function of

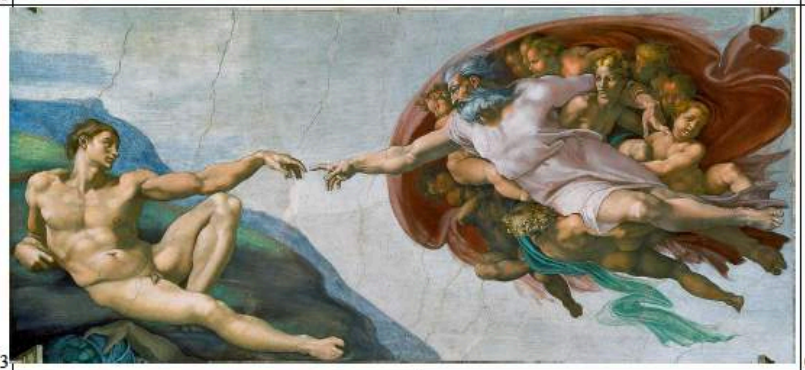
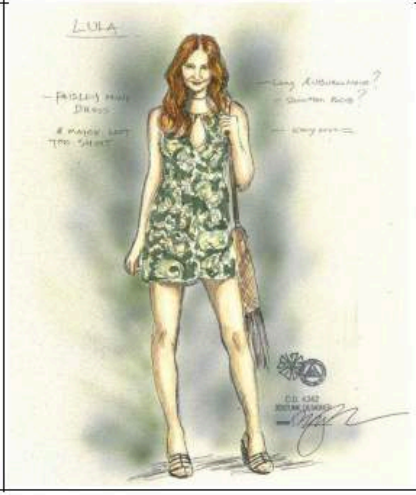
wealth inherited in the form of the family home. We are still seeing the effect of huge government subsidies for white neighborhoods from the 1950s and before[2]. As a result of this historic unequal footing, the enormous polarization of wealth and power that we are experiencing disproportionately disadvantages the Black community. The schools, neighborhoods and services allotted to them are often shockingly bad and underfunded. This has only fueled the tensions between the Black middle and working classes making them arguably as intense as they were in 1964.

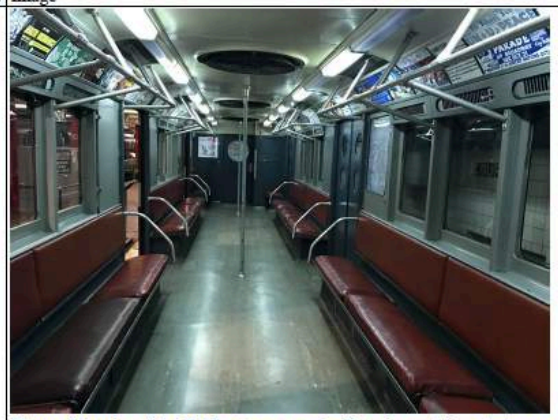
[2] Conley, Dalton. *Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth, and Social Policy in America*. 10th anniversary ed., with a new afterword. Berkeley, Calif. ; London: University of California Press, 2010.

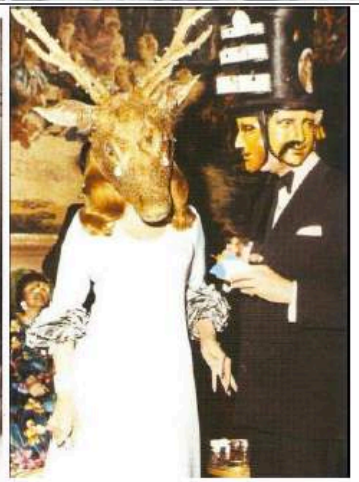
DUTCHMAN
GLOSSARY

FIRST DRAFT

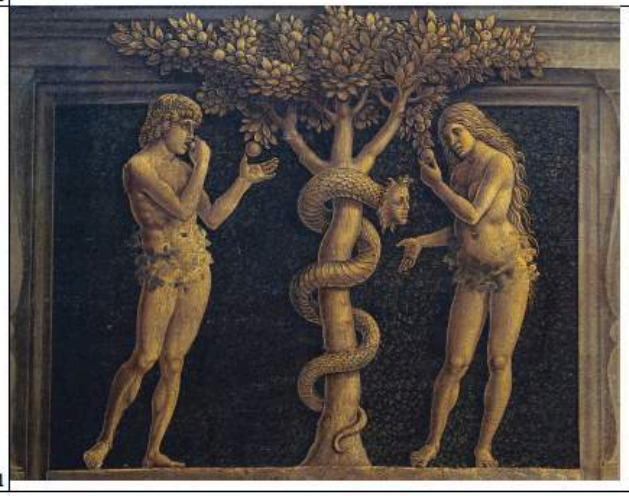
Begins on next page.

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
1		Dutchman	*The Flying Dutchman* is a legend of a ship cursed to sail forever. According to legend, the vessel brought death to any other ships it encountered. This is also a reference to the Dutch ship that brought the first slaves to Jamestown. The Flying Dutchman ship parallels directly with "the subway heaped in modern myth" chosen by Baraka for the setting of *Dutchman* in the "flying underbelly of the city" (3).	"Dutchman"	Title
3		Clay	In one of the creation stories in the Christian bible, God makes the first man (Adam) out of clay. Clay is also a material typically used and shaped as desired, which could parallel how the character Clay is molded by his society into the "type" Lula mentions and/or how Lula is attempting to shape Clay during the show.	"Clay"	Cast List
3		Lula	Baraka may have chosen the name Lula as a reference to the Gene Vincent's 1956 rock-a-billy song "Be-Bob-A-Lula." The song is noted for violent and sexual subtext. Baraka was very aware of the cultural appropriation of rock and roll. Be-Bop-A-Lula was later used as a very explicit commentary on colonialism in Peter Weir's 1982 film *The Year of Living Dangerously*.	"Lula"	Cast List

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker	
3	 Photo of Interior of the R-15 subway car, the first air conditioned subway car introduced in 1950 (no, the air conditioning in this model was not successful and made the car more damp than cool)	NYC Subway	The New York City subway is the cursed ship in Baraka's retelling of the *Flying Dutchman*.	"The subway heaped in modern myth."	Stage Direction	
5		Net Bag	It is important to note plastic shopping bags were not invented until 1965, so a net bag would be a commonplace shopping bag. It was a convenient choice becuase it was collapsible and easy to keep in a purse "just in case." One story for the history of the Russian name for the bag, "Avoska" originated in the 1930s in the context of shortages of consumer goods in the Soviet Union, when citizens could obtain many basic purchases only by a stroke of luck; people used to carry an avoska in their pocket all the time in case opportunistic circumstances arose. "Avoska" translates into "just in case" or "hopefully" or "maybe", etc. It could also be an allusion to a net used to catch prey, nets which might have been aboard *the Flying Dutchman*.	"She carries a net bag full of paper books, fruit, and other anonymous articles."	Stage Direction	

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
7		Idle Potshots	Not real fighting. Half hearted sniping. This phrase may have originated during the trench warfare of World War I when the U.S. military adopted helmets based on Hadfield steel, called the M1 "steel pot," in 1942.	"I guess you were just taking those idle potshots."	Lula
8	 	Party Talk	The idle chatter and gossip of parties. It is frivolous and meaningless when Black militism is required.	"Well, I'm sorry, lady, but I really wasn't prepared for party talk."	Clay

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
8		Chinese Poetry	There was a good deal of popular interest in the eastern thought and Buddism in the 1960s in bohemian circles. This could also be a reference to Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong, also known as Chairman Mao, was a Chinese communist revolutionary who became the founding father of the People's Republic of China, which he ruled as the Chairman of the Communist Party of China from its establishment in 1949 until his death in 1976. As D. Quentin Miller notes in *The Routledge Introduction to African American Literature*, this is also a way Lula insults Clay "for being a fake bohemian intellectual and a boring specimen of the bourgeoisie" (113).	"You look like you've been reading Chinese poetry and drinking lukewarm sugarless tea."	Lula
8		Soda Cracker	A saltine cracker. Bland. White. A "cracker" was also the forman who did the whipping on a slave planation.	"You look like death eating a soda cracker."	Lula

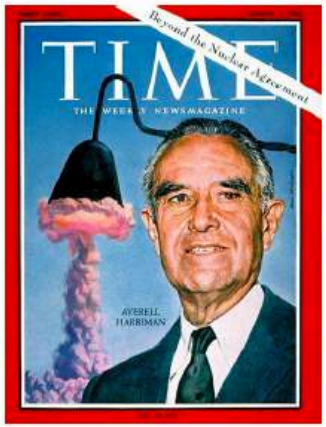
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
11		Seventh Avenue	Seventh Avenue runs north to south through Manhattan, New York. The Twenties is the Midtown neighborhood. The middle classes lived and worked in that neighborhood in the 1960s. It was not the Upper East Side of the elite nor Harlem. Seventh Avenue was also the site of the 1960 New York mid-air collision, also called the Park Slope plane crash or the Miller Field crash. Devastation to this dense residential area was significant. 10 brownstones went aflame, along with a funeral home at the intersection, a deli and laundromat. The prophetically-named Pillar of Fire Church located mid-block was completely destroyed. It would become the deadliest air accident to date at the time with a total death toll of 134 people. The Park Slope neighborhood was a neighborhood described then as "in transition." Today, people would comment that it was "gentrifying." A book about Sportsmen Row in Brooklyn states that after the crash, in the mid-1960s, Park Slope was "rediscovered" by young professionals who moved in for the affordable rents and convenient location.	"Or walking up uninhabited Seventh Avenue in the twenties on weekends."	Lula
11		The Fall	A biblical reference to the first sin. Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden for eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, often sybmolized as an apple.	"Eating apples together is always the first step."	Lula

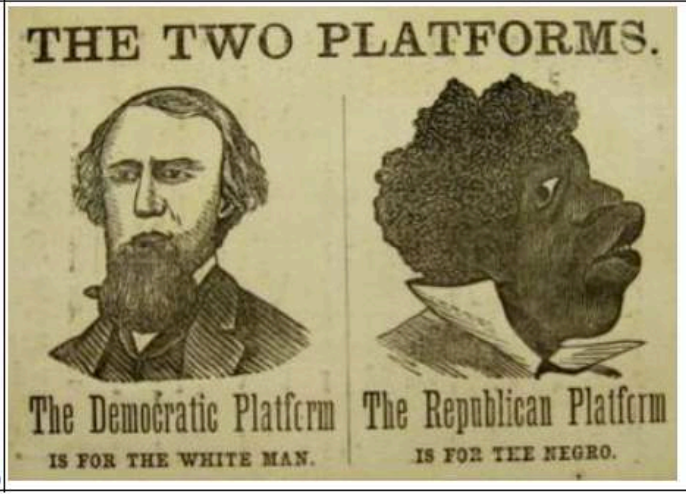
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
11	 	Mister Man	An insecure man who acts overly manly. "Mister Man The Guitar Man" is also a single released by The Masquerades in 1960.	"Would you like to get involved with me, Mister Man?"	Lula
13		Tenements	The original high-rise housing projects. Crowded multi-family dwellings. They were usually the first housing available to new immigrants. Most tenements in New York City were built between 1880 and the 1940s. The fact Lulu lives here could mark her as a part of bohemian culture. This could also be a reference to the "Slum Clearance" of 1932-1952, which was a federally funded gentrification of low-incoming housing areas leading to the displacement of many poor families in an attempt to "clean up" the city. By the 1950s, the impact of this policy led to many of the tenement buildings being demolished.	"Hugged against tenements, day or night."	Lula

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
14		Lena the Hyena	A character in the satirical American comic strip called *Lil Abner*. The world's ugliest woman. The creator, Al Capp, made a point of never letting readers see Lena's face. After much public outcry, Capp held a cartoon contest for the face of the ugliest woman in the world. Boris Karloff, Salvador Dali and Frank Sinatra served as judges. The winner was drawn by the cartoonist Basil Wolverton (1909-1978). Lena was finally revealed after much build up.	"I'm Lena the Hyena."	Lula
14		Violette Morris, The Hyena of the Gestapo	Violette Morris was an athlete and racecar driver whose career was cut short because she was a cross-dresser. She even had a double massectomy so she could better fit into race cars but was denied the right to compete. After she was shunned and ostracized in France for her cross-dressing and "lack of morals," Hitler personally invited her to Berlin to watch the 1936 Olympics from his VIP section. Hitler understood that becuase of her large social networks she would be a valuable asset. She then turned spy for the Nazis and became known as "The Hyena of the Gestapo."	"Morris the Hyena."	Lula

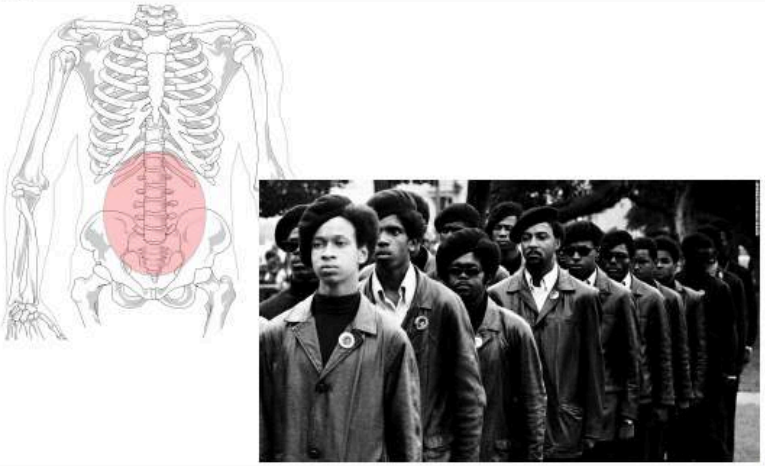
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
18	 *Salem witchcraft.*	Salem Witch Trials	People accused of witchcraft were tortured and murdered. The witch trials represent the home grown flip-side of the colonization of the world by European powers (Zinn 2010). Additionally, *The Crucible* is a 1953 play by American playwright Arthur Miller. It is a dramatized and partially fictionalized story of the Salem witch trials that took place in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during 1692-93. Miller wrote the play as an allegory for McCarthyism, when the United States government persecuted people accused of being communists.	"Did your people ever burn witches or start revolutions over the price of tea?"	Lula
18		Boston Tea Party	"The Boston Tea Party was a political protest that occurred on December 16, 1773, at Griffin's Wharf in Boston, Massachusetts. American colonists, frustrated and angry at Britain for imposing "taxation without representation," dumped 342 chests of British tea into the harbor. The event was the first major act of defiance to British rule over the colonists. It showed Great Britain that Americans wouldn't take taxation and tyranny sitting down, and rallied American patriots across the 13 colonies to fight for independence." One of the acts of political resistance that incited the American War of Indepencence.	"Did your people ever burn witches or start revolutions over the price of tea?"	Lula

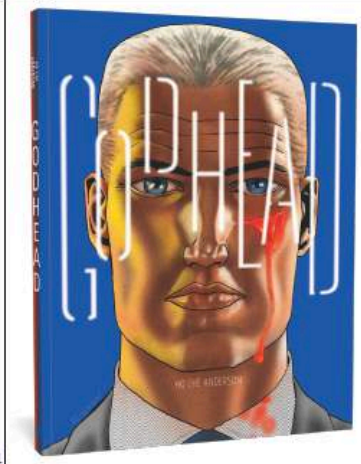
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
18	 	Three-button Suit and Striped Tie	Middle class fashion included suits with 3 buttons on the jacket. Higher status people wore suits with 2 button holes. President John F. Kennedy was also known to wear suits with 2 button holes and often wore striped ties. The suit may symbolize the enslaved and oppressed status of African-Americans and their ancestors. The tie could be seen as a form of male chest display, recalling the chest-pounding and puffing of our prehistoric ancestors, which would follow Baraka's theme of masculinity. The tie can also be viewed as the noose around the neck of black conformists. This style is also heavily influenced by the "Ivy League Style" and would be worn by those who desire to appear educated and of a higher society like Clay.	"A three-button suit. What right do you have to be wearing a three-button suit and striped tie?"	Lula
18	 	Night Watchman	Security Guard or a janitor.	"My grandfather was a night watchman."	Clay

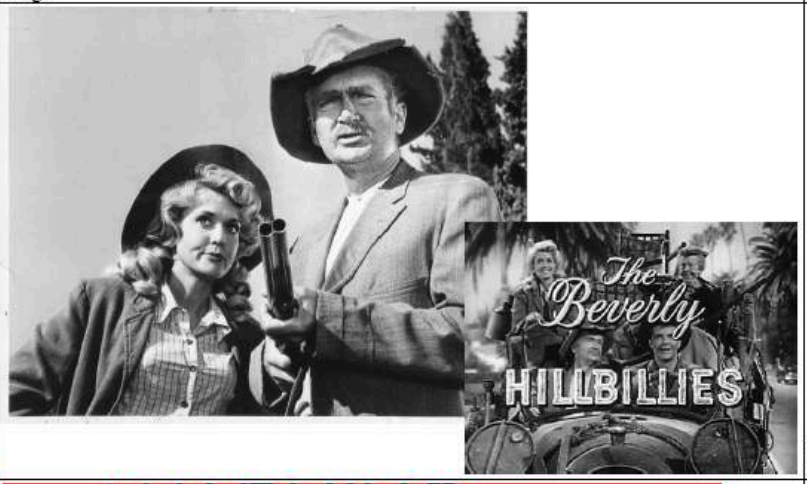
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
18	 	Averell Harriman	William Averell Harriman (November 15, 1891 – July 26, 1986), better known as Averell Harriman. Millionaire son of a robber baron. Major political figure who held many positions of power in the U.S. government especially in foreign affairs. During WWII had his assets were taken because his business partners were trading with the Nazis. Harriman was then elected governor of New York in 1954. In the Kennedy Administration, Harriman served as the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs and in 1963, he became the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.	"And you went to a colored college where everybody thought they were Averell Harriman"	Lula
19		Baudelaire	Charles Baudelaire (1821 - 1867) French poet whose work addressed moral ambivelance. This places Clay in the educated Black middle class, specifically as a bohemian.	"Well, in college I thought I was Baudelaire."	Clay

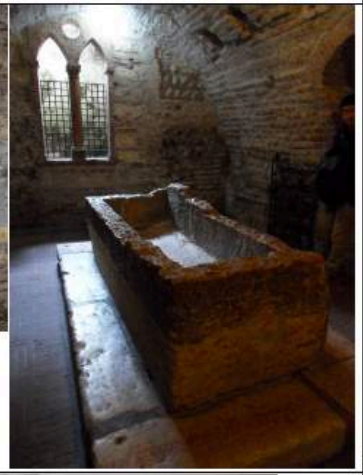
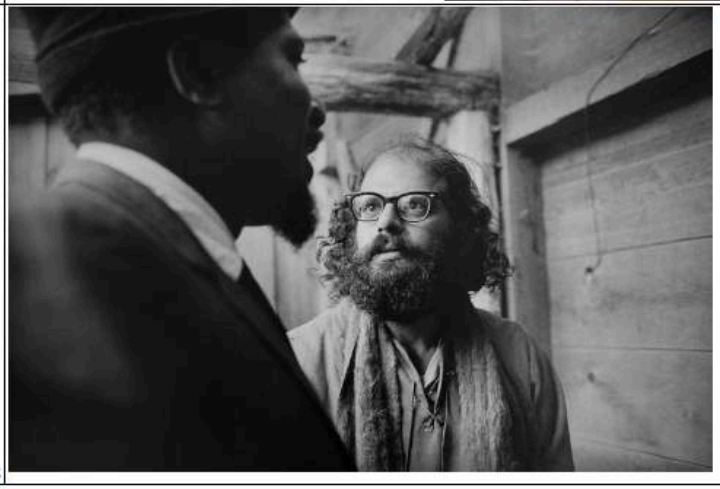
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
19		Marxism / Communism	A person who supports or believes in the principles of communism. Dictatorship of the proletariate. The phrase refers to the version of Marxism utilized by the USSR. Inspired by the work of philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engles, Marxism is a form of Communism focused on the exploitation of the worker. In Marxism, any profit generated by the worker that goes to the business owner is an example of inequality and should be abolished. Communism states that there should not be money in general and everyone should get as much as they need and work as much as they can. Unfortunatley, most attempts have led to poor living conditions and government corruption.	"Although my mother was a Communist."	Lula
20		Republican	The Republican party often secured the Black vote even though it often pursued policies counter to their class interest. Some historians say this is because Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, abolished slavery. It may also be because the Democratic party orignally fought desperately against all black civil rights including the abolition of slavery. The KKK was also described as an extension of the Democratic Party helping the party gain power in the South. However, there was a shift of black voters to the Democratic Party in the late 1920s during the Depression Era despite the Democratic Party having a long history of oppressing black voters. This may be because black voters were fed up with Hoover and his inability to help black people during the depression, which hit them harder than whites. By the early 1930s, 38 percent of African Americans were unemployed compared to 17 percent of whites. The refusal by Republicans to pursue civil rights alienated many black voters, while efforts—shallow though they were—by northern Democrats to open opportunities for African Americans gave black voters reasons to switch parties. FDR's New Deal is cited as hope for black voters though it did not deliver on eliminating segregation.	"My mother was a Republican."	Clay

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
20		Clay Clay Williams	There are several plausible reasons for the repetition of Clay's name but we can find no evidence of any over the others. The first is that it simply matches the rhythm of Lula. Another is that it is a reference to the nicknames given in Black communities. Often multisylabic names are reduced to a single repeated syllable nicknames by friends and family. For example Shayla becomes Sha Sha. Perhaps this can be read as Lula's attempt to cross the line of familiarity by using the informal. It may also be a reference to the double consciousness Clay experiences as an American and a Negro as described by W.E.B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk*, "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."	"A union of love and sacrifice that was destined to flower at the birth of the noble Clay Williams."	Lula
21		Groove!	"Groove!" is yet another example of Black culture being coopted by white bohemians. It is a word that meant good in Black english. It also refers to groove music, a type of R&B. The term is often applied to musical performances that make one want to move or dance, and enjoyably "groove" (a word that also has sexual connotations).	"*[She yells as loud as she can]* GROOVE!"	Lula

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
22		The Flanks	Sociologist Herbert Haines refers to the militant Black Power movement as having a flank effect in strengthening the bargining power of moderate and bourgouis Blacks in legelative manuvering. Haines challenged the prevailing view that confrontational and militant black activists created a "white backlash" against the more moderate civil-rights movement. The flank or latus is the side of the body between the rib cage and the iliac bone of the hip (below the rib cage and above the ilium). In some contexts, it is sometimes called the lumbar region. It is also the area of a horses's body one would dig their heels into to train the horse.	"When you get drunk, pat me once, very lovingly on the flanks, and I'll look at you cryptically, licking my lips."	Lula
23		Jewish Buddhist	There was a good deal of popular interest in the East and in Buddism in the 1960s, especially among the bohemians. More specifically, this probably refers to Keroack's *Dharma Bums* (Hemmer, 2018). Baraka also considered Jews to be white and therefore an enemy of black revolutionists. He also divorced his first wife who was of Jewish decent. **Judaism** is the original of the three Abrahamic faiths. Jews believe that there is only one God with whom they have a covenant. In exchange for all the good that God has done for the Jewish people, Jewish people keep God's laws and try to bring holiness into every aspect of their lives. The central and most important religious document is the Torah. **Buddhism** is a tradition that focuses on personal spiritual development. Buddhists strive for a deep insight into the true nature of life and do not worship gods or deities. A **Jewish Buddhist** is a person, very often American, with a Jewish background, who practices forms of Buddhist-linked meditation and spirituality. Their interest may be in meditation rather than Buddhism or religion.	"Maybe we'll meet a Jewish Buddhist and flatten his conceits over some very pretentious coffee."	Lula

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
24	 	Corporate Godhead	A phrase that refers to the head CEOs of corporations. In this case it is a reference to the ecolomic and cultural elite.	"A corporate Godhead"	Clay
24		Hovel	A shelter for farm animals. It has come to mean a poor person's shack.	"And with my apple-eating hand I push open the door and lead you, my tender big-eyed prey, into my . . . God, wha tcan I call it . . . into my hovel."	Lula

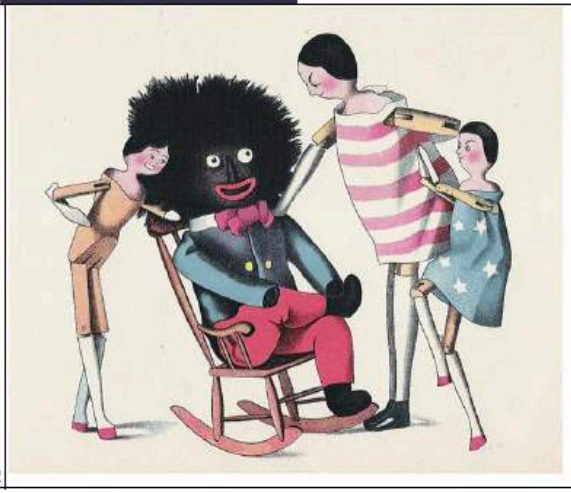
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
25		Ignorant Cowboys	"Baraka's strong belief is that, in the perception of the white society, [African-Americans] are inferior even to the "ignorant cowboys" and the "lying Americans" (Baraka 25, 18), the ignorant and the liars worthy of the upper-class lifestyle because they are white, a lifestyle that African Americans are destined to remain excluded from. Yet, black men and women now hope that through proper education, right manners and suitable dress code they will be able to define a new future, to one day cross that gate to the thriving city above, to the lifestyle they desire to attain" like Clay.	"Real fun in the dark house, high up above the street and the ignorant cowboys."	Lula
25		Facism	Ultra-nationalist authoritarian capitalism. It is defined as the union of corporate and state power. Fascism is a form of government which is a type of one-party dictatorship. Fascists are against democracy. They work for a totalitarian one-party state. Inspired by Social Darwinism. Utilized racial or cultural purity as a means of eliminating weakness. Method used by Adolf Hitler to eliminate Jewish population (and other minorities such as homosexuals) by stating they were not part of the Arian race and thus needed to be eliminated. Throughout history it has promoted mass murder, eugenics, censorship, propaganda, and severe inequality.	"Don't think you'll get out of your responsibility that way. It's not cold at all. You Facist!"	Lula

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
26	 	Juliet's Tomb	A reference to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Juliet feigns death and is buried in her tomb. When Romeo finds her seemingly dead body, he poisons himself. When Juliet awakens to her dead Romeo, she stabs herself. By the end of the night, Juliet, Romeo, and Paris are freshly dead inside Juliet's Tomb. Juliet's death is significant because of the way Clay is murdered.	"And you'll call my rooms black as a grave. You'll say, 'This place is like Juliet's tomb.'"	Lula
28		Jewish Poets from Yonkers	This is probably a reference to Allen Ginsberg. The lines about his mother is probably a reference to *Kaddish*, a eulogy to Ginsberg's mother. Like Ginsberg, Lula claims to have a mother who was a communist.	"Like all those Jewish poets from Yonkers, who leave their mothers looking for other mothers, or others' mothers, on whose baggy tits they lay their fumbling heads. Their poems are always funny, and all about sex."	Lula

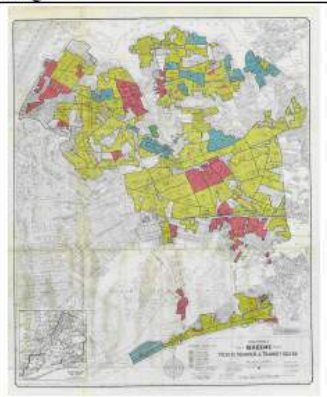
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
30		How the Blues was Born	The blues has deep roots in American history, particularly African-American history. The blues originated on Southern plantations in the 19th Century. Its inventors were slaves, ex-slaves and the descendants of slaves—African-American sharecroppers who sang as they toiled in the cotton and vegetable fields. It's generally accepted that the music evolved from African spirituals, African chants, work songs, field hollers, rural fife and drum music, revivalist hymns, and country dance music. The blues grew up in the Mississippi Delta just upriver from New Orleans, the birthplace of jazz. No single person invented the blues, but many people claimed to have discovered the genre.	"And that's how the blues was born."	Clay
30		The Belly Rub	A belly rub is a slow dance. Black dancers in Chicago continued to use the term "slow dragging" through the 1940s. By the 1960s, however, the term "belly-rubbing" gained acceptance.	"Come on, Clay. Let's do the nasty. Rub bellies."	Lula

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
30	 	Snow White	Grim's fairy tale adapted into an animation film by Disney in 1937. Snow White was placed under an enchantment when she ate a poisoned apple given to her by a jealous witch. Snow white was known for her beautiful fair skin that was white as snow. In 1943, Warner Brothers released a racist black minstrel version of the Snow White cartoon called "Coal Black and de Sebben Dwarfs." White was also a very charged word at the height of the 1960s Civil Rights movement.	"Mirror, mirror on the wall, who's the fairest one of all? Snow White, baby, and don't you forget it."	Clay
31		The Minstrel Show and Liver Lips	An American form of entertainment developed in the early 19th century especially popular in the North. Each show consisted of comic skits, variety acts, dancing, and music performances that depicted people specifically of African descent. The shows were performed by white people in make-up or blackface for the purpose of playing the role of black people. Blackface was often featured prominently even for black actors. Bert Williams and George Walker played the minstral but satirized its hateful stereotypes through their characters "Two Real Coons" (Zinn 2010). "Liver Lips" describes large, swollen, very dark lips that because of their excessive size and prominence are seen as unattractive. It is a derogative stereotype utilized in the black-face makeup used in minstrel shows. Meant to re-enforce the idea that black people were subhuman and slavery was acceptable.	"Clay, you liver-lipped white man."	Lula

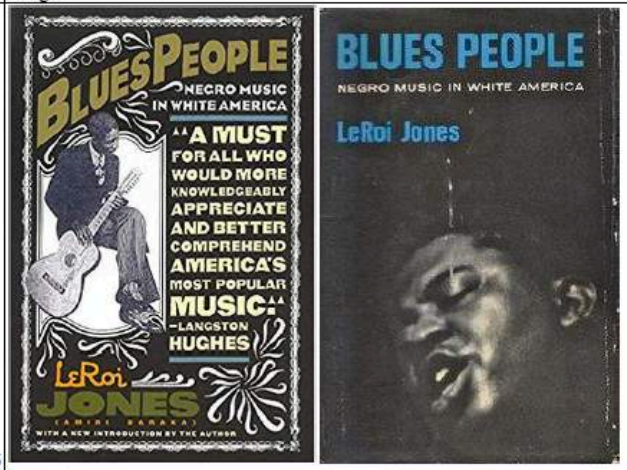
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
31	 	Wildroot Cream-Oil	Hair care product marketed to African American men and women. Ad slogans included "Maybe your girl will mess up your hair, but not much else will" and "Get ahead, get ahead, get ahead with well-groomed hair." The commercials often drew on sexual connotations. (Smithsonian Museum of American History 2019)	"That's all you know . . . shaking that wildroot cream-oil on your knotty head, jackets buttoning up to your chin, so full of white man's words."	Lula
31	 	Grass Skirt	Stereotypical clothing worn by colonized peoples. A reference to savageness. Also a reference to smoking marijuana.	"Hey, you coming on like the lady who smoked up her grass skirt."	Clay

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
32		Uncle Tom	Character in *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* an1852 novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Uncle Tom was a slave who cooperated and was conciliatory with his master and was sold down-river anyway. The term "Uncle Tom" is also used as a derogatory epithet for an exceedingly subservient person, particularly when that person is aware of their own lower-class status based on race.	"Uncle Tom."	Lula
32		Thomas Wooly-head	Woolyhead is a derogatory reference to coarse textured hair. Tom is a reference to Uncle Tom's Cabin.	"Thomas Wooly-head."	Lula

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
33		Ofays	An offensive term for a white person, used by black people. Possibly a derogetory term for a homosexual man. In an essay written the same year as *Dutchman,* Baraka refers to "weak faced fags," refereing to verile Black masculinity and white effemininity (Rebhorn 2006).	"And all these weak-faced ofays squatting around here, staring over their papers at me. Murder them too."	Clay
33		The New York Times	The New York Times is an American newspaper based in New York City with worldwide influence and readership.	"I could rip that *Times* right out of his hand, as skinny and middle-classed as I am, I could rip that paper out of his hand and just as easily rip out his throat."	Clay
34		Tallulah Bankhead	Tallulah Bankhead (1902 - 1968) was an American actress of the stage and screen from a very prominent southern political family. She became a very outspoken critic of segreation and proponent for the Civil Rights movement in opposition to her family.	"I'm not telling you again, Tallulah Bankhead!"	Clay

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
34		Queens	One of the 5 Buroughs of New York City. It was a white neighborhood in the 1960s.	"Belly rub is not Queens."	Clay
34		Bessie Smith	Iconic blues singer. One of the few places where blacks could gain prominance was in the arts. Blues, jazz and gospel music were being appropriated by white culture but no political or economic gains were afforded the Black community. An often repeated but now discredited story emerged that she died because a whites-only hospital in Clarksdale refused to admit her. The jazz writer and producer John Hammond gave this account in an article in the November 1937 issue of Down Beat magazine. The circumstances of Smith's death and the rumor promoted by Hammond formed the basis for Edward Albee's 1959 one-act play *The Death of Bessie Smith*.	"They say, 'I love Bessie Smith.' And don't even understand that Bessie Smith is saying, 'Kiss my ass, kiss my black unruly ass.'"	Clay
35		Charlie Parker	Famous Be-Bop saxaphone player. Largely accepted as a genius of improvisation, he achieved fame with a white listenership as well as in the Black jazz community.	"Charlie Parker?"	Clay

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
35		Bird	Charlie Parker's nickname was "Yard Bird" or just "Bird"	"All the hip white boys scream for Bird."	Clay
35		East Sixty-seventh Street	This is the Upper East Side. This was a very expensive neighborhood.	"Bird would've played not a note of music if he just walked up to Easst Sixty-seventh Street and killed the first ten white people he saw."	Clay

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
36		Blues People	Black music artists. Baraka published a book with the same title shortly before *Dutchman* was written.	"All these blues people"	Clay
36		Watermelon	Stereotypical food eaten by Black community, especially those from the country or the South.	"With no more blues, except the very old ones, and not a watermelon in sight, the great missionary heart will have triumphed, and all of those ex-coons will be stand-up Western men, with eyes for clean hard useful lives, sober, pious and sane, and they'll murder you."	Clay

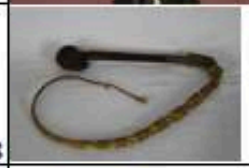
PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
36		Soft Shoe	Type of shoe worn for tap-dancing that lacks metal strip. Tap dancing is yet another example of Black culture being appropraited for white entertainment.	*"Then an old Negro conductor comes into the car, doing a sort of restrained soft shoe, and half mumbling the words of some song."*	Stage Direction

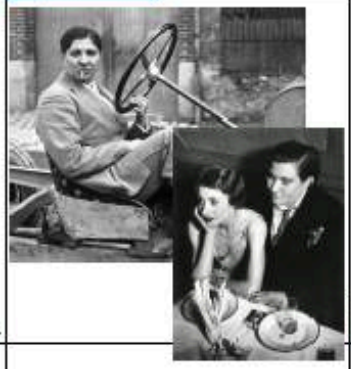
CHELSEA'S COMMENTS

- I LOVE these images. From a practical standpoint, some could be smaller so that the glossary is a few pages shorter (for printing and so people don't have to flip/scroll so much during rehearsal). You can also leave the larger/longer version up as a PDF on the website so the images can be seen more clearly.
- Where does the legend originate?
- On 3, does 'party talk' also have a sexual connotation? Like a party line?
- I would discuss the image of the Foreman with director before sharing with cast. Getting their read on the balance of not erasing the past that haunts the play, and asking the cast to confront violent images would be valuable. This will also be a big consideration when making the V-File.
- The Violette Morris information is fascinating—but why hyena?
- Explain the Zinn quote on 8 more fully.
- Given the historical context, what's the significance of Clay's grandfather being a night watchman? was this unusual? was it a profession typically open to African American men? Perhaps not two images of white men.
- Explain why everyone would think they were Averell Harriman, it's unclear from just this definition.
- On 12, Clay Clay also feels like it has resonance to your earlier definition of the name's biblical resonance, especially with the image of the flower. It also echoes Cassius Clay to me. And was written/performed around the time he changed his name, yes?

FINAL DRAFT: GLOSSARY

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
1		Dutchman	*The Flying Dutchman* is a legend of a ship cursed to sail forever. It has its origin from a ship that belonged to the Dutch East India Company that sank in 1641 off the Cape of Good Hope. According to legend, the vessel brought death to any other ships it encountered. This is also a reference to the Dutch ship that brought the first slaves to Jamestown. The Flying Dutchman ship parallels directly with "the subway heaped in modern myth" chosen by Baraka for the setting of Dutchman in the "flying underbelly of the city" (3).	"Dutchman"	Title
3		Clay	In one of the creation stories in the Christian bible, God makes the first man (Adam) out of clay. Clay is also a material typically used and shaped as desired, which could parallel how Clay is molded by his society into the "type" Lula mentions and/or how Lula is attempting to shape Clay during the show.	"Clay"	Cast List
3		Lula	Baraka may have chosen the name Lula as a reference to the Gene Vincent's 1956 rock-a-billy song "Be-Bob-A-Lula." The song is noted for violent and sexual subtext. Baraka was very aware of the cultural appropriation of rock and roll. Be-Bop-A-Lula was later used as a very explicit commentary on colonialism in Peter Weir's 1982 film *The Year of Living Dangerously*.	"Lula"	Cast List
3		The Subway	The New York City subway is the cursed ship in Baraka's retelling of the *Flying Dutchman*.	"The subway heaped in modern myth."	Stage Dir.
5		Net Bag	It is important to note plastic shopping bags were not invented until 1965, so a net bag would be a commonplace shopping bag. It was a convenient choice becuase it was collapsible and easy to keep in a purse "just in case." One story for the history of the Russian name for the bag, "Avoska" originated in the 1930s in the context of shortages of consumer goods in the Soviet Union, when citizens could obtain many basic purchases only by a stroke of luck; people used to carry an avoska in their pocket all the time in case opportunistic circumstances arose. "Avoska" translates into "just in case" or "hopefully" or "maybe", etc. It could also be an allusion to a net used to catch prey, nets which might have been aboard *the Flying Dutchman*.	"She carries a net bag full of paper books, fruit, and other anonymous articles."	Stage Dir.
7		Idle Potshots	Not real fighting. Half hearted sniping. This phrase may have originated during the trench warfare of World War I when the U.S. military adopted helmets based on Hadfield steel, called the M1 “steel pot,” in 1942.	"I guess you were just taking those idle potshots."	Lula
8		Party Talk	"Party talk" in 1964 was known as potential deceiving words stated by someone in order to obtain casual sex as demonstrated in June Conquest's 1964 single, "Party Talk." It is frivolous and meaningless when Black militancy is required.	"Well, I'm sorry, lady, but I really wasn't prepared for party talk."	Clay

8		Chinese Poetry	There was a good deal of popular interest in the eastern thought and Buddism in the 1960s in bohemian circles. This could also be a reference to Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong, also known as Chairman Mao, was a Chinese communist revolutionary who became the founding father of the People's Republic of China, which he ruled as the Chairman of the Communist Party of China from its establishment in 1949 until his death in 1976. As D. Quentin Miller notes in *The Routledge Introduction to African American Literature*, this is also a way Lula insults Clay "for being a fake bohemian intellectual and a boring specimen of the bourgeoisie" (113).	"You look like you've been reading Chinese poetry and drinking lukewarm sugarless tea."	Lula
8		Soda Cracker	A saltine cracker. Bland. White. A "cracker" was also the forman who did the whipping on a slave planation.	"You look like death eating a soda cracker."	Lula
11		Seventh Avenue	Seventh Avenue runs north to south through Manhattan, New York. The Twenties is the Midtown neighborhood. The middle classes lived and worked in that neighborhood in the 1960s. It was not the Upper East Side of the elite nor Harlem. Seventh Avenue was also the site of the 1960 New York mid-air collision, also called the Park Slope plane crash or the Miller Field crash. Devastation to this dense residential area was significant. 10 brownstones went aflame, along with a funeral home at the intersection, a deli and laundromat. The prophetically-named Pillar of Fire Church located mid-block was completely destroyed. It would become the deadliest air accident to date at the time with a total death toll of 134 people. The Park Slope neighborhood was a neighborhood described then as "in transition." Today, people would comment that it was "gentrifying." A book about Sportsmen Row in Brooklyn states that after the crash, in the mid-1960s, Park Slope was "rediscovered" by young professionals who moved in for the affordable rents and convenient location.	"Or walking up uninhabited Seventh Avenue in the twenties on weekends."	Lula
11		The Fall	A biblical reference to the first sin. Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden for eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, often sybmolized as an apple.	"Eating apples together is always the first step."	Lula
11	 	Mister Man	An insecure man who acts overly manly. "Mister Man The Guitar Man" is also a single released by The Masquerades in 1960.	"Would you like to get involved with me, Mister Man?"	Lula

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
13		Tenements	The original high-rise housing projects. Crowded multi-family dwellings. They were usually the first housing available to new immigrants. Most tenements in New York City were built between 1880 and the 1940s. The fact Lulu lives here could mark her as a part of bohemian culture. This could also be a reference to the "Slum Clearance" of 1932-1952, which was a federally funded gentrification of low-incoming housing areas leading to the displacement of many poor families in an attempt to "clean up" the city. By the 1950s, the impact of this policy led to many of the tenement buildings being demolished.	"Hugged against tenements, day or night."	Lula
14		Lena the Hyena	A character in the satirical American comic strip called *Lil Abner*. The world's ugliest woman. The creator, Al Capp, made a point of never letting readers see Lena's face. After much public outcry, Capp held a cartoon contest for the face of the ugliest woman in the world. Boris Karloff, Salvador Dali and Frank Sinatra served as judges. The winner was drawn by the cartoonist Basil Wolverton (1909-1978). Lena was finally revealed after much build up.	"I'm Lena the Hyena."	Lula
14		Morris the Hyena	Violette Morris was an athlete and racecar driver whose career was cut short because she was a cross-dresser. She even had a double mastectomy so she could better fit into race cars but was denied the right to compete. After she was shunned and ostracized in France for her cross-dressing and "lack of morals," Hitler personally invited her to Berlin to watch the 1936 Olympics from his VIP section. Hitler understood, because of her large social networks, Morris would be a valuable asset. She then turned spy for the Nazis and became known as "The Hyena of the Gestapo." When Lula calls Clay "Morris the Hyena" she implies that he too is a white supremacist, a spy for the white man and not a "real man". Violette Morris had the nickname, 'The Hyena of the Gestapo,' because she derived so much sadistic pleasure from torturing people and extracting information, which parallels the pleasure Lula gets from murdering young intellectual nergos on the subway. There are also legends from the Gold Coast of Ghana where witches turned themselves into hyenas in order to kill and eat people (Parker 2006). Baraka may have been aware of this through his interest in pan – Africanist culture building.	"Morris the Hyena."	Lula
18		Salem Witch Trials	People accused of witchcraft were tortured and murdered. The witch trials represent the home grown flip-side of the colonization of the world by European powers (Zinn 2010). With the witch trials, young white female children (a powerless minority) could gain power over others (including grown white men) by labelling others as witches as colonizers would label native peoples as savages. The label allowed persecution to be seen, similarly to slavery, as a *necessary evil*. Additionally, *The Crucible* is a 1953 play by American playwright Arthur Miller. It is a dramatized and partially fictionalized story of the Salem witch trials that took place in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during 1692-93. Miller wrote the play as an allegory for McCarthyism, when the United States government persecuted people accused of being communists. Tituba, a slave from Barbados, was one of the only people accused of witchcraft who survived the Salem Witch Trails because she confessed and repented.	"Did your people ever burn witches or start revolutions over the price of tea?"	Lula
18		Boston Tea Party	"The Boston Tea Party was a political protest that occurred on December 16, 1773, at Griffin's Wharf in Boston, Massachusetts. American colonists, frustrated and angry at Britain for imposing "taxation without representation," dumped 342 chests of British tea into the harbor. The event was the first major act of defiance to British rule over the colonists. It showed Great Britain that Americans wouldn't take taxation and tyranny sitting down, and rallied American patriots across the 13 colonies to fight for independence." One of the acts of political resistance that incited the American War of Indepencence.	"Did your people ever burn witches or start revolutions over the price of tea?"	Lula

18	 	Three-button Suit and Striped Tie	Middle class fashion included suits with 3 buttons on the jacket. Higher status people wore suits with 2 button holes. President John F. Kennedy was also known to wear suits with 2 button holes and often wore striped ties. The suit may symbolize the enslaved and oppressed status of African-Americans and their ancestors. The tie could be seen as a form of male chest display, recalling the chest-pounding and puffing of our prehistoric ancestors, which would follow Baraka's theme of masculinity. The tie can also be viewed as the noose around the neck of black conformists. This style is also heavily influenced by the "Ivy League Style" and would be worn by those who desire to appear educated and of a higher society like Clay.	"A three-button suit. What right do you have to be wearing a three-button suit and striped tie?"	Lula
18		Night Watchman	Security Guard or a janitor. If Clay's grandfather was a Night Watchman, this places Clay in a class above where Lula is trying to place him. Clay is an upwardly mobile educated black man who comes from a family that has not been involved in agricultural slavery or share cropping for at least three generations. This could be a direct reference to Newt Lee, the black night watchman who discovered the body of Mary Phagan and was arrested and tortured despite repeatedly stating he had no information about the murder on April 27, 1913 (51 years before 1964). Clay's grandfather could be Newt Lee or at least could have been the same age as him and heard of his trial. This is the same trial that inspired the 1998 musical, *Parade*. This is a controversial moment in history for many reasons. People who align with KKK values say Leo Frank was correctly brought to justice by being lynched for the murder of Mary Phagan, people who align with fighting antisemitism say Leo Frank was unjustly murdered despite being innocent because he was a Jewish man, and people who advocate for the controversial past between Jewish people and African Americans say, innocent or guilty, Leo Frank tried to unjustly accuse a black man (Jim Conley, a janitor) of murder despite the jury beliving Conley's testimony. This last viewpoint parallels the controversial relationship between jewish people and blacks in America that Baraka touches on throughout the play. Other possible connections: (1) Eugene Herbert **Clay** (October 3, 1881–June 22, 1923) was the mayor of Marietta, Georgia, and one of the ringleaders in the lynching of Leo Frank, (2) After Leo Frank was found guilty and was waiting for a re-trial, *The New York Times* sensationalized the story further publishing re-enactment photos redirecting the narrative (with white actors in black face) to accuse Jim Conley of the murder and perpetuate the stereotype in "Birth of A Nation" (KKK propaganda film) of black men preying on young white women.	"My grandfather was a night watchman."	Clay

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
18		Averell Harriman	William Averell Harriman (November 15, 1891 – July 26, 1986), better known as Averell Harriman. Millionaire son of a robber baron. Major political figure who held many positions of power in the U.S. government especially in foreign affairs. During WWII his assets were taken because his business partners were trading with Nazis. Harriman then became governor even though his career should have been destroyed by doing business with the Nazis. This is a momenet in the play about identity and how Clay's colleagues and himself might identify as a white man, and therefore, as an American Citizen when they themselves are second-class citizens barely able to execute their right to vote until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (after Dutchman's premiere).	"And you went to a colored college where everybody thought they were Averell Harriman"	Lula
19		Baudelaire	Charles Baudelaire (1821 - 1867) French poet whose work addressed moral ambivelance. This places Clay in the educated Black middle class, specifically as a bohemian.	"Well, in college I thought I was Baudelaire."	Clay
19		Marxism / Communism	A person who supports or believes in the principles of communism. Dictatorship of the proletariate. The phrase refers to the version of Marxism utilized by the USSR. Inspired by the work of philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engles, Marxism is a form of Communism focused on the exploitation of the worker. In Marxism, any profit generated by the worker that goes to the business owner is an example of inequality and should be abolished. Communism states that there should not be money in general and everyone should get as much as they need and work as much as they can. Unfortunatley, most attempts have led to poor living conditions and government corruption.	"Although my mother was a Communist."	Lula
20		Republican	The Republican party often secured the Black vote even though it often pursued policies counter to their class interest. Some historians say this is because Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, abolished slavery. It may also be because the Democratic party orignally fought desperately against all black civil rights including the abolition of slavery. The KKK was also described as an extension of the Democratic Party helping the party gain power in the South. However, there was a shift of black voters to the Democratic Party in the late 1920s during the Depression Era despite the Democratic Party having a long history of oppressing black voters. This may be because black voters were fed up with Hoover and his inability to help black people during the depression, which hit them harder than whites. By the early 1930s, 38 percent of African Americans were unemployed compared to 17 percent of whites. The refusal by Republicans to pursue civil rights alienated many black voters, while efforts—shallow though they were—by northern Democrats to open opportunities for African Americans gave black voters reasons to switch parties. FDR's New Deal is cited as hope for black voters though it did not deliver on eliminating segregation.	"My mother was a Republican."	Clay

20		Clay Clay Williams	There are several plausible reasons for the repetition of Clay's name but we can find no evidence of any over the others. The first is that Clay Clay has the same amount of syllables as Lula and therefore matches the rhythm of Lula. Another is that it is a reference to the nicknames given in Black communities. Often multisylabic names are reduced to a single repeated syllable nicknames by friends and family. For example Shayla becomes Sha Sha. Perhaps this can be read as Lula's attempt to cross the line of familiarity by using the informal. It may also be a reference to the double consciousness Clay experiences as an American and a Negro as described by W.E.B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk*, "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder." It may also be a reference to Cassius Clay (Cassius Marcellus Clay Jr), the birth name of Muhammad Ali, an American professional boxer, activitst and philanthropist.	"A union of love and sacrifice that was destined to flower at the birth of the noble Clay Clay Williams."	Lula
21		Groove!	"Groove!" is yet another example of Black culture being coopted by white bohemians. It is a word that meant good in Black english. It also refers to groove music, a type of R&B. The term is often applied to musical performances that make one want to move or dance, and enjoyably "groove" (a word that also has sexual connotations).	*"[She yells as loud as she can]* GROOVE!"	Lula
22		The Flanks	Sociologist Herbert Haines refers to the militant Black Power movement as having a flank effect in strengthening the bargining power of moderate and bourgouis Blacks in legelative manuvering. Haines challenged the prevailing view that confrontational and militant black activists created a "white backlash" against the more moderate civil-rights movement. The flank or latus is the side of the body between the rib cage and the iliac bone of the hip (below the rib cage and above the ilium). In some contexts, it is sometimes called the lumbar region. It is also the area of a horses's body one would dig their heels into to train the horse.	"When you get drunk, pat me once, very lovingly on the flanks, and I'll look at you cryptically, licking my lips."	Lula
23		Jewish Buddhist	There was a good deal of popular interest in the East and in Buddism in the 1960s, especially among the bohemians. More specifically, this probably refers to Keroack's *Dharma Bums* (Hemmer, 2018). Baraka also considered Jews to be white and therefore an enemy of black revolutionists. He also divorced his first wife who was of Jewish decent. **Judaism** is the original of the three Abrahamic faiths. Jews believe that there is only one God with whom they have a covenant. In exchange for all the good that God has done for the Jewish people, Jewish people keep God's laws and try to bring holiness into every aspect of their lives. The central and most important religious document is the Torah. **Buddhism** is a tradition that focuses on personal spiritual development. Buddhists strive for a deep insight into the true nature of life and do not worship gods or deities. A **Jewish Buddhist** is a person, very often American, with a Jewish background, who practices forms of Buddhist-linked meditation and spirituality. Their interest may be in meditation rather than Buddhism or religion. This is most likely a direct reference to Allen Ginsberg, who was himself a Jewish Buddhist.	"Maybe we'll meet a Jewish Buddhist and flatten his conceits over some very pretentious coffee."	Lula

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
24		Corporate Godhead	A phrase that refers to the head CEOs of corporations. In this case it is a reference to the ecolomic and cultural elite.	"A corporate Godhead"	Clay
24		Hovel	A shelter for farm animals. It has come to mean a poor person's shack.	"and lead you, my tender big-eyed prey, into my . . . God, what can I call it . . . into my hovel."	Lula
25		Ignorant Cowboys	"Baraka's strong belief is that, in the perception of the white society, [African-Americans] are inferior even to the "ignorant cowboys" and the "lying Americans" (Baraka 25, 18), the ignorant and the liars worthy of the upper-class lifestyle because they are white, a lifestyle that African Americans are destined to remain excluded from. Yet, black men and women now hope that through proper education, right manners and suitable dress code they will be able to define a new future, to one day cross that gate to the thriving city above, to the lifestyle they desire to attain" like Clay.	"Real fun in the dark house, high up above the street and the ignorant cowboys."	Lula
25		Facism	Ultra-nationalist authoritarian capitalism. It is defined as the union of corporate and state power. Fascism is a form of government which is a type of one-party dictatorship. Fascists are against democracy. They work for a totalitarian one-party state. Inspired by Social Darwinism. Utilized racial or cultural purity as a means of eliminating weakness. Method used by Adolf Hitler to eliminate Jewish population (and other minorities such as homosexuals) by stating they were not part of the Arian race and thus needed to be eliminated. Throughout history it has promoted mass murder, eugenics, censorship, propaganda, and severe inequality.	"Don't think you'll get out of your responsibility that way. It's not cold at all. You Facist!"	Lula
26		Juliet's Tomb	A reference to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Juliet feigns death and is buried in her tomb. When Romeo finds her seemingly dead body, he poisons himself. When Juliet awakens to her dead Romeo, she stabs herself. By the end of the night, Juliet, Romeo, and Paris are freshly dead inside Juliet's Tomb. Juliet's death is significant because of the way Clay is murdered.	"And you'll call my rooms black as a grave. You'll say, 'This place is like Juliet's tomb.'"	Lula
28		Jewish Poets from Yonkers	This is most likely a reference to Allen Ginsberg. The lines about his mother is probably a reference to *Kaddish*, a eulogy to Ginsberg's mother. Like Ginsberg, Lula claims to have a mother who was a communist.	"Like all those Jewish poets from Yonkers, . . . Their poems are always funny, and all about sex."	Lula

30		How the Blues was Born	The blues has deep roots in American history, particularly African-American history. The blues originated on Southern plantations in the 19th Century. Its inventors were slaves, ex-slaves and the descendants of slaves—African-American sharecroppers who sang as they toiled in the cotton and vegetable fields. It's generally accepted that the music evolved from African spirituals, African chants, work songs, field hollers, rural fife and drum music, revivalist hymns, and country dance music. The blues grew up in the Mississippi Delta just upriver from New Orleans, the birthplace of jazz. No single person invented the blues, but many people claimed to have discovered the genre.	"And that's how the blues was born."	Clay
30		The Belly Rub	A belly rub is a slow dance. Black dancers in Chicago continued to use the term "slow dragging" through the 1940s. By the 1960s, however, the term "belly-rubbing" gained acceptance.	"Come on, Clay. Let's do the nasty. Rub bellies."	Lula
30		Snow White	Grim's fairy tale adapted into an animation film by Disney in 1937. Snow White was placed under an enchantment when she ate a poisoned apple given to her by a jealous witch. Snow white was known for her beautiful fair skin that was white as snow. In 1943, Warner Brothers released a racist black minstrel version of the Snow White cartoon called "Coal Black and de Sebben Dwarfs." White was also a very charged word at the height of the 1960s Civil Rights movement.	"Mirror, mirror on the wall, who's the fairest one of all? Snow White, baby, and don't you forget it."	Clay
31		The Minstrel Show and Liver Lips	An American form of entertainment developed in the early 19th century especially popular in the North. Each show consisted of comic skits, variety acts, dancing, and music performances that depicted people specifically of African descent. The shows were performed by white people in make-up or blackface for the purpose of playing the role of black people. Blackface was often featured prominently even for black actors. Bert Williams and George Walker played the minstral but satirized its hateful stereotypes through their characters "Two Real Coons" (Zinn 2010). "Liver Lips" describes large, swollen, very dark lips that because of their excessive size and prominence are seen as unattractive. It is a derogative stereotype utilized in the black-face makeup used in minstrel shows. Meant to re-enforce the idea that black people were subhuman and slavery was acceptable.	"Clay, you liver-lipped white man."	Lula

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker	Notes
31		Wildroot Cream-Oil	Hair care product marketed to African American men and women. Ad slogans included "Maybe your girl will mess up your hair, but not much else will" and "Get ahead, get ahead, get ahead with well-groomed hair." The commercials often drew on sexual connotations. (Smithsonian Museum of American History 2019)	"That's all you know . . . shaking that wildroot cream-oil on your knotty head, jackets buttoning up to your chin, so full of white man's words."	Lula	Commerical for Wildroot Cream-Oil
31		Grass Skirt	Stereotypical clothing worn by colonized peoples. A reference to savageness. Also a reference to smoking marijuana.	"Hey, you coming on like the lady who smoked up her grass skirt."	Clay	
32		Uncle Tom	Character in *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* an1852 novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Uncle Tom was a slave who cooperated and was conciliatory with his master and was sold down-river anyway. The term "Uncle Tom" is also used as a derogatory epithet for an exceedingly subservient person, particularly when that person is aware of their own lower-class status based on race.	"Uncle Tom."	Lula	
32		Thomas Wooly-Head	Woolyhead is a derogatory reference to coarse textured hair. Tom is a reference to Uncle Tom's Cabin.	"Thomas Wooly-head."	Lula	
33		Ofays	An offensive term for a white person, used by black people. Possibly a derogetory term for a homosexual man. In an essay written the same year as *Dutchman,* Baraka refers to "weak faced fags," refereing to verile Black masculinity and white effemininity (Rebhorn 2006). This is most likely a reference to and insult for Allen Ginsberg as he was homosexual.	"And all these weak-faced ofays squatting around here, staring over their papers at me. Murder them too."	Clay	

33		The New York Times	*The New York Times* is an American newspaper based in New York City with worldwide influence and readership. This may be a stab at white intellectuals who are well informed yet do nothing to solve injustices. For more specific connections see "Night Watchman."	"I could rip that *Times* right out of his hand,"	Clay
34		Tallulah Bankhead	Tallulah Bankhead (1902 - 1968) was an American actress of the stage and screen from a very prominent southern political family. She became a very outspoken critic of segreation and proponent for the Civil Rights movement in opposition to her family.	"I'm not telling you again, Tallulah Bankhead!"	Clay
34		Queens	One of the 5 Buroughs of New York City. It was a white neighborhood in the 1960s.	"Belly rub is not Queens."	Clay
34		Bessie Smith	Iconic blues singer. One of the few places where blacks could gain prominance was in the arts. Blues, jazz and gospel music were being appropriated by white culture but no political or economic gains were afforded the Black community. An often repeated but now discredited story emerged that she died because a whites-only hospital in Clarksdale refused to admit her. The jazz writer and producer John Hammond gave this account in an article in the November 1937 issue of Down Beat magazine. The circumstances of Smith's death and the rumor promoted by Hammond formed the basis for Edward Albee's 1959 one-act play *The Death of Bessie Smith*.	"They say, 'I love Bessie Smith.' And don't even understand that Bessie Smith is saying, 'Kiss my ass, kiss my black unruly ass.'"	Clay
35		Charlie Parker	Famous Be-Bop saxaphone player. Largely accepted as a genius of improvisation, he achieved fame with a white listenership as well as in the Black jazz community.	"Charlie Parker?"	Clay
35		Bird	Charlie Parker's nickname was "Yard Bird" or just "Bird"	"All the hip white boys scream for Bird."	Clay

PG	Image	Item	Information	Quote	Speaker
35		East Sixty-seventh Street	This is the Upper East Side. This was a very expensive neighborhood.	"Bird would've played not a note of music if he just walked up to East Sixty-seventh Street and killed the first ten white people he saw."	Clay
36		Blues People	Black music artists. Baraka published a book with the same title shortly before *Dutchman* was written.	"All these blues people"	Clay
36		Watermelon	Stereotypical food eaten by Black community, especially those from the country or the South.	"With no more blues, except the very old ones, and not a watermelon in sight, the great missionary heart will have triumphed . . ."	Clay
36		Soft Shoe	Type of shoe worn for tap-dancing that lacks metal strip. Tap dancing is yet another example of Black culture being appropraited for white entertainment.	*"Then an old Negro conductor comes into the car, doing a sort of restrained soft shoe, and half mumbling the words of some song."*	Stage Dir.

DUTCHMAN
AREAS OF RESEARCH

FIRST DRAFT: OUTLINE

I. Biography of Playwright (Ian)
   - A. Everett Leroy Jones (AKA LeRoi Jones, AKA Imamu Amiri Baraka)
   - B. Personal Life
   - C. Communist Accusation
   - D. Black Mountain Poets
   - E. Totem Press, Beat Poetry
   - F. 1960 Trip to Cuba
   - G. Black Revolution for Black Liberation
   - H. Edward Albee's project: The New York Playwrights Unit
   - I. Life in New York: From the Village to Harlem
   - J. Black Arts Repertory Theater School
   - K. Spirit House
   - L. 1968 Prison Sentence
   - M. Pan-Africanist and Marxist ideology
   - N. Name Change: Leroy -> LeRoi -> Imamu Amiri Baraka
   - O. Transformation of values regarding white people, women, and non-heterosexuals
   - P. Baraka the Professor
   - Q. Canon of Works

II. History and Politics (Ian)
   - A. The Need for Militancy in the Black Power Movement
   - B. Black Power and Islam
   - C. Black Power, Patriarchy and the Feminist Movement
   - D. Marxism and Building Class Cohesion

III. Religion and Philosophy (Amy)

A. Islam
    1. Nation of Islam
        a) Malcolm X and his proposition to convert all African Americans to Islam
    2. Kewaida sect of the Muslim faith
        a) The Transformation of Leroi Jones into Imamu Amiri Baraka
B. Christianity
    1. Martin Luther King Jr. and his call on reverends both black and white to come together in his nonviolent movement
C. Judaism
    1. Baraka's Anti-Semitism, Jews = White = Enemy
D. Buddhism
    1. Baraka's Relationship with Allen Ginsberg (Jewish Buddhist)

IV. Social and Economic Conditions (Ian)
A. The idea of the "Class Traitor"
B. Unemployment Rate for African Americans vs. Whites
C. Poverty Level for African Americans vs. Whites
D. Housing Discrimination
E. Effects of the Great Depression
F. Effects of World War II
G. The Creation of Suburbia
H. The Near Impossibility of Generational Wealth for African Americans

V. Science, Medicine, and Technology (Ian)
A. 1964 New York City Subway
B. Access to Music (Bessie Smith, Charlie Parker), Recorded Music

VI. Theatrical History and Practice (Amy)
A. Black Arts Movement in Theatre
B. How was Dutchman originally staged?
C. How realistic was the setting?
D. What did the original cast (more specifically, the passengers) look like in terms of size and color?

VII. Cultural History (art, literature, etc.) (Amy)
A. Black Arts Movement
B. Bohemian Culture
C. Counterculture

D. Beatnik Movement

FIRST DRAFT: MAPS

I. New York City Neighborhood Maps (Ian found; Amy downloaded)
   A. Bronx
   B. Brooklyn
   C. Manhattan
   D. Queens
   E. Richmond (Staten Island)
   F. NYC Subway
   G. Neighborhood Improvement New York City 1969

FIRST DRAFT: IDENTIFICATION OF ON-CAMPUS EXPERTS

- Biography of the Playwright/Collaborators (Ian): N/A
- History and Politics (Ian)
  - **Dr. Shannen Dee Williams, Assistant Professor of History**
    - Intricacies of Civil Rights Movement
- Religion and Philosophy (Amy)
  - **Dr. Glenn Bracey, Department of Sociology and Criminology**
    - Religion and its importance to Civil Rights Movement
    - Nation of Islam (Malcolm X) v. Christianity (MLK Jr.)
    - Black masculinity
    - How black revolutionaries felt about interracial relationships
    - Homophobia
    - Antisemitism
  - **Dr. Kathleen Grimes, Assistant Professor of Theology and Religious Studies**
- Social and Economic Conditions (Ian): N/A
- Science/Medicine/Technology (Ian): N/A
- Theatrical History and Practice (Amy)
  - **Dr. Crystal Lucky, Associate Dean of Baccalaureate Studies, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences; Associate Professor of English**
    - Black Arts Movement in Theatre

        - Theatre History and Practices of 1964
        - *Dutchman* and its essentialness to understanding the Black Arts Movement and its legacy
- Cultural History (art, literature, etc.) (Amy)
    - **Dr. Ellen Bonds**
        - Black Arts Movement in Literature
        - *Dutchman* and its essentialness to understanding the Black Arts Movement and its legacy
    - **Dr. Mark Sullivan**
        - Black Arts Movement in the Art world outside of theatre: sculpture, paintings, architecture
        - Achievements of African-American painters, sculptures and architects

FINAL DRAFT:
BIOGRAPHY OF THE PLAYWRIGHT (IAN)

Amiri Baraka was born Everett Leroy Jones in Newark New Jersey in 1934. He attended a largely white high school and in 1951 he attended Rutgers University but transferred to Howard University where he studied religion and philosophy. He also took coursework at Columbia University and at the New School. In 1954 he joined the air force and was promoted to sergeant (Bernotas p37). However, after his commanding officers received an anonymous letter accusing him of being a communist an investigation discovered the literary magazine *Partisan Review!.* He was dishonorably discharged (Bernotas p 37).

In 1954, he moved to the village in New York City and began to work with the Black Mountain Poets. In 1958 he married Hettie Cohen and had two daughters: Kelly Jones and Lisa Jones. During this time, he co-founded Totem press and published Beat poetry including that of Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg. He also had a daughter, Dominique, with Diane di Prima, who was co–editor of Kulchur, another literary magazine he wrote and edited for Bernotas.

In 1960 he visited Cuba which proved to be a trip that would galvanize his

politics. He began to view the Beat poets as aspirationally bourgeois. In his view the Beats wanted too much to be accepted into the *intelligencia* and this presented an insurmountable stumbling block to art achieving social change. He had become part of this by integrating himself into white intellectual culture. He speaks of himself in his autobiography: "The middle class naïve intellectual, having outintegrated the most integrated now plunges headlong back to his countrymen charged up with a desire to be black, uphold black, &c …a fanatical patriot!" (Baraka, 1984, p 201). In neo-Leninist style, he assumed the view that his art should function as a vanguard of the masses, pushing Blacks to revolution. But as Joel Oppenheimer noted: "That's the trouble with Black revolution. Roi's giving directions and nobody listens" (Baraka 1984, p 200).

His work became increasingly political and he began to espouse violence. In 1961 he became a member of Edward Albee's project: The New York Playwrights Unit. This project was an attempt to incite social change through literature and was subsequently dubbed "action theater" (Calihman and Early p 5). In 1964 he wrote *Dutchman*. The following year he broke the Beats, moved to Harlem and formed the Black Arts Repertory Theater School (Hemmer 2018). BARTS remained open for only for a short while until the FBI shut it down under the accusation that it was funneling money to the Black Panther (Hemmer 2018). However, it did inspire the start of countless similar organizations across the country.

In 1966 he married Amina Baraka (Sylvia Robinson), the actress who starred in his 1966 play *A Black Mass* (Bernoatas, p 89). The new couple started Spirit House, which was part theater, part artist training center, part residence. In 1968 Baraka was sentenced to three years in prison for allegedly bringing a weapon to a protest. The subsequent retrial acquitted him.

In the 1970s his political work began coalescing into a fusion of pan-Africanist and Marxist ideology. Much of his work (and his life) up to this point can be seen as trying to recreate an African culture that was shattered by American slavery. This can be seen initially in changing the spelling of

his name, Leroy became LeRoi. Later this search for identity is marked by his breaking with Beat culture and in his embracing of Islam and the changing of his name to Amiri Baraka. The name comes from an Arabic phrase: "ameer barakat," which means "blessed prince (Bernotas, p.87). A group of Baraka's Muslim friends dubbed him "ameer barakat" and it soon became Amiri Baraka. Reclaiming, or recreating culture, was not sufficient. Baraka insisted that "returning to various forms of African dress and learning a few words of Swahili" would never lead to Black liberation.

His idea of revolution had always been a Black revolution. But it became clear to him an isolated Black liberation could never be successful. Within the context of a class- based society, revolution was impossible if it was not a Marxist revolution. This required class cohesion that went beyond the fractures of race. Two quotes mark this transformation in Baraka. In 1964 when a white woman asked how whites could help to support Black liberation Baraka responded "You could help by dying. You are a cancer. You can help the world's people with your death" (Baraka, 1984, p 193). Clearly Black power required no cooperation with white radicals or progressives. However, in 1974 he wrote "The willingness of young whites to put their lives on the line for the struggle for democracy is a noble thing… [They were] out there on the front lines doing more than I was" (Bernotas, p.99).

In the same way, Baraka began to see the necessity for class cohesion as superseding his sexism and homophobia. He reversed his stance on the equality of women and homosexuals. By the 1980s he had this to say: "Not only did they [women] stand with us shoulder to shoulder, against the black people's enemies, they also had to go toe to toe with us, battling day after day against our insufferable male chauvinism (Bernotas, p. 100). And by 1989 he was a contributor to the AIDS benefit record *Offbeat: A Red Hot Soundtrip.* During the 1980s and 1990s AIDS was very much stigmatized as a homosexual disease. Baraka's participation in this project is a very significant marker in his changed attitude towards homosexuality. During the 1980s and 1990s AIDS was very much stigmatized as a homosexual

disease. Baraka's participation in this project is a very significant marker in his changed attitude towards homosexuality.

Baraka continued writing until his death in 2014. He also worked as a professor at Rutgers University, Columbia University and as a tenured professor at New York State University at Stony Brook.

His canon of works includes (Wikipedia 2019):

Poetry
- 1961: Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note
- 1964: The Dead Lecturer: Poems
- 1969: Black Magic
- 1970: It's Nation Time
- 1975: Hard Facts
- 1980: New Music, New Poetry
- 1995: Transbluesency: The Selected Poems of Amiri Baraka/LeRoi Jones
- 1995: Wise, Why's Y's
- 1996: Funk Lore: New Poems
- 2003: Somebody Blew Up America & Other Poems
- 2005: The Book of Monk

Drama
- 1964: Dutchman
- 1964: The Slave
- 1967: The Baptism and The Toilet
- 1966: A Black Mass
- 1968: Home on the Range and Police
- 1969: Four Black Revolutionary Plays
- 1970: Slave Ship
- 1978: The Motion of History and Other Plays
- 1989: Song
- 2013: Most Dangerous Man in America (W. E. B. Du Bois)

Fiction

- 1965: The System of Dante's Hell
- 1967: Tales
- 2006: Tales of the Out & the Gone

Non-fiction

- 1963: Blues People
- 1965: Home: Social Essays
- 1965: The Revolutionary Theatre
- 1968: Black Music
- 1971: Raise Race Rays Raze: Essays Since 1965
- 1972: Kawaida Studies: The New Nationalism
- 1979: Poetry for the Advanced
- 1981: reggae or not!
- 1984: Daggers and Javelins: Essays 1974–1979
- 1984: The Autobiography of LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka
- 1987: The Music: Reflections on Jazz and Blues
- 2003: The Essence of Reparations

Edited works

- 1968: Black Fire: An Anthology of Afro-American Writing (co-editor, with Larry Neal)
- 1969: Four Black Revolutionary Plays
- 1983: Confirmation: An Anthology of African American Women (edited with Amina Baraka)
- 1999: The LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka Reader
- 2000: The Fiction of LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka
- 2008: Billy Harper: Blueprints of Jazz, Volume 2 (Audio CD)

Filmography

- The New Ark (1968)
- One P.M. (1972)
- Fried Shoes Cooked Diamonds (1978) ... Himself
- Black Theatre: The Making of a Movement (1978) ... Himself

- Poetry in Motion (1982)
- Furious Flower: A Video Anthology of African American Poetry 1960–95, Volume II: Warriors (1998) ... Himself
- Through Many Dangers: The Story of Gospel Music (1996)
- Bulworth (1998)
- Piñero(2001) ... Himself
- Strange Fruit (2002) ... Himself
- Ralph Ellison: An American Journey (2002)
- Chisholm '72: Unbought & Unbossed (2004)
- Keeping Time: The Life, Music & Photography of Milt Hinton (2004)
- Hubert Selby Jr: It'll Be Better Tomorrow (2005)
- 500 Years Later(2005) (voice)
- The Ballad of Greenwich Village (2005)
- The Pact (2006) ... Himself
- Retour à Gorée (2007) ... Himself
- Polis Is This: Charles Olson and the Persistence of Place (2007)
- Revolution '67 (2007) ... Himself
- Turn Me On (2007) (TV) ... Himself
- Oscene (2007) ... Himself
- Corso: The Last Beat (2008)
- The Black Candle (2008)
- Ferlinghetti: A City Light (2008) ... Himself
- W.A.R. Stories: Walter Anthony Rodney (2009) ... Himself
- Motherland (2010)

Discography

- It's Nation Time (Black Forum, 1972)
- New Music - New Poetry (India Navigation, 1982)
- Real Song (Enja, 1995)

FINAL DRAFT:
HISTORY (AMY)

Timeline of African American History

In 2019, people often refer to a time period ranging from the 1950s-1960s as the Civil Rights Movement. However, some individuals may be less aware of the history leading up to this era or the specific chronology of events taking place within the 1950s-60s. It is important to specify how events occurred chronologically as the timing of these events shaped the course of history and Baraka's Dutchman. This timeline is an attempt to shed light on some of the events that heavily influenced the play and stemmed from Baraka's call for Revolutionary Theatre.

- 1619 - A Dutch Ship Brought The First Slaves to North America
- 1793 - Fugitive Slave Act Made it a Federal Crime to Assist a Slave Trying to Escape
- August 21, 1831 - Nat Turner Revolt
- 1831 - Abolitionism and the Underground Railroad
- March 6, 1857 - **Dred Scott Case Concludes Scott is a Slave and Not a Citizen**
- 1861 - 1865 American Civil War
- January 1, 1863 - The Emancipation Proclamation
- 1867 - Howard University Founded
- 1881 - Tuskegee Founded by Booker T. Washington
- 1896 - **Plessy vs. Ferguson Upheld the Constitutionality of Racial Segregation**
- 1900s - Washington, Carver and Du Bois
- 1909 - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Founded

- 1914 - Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Suggest Going "Back to Africa"
- 1914 - 1918 World War I
    - **Harlem Hellfighters**
- 1916 - **The Great Migration Begins**
- 1910s - 1930s - Harlem Renaissance
- 1921 - **Black Wall Street Destroyed in Tulsa, OK**
- 1929 - 1939 The Great Depression
    - 1936 - Jesse Owens Wins Four Gold Medals, Defying Adolf Hitler's Hope for Proof of Racial Superiority
- June 22, 1938 - Joe Louis Wins Title Fight Against Max Schmeling
- 1939 - 1945 World War II
- 1942 - Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) Founded
- November 10, 1943 - **Smith v. Allwright**
- June 22, 1944 - G. I. Bill Gave Some Veterans the Opportunity of Attending College
- 1945 - Cold War Begins
- April 15, 1947 - Jackie Robinson "Crossed the Color Line" of Major League Baseball
- July 26, 1948 - President Harry S. Truman Signed an Executive Order to Integrate the Military
- 1948 - Dixiecrats Founded, George Wallace Says "Segregation Forever!"
- 1950s - The Creation of White Suburbia, TVs in the Home
- August 7, 1952 - Malcolm Little is released from prison

- 1952 - Malcolm Little Changes His Name to Malcolm X and Calls on All African Americans to Join the Nation of Islam
- May 17, 1954 - **Brown v. Board of Education Incentivizes White Violence**
- August 28, 1955 - Emmett Till Murdered
    - September 23, 1955 - All-white Jury Took Less Than an Hour Before Issuing a Verdict of "Not Guilty"
- March 1955 - Claudette Colvin, the 15-year-old who came before Rosa Parks, refuses to give up her seat
- December 5, 1955 - Montgomery Bus Boycott Begins
- 1956 - U.S. Supreme Court ruling prompts Montgomery to desegregate buses, MLK's house is bombedwww.bbc.com/news/stories-43171799
- April 14, 1957 - Johnson Hinton is Savagely Beaten by Police and Not Allowed Medical Help. Malcolm X Successfully Organizes Nation of Islam Members and Uses Their Physical Presence to Gain Medical Help for Hinton.
- September 1957 - **Little Rock Nine**
- 1959 - Fidel Castro Establishes the First Communist State in the West
- 1960 - JFK Includes Civil Rights Legislation in His Presidential Campaign Platform
- February 1, 1960 - Sit-In Movement Begins
- April 1960 - **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Founded in Raleigh, North Carolina**
- July 21, 1960 - Amiri Baraka Visits Cuba
- May 1961 - Freedom Rides

- 1962 - Integration of Ole Miss
- June 11, 1963 - President John F. Kennedy (JFK) Addresses the Nation on Civil Rights
- June 12, 1963 - Medgar Evers Murdered
- August 28, 1963 - March on Washington, MLK Gives "I Have A Dream" Speech, Malcolm X calls this "a farce . . . run by whites in front of a statue of a president who has been dead for a hundred years and who didn't like us when he was alive."
- September 15, 1963 - Birmingham Church Bombing
- November 22, 1963 - JFK Assassinated, Lyndon B. Johnson Becomes President
- January 1964 - Cassius Clay Becomes a Member of the Nation of Islam and is Re-Named Muhammad Ali at the Nation's Annual Convention
- March 1964
    - Dutchman Premiered at the Cherry Lane Theatre
    - Malcolm X Leaves Nation of Islam
- 1964
    - Baraka Founded the Black Arts Repertory Theatre and School (BARTS)
    - Baraka founded the Black Arts Movement
- June 1964 - **Freedom Summer and the "Mississippi Burning" Murders**
- July 1964 - Civil Rights Act
- August 1964 - America Enters the Vietnam War

- February 14, 1965 - Malcolm X's home is firebombed, his family is evicted from their home
- February 21, 1965 - Malcolm X Assassinated
- March 7, 1965 - Selma to Montgomery March
- August 6, 1965 - Voting Rights Act
- 1960s - 1970s - Rise of Back Power
- 1966 - **The Black Panther Party is founded in Oakland, California**
- April 4, 1968 - Martin Luther King Jr. Assassinated, Violent Riots Erupt in Over 100 U.S. Cities

FINAL DRAFT:
POLITICS (IAN)

MILITANCY

Clay's transformation to violence must be read in the context of the struggle of Blacks at the time to try to gain protections from the government. On paper Blacks already had those protections but they were consistently left unenforced. Lynching was largely tolerated and violence against Blacks almost always went unpunished. The violence that met the freedom riders is a perfect example. There was no law saying Blacks could not ride busses, but the government, time and time again, refused to offer protections to them when they did. There are many reports of FBI agents taking notes but not intervening while Blacks were beaten or killed by white supremacists in the south. So on one level it is appropriate to read Clay's rise to violence as a break with the mainstream non-violent approach advocated by Martin Luther King Jr. Although written after Dutchman, Julius Lester's poem says it well:

> Too much love,
> Too much love,
> Nothing kills a nigger like
> Too much love.

Dutchman premiered the year after John F. Kennedy joined the massive rally where King made his famous "I have a dream speech." Much of the militant Black Power movement felt that the president had coopted the Rally of 1963 and the movement itself. Even Henry Schlesinger wrote 'Schlesinger concludes "So in 1963 Kennedy moved to incorporate the Negro revolution into the democratic coalition" (Zinn 2010). The mainstream non-violent Civil Rights movement was channeled into electoral politics. But as historian Howard Zinn points out voting and legislation was not a solution to the poverty and violence endured by Blacks, because the problem was one of enforcement. For example, Blacks had the vote in New York for years, but Harlem was still blighted with "rat infested slums" (Zinn p 450).

BLACK POWER AND ISLAM

Religion is such an interesting thing to discuss relative to this work because it is not a thing unto itself. Religion blurs into politics. *Dutchman* is literally loaded with biblical reference and allegory (Baker 2013; Rebhorn 2006; Cardullo 2009.) This allusion serves several functions. It certainly give an other-worldly character to the dialogue that is fitting for this retelling of the Flying Dutchman ghost story. To a certain extent biblical reference is a sort of Esperanto to signal to the audience that things are not as simple as they appear. It makes it clear that there is much going on below the surface and the audience should pay close attention to the language. The biblical allegory also makes a sort of game of how many of the references can the observer get. This has an effect like carbonating the tension while Clay is in the holds of the train.

On the one hand the religious allusions are strategic. *Dutchman* can certainly be read as a call to arms for Black militancy and Baraka's expertise in biblical allegory certainly builds his credibility in those circles. Black churches were an extremely important organizing force in the Civil Rights movement. Even today, Black churches remain remarkably central to their communities and continue to be places of political strength. And as such, it is not a stretch to see that much of the biblical imagery in *Dutchman* adds credence to his call to arms.

Baraka was particularly well suited for this task as his studies at Rutgers and Howard University included philosophy and religion (Samuel French 2019).

However, religion is also central in the debate over achieving Black liberation through violent or by non-violent means. The non- violent movement was dominated by Black churches. And violent struggle centered from the mosques of The Nation of Islam. Christian non-violence stood in the way of what this piece was trying to achieve. Dutchman was Baraka's first foray in "Revolutionary Theater" in which "We will scream and cry, murder, run through the streets in agony, if it means some soul will be moved." (Gates 2014, p542). Malcolm X's call to "Come down off the cross and Get under

the crescent (Wilson 2013 p. 449)" characterizes the debate between non-violence and violent revolution between Black churches and the Nation of Islam. And of course, Everett LeRoi Jones changed his name to Amiri Baraka several years after *Dutchman* was written.

BLACK POWER AND THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

The suffragist movement and the abolition movement began as allied movements as there was a lot of overlap in their leadership (Davis 1983). However, by the time that Baraka wrote *Dutchman,* there was serious struggle between them. Baraka and other leaders of Black power militancy had a vision of a pan-Africanist patriarchy. In fact, Baraka, Malcolm X, Marcus Garvey and the other leaders of the Black power movement argued that their success depended on Black women returning to their natural subordinate position in politics and economy (hooks 1981). hooks references an essay Baraka wrote in *Black World* in 1970. He writes:

"But we must erase the separateness by providing ourselves with healthy African identities. By embracing a value system that knows no separation but only the divine complement the black woman is for her man. For instance, we do not believe in the 'equality' of men and women. We cannot understand what the devils and the devilishly influenced mean when they say equality for women. We could never be equals … nature has not provided thus."

From this, it is clear that Baraka believes that Black patriarchy is the natural order because it comes from African culture. Women naturally exist for their man and to do otherwise she engages in the separation that enabled slavery. During slavery Black men were denied being head of household or breadwinner because it disrupted the chain of command, and so Black masculinity was shattered (Davis).

Even though Baraka remarked that Lula was based on his ex-wife, *Dutchman, was* written shortly after his divorce, it is difficult not to see

Lula as a sort of Eve who makes evil possible. The violence, seduction and manipulation is not just an allusion to racial struggle. She is an unnatural force who destroys her "wide eyed prey" with her sexual wiles. This is particularly striking given how common it was for the false charges of raping white women to be used as a justification to execute Black men (Davis). This puts Clay's collusion with Lula into a new level of sin. He is not just a trifling bohemian when he should be a militant. He is engaging in the emasculation that enabled slavery. And violence against women and feminism is Baraka's solution. Baraka, like many men in the Black liberation movement abandoned the codes of conduct that once forbid male violence against women, instead embracing it (hooks.) hooks cites Baraka's 1970 play *Madheart:*

BLACK MAN: I'll get you back. If I need to.
WOMAN (laughs): You need to, baby…just look around you. You better get me back. If you know what's good for you … you better
BLACK MAN (looking around at her squarely, he advances): Better I ?...(a soft laugh) Yes. Now is where we always are…that now… (he wheels and suddenly slaps her crosswise, back and forth across the face.)
WOMAN: Wha?? What… Oh Love …please…don't hit me (he hits her slaps her again).
BLACK MAN: I want you woman, as a woman. Go down (he slaps her again) Go down, submit, submit…to love…and to man, now forever.
WOMAN (weeping, turning her head from side to side) Please don't hit me…please…(she bends) The years are so long, without you , man, I've waited… waited for you.
BLACK MAN: And I've waited.
WOMAN: I've seen you humbled, black man, seen you crawl for dogs and devils.
BLACK Man: And I've seen you raped by savages and beasts, and bear bleach-shit children of apes.
WOMAN: You permitted it… you could …do nothing
BLACK MAN: But now I can (he slaps her …drags her to him, kissing her deeply on the lips) That shit is ended woman, you with me, and the world is

mine.

Baraka confounds the oppression of Black people with allowing women too much power. But now that the Black Man has returned to power by forcing Woman to submit to his authority, oppression will
end. Fortunately, *Dutchman* is not so explicit, but Clay's rise to power through anger has a similar anti-feminist tone.

MARXISM AND BUILDING CLASS COHESION

As noted in the Biography, when Dutchman was written Baraka did hold ideas about Black power that placed the movement at odds with feminism, homosexual rights, and anti-Semitism. However, by the 1970s his stance had changed. He adopted "Marxism- Leninism – Mao Tse Tung thought (Bernotas p.98)."and by 2009 he apologized for his homophobia in the introduction to his *Home: Social Essays from 1966*. His apology is to "the homosexual giants we have all known, who have always been out front sexually and politically" (Hemmer, p83). His interest became focused on cohesion among all oppressed groups as seen by his remark "Any people sincerely interested in making revolution must have allies (Bernotas, p99).

FINAL DRAFT:
RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY (AMY)

COLD WAR POLITICS

Cold War politics created a false need for constant division in politics in America. These politics forced people's values to fall into a melodramatic narrative of us vs. them or good vs. bad or right vs. wrong. The United States government believed its beliefs and values and democratic system to be right, good and worth fighting for while Russia believed in Communism with the same passion. The competitive narrative of the Cold War was designed to enhance American pride in their democratic system and lead Americans to believe this war was justified for fear of being taken over by communism or tyrannical leaders like Adolf Hitler. This philosophy also attempted to create unity in the country as all joined together to fight against the big bad communists. However, this style of politics created much more division throughout American politics and continues to do so in our two party system to this day. This divisive political environment was also heavily present in the Civil Rights Movement with many African Americans and allies choosing between two major religious and political sides: Christian v. Islam or Non-violent v. Self-Defence or MLK v. Malcolm. Additionally, many Americans exploited their fear of communism for their social advantage calling civil rights marches, black power and freedom riders "a communist plot" as noted in Nina Simone's song, "Mississippi Goddamn."

Communism, a political theory "that aims to replace private property and a profit-based economy with public ownership and communal control of at least the major means of production (e.g., mines, mills, and factories) and the natural resources of a society" is a form of socialism—a higher and more advanced form, according to its advocates. Exactly how communism differs from socialism has long been a matter of debate, but the distinction rests largely on the communists' adherence to the revolutionary socialism of Karl Marx" (Communism). Communism was attractive to many African Americans during the 1960s because it promised to ignore the social construct of race and racism and instead treat everyone equally. Additionally, Africans and

other non-white individuals throughout the world were shown propaganda by Russian government officials of actual events taking place in America and being told, "this is what Americans do to people who look like you" and they were forced to ask themselves, "Is this what freedom looks like? And if that's freedom, do I really want to be a part of that?" This is part of what pushed JFK to finally take a stance on Civil Rights in America. Unfortunately, he was assassinated shortly thereafter.

CHRISTIANITY V. ISLAM

Christianity, Judaism and **Islam** are Abrahamic religions, which means their followers believe Abraham to be a prophet and believe his descendants to hold an important role in human spiritual development. **Christianity** is a monotheistic faith based on the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth (a man of Jewish faith). Christianity is important in *Dutchman* as there are several references to the Christian Bible in the script. Similar to Eve in one of the creation stories, Lula eats apples and tempts Clay with apples as a seductress (11). There are also several references to the Christian God as Lula says, "My Christ. My Christ" (20). Clay's name could also be a reference to Adam, the first man in the Christian creation story who was molded from clay in God's image. Lula also directly parallels "the strange woman" in the book of Proverbs.

Islam is a monotheistic faith regarded as revealed through Muhammad as the Prophet of Allah. It is important to note Arabic-speakers of all Abrahamic faiths, including Christians and Jews, use the word "Allah" to mean "God". There are five pillars of Islam:

1. **The Profession of Faith** or The Shahada- "There is no God but God and Muhammad is his prophet."
2. **Daily Prayers** or Salat - "Muslims are expected to pray five times a day. Muslims can pray anywhere; however, they are meant to pray towards Mecca. The faithful pray by bowing several times while standing and then kneeling and touching the ground or prayer mat with their foreheads, as a symbol of their reverence and submission to

Allah. On Friday, many Muslims attend a mosque near midday to pray and to listen to a sermon, khutba."

3. **Alms-Giving** or Zakat - "The giving of alms is the third pillar. Although not defined in the Qu'ran, Muslims believe that they are meant to share their wealth with those less fortunate in their community of believers."
4. **Fasting during Ramadan** or Saum - "During the holy month of Ramadan, the ninth month in the Islamic calendar, Muslims are expected to fast from dawn to dusk. While there are exceptions made for the sick, elderly, and pregnant, all are expected to refrain from eating and drinking during daylight hours.
5. **Pilgrimage to Mecca** or Hajj - "All Muslims who are able are required to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and the surrounding holy sites at least once in their lives. Pilgrimage focuses on visiting the Kaaba and walking around it seven times. Pilgrimage occurs in the 12th month of the Islamic Calendar."

The Nation of Islam, an African American movement and organization, was founded in 1930 and is known for its "teachings combining elements of traditional Islam with black nationalists ideas. The Nation also promotes racial unity and self-help and maintains a strict code of discipline among members" (Nation of Islam).

To fully understand the beliefs and desires of members of the Nation of Islam and understand its attractiveness to the African American population (especially for African American men), I highly suggest reading "What The Muslims Want," an excerpt from "Message to the Blackman in America," which was written by the founder of the Nation of Islam, Elijah Muhammad, in 1965. The full excerpt can be found here. I have included the first four points below.

What The Muslims Want

1. **We want freedom.** We want a full and complete freedom.
2. **We want justice.** Equal justice under the law. We want justice applied

equally to all, regardless of creed or class or color.
3. **We want equality of opportunity.** We want equal membership in society with the best in civilized society.
4. **We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own**–either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and minerally rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years–until we are able to produce and supply our own needs.

The idea of this separate state or territory is something Malcolm X talked a lot about and allowed him to compare the state of the black man with that of other oppressed peoples who overcame their oppressors through "a land battle". For example, the Americans who broke free from British rule and took charge over the land in America through the American Revolution.

NONVIOLENCE AND DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Nonviolence is "the use of peaceful means, not force, to bring about political or social change." As a Christian pastor, Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. used Christian principles in his fight for civil rights. In the Christian faith, when Jesus gives "the Sermon on the Mount" he says the following:

"You have heard that it was said, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." But I say to you, Do not resist the one who is evil. But **if anyone slaps you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also**. And if anyone would sue you and take your tunic, let him have your cloak as well. And if anyone forces you to go one mile, go with him two miles. Give to the one who begs from you, and do not refuse the one who would borrow from you." — English Standard Version (Matthew 5:38-42)

According to the Christian faith, Jesus also commands his disciples to love their enemies (Luke 6:27-31). **These Christian principles helped lay the**

foundation for Nonviolence. Dr. King had already seen how nonviolence could be successful when Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi led India to independence from British colonial rule using nonviolence. Additionally, in Brown II (Brown v. Board), the Supreme Court instructed states to begin desegregation plans "with all deliberate speed," a speed that would allow peaceful integration. This vague instruction ultimately incentivized white violence as schools could essentially stall segregation eternally due to civil unrest. With more and more white violence spreading across America, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. sought to help the world see the ugliness of that violence by fighting it with nonviolence.

SELF DEFENSE AND MALCOLM X

In contrast to Dr. Martin Luther King's call for nonviolence, Malcolm X believed African Americans should seek their freedom and equality "by any means necessary." Malcolm X identified himself as a Muslim minister and a Black Nationalist Freedom Fighter. In "The Ballot or the Bullet" he mentions the importance of keeping religion "at home" so that discussions can focus on the fight for civil rights common to all black people against a common enemy of white systematic oppression. In this speech he notes, while "Islam is my religious philosophy, my political, economic and social philosophy is Black Nationalism." He says that, in this context, Black Nationalism means "the black man should control the politics and politicians in his own community." He was not interested in sitting on the same toilet as the white man, but instead called for equal opportunity and rights in the economic sphere.

Amiri Baraka was highly influenced by Malcolm X and his ideas. Baraka's move from Greenwich Village into Harlem, his choice to divorce his white wife, and his founding of the BARTS school was heavily influenced by the assassination of Malcolm X on February 21, 1965.

JUDAISM AND BUDDHISM

Judaism is a "monotheistic religion developed among the ancient Hebrews. Judaism is characterized by a belief in one transcendent God who revealed

himself to Abraham, Moses, and the Hebrew prophets and by a religious life in accordance with Scriptures and rabbinic traditions. Judaism is the complex phenomenon of a total way of life for the Jewish people, comprising theology, law, and innumerable cultural traditions." Click here to read more on the history, beliefs and traditions of Judaism.

It is important for our play because many people view *Dutchman* as anti-semitic, meaning anti-Jewish. This is 100% correct. There are several slights made against Jewish people by both Clay and Lula. However, this stems from the history of Jewish people and their treatment of Africans. It is well known that Jews owned slaves and participated in an "exodus" from some lands because they wanted to keep their slaves. Additionally, in the history of America, African Americans watched as Jewish people were "adopted as white" and allowed to become citizens, vote, use the same toilets, open businesses and be successful in America. Even if black people happened to somehow become moderately successful through all the systematic oppression, everything that they created would often be destroyed. For an example, read up on Black Wall Street here. Baraka even dances around one story that exemplifies the rocky relationship between Jews and Africans when Clay mentions his grandfather was a "Night Watchman." Based on Clay's age and the setting being 1964, if Clay's grandfather was a "Night Watchman" he could have been Newt Lee, the Night Watchman who famously found the body of "Little Mary Phagan" and was immediately arrested. For more on this story see "Glossary" or watch the full documentary "The People v. Leo Frank" here to learn the story of a Jewish man now regarded as a "Civil Rights Hero" who, to the eye of many others, worked very hard to try and frame two black men for rape and murder, and, who's trial led to a rebirth of the KKK and lynchings.

Buddhism is a "religion and philosophy that developed from the teachings of the Buddha (Sanskrit: “Awakened One”), a teacher who lived in northern India between the mid-6th and mid-4th centuries BCE (before the Common Era). Spreading from India to Central and Southeast Asia, China, Korea, and Japan, Buddhism has played a central role in the spiritual, cultural, and

social life of Asia, and during the 20th century it spread to the West." Click here to read more on the history, beliefs and traditions of Buddhism.

It is important because Baraka makes a reference in our play to a "Jewish Buddhist" as an insult to whomever that person is. In this slight, Baraka is referencing bourgeois culture and people (not only whites) who are more interested in "spiritual enlightenment" than dealing with the problems at hand right here, right now on Earth, and more specifically, in America.

WHO IS THIS "JEWISH BUDDHIST"?

A Jewish Buddhist is a person, very often American, with a Jewish background, who practices forms of Buddhist-linked meditation and spirituality. Their interest may be in meditation rather than Buddhism or religion. In this case, Baraka is directly referencing the poet Allen Ginsberg, who was himself a Jewish Buddhist.

FINAL DRAFT:
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (IAN)

Clay is a class traitor when he is first introduced. He is college educated and moves in the frivolous circles of the bohemian beat poets. This should be read in the context of the economy that was available to Blacks in the early 1960s. In 1963 the unemployment rate for blacks was 12% - that's 3x the rate for whites. And one fifth of the white population was below the poverty line – half of blacks were (Zinn).

Starting in the 1930s the federal government changed how wealth was accumulated for the average person by changing the terms under which people could get home mortgages (Horton et al 2003). According to historian John Powell a down-payment of up to 50% of the sale price was required and mortgages had to be repaid with 5 years (Horton et al.) In the wake of the Great Depression people were losing more houses than were being sold so the government initiated the Housing and Finance Administration (HFA) that began to offer low interest loans that could be repaid in twenty or thirty years with only 10% down (Horton et al.) Because of this the family home became the nest egg and was the biggest investment most people would ever make. But in order to receive this subsidy, home buyers had to have the house certified by home appraisers. Colors were assigned green for the highest value and safest investment neighborhoods. Red was the lowest value and hence riskiest neighborhoods to invest in. The term "red lining" comes from this practice. Blacks and racially mixed neighborhoods were red lined and seldom got mortgagees. Blacks were not explicitly excluded from getting mortgages, but they were *de facto* because Black neighborhoods were appraised as risky investments (Conley 1999).

After World War II there was an incredible demand for housing and huge investments were made by the government into suburbanizing the country. Roads, sewer lines, nuclear power plants, schools, and all the infrastructure needed was paid for with the federal purse. I was actually

cheaper for white families to buy in the suburbs than the city because of the HFA loans and massive subsidies (Conley). The suburbs became places where wealth accumulated and the cities did not. As a result of this the average Black family has a net worth of just over $5.00 for every hundred dollars of wealth the average white family has (Badger 2017).

FINAL DRAFT:
SCIENCE, MEDICINE, AND TECHNOLOGY (IAN)

THE NEW YORK SUBWAY

Although science, medicine and technology do not play a central role in *Dutchman,* there are several points in this area that can be insightful. The subway, of course, springs to mind. By 1964 the New York City subway had already been operational for 60 years (History 2009). So the subway was sufficiently old that Baraka's choice to retell the legend of the Flying Dutchman here would not feel too new to the audiences of 1964. The Flying Dutchman refers back to a ship belonging to the Dutch East India Company that sank off the Cape of Good Hope in the 1600s. The legend has it that the fated ship and her crew are cursed to sail the seas forever, causing destruction to any ship unlucky enough to encounter it

RECORDED MUSIC

Recorded music is a second bit of technology that seems very important in building the world in which *Dutchman* was first performed. The cultural appropriation of Black music like Bessie Smith and Charlie Parker would not have been nearly as prevalent without recorded music. White people would have to go into Black venues to hear such music but recording technology allowed them to have access to that art from the safety of their own homes.

FINAL DRAFT:
THEATRICAL HISTORY AND PRACTICE (AMY)

WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY THEATRE?

Dutchman is often referred to as a piece of Revolutionary Theatre, the beginning of a movement called for by Amiri Baraka, but how is Revolutionary Theatre defined? According to Amiri Baraka, the Revolutionary Theatre should force change, expose, accuse and attack, be political, be of and for victims and help others see how they themselves are also victims. Not for victims to wallow in self pity but to see "strength in their minds and their bodies" (Baraka 1965). Above all, the Revolutionary Theatre is intentionally not meant to be another delightful light hearted easy-to-digest play ending in marriage and poetic justice. Instead, "it must be food for all these who need food, and daring propaganda for the beauty of the Human Mind . . . The Revolutionary Theatre is
shaped by the world, and moves to reshape the world" (Baraka 1965). In his essay on
the Revolutionary Theatre, Baraka famously states: "We will scream and cry, murder, run through the streets in agony, if it means some soul will be moved, moved to actual life understanding of what the world is, and what it ought to be."

1960S BLACK REVOLUTIONARY THEATRICAL PRACTICES

- Theatres are small, less traditional and intimate
- Design elements are minimalistic based on available resources
- Plays are shorter in length and more direct in their content
- Plays are political and intended to shock and move their audiences to action and/or behavioral change
- Playwrights continuing to ask the question: How should we (African Americans) conduct ourselves in a society that is not created for us?

AFRICAN AMERICAN THEATRE HISTORY

One of the most popular forms of entertainment throughout the history of America (in both the North and South) was minstrelsy. The **Minstrel show** is a 100% American theatrical form "featuring songs, dances, and

comic dialogue" by (usually) white actors in blackface re-enacting or impersonating racial stereotypes. Even black actors who were allowed to perform in minstrel shows had to "black up" to create as far a divide in skin tone as possible from the white audience members. Thomas Dartmouth Rice, "Daddy Rice" is known as the father of black face and the minstrel show. Daddy Rice gained popularity with his impersonation of "Jim Crow," an old decrepit African American slave.

Until the 1960s, most black characters onstage filled racial stereotypes that stemmed from minstrel shows and were usually written by and for white men. Amiri Baraka and other Black Revolutionary playwrights sought to create characters and plays that stepped outside of these stereotypes and were written by and for the black man. This may be why, in *The New York Times* review of the premiere of *Dutchman*, Howard Taubman wrote, "If this is the way the Negroes really feel about the white world around them, there's more rancor buried in the breasts of colored conformists than anyone can imagine."

FINAL DRAFT:
CULTURAL HISTORY (ART, LITERATURE, ETC.) (AMY)

HARLEM RENAISSANCE

The Harlem Renaissance (c. 1918–37) was a "blossoming of African American culture, particularly in the creative arts, and the most influential movement in African American literary history. Embracing literary, musical, theatrical, and visual arts, participants sought to reconceptualize "the Negro" apart from the white stereotypes that had influenced black peoples' relationship to their heritage and to each other. They also sought to break free of Victorian moral values and bourgeois shame about aspects of their lives that might, as seen by whites, reinforce racist beliefs. Never dominated by a particular school of thought but rather characterized by intense debate, the movement laid the groundwork for all later African American literature and had an enormous impact on subsequent black literature and consciousness worldwide. While the renaissance was not confined to the Harlem district of New York City, Harlem attracted a remarkable concentration of intellect and talent and served as the symbolic capital of this cultural awakening."

BLACK ARTS MOVEMENT

The Black Arts Movement (c. 1965-1975) "was the name given to a group of politically motivated black poets, artists, dramatists, musicians, and writers who emerged in the wake of the Black Power Movement." Amiri Baraka is "widely considered to be the father of the Black Arts Movement" with his establishment of the Black Arts Repertory Theater in Harlem in 1965. After the assassination of Malcolm X, people "who embraced the Black Power movement often fell into one of two camps: the Revolutionary Nationalists, who were best represented by the Black Panther Party, and the Cultural Nationalists. **The latter group called for the creation of poetry, novels, visual arts, and theater to reflect pride in black history and culture.** This new emphasis was an affirmation of the autonomy of black artists to **create black art for black people as a means to awaken black consciousness and achieve liberation."**

While the Harlem Renaissance had a heavy influence on literature, the Black Arts Movement "had its greatest impact in theater and poetry . . . Although the creative works of the movement were often profound and innovative, they also often alienated both black and white mainstream culture with their raw shock value which often embraced violence." Like *Dutchman*, "some of the most prominent works were also seen as racist, homophobic, anti-Semitic, and sexist. Many works put forth a black hyper masculinity in response to historical humiliation and degradation of African American men but usually at the expense of some black female voices . . . Ironically despite the male-dominated nature of the movement, several black female writers rose to lasting fame including Nikki Giovanni, Sonia Sanchez, Ntozake Shange, Audre Lorde, June Jordan, among others. Additionally, the Black Arts Movement helped lay the foundation for modern-day spoken word and hip-hop."

Major Figures: (from Wikipedia)

- Amiri Baraka
- Audre Lorde
- Dudley Randall
- Gwendolyn Brooks
- Haki R. Madhubuti
- Hoyt W. Fuller
- Ishmael Reed
- Larry Neal
- Maya Angelou
- Nikki Giovanni
- Rosa Guy
- Sonia Sanchez

BOHEMIAN CULTURE

Bohemian culture was one that affiliated with upper class and non-mainstream culture. It is what we might call "hipster" in 2019. It is important to note that these were exactly the kind of people Baraka was trying to wake up with *Dutchman* (especially black males). To learn more, check out BBC's article "What is bohemian?" here.

COUNTERCULTURE

Counterculture, again was a movement away from mainstream, "a way of life and set of attitudes opposed to or at variance with the prevailing social norm." Baraka's critique of this philosophy mainly had to do with those who had the privilege of going against social norms because they had the money, time or resources to do so. Additionally, those who supposedly believed in fighting the Capitalistic society but wouldn't join the fight for black civil rights and subsequently contributed to continued oppression.

BEATNIK MOVEMENT

The Beat Movement was an "American social and literary movement originating in the 1950s and centred in the bohemian artist communities of San Francisco's North Beach, Los Angeles' Venice West, and New York City's Greenwich Village. Its adherents, self-styled as "beat" (originally meaning "weary," but later also connoting a musical sense, a "beatific" spirituality, and other meanings) and derisively called "beatniks," expressed their alienation from conventional, or "square," society by adopting an almost uniform style of seedy dress, manners, and "hip" vocabulary borrowed from jazz musicians." Amiri Baraka himself was a part of the beat movement and also lived in Greenwich Village until he realized its harmfulness to black America and separated himself from the movement. The Beat's general apolitical and indifference to social problems was infuriating for anyone aiming to create real social change let alone Amiri Baraka calling for black Americans to get up and join the revolution.

To read more about the Beat Movement, click here.

THE BLUES

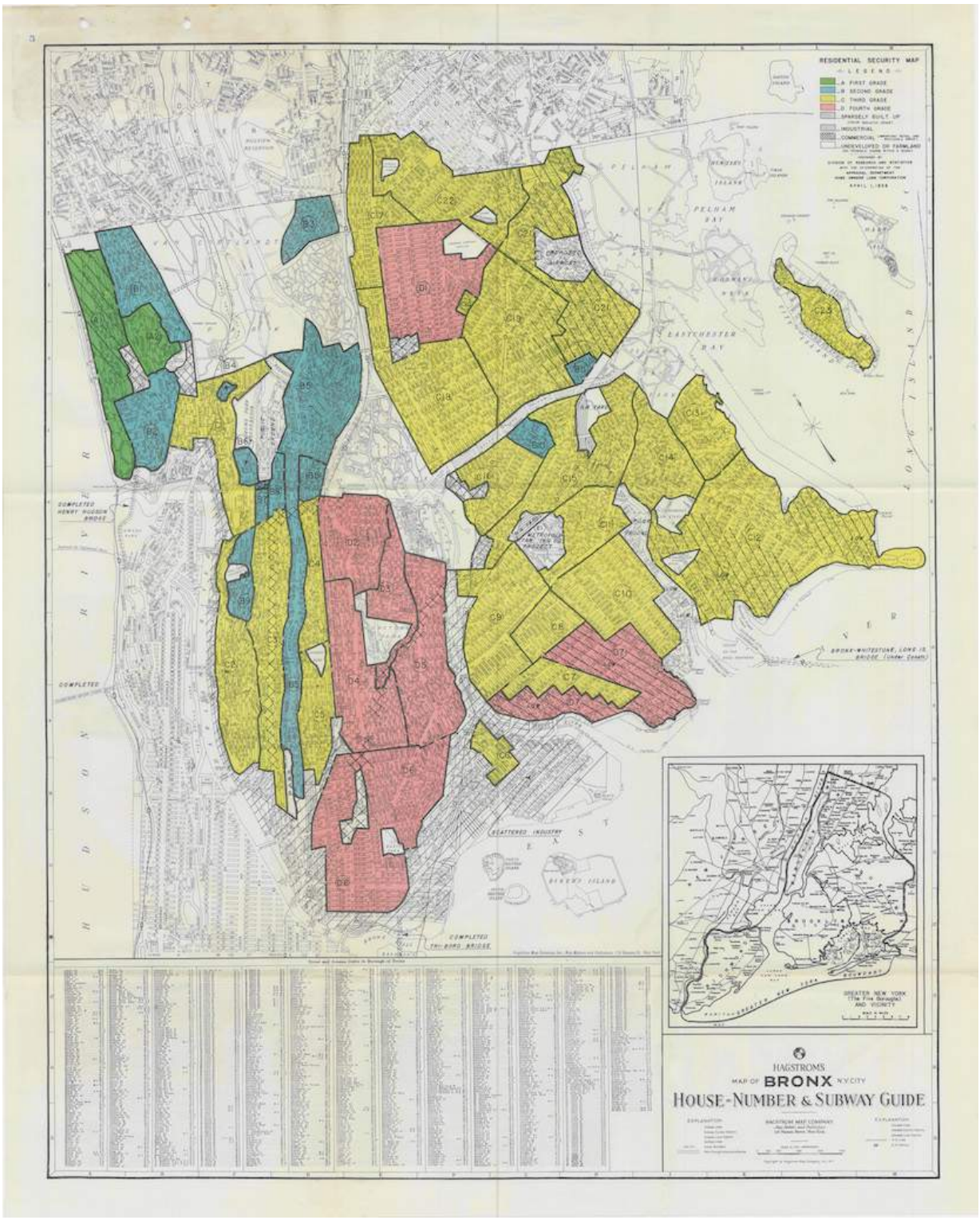
The Blues were heavily influential for Amiri Baraka. In 1963, Baraka published "Blues People: a panoramic sociocultural history of African-American music." This was "the first major book of its kind by a black author." In this book, Baraka focuses on the creators of the blues and discusses how the blues laid the foundation for all American music. Baraka argues "that in their art, Louis Armstrong, Blind Lemon Jefferson, Robert Johnson, Duke Ellington, Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie and countless other black bards confronted the forces of racism, poverty and Jim Crow. This gave birth to work songs, blues, gospel, New Orleans jazz, its Chicago and Kansas City swing extensions, the bebop revolution (which in turn spawned the so-called cool and hard bop schools), and the then-emerging avant-garde of the late '50s and early '60s, characterized by the forward-thinking artistry of Ornette Coleman, John Coltrane and Cecil Taylor. For Baraka, jazz is "the most cosmopolitan of any Negro music, able to utilize almost any foreign influence within its broader spectrum" — a cultural achievement Baraka says was downplayed and ignored by Eurocentric whites."

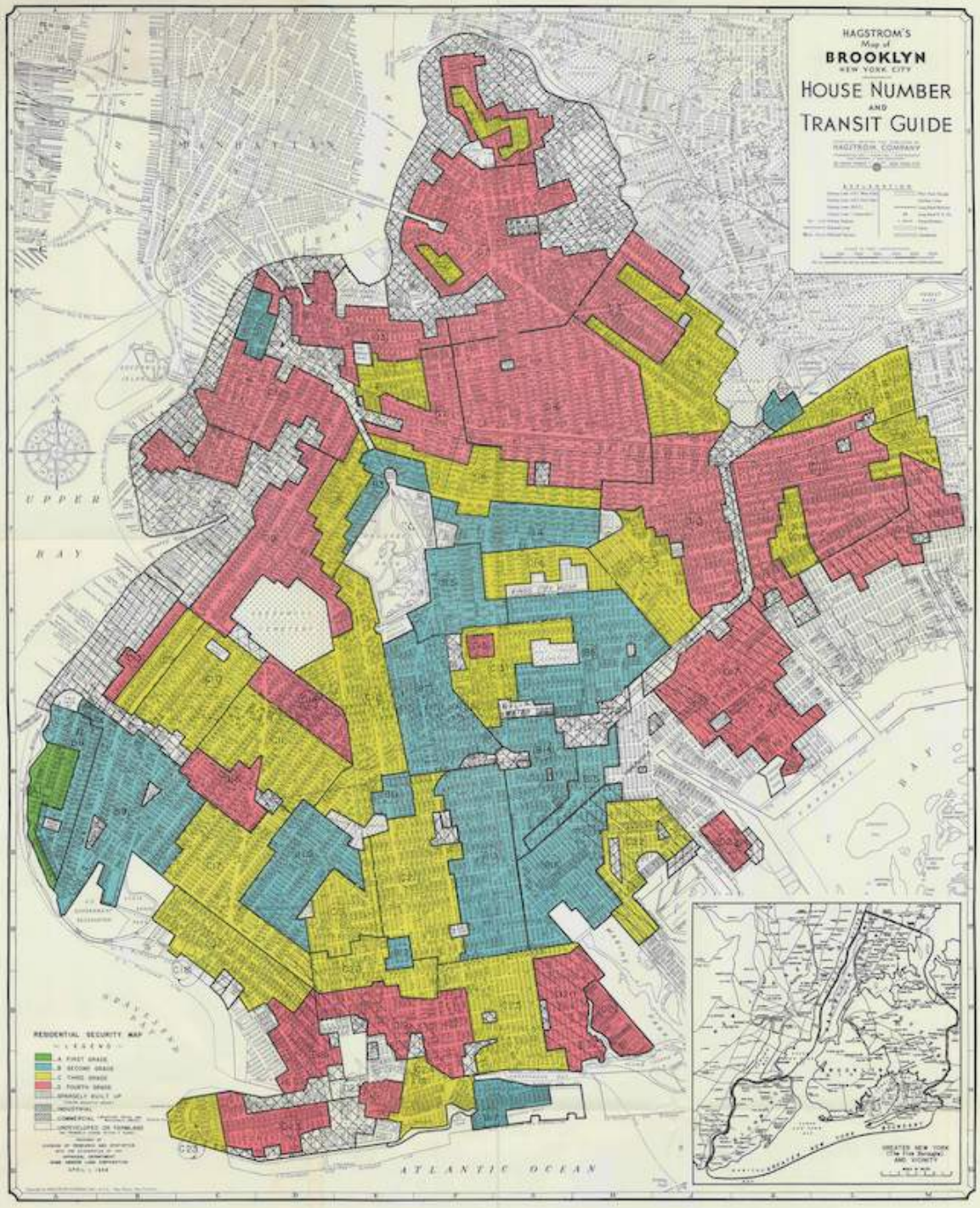
To read more about *Blues People*, click here.

FINAL DRAFT: MAPS (IAN FOUND; AMY ORGANIZED)

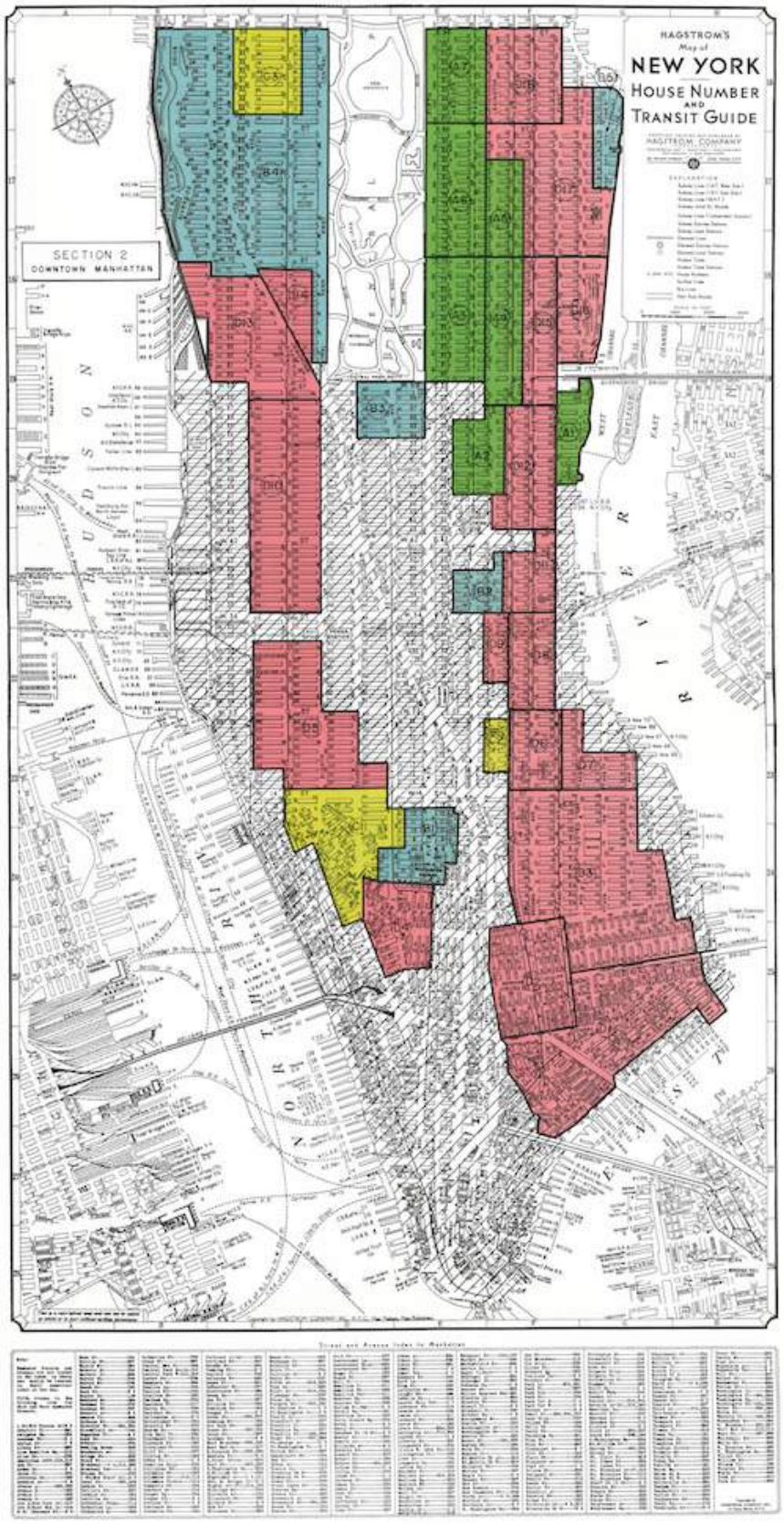
Neighborhood Maps of New York City, NY

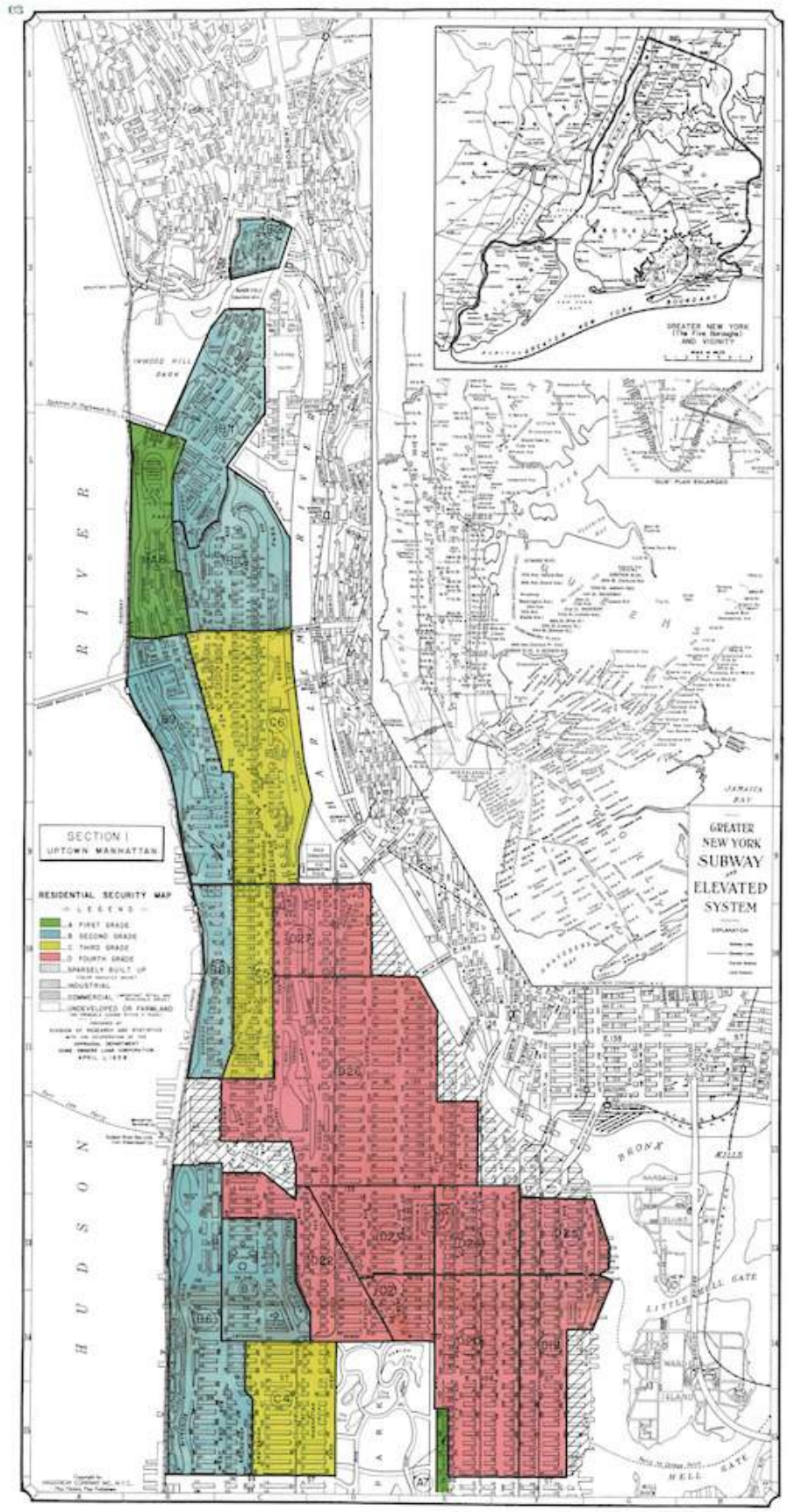
These are maps of redlined districts, which were areas denied federal HFA mortgages and insurance. They were also Black and mixed-race neighborhoods, and this has had an enormous impact on the racial wealth gap.

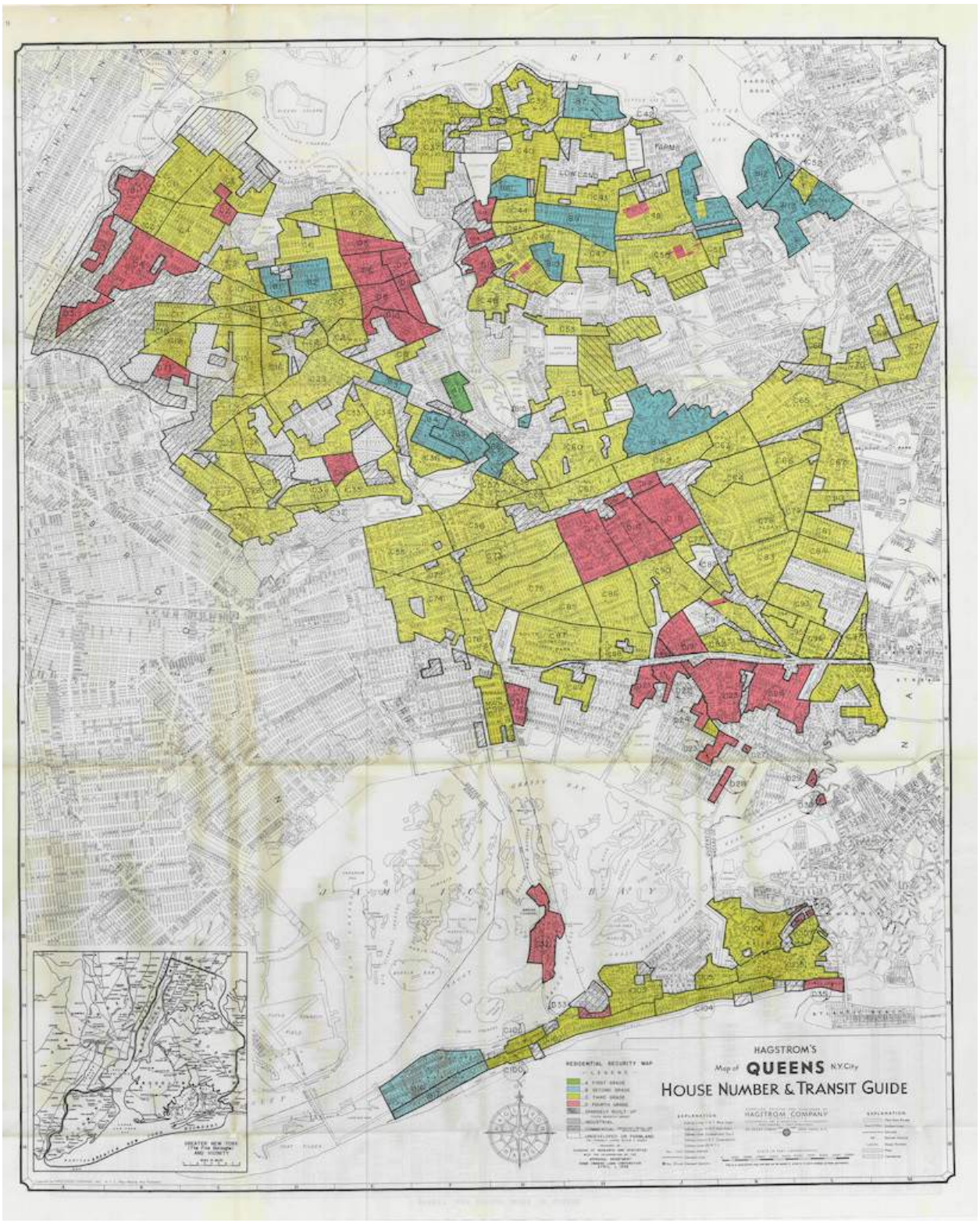

RESIDENTIAL SECURITY MAP
LEGEND
A FIRST GRADE
B SECOND GRADE
C THIRD GRADE
D FOURTH GRADE
SPARSELY BUILT UP
INDUSTRIAL
COMMERCIAL
UNDEVELOPED OR FARMLAND
APRIL 1, 1938
PELHAM BAY
EASTCHESTER BAY
LONG ISLAND SOUND
HUDSON RIVER
COMPLETED HENRY HUDSON BRIDGE
COMPLETED
SCATTERED INDUSTRY
BRONX-WHITESTONE, LONG IS. BRIDGE (UNDER CONST.)
COMPLETED TRI-BORO BRIDGE
GREATER NEW YORK (The Five Boroughs) AND VICINITY
HAGSTROM'S
MAP OF BRONX N.Y.CITY
HOUSE-NUMBER & SUBWAY GUIDE

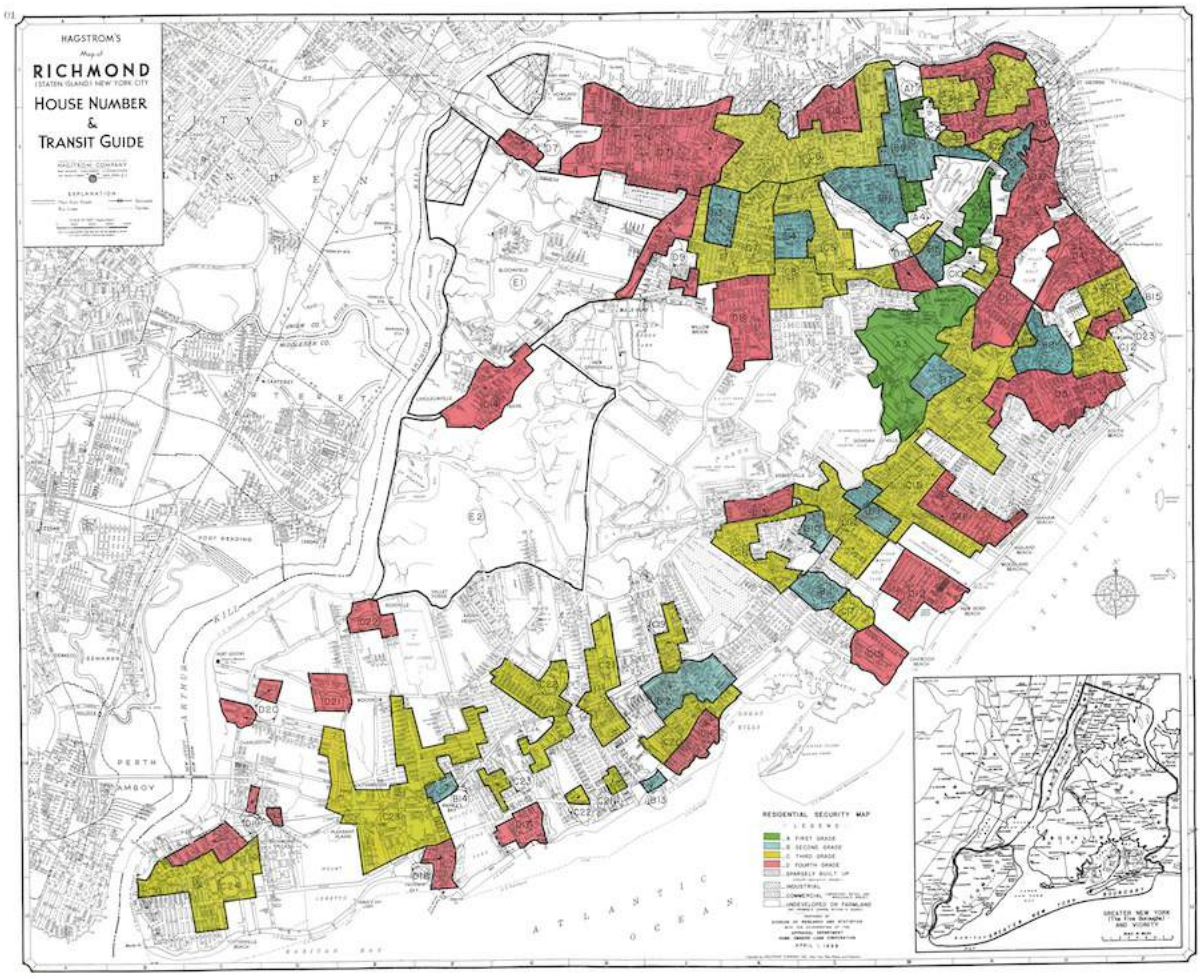


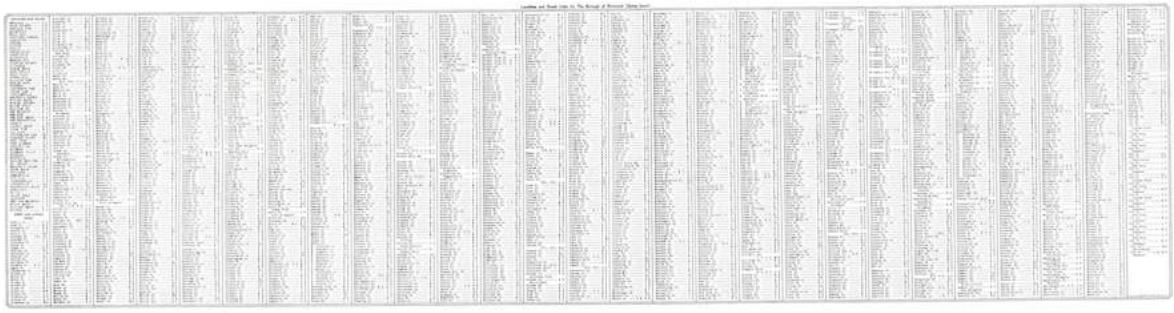
Street and Avenue Index to Brooklyn


HAGSTROM'S
Map of
NEW YORK
HOUSE NUMBER
AND
TRANSIT GUIDE
HAGSTROM COMPANY
SECTION 2
DOWNTOWN MANHATTAN
HUDSON
RIVER
EAST
RIVER


SECTION I
UPTOWN MANHATTAN
RESIDENTIAL SECURITY MAP
— LEGEND —
A FIRST GRADE
B SECOND GRADE
C THIRD GRADE
D FOURTH GRADE
SPARSELY BUILT UP
INDUSTRIAL
COMMERCIAL
UNDEVELOPED OR FARMLAND
GREATER NEW YORK SUBWAY AND ELEVATED SYSTEM
GREATER NEW YORK (The Five Boroughs) AND VICINITY
HUDSON RIVER
HARLEM RIVER
JAMAICA BAY
BRONX
HELL GATE


HAGSTROM'S
Map of QUEENS N.Y.City
HOUSE NUMBER & TRANSIT GUIDE
HAGSTROM COMPANY


HAGSTROM'S
Map of
RICHMOND
(STATEN ISLAND) NEW YORK CITY
HOUSE NUMBER
&
TRANSIT GUIDE
EXPLANATION
RESIDENTIAL SECURITY MAP
LEGEND
A FIRST GRADE
B SECOND GRADE
C THIRD GRADE
D FOURTH GRADE
SPARSELY BUILT UP
INDUSTRIAL
COMMERCIAL
UNDEVELOPED OR FARMLAND
APRIL 1, 1938
GREATER NEW YORK
(THE FIVE BOROUGHS)
AND VICINITY
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
PERTH
AMBOY



DUTCHMAN PRODUCTION HISTORY

FIRST DRAFT: OUTLINE

Productions 1964 - 1992 (Ian)

- 1964 Opening at Cherry Lane Theatre
- 1965 The Black Arts Repertory Theater/School
- 1967 Film
- 1968 Brazil
- 1967 Hampstead Theater Club UK
- 1969 Warsaw Poland

Productions 1993 - 2019 (Amy)

- 2007 Revival at Cherry Lane Theatre
- 2013 Yale Cabaret
- 2014 The National Black Theatre and the Classical Theatre of Harlem on the play's 50th Year Anniversary
- 2015 Woodie King Jr.'s The New Federal Theatre at Castillo Theatre
- 2016 at Penumbra Theatre Company
- 2018 Secret Theater in NYC
- 2018 Theatre of War at the Tank NYC
- 2018 Carnegie Mellon School of Drama
- 2018 Greg Keller's *Dutchman*-inspired play, *Dutch Masters*
- Feb 13-24, 2019 Nebraska Repertory Theatre

FINAL DRAFT: 1-2 PAGE NARRATIVE (IAN)

With the support of Edward Albee's New York Playwrights Unit, Baraka wrote his first play, *Dutchman,* in 1964. The goal of this project was to produce "action theater" which would push the audience to political action. But woven into the fabric of the piece was Avant-garde stylistics. *Dutchman* was well received when it opened at The Cherry Lane Theater of Greenwich Village, as this theater was regarded as the hub of the Beat Avant-garde. The Play's balance between style and its emphasis on myth, ritual and "emancipatory violence" strongly resonated with critics who gave the piece an Obie for Best American Play (Calihman and Early p5).

In its second run at Baraka's Black Arts Reparatory Theater/School, which was founded by Baraka, the political anger of the piece eclipsed its stylistic elements. This production was directed by Baraka's sister, Sondra Lee Jones and featured an entirely Black cast, Lula being played in white-face. It was taken out to numerous public places throughout Harlem where it was enormously successful with audiences but not with critics. Baraka commented: "When we performed *Dutchman* downtown, the white people gave it an Obie award. When we put it out on the street and showed it to black people, it suddenly became 'anti-white' and they pulled the money" (Calihman and Early, p 7).

In 1967 Baraka returned to a strongly stylized telling in his screenplay of *Dutchman*. Anthony Harvey was selected to direct it from his editing work on Dr. Strangelove. In the film version, a good deal of attention was paid to cinematography that did not move the plot. *The New York Times* complained, "at least five to 10 minutes of which must be devoted to shots of empty New York subway stations, with empty trains pulling in and pulling out." Nonetheless, the film was nominated for a Golden Lion, the highest prize given to a film at the Venice Film Festival, and Shirley Knight, who played Lula, won Best Actress at the Venice Film Festival.

Following the film, there were not many productions of *Dutchman* in the U.S. between 1970-2000. But there was a good deal of interest

internationally. Especially in countries with vibrant activist or revolutionary movements: Brazil, South Africa, Poland (Jakubiak pp 44 – 48).

Many of the more recent productions set the production in present day. For example, the 50th anniversary production from The National Black Theatre and the Classical Theatre of Harlem used modern costumes and Yale's 2013 production gave Clay earbuds but did not necessarily specify a time period.

A common thread in recent productions is to break the fourth wall: The 2007 Cherry Street revival had the conductor walking up and down the aisles and the 2012 LA Artworks use of sound made the audience feel as if they were on the train. Some productions even tried to tie the work to current gender issues by having Lula played by a white man.

Because it is so short, *Dutchman* is often coupled with other one-act plays. Although the play was written to stand alone, what it is paired with certainly impacts the experience the audience takes away. When it opened it was paired with Arrabal's *The Two Executioners* or Albee's *The American Dream (*Calihman and Early p 4). The 1967 Hampstead Theater Club production coupled it with Saunders *Neighbors.* Even the film was paired *The Battle of Algiers* in its 1970 run in the United States. Some modern pairings include: *The Burglar Who Failed* by St. John Hankin, Lin-Manel Miranda's short musical, *21 Chump Street, and TRANsit* by Darren Canady.

FINAL DRAFT: CRITICAL REVIEWS (AMY)

This serves as a cover page for the following critical reviews presented in chronological order.

- *(1964) The Theater: 'Dutchman'*
- *(1966) Leroi Jones's 'Dutchman' in Exile*
- *(1968) 'Dutchman' Is Now at Aardvark*
- *(2007) Stage Review: 'Dutchman,' Cherry Lane Theatre, New York*
- *(2012) LA Review: 'Dutchman'*
- *(2014) Dutchman Offers Powerful, Intimate Show*
- *(2015) Woodie King Jr.'s New Federal Theatre Launches Its Season-long Tribute to the Late Amiri Baraka With His Racially Polarizing Drama*
- *(2017) KC MeltingPot Tackles "Dutchman," An Angry, Sadly Relevant '60s Response to Racism*
- *(2018) "Dutchman" At Secret Theatre (1 of 2)*
- *(2018) Boarding the Train with 'Dutchman' (The NoPro Review) (2 of 2)*
- *(2018) Theatre of War's (Flying) Dutchman to Play The Tank*
- *(2018) A Random, Life-Changing Encounter on a Train in Dutch Masters*

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

This page is intentionally left blank.

DUTCHMAN CRITICAL ARTICLES

FIRST & FINAL DRAFT: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baker, Christopher. "A Trip With The Strange Woman: Amiri Baraka's Dutchman and the Book of Proverbs." *South Atlantic Review*, vol. 78, no. 3–4, 2013, p. 110.

Journal article which provides detailed supplemental reading regarding references and symbols used throughout *Dutchman*. Helpful in gaining specificity on Baraka's use of religious allegory as well as his choice to utilize elements of *The Flying Dutchman* legend.

Baraka, Amiri. "The Revolutionary Theatre." *Liberator*, July 1965.

Essay in which LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka defines Revolutionary Theatre and outlines key elements of the movement. Vital document to understanding *Dutchman* and Revolutionary Theatre as a whole both in terms of Baraka's intent in writing *Dutchman* and how, according to Baraka, Revolutionary Theatre serves America.

Booker, Vaughn. "Civil Rights Religion? Rethinking 1950s and 1960s Political Activism for African American Religious History." *Journal of Africana Religions*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2014.

Journal article exploring the intersectionality of the Civil Rights Movement with African American religious history and American political history. Booker argues the complexity of viewing religion as purely activism and/or activism as purely religious. Provides context for African American religion in the 1960s and its role in the Civil Rights Movement.

Bracey, John H., et al., editors. *SOS -- Calling All Black People: A Black Arts Movement Reader*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2014.

Includes key writings from the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, outlines and defines the Black Arts Movement, Black Power Movement and Revolutionary Theatre. The Theory and Criticism section of the book includes an essay by James T. Stewart titled, "The Development of the Black Revolutionary Artist," which may provide more context about the theatrical style, Baraka and his intent. The book also provides context for Cultural Arts surrounding *Dutchman* outside of theatre.

Early, Gerald Lyn and Calihman "Early Productions". *Approaches to Teaching Baraka's Dutchman*. Edited by Early, Gerald Lyn, and Matthew

Calihman. The Modern Language Association of America, 2018 New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2018.

Helpful in understanding how *Dutchman* was received by and pitched to Black militant audiences versus white theater patrons. The work had very different goals when it was staged at the Cherry Lane Theater when compared to the pop – up street theater stagings put on in Harlem.

Hemmer, Kurt. "Breaking from the beats: Teaching *Dutchman* as a critique of Bohemianism,". *Approaches to Teaching Baraka's Dutchman*. Edited by Early, Gerald Lyn, and Matthew Calihman. The Modern Language Association of America, 2018 New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2018

Contextualizes Baraka's rejection of white artist culture in his attempt to create a militant pan-Africanist revolutionary culture.

Rebhorn, Matthew. "Flaying Dutchman: Masochism, Minstrelsy, and the Gender Politics of Amiri Baraka's Dutchman." *Callaloo*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2003, pp. 796–812. *Crossref*, doi:10.1353/cal.2003.0102.

Literary criticism which examines the politics surrounding *Dutchman* with a particular emphasis on gender politics, more specifically, on black masculinity and its harm on society and the Civil Rights Movement. Critiques the harmful messages *Dutchman* might convey and provides context which may be helpful when making production

staff members or executive leaders aware of the challenging portrayal of gender in *Dutchman* and how one might go about embracing or resolving those challenges. Helpful in contextualizing the feminist critique of Dutchman and Baraka's vision of a Black power patriarchy.

Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States*. 1st Harper Perennial Modern Classics deluxe ed. New York: Harper Perennial, 2010.

Zinn's chapter on the Black power pulls everything together to provide the background research for the social pressures and actions that resulted in the civil rights movement.

**Each partner was responsible for providing an annotated list of 4-5 critical articles in order to create a complete list of 8-10 annotated critical articles.*

FINAL DRAFT: CRITICAL ARTICLES

Critical Article #1:

The Revolutionary Theatre by Leroi Jones / Amiri Baraka (Amy)

Summary: *Dutchman* is often referred to as a piece of Revolutionary Theatre, the beginning of a movement called for by Amiri Baraka, but how is Revolutionary Theatre defined? According to Amiri Baraka's essay, *the Revolutionary Theatre*, this theatre should force change, expose, accuse and attack, be political, be of and for victims and help others see how they themselves are also victims. Not for victims to wallow in self-pity but to see "strength in their minds and their bodies" (Baraka 1965). Above all, the Revolutionary Theatre is intentionally *not* meant to be another delightful light hearted easy-to-digest play ending in marriage and poetic justice. Instead, "it must be food for all these who need food, and daring propaganda for the beauty of the Human Mind . . . The Revolutionary Theatre is shaped by the world, and moves to reshape the world" (Baraka 1965). The key quote from this essay is: "We will scream and cry, murder, run through the streets in agony, if it means some soul will be moved, moved to actual life understanding of what the world is, and what it ought to be."

Why You Should Read It in Full: This essay was commissioned only nine months after *Dutchman* premiered and is written by *Dutchman*'s playwright, Amiri Baraka, as a means of defining the revolutionary theatre. *Dutchman* is commonly referred to as the starting point of revolutionary theatre and what better source to go to for a definition of revolutionary theatre than Baraka himself. The essay is short, powerful and worth a read. If you are an auditory learner, you can listen to Baraka read it himself here (only 12 minutes in length).

LeRoi Jones / Amiri Baraka, 1965

LeRoi Jones / Amiri Baraka

THE REVOLUTIONARY THEATRE

Liberator, July 1965

This essay was originally commissioned by the *New York Times* in December 1964, but was refused, with the statement that the editors could not understand it. The *Village Voice* also refused to run this essay. It was first published in *Black Dialogue*.

LeRoi Jones

The Revolutionary Theatre should force change, it should be change. (All their faces turned into the lights and you work on them black nigger magic, and cleanse them at having seen the ugliness and if the beautiful see themselves, they will love themselves.) We are preaching virtue again, but by that to mean NOW, what seems the most constructive use of the word.

The Revolutionary Theatre must EXPOSE! Show up the insides of these humans, look into black skulls. White men will cower before this theatre because it hates them. Because they have been trained to hate. The Revolutionary Theatre must hate them for hating. For presuming with their technology to deny the supremacy of the Spirit. They will all die because of this.

The Revolutionary Theatre must teach them their deaths. It must crack their faces open to the mad cries of the poor. It must teach them about silence and the truths lodged there. It must kill any God anyone names except Common Sense. The Revolutionary Theatre should flush the fags and murders out of Lincoln's face.

It should stagger through our universe correcting, insulting, preaching, spitting craziness . . . but a craziness taught to us in our most rational moments. People must be taught to trust true scientists (knowers, diggers, oddballs) and that the holiness of life is the constant possibility of widening the consciousness. And they must be incited to strike back against *any* agency that attempts to prevent this widening.

The Revolutionary Theatre must Accuse and Attack anything that can be accused and attacked. It must Accuse and Attack because it is a theatre of Victims. It looks at the sky with the victims' eyes, and moves the victims to look at the strength in their minds and their bodies.

Clay, in *Dutchman*, Ray, in *The Toilet*, Walker in *The Slave*, are all victims.[1] In the Western sense they could be heroes. But the Revolutionary Theatre, even if it is Western, must be anti-Western. It must show horrible coming attractions of The Crumbling of the West. Even as Artaud designed The Conquest of

---

[1] Victim characters in Jones's three plays.

Mexico,[2] so we must design The Conquest of White Eye, and show the missionaries and wiggly Liberals dying under blasts of concrete. For sound effects, wild screams of joy, from all the peoples of the world.

The Revolutionary Theatre must take dreams and give them a reality. It must isolate the ritual and historical cycles of reality. But it must be food for all these who need food, and daring propaganda for the beauty of the Human Mind. It is a political theatre, a weapon to help in the slaughter of these dimwitted fat-bellied white guys who somehow believe that the rest of the world is here for them to slobber on.

This should be a theatre of World Spirit. Where the spirit can be shown to be the most competent force in the world. Force. Spirit. Feeling. The language will be anybody's, but tightened by the poet's backbone. And even the language must show what the facts are in this consciousness epic, what's happening. We will talk about the world, and the preciseness with which we are able to summon the world, will be our art. Art is method. And art, "like any ashtray or senator" remains in the world. Wittgenstein said ethics and aesthetics are one. I believe this. So the Broadway theatre is a theatre of reaction whose ethics like its aesthetics reflects the spiritual values of this unholy society, which sends young crackers all over the world blowing off colored people's heads. (In some of these flippy southern towns they even shoot up the immigrants' Favorite Son, be it Michael Schwerner[3] or J. F. Kennedy.)

The Revolutionary Theatre is shaped by the world, and moves to reshape the world, using as its force the natural force and perpetual vibrations of the mind in the world. We are history and desire, what we are, and what any experience can make us.

It is a social theatre, but all theatre is social theatre. But we will change the drawing rooms into places where real things can be said about a real world, or into smoky rooms where the destruction of Washington can be plotted. The Revolutionary Theatre must function like an incendiary pencil planted in Curtis Lemay's cap.[4] So that when the final curtain goes down brains are splattered over the seats and the floor, and bleeding nuns must wire SOS's to Belgians with gold teeth.[5]

Our theatre will show victims so that their brothers in the audience will be better able to understand that they are the brothers of victims, and that they themselves are victims, if they are blood brothers. And what we show must cause the blood to rush, so that pre-revolutionary temperaments will be bathed in this blood, and it will cause their deepest souls to move, and they find themselves tensed and clenched, even ready to die, at what the soul has been taught. We will scream and cry, murder, run through the streets in agony, if it means some soul will be moved, moved to actual life understanding of what the world is, and what it ought to be. We are preaching virtue and feeling, and a natural sense of the self in the world. All men live in the world, and the world ought to be a place for them to live.

What is called the imagination (from image, magi, magic, magician, etc.) is a practical vector from the soul. It stores all data, and can be called on to solve all our "problems." The imagination is the projection of ourselves past our sense of ourselves as "things." Imagination (image) is all possibility, because from the image, the initial circumscribed energy, any use (idea) is possible. And so begins that image's use in the world. Possibility is what moves us.

The popular white man's theatre like the popular white man's novel shows tired white lives, and the problems of eating white sugar, or else it herds bigcaboosed blondes onto huge stages in rhinestones and makes believe they are dancing or singing. *WHITE BUSINESSMEN OF THE WORLD, DO YOU WANT TO SEE PEOPLE REALLY DANCING AND SINGING??? ALL OF YOU GO UP TO HARLEM AND GET YOURSELF KILLED. THERE WILL BE DANCING AND SINGING, THEN, FOR REAL!* (In *The*

---

[2] Antonin Artaud, French playwright and film scriptwriter (1896-1948), espoused a "theater of cruelty," i.e., intense visual and psychological stimuli for the audience, as a mode of revolutionizing theater; he wrote the drama *The Conquest of Mexico* in 1933.
[3] Michael Schwerner. Of the three civil rights workers murdered by the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi in 1964, Schwerner was the white victim.
[4] Curtis LeMay: U.S. Air Force general who advocated aggressive military policies during the Cold War and, in 1965, in Vietnam.
[5] Many Belgian priests and nuns were massacred in 1960 during the Belgian Congo's tumultuous transition from colony to independence.

Slave, Walker Vessels, the black revolutionary, wears an armband, which is the insignia of the attacking army . . . a big red-lipped minstrel, grinning like crazy.)

The liberal white man's objection to the theatre of the revolution (if he is "hip" enough) will be on aesthetic grounds. Most white Western artists do not need to be "political," since usually, whether they know it or not, they are in complete sympathy with the most repressive social forces in the world today. There are more junior birdmen[6] fascists running around the West today disguised as Artists than there are disguised as fascists. (But then, that word, Fascist, and with it, Fascism, has been made obsolete by the words America, and Americanism.) The American Artist usually turns out to be just a super-Bourgeois, because, finally, all he has to show for his sojourn through the world is "better taste" than the Bourgeois . . . many times not even that.[7]

Americans will hate the Revolutionary Theatre because it will be out to destroy them and whatever they believe is real. American cops will try to close the theatres where such nakedness of the human spirit is paraded. American producers will say the revolutionary plays are filth, usually because they will treat human life as if it was actually happening. American directors will say that the white guys in the plays are too abstract and cowardly ("don't get me wrong . . . I mean aesthetically . . .") and they will be right.

The force we want is of twenty million spooks storming America with furious cries and unstoppable weapons. We want actual explosions and actual brutality; *AN EPOCH IS CRUMBLING* and we must give it the space and hugeness of its actual demise. The Revolutionary Theatre, which is now peopled with victims, will soon begin to be peopled with new kinds of heroes . . . not the weak Hamlets debating whether or not they are ready to die for what's on their minds, but men and women (and minds) digging out from under a thousand years of "high art" and weakfaced dalliance. We must make an art that will function as to call down the actual wrath of world spirit. We are witchdoctors and assassins, but we will open a place for the true scientists to expand our consciousness. This is a theatre of assault. The play that will split the heavens for us will be called *THE DESTRUCTION OF AMERICA*. The heroes will be Crazy Horse, Denmark Vessey, Patrice Lumumba,[8] but not history, not memory, not sad sentimental groping for a warmth in our despair; these will be new men, new heroes, and their enemies most of you who are reading this.

---

[6] Junior Birdmen of America: one of several model airplane clubs for boys created in the 1930s (Junior Birdmen created by the Hearst newspaper chain); used as a pejorative term for national youth associations that stress conformity and reward personal identification with group ideals.
[7] Bourgeois: "middle class" (French); used as a pejorative term for those whose values are conformist and materialistic.
[8] Crazy Horse: leader of Lakota resistance against the U.S. government, mid to late 1800s.
Denmark Ves[s]ey: free African American leader of a South Carolina slave revolt, 1822.
Patrice Lumumba: African anti-colonial leader in the Belgian Congo and later prime minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, early 1960s.

Critical Article #2:

A People's History of the United States by Howard Zinn (Ian)

Summary: The entire chapter is really excellent background into the political struggles of the time, but following are particularly important:

- The section on the Freedom Riders on p443 is a very salient example of the government's refusal to act. Zinn documents multiple cases where FBI agents would take notes while Freedom Riders were attacked but would not intervene.
- Actors should pay particular attention to Malcolm X's quote on p449. This very succinctly captures the feeling that the non-violent resistance was seen as selling out the movement.
- Pp 456–457 is a useful telling of the melding of Black Power and Marxist ideology that was essential in the creation of the Black Panthers.

Why You Should Read It: I think it is useful for the entire cast to read this chapter from Howard Zinn's book because it gives a very clear and concise telling of the political circumstances *Dutchman* was born of. This is important in that it was written as "action theater" and its intent was to push audiences to change society. Clay's final monologue is a sort of call to arms to bring about Black power by militant methods. The militant Black Power movement, of which Baraka was advocating, did not arise out of nowhere, it was a reaction to the consistent refusal of the US government to enforce existing law to protect Black people from violence and oppression during and up through the Civil Rights movement. In this day of extremophobia, where entire religions are branded as violent fundamentalists, it is crucial that the actors understand where the call for violent revolution stems from if they are to convincingly play their roles. This is especially true in the Black power movement; Martin Luther King is consistently held up as saintly and wise, but it is forgotten that he was attempting to break oppression.

17.
"Or Does It Explode?"

The black revolt of the 1950s and 1960s—North and South—came as a surprise. But perhaps it should not have. The memory of oppressed people is one thing that cannot be taken away, and for such people, with such memories, revolt is always an inch below the surface. For blacks in the United States, there was the memory of slavery, and after that of segregation, lynching, humiliation. And it was not just a memory but a living presence—part of the daily lives of blacks in generation after generation.

In the 1930s, Langston Hughes wrote a poem, "Lenox Avenue Mural":

> What happens to a dream deferred?
> Does it dry up
> like a raisin in the sun?
> Or fester like a sore—
> And then run?
> Does it stink like rotten meat?
> Or crust and sugar over—
> like a syrupy sweet?
>
> Maybe it just sags like a heavy load.
>
> Or does it explode?

In a society of complex controls, both crude and refined, secret thoughts can often be found in the arts, and so it was in black society. Perhaps the blues, however pathetic, concealed anger; and the jazz, however joyful, portended rebellion. And then the poetry, the thoughts no longer so secret. In the 1920s, Claude McKay, one of the figures of what came to be called the "Harlem Renaissance," wrote a poem that Henry Cabot Lodge put in the *Congressional Record* as an example of dangerous currents among young blacks:

> If we must die, let it not be like hogs
> Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot. . . .
> Like men we'll face the murderous cowardly pack,
> Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

Countee Cullen's poem "Incident" evoked memories—all different, all the same—out of every black American's childhood:

Once riding in old Baltimore,
Heart-filled, head-filled with glee,
I saw a Baltimorean
Keep looking straight at me.

Now I was eight and very small,
And he was no whit bigger,
And so I smiled, but he poked out
His tongue, and called me, "Nigger."

I saw the whole of Baltimore
From May until December;
Of all the things that happened there
That's all that I remember.

At the time of the Scottsboro Boys incident, Cullen wrote a bitter poem noting that white poets had used their pens to protest in other cases of injustice, but now that blacks were involved, most were silent. His last stanza was:

Surely, I said,
Now will the poets sing.
But they have raised no cry.
I wonder why.

Even outward subservience—Uncle Tom behavior in real situations, the comic or fawning Negro on the stage, the self-ridicule, the caution—concealed resentment, anger, energy. The black poet Paul Laurence Dunbar, in the era of the black minstrel, around the turn of the century, wrote "We Wear the Mask":

We wear the mask that grins and lies,
It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes,—

. . . We sing, but oh, the clay is vile
Beneath our feet, and long the mile;
But let the world dream otherwise,
We wear the mask.

Two black performers of that time played the minstrel and satirized it at the same time. When Bert Williams and George Walker billed themselves as "Two Real Coons," they were, Nathan Huggins says, "intending to give style and comic dignity to a fiction that white men had created. . . ."

By the 1930s the mask was off for many black poets. Langston Hughes wrote "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. . . .

Gwendolyn Bennett wrote:

I want to see lithe Negro girls,
Etched dark against the sky
While sunset lingers. . . .

I want to hear the chanting
Around a heathen fire
Of a strange black race. . . .

I want to feel the surging
Of my sad people's soul
Hidden by a minstrel-smile.

There was Margaret Walker's prose-poem "For My People":

. . . Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth, let a people loving freedom come to growth, let a beauty full of healing and a strength of final clenching be the pulsing in our spirits and our blood. Let the martial songs be written, let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control!

By the 1940s there was Richard Wright, a gifted novelist, a black man. His autobiography of 1937, *Black Boy*, gave endless insights: for instance, how blacks were set against one another, when he told how he was prodded to fight another black boy for the amusement of white men. *Black Boy* expressed unashamedly every humiliation and then:

The white South said that it knew "niggers," and I was what the white South called a "nigger." Well, the white South had never known me—never known what I thought, what I felt. The white South said that I had a "place"

in life. Well, I had never felt my "place"; or, rather, my deepest instincts had always made me reject the "place" to which the white South had assigned me. It had never occurred to me that I was in any way an inferior being. And no word that I had ever heard fall from the lips of southern white men had ever made me really doubt the worth of my own humanity.

It was all there in the poetry, the prose, the music, sometimes masked, sometimes unmistakably clear—the signs of a people unbeaten, waiting, hot, coiled.

In *Black Boy*, Wright told about the training of black children in America to keep them silent. But also:

How do Negroes feel about the way they have to live? How do they discuss it when alone among themselves? I think this question can be answered in a single sentence. A friend of mine who ran an elevator once told me:

"Lawd, man! Ef it wuzn't fer them polices 'n' them ol' lynch mobs, there wouldn't be nothin' but uproar down here!"

Richard Wright, for a time, joined the Communist party (he tells of this period of his life, and his disillusionment with the party, in *The God That Failed*). The Communist party was known to pay special attention to the problem of race equality. When the Scottsboro case unfolded in the 1930s in Alabama, it was the Communist party that had become associated with the defense of these young black men imprisoned, in the early years of the Depression, by southern injustice.

The party was accused by liberals and the NAACP of exploiting the issue for its own purposes, and there was a half-truth in it, but black people were realistic about the difficulty of having white allies who were pure in motive. The other half of the truth was that black Communists in the South had earned the admiration of blacks by their organizing work against enormous obstacles. There was Hosea Hudson, the black organizer of the unemployed in Birmingham, for instance. And in Georgia, in 1932, a nineteen-year-old black youth named Angelo Herndon, whose father died of miner's pneumonia, who had worked in mines as a boy in Kentucky, joined an Unemployment Council in Birmingham organized by the Communist party, and then joined the party. He wrote later:

All my life I'd been sweated and stepped-on and Jim-Crowed. I lay on my belly in the mines for a few dollars a week, and saw my pay stolen and slashed, and my buddies killed. I lived in the worst section of town, and rode behind the "Colored" signs on streetcars, as though there was something disgusting about me. I heard myself called "nigger" and "darky" and I had

to say "Yes, sir" to every white man, whether he had my respect or not.

I had always detested it, but I had never known that anything could be done about it. And here, all of a sudden, I had found organizations in which Negroes and whites sat together, and worked together, and knew no difference of race or color. . . .

Herndon became a Communist party organizer in Atlanta. He and his fellow Communists organized block committees of Unemployment Councils in 1932 which got rent relief for needy people. They organized a demonstration to which a thousand people came, six hundred of them white, and the next day the city voted $6,000 in relief to the jobless. But soon after that Herndon was arrested, held incommunicado, and charged with violating a Georgia statute against insurrection. He recalled his trial:

The state of Georgia displayed the literature that had been taken from my room, and read passages of it to the jury. They questioned me in great detail. Did I believe that the bosses and government ought to pay insurance to unemployed workers? That Negroes should have complete equality with white people? Did I believe in the demand for the self-determination of the Black Belt—that the Negro people should be allowed to rule the Black Belt territory, kicking out the white landlords and government officials? Did I feel that the working-class could run the mills and mines and government? That it wasn't necessary to have bosses at all?

I told them I believed all of that—and more. . . .

Herndon was convicted and spent five years in prison until in 1937 the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional the Georgia statute under which he was found guilty. It was men like him who represented to the Establishment a dangerous militancy among blacks, made more dangerous when linked with the Communist party.

There were others who made that same connection, magnifying the danger: Benjamin Davis, the black lawyer who defended Herndon at his trial; nationally renowned men like singer and actor Paul Robeson, and writer and scholar W. E. B. Du Bois, who did not hide their support and sympathy for the Communist party. The Negro was not as anti-Communist as the white population. He could not afford to be, his friends were so few—so that Herndon, Davis, Robeson, Du Bois, however their political views might be maligned by the country as a whole, found admiration for their fighting spirit in the black community.

The black militant mood, flashing here and there in the thirties, was reduced to a subsurface simmering during World War II, when

the nation on the one hand denounced racism, and on the other hand maintained segregation in the armed forces and kept blacks in low-paying jobs. When the war ended, a new element entered the racial balance in the United States—the enormous, unprecedented upsurge of black and yellow people in Africa and Asia.

President Harry Truman had to reckon with this, especially as the cold war rivalry with the Soviet Union began, and the dark-skinned revolt of former colonies all over the world threatened to take Marxist form. Action on the race question was needed, not just to calm a black population at home emboldened by war promises, frustrated by the basic sameness of their condition. It was needed to present to the world a United States that could counter the continuous Communist thrust at the most flagrant failure of American society—the race question. What Du Bois had said long ago, unnoticed, now loomed large in 1945: "The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line."

President Harry Truman, in late 1946, appointed a Committee on Civil Rights, which recommended that the civil rights section of the Department of Justice be expanded, that there be a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, that Congress pass laws against lynching and to stop voting discrimination, and suggested new laws to end racial discrimination in jobs.

Truman's Committee was blunt about its motivation in making these recommendations. Yes, it said, there was "moral reason:" a matter of conscience. But there was also an "economic reason"—discrimination was costly to the country, wasteful of its talent. And, perhaps most important, there was an international reason:

> Our position in the post-war world is so vital to the future that our smallest actions have far-reaching effects. . . . We cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics. The world's press and radio are full of it. . . . Those with competing philosophies have stressed—and are shamelessly distorting—our shortcomings. . . . They have tried to prove our democracy an empty fraud, and our nation a consistent oppressor of underprivileged people. This may seem ludicrous to Americans, but it is sufficiently important to worry our friends. The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record.

The United States was out in the world now in a way it had never been. The stakes were large—world supremacy. And, as Truman's Committee said: ". . . our smallest actions have far-reaching effects."

And so the United States went ahead to take small actions, hoping they would have large effects. Congress did not move to enact the legislation asked for by the Committee on Civil Rights. But Truman—four months before the presidential election of 1948, and challenged from the left in that election by Progressive party candidate Henry Wallace—issued an executive order asking that the armed forces, segregated in World War II, institute policies of racial equality "as rapidly as possible." The order may have been prompted not only by the election but by the need to maintain black morale in the armed forces, as the possibility of war grew. It took over a decade to complete the desegregation in the military.

Truman could have issued executive orders in other areas, but did not. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, plus the set of laws passed in the late 1860s and early 1870s, gave the President enough authority to wipe out racial discrimination. The Constitution demanded that the President execute the laws, but no President had used that power. Neither did Truman. For instance, he asked Congress for legislation "prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation facilities"; but specific legislation in 1887 already barred discrimination in interstate transportation and had never been enforced by executive action.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court was taking steps—ninety years after the Constitution had been amended to establish racial equality—to move toward that end. During the war it ruled that the "white primary" used to exclude blacks from voting in the Democratic party primaries—which in the South were really the elections—was unconstitutional.

In 1954, the Court finally struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine that it had defended since the 1890s. The NAACP brought a series of cases before the Court to challenge segregation in the public schools, and now in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* the Court said the separation of schoolchildren "generates a feeling of inferiority . . . that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." In the field of public education, it said, "the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." The Court did not insist on immediate change: a year later it said that segregated facilities should be integrated "with all deliberate speed." By 1965, ten years after the "all deliberate speed" guideline, more than 75 percent of the school districts in the South remained segregated.

Still, it was a dramatic decision—and the message went around the world in 1954 that the American government had outlawed segrega-

tion. In the United States too, for those not thinking about the customary gap between word and fact, it was an exhilarating sign of change.

What to others seemed rapid progress to blacks was apparently not enough. In the early 1960s black people rose in rebellion all over the South. And in the late 1960s they were engaging in wild insurrection in a hundred northern cities. It was all a surprise to those without that deep memory of slavery, that everyday presence of humiliation, registered in the poetry, the music, the occasional outbursts of anger, the more frequent sullen silences. Part of that memory was of words uttered, laws passed, decisions made, which turned out to be meaningless.

For such a people, with such a memory, and such daily recapitulation of history, revolt was always minutes away, in a timing mechanism which no one had set, but which might go off with some unpredictable set of events. Those events came, at the end of 1955, in the capital city of Alabama—Montgomery.

Three months after her arrest, Mrs. Rosa Parks, a forty-three-year-old seamstress, explained why she refused to obey the Montgomery law providing for segregation on city buses, why she decided to sit down in the "white" section of the bus:

> Well, in the first place, I had been working all day on the job. I was quite tired after spending a full day working. I handle and work on clothing that white people wear. That didn't come in my mind but this is what I wanted to know: when and how would we ever determine our rights as human beings? . . . It just happened that the driver made a demand and I just didn't feel like obeying his demand. He called a policeman and I was arrested and placed in jail. . . .

Montgomery blacks called a mass meeting. They voted to boycott all city buses. Car pools were organized to take Negroes to work; most people walked. The city retaliated by indicting one hundred leaders of the boycott, and sent many to jail. White segregationists turned to violence. Bombs exploded in four Negro churches. A shotgun blast was fired through the front door of the home of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the twenty-seven-year-old Atlanta-born minister who was one of the leaders of the boycott. King's home was bombed. But the black people of Montgomery persisted, and in November 1956, the Supreme Court outlawed segregation on local bus lines.

Montgomery was the beginning. It forecast the style and mood of the vast protest movement that would sweep the South in the next

ten years: emotional church meetings, Christian hymns adapted to current battles, references to lost American ideals, the commitment to nonviolence, the willingness to struggle and sacrifice. A *New York Times* reporter described a mass meeting in Montgomery during the boycott:

> One after the other, indicted Negro leaders took the rostrum in a crowded Baptist church tonight to urge their followers to shun the city's buses and "walk with God."
>
> More than two thousand Negroes filled the church from basement to balcony and overflowed into the street. They chanted and sang; they shouted and prayed; they collapsed in the aisles and they sweltered in an eighty-five degree heat. They pledged themselves again and again to "passive resistance." Under this banner they have carried on for eighty days a stubborn boycott of the city's buses.

Martin Luther King at that meeting gave a preview of the oratory that would soon inspire millions of people to demand racial justice. He said the protest was not merely over buses but over things that "go deep down into the archives of history." He said:

> We have known humiliation, we have known abusive language, we have been plunged into the abyss of oppression. And we decided to raise up only with the weapon of protest. It is one of the greatest glories of America that we have the right of protest.
>
> If we are arrested every day, if we are exploited every day, if we are trampled over every day, don't ever let anyone pull you so low as to hate them. We must use the weapon of love. We must have compassion and understanding for those who hate us. We must realize so many people are taught to hate us that they are not totally responsible for their hate. But we stand in life at midnight, we are always on the threshold of a new dawn.

King's stress on love and nonviolence was powerfully effective in building a sympathetic following throughout the nation, among whites as well as blacks. But there were blacks who thought the message naïve, that while there were misguided people who might be won over by love, there were others who would have to be bitterly fought, and not always with nonviolence. Two years after the Montgomery boycott, in Monroe, North Carolina, an ex-marine named Robert Williams, the president of the local NAACP, became known for his view that blacks should defend themselves against violence, with guns if necessary. When local Klansmen attacked the home of one of the leaders of the Monroe NAACP, Williams and other blacks, armed with rifles, fired back. The Klan left. (The Klan was being challenged now with its own tactic of

violence; a Klan raid on an Indian community in North Carolina was repelled by Indians firing rifles.)

Still, in the years that followed, southern blacks stressed nonviolence. On February 1, 1960, four freshmen at a Negro college in Greensboro, North Carolina, decided to sit down at the Woolworth's lunch counter downtown, where only whites ate. They were refused service, and when they would not leave, the lunch counter was closed for the day. The next day they returned, and then, day after day, other Negroes came to sit silently.

In the next two weeks, sit-ins spread to fifteen cities in five southern states. A seventeen-year-old sophomore at Spelman College in Atlanta, Ruby Doris Smith, heard about Greensboro:

> When the student committee was formed . . . I told my older sister . . . to put me on the list. And when two hundred students were selected for the first demonstration I was among them. I went through the food line in the restaurant at the State Capitol with six other students, but when we got to the cashier she wouldn't take our money. . . . The Lieutenant-Governor came down and told us to leave. We didn't and went to the county jail.

In his Harlem apartment in New York, a young Negro teacher of mathematics named Bob Moses saw a photo in the newspapers of the Greensboro sit-inners. "The students in that picture had a certain look on their faces, sort of sullen, angry, determined. Before, the Negro in the South had always looked on the defensive, cringing. This time they were taking the initiative. They were kids my age, and I knew this had something to do with my own life."

There was violence against the sit-inners. But the idea of taking the initiative against segregation took hold. In the next twelve months, more than fifty thousand people, mostly black, some white, participated in demonstrations of one kind or another in a hundred cities, and over 3,600 people were put in jail. But by the end of 1960, lunch counters were open to blacks in Greensboro and many other places.

A year after the Greensboro incident, a northern-based group dedicated to racial equality—CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)—organized "Freedom Rides" in which blacks and whites traveled together on buses going through the South, to try to break the segregation pattern in interstate travel. Such segregation had long been illegal, but the federal government never enforced the law in the South; the President now was John F. Kennedy, but he too seemed cautious about the race

question, concerned about the support of southern white leaders of the Democratic party.

The two buses that left Washington, D.C., on May 4, 1961, headed for New Orleans, never got there. In South Carolina, riders were beaten. In Alabama, a bus was set afire. Freedom Riders were attacked with fists and iron bars. The southern police did not interfere with any of this violence, nor did the federal government. FBI agents watched, took notes, did nothing.

At this point, veterans of the sit-ins, who had recently formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), dedicated to nonviolent but militant action for equal rights, organized another Freedom Ride, from Nashville to Birmingham. Before they started out, they called the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C., to ask for protection. As Ruby Doris Smith reported: ". . . the Justice Department said no, they couldn't protect anyone, but if something happened, they would investigate. You know how they do. . . ."

The racially mixed SNCC Freedom Riders were arrested in Birmingham, Alabama, spent a night in jail, were taken to the Tennessee border by police, made their way back to Birmingham, took a bus to Montgomery, and there were attacked by whites with fists and clubs, in a bloody scene. They resumed their trip, to Jackson, Mississippi.

By this time the Freedom Riders were in the news all over the world, and the government was anxious to prevent further violence. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, instead of insisting on their right to travel without being arrested, agreed to the Freedom Riders' being arrested in Jackson, in return for Mississippi police protection against possible mob violence. As Victor Navasky comments in *Kennedy Justice*, about Robert Kennedy: "He didn't hesitate to trade the freedom riders' constitutional right to interstate travel for Senator Eastland's guarantee of their right to live."

The Freedom Riders did not become subdued in jail. They resisted, protested, sang, demanded their rights. Stokely Carmichael recalled later how he and his fellow inmates were singing in the Parchman jail in Mississippi and the sheriff threatened to take away their mattresses:

> I hung on to the mattress and said, "I think we have a right to them and I think you're unjust." And he said, "I don't want to hear all that shit, nigger," and started to put on the wristbreakers. I wouldn't move and started to sing "I'm Gonna Tell God How You Treat Me" and everybody started

to sing it, and by this time Tyson was really to pieces. He called to the trusties, "Get him in there!" and he went out the door and slammed it, and left everybody else with their mattresses.

In Albany, Georgia, a small deep-South town where the atmosphere of slavery still lingered, mass demonstrations took place in the winter of 1961 and again in 1962. Of 22,000 black people in Albany, over a thousand went to jail for marching, assembling, to protest segregation and discrimination. Here, as in all the demonstrations that would sweep over the South, little black children participated—a new generation was learning to act. The Albany police chief, after one of the mass arrests, was taking the names of prisoners lined up before his desk. He looked up and saw a Negro boy about nine years old. "What's your name?" The boy looked straight at him and said: "Freedom, Freedom."

There is no way of measuring the effect of that southern movement on the sensibilities of a whole generation of young black people, or of tracing the process by which some of them became activists and leaders. In Lee County, Georgia, after the events of 1961–1962, a black teenager named James Crawford joined SNCC and began taking black people to the county courthouse to vote. One day, bringing a woman there, he was approached by the deputy registrar. Another SNCC worker took notes on the conversation:

REGISTRAR: What do you want?
CRAWFORD: I brought this lady down to register.
REGISTRAR: (after giving the woman a card to fill out and sending her outside in the hall) Why did you bring this lady down here?
CRAWFORD: Because she wants to be a first class citizen like y'all.
REGISTRAR: Who are you to bring people down to register?
CRAWFORD: It's my job.
REGISTRAR: Suppose you get two bullets in your head right now?
CRAWFORD: I got to die anyhow.
REGISTRAR: If I don't do it, I can get somebody else to do it. (No reply)
REGISTRAR: Are you scared?
CRAWFORD: No.
REGISTRAR: Suppose somebody came in that door and shoot you in the back of the head right now. What would you do?
CRAWFORD: I couldn't do nothing. If they shoot me in the back of the head there are people coming from all over the world.
REGISTRAR: What people?
CRAWFORD: The people I work for.

In Birmingham in 1963, thousands of blacks went into the streets, facing police clubs, tear gas, dogs, high-powered water hoses. And meanwhile, all over the deep South, the young people of SNCC, mostly black, a few white, were moving into communities in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas. Joined by local black people, they were organizing, to register people to vote, to protest against racism, to build up courage against violence. The Department of Justice recorded 1412 demonstrations in three months of 1963. Imprisonment became commonplace, beatings became frequent. Many local people were afraid. Others came forward. A nineteen-year-old black student from Illinois named Carver Neblett, working for SNCC in Terrell County, Georgia, reported:

> I talked with a blind man who is extremely interested in the civil rights movement. He has been keeping up with the movement from the beginning. Even though this man is blind he wants to learn all the questions on the literacy test. Imagine, while many are afraid that white men will burn our houses, shoot into them, or put us off their property, a blind man, seventy years old, wants to come to our meetings.

As the summer of 1964 approached, SNCC and other civil rights groups working together in Mississippi, and facing increasing violence, decided to call upon young people from other parts of the country for help. They hoped that would bring attention to the situation in Mississippi. Again and again in Mississippi and elsewhere, the FBI had stood by, lawyers for the Justice Department had stood by, while civil rights workers were beaten and jailed, while federal laws were violated.

On the eve of the Mississippi Summer, in early June 1964, the civil rights movement rented a theater near the White House, and a busload of black Mississippians traveled to Washington to testify publicly about the daily violence, the dangers facing the volunteers coming into Mississippi. Constitutional lawyers testified that the national government had the legal power to give protection against such violence. The transcript of this testimony was given to President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy, accompanied by a request for a protective federal presence during the Mississippi Summer. There was no response.

Twelve days after the public hearing, three civil rights workers, James Chaney, a young black Mississippian, and two white volunteers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, were arrested in Philadelphia, Mississippi, released from jail late at night, then seized, beaten

with chains, and shot to death. Ultimately, an informer's testimony led to jail sentences for the sheriff and deputy sheriff and others. That came too late. The Mississippi murders had taken place after the repeated refusal of the national government, under Kennedy or Johnson, or any other President, to defend blacks against violence.

Dissatisfaction with the national government intensified. Later that summer, during the Democratic National Convention in Washington, Mississippi, blacks asked to be seated as part of the state delegation to represent the 40 percent of the state's population who were black. They were turned down by the liberal Democratic leadership, including vice-presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey.

Congress began reacting to the black revolt, the turmoil, the world publicity. Civil rights laws were passed in 1957, 1960, and 1964. They promised much, on voting equality, on employment equality, but were enforced poorly or ignored. In 1965, President Johnson sponsored and Congress passed an even stronger Voting Rights Law, this time ensuring on-the-spot federal protection of the right to register and vote. The effect on Negro voting in the South was dramatic. In 1952, a million southern blacks (20 percent of those eligible) registered to vote. In 1964 the number was 2 million—40 percent. By 1968, it was 3 million, 60 percent—the same percentage as white voters.

The federal government was trying—without making fundamental changes—to control an explosive situation, to channel anger into the traditional cooling mechanism of the ballot box, the polite petition, the officially endorsed quiet gathering. When black civil rights leaders planned a huge march on Washington in the summer of 1963 to protest the failure of the nation to solve the race problem, it was quickly embraced by President Kennedy and other national leaders, and turned into a friendly assemblage.

Martin Luther King's speech there thrilled 200,000 black and white Americans—"I have a dream. . . ." It was magnificent oratory, but without the anger that many blacks felt. When John Lewis, a young Alabama-born SNCC leader, much arrested, much beaten, tried to introduce a stronger note of outrage at the meeting, he was censored by the leaders of the march, who insisted he omit certain sentences critical of the national government and urging militant action.

Eighteen days after the Washington gathering, almost as if in deliberate contempt for its moderation, a bomb exploded in the basement of a black church in Birmingham and four girls attending a Sunday school class were killed. President Kennedy had praised the "deep fervor

and quiet dignity" of the march, but the black militant Malcolm X was probably closer to the mood of the black community. Speaking in Detroit two months after the march on Washington and the Birmingham bombing, Malcolm X said, in his powerful, icy-clear, rhythmic style:

> The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. . . . That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress, and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any airplanes land. I'm telling you what they said. That was revolution. That was revolution. That was the black revolution.
>
> It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D.C. to death; I was there. When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in . . . these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, "Call it off," Kennedy said. "Look you all are letting this thing go too far." And Old Tom said, "Boss, I can't stop it because I didn't start it." I'm telling you what they said. They said, "I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it." They said, "These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us." And that old shrewd fox, he said, "If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it."
>
> This is what they did with the march on Washington. They joined it . . . became part of it, took it over. And as they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. Nothing but a circus, with clowns and all. . . .
>
> No, it was a sellout. It was a takeover. . . . They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, where to stop, what signs to carry, what song to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make, and then told them to get out of town by sundown. . . .

The accuracy of Malcolm X's caustic description of the march on Washington is corroborated in the description from the other side—from the Establishment, by White House adviser Arthur Schlesinger, in his book *A Thousand Days*. He tells how Kennedy met with the civil rights leaders and said the march would "create an atmosphere of intimidation" just when Congress was considering civil rights bills. A. Philip Randolph replied: "The Negroes are already in the streets. It is very likely impossible to get them off. . . ." Schlesinger says:

"The conference with the President did persuade the civil rights leaders that they should not lay siege to Capitol Hill." Schlesinger describes the Washington march admiringly and then concludes: "So in 1963 Kennedy moved to incorporate the Negro revolution into the democratic coalition. . . ."

But it did not work. The black could not be easily brought into "the democratic coalition" when bombs kept exploding in churches, when new "civil rights" laws did not change the root condition of black people. In the spring of 1963, the rate of unemployment for whites was 4.8 percent. For nonwhites it was 12.1 percent. According to government estimates, one-fifth of the white population was below the poverty line, and one-half of the black population was below that line. The civil rights bills emphasized voting, but voting was not a fundamental solution to racism or poverty. In Harlem, blacks who had voted for years still lived in rat-infested slums.

In precisely those years when civil rights legislation coming out of Congress reached its peak, 1964 and 1965, there were black outbreaks in every part of the country: in Florida, set off by the killing of a Negro woman and a bomb threat against a Negro high school; in Cleveland, set off by the killing of a white minister who sat in the path of a bulldozer to protest discrimination against blacks in construction work; in New York, set off by the fatal shooting of a fifteen-year-old Negro boy during a fight with an off-duty policeman. There were riots also in Rochester, Jersey City, Chicago, Philadelphia.

In August 1965, just as Lyndon Johnson was signing into law the strong Voting Rights Act, providing for federal registration of black voters to ensure their protection, the black ghetto in Watts, Los Angeles, erupted in the most violent urban outbreak since World War II. It was provoked by the forcible arrest of a young Negro driver, the clubbing of a bystander by police, the seizure of a young black woman falsely accused of spitting on the police. There was rioting in the streets, looting and firebombing of stores. Police and National Guardsmen were called in; they used their guns. Thirty-four people were killed, most of them black, hundreds injured, four thousand arrested. Robert Conot, a West Coast journalist, wrote of the riot *(Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness)*: "In Los Angeles the Negro was going on record that he would no longer turn the other cheek. That, frustrated and goaded, he would strike back, whether the response of violence was an appropriate one or no."

In the summer of 1966, there were more outbreaks, with rock

throwing, looting, and fire bombing by Chicago blacks and wild shootings by the National Guard; three blacks were killed, one a thirteen-year-old boy, another a fourteen-year-old pregnant girl. In Cleveland, the National Guard was summoned to stop a commotion in the black community; four Negroes were shot to death, two by troopers, two by white civilians.

It seemed clear by now that the nonviolence of the southern movement, perhaps tactically necessary in the southern atmosphere, and effective because it could be used to appeal to national opinion against the segregationist South, was not enough to deal with the entrenched problems of poverty in the black ghetto. In 1910, 90 percent of Negroes lived in the South. But by 1965, mechanical cotton pickers harvested 81 percent of Mississippi Delta cotton. Between 1940 and 1970, 4 million blacks left the country for the city. By 1965, 80 percent of blacks lived in cities and 50 percent of the black people lived in the North.

There was a new mood in SNCC and among many militant blacks. Their disillusionment was expressed by a young black writer, Julius Lester:

> Now it is over. America has had chance after chance to show that it really meant "that all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights." . . . Now it is over. The days of singing freedom songs and the days of combating bullets and billy clubs with love. . . . Love is fragile and gentle and seeks a like response. They used to sing "I Love Everybody" as they ducked bricks and bottles. Now they sing:
>
> Too much love,
> Too much love,
> Nothing kills a nigger like
> Too much love.

In 1967, in the black ghettos of the country, came the greatest urban riots of American history. According to the report of the National Advisory Committee on Urban Disorders, they "involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society," symbols of authority and property in the black neighborhoods—rather than purely against white persons. The Commission reported eight major uprisings, thirty-three "serious but not major" outbreaks, and 123 "minor" disorders. Eighty-three died of gunfire, mostly in Newark and Detroit. "The overwhelming majority of the persons killed or injured in all the disorders were Negro civilians."

The "typical rioter," according to the Commission, was a young,

high school dropout but "nevertheless, somewhat better educated than his non-rioting Negro neighbor" and "usually underemployed or employed in a menial job." He was "proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes and, although informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system."

The report blamed "white racism" for the disorders, and identified the ingredients of the "explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II":

> Pervasive discrimination and segregation in employment, education, and housing . . . growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs. . . .
>
> A new mood has sprung up among Negroes, particularly the young, in which self-esteem and enhanced racial pride are replacing apathy and submission to the "system."

But the Commission Report itself was a standard device of the system when facing rebellion: set up an investigating committee, issue a report; the words of the report, however strong, will have a soothing effect.

That didn't completely work either. "Black Power" was the new slogan—an expression of distrust of any "progress" given or conceded by whites, a rejection of paternalism. Few blacks (or whites) knew the statement of the white writer Aldous Huxley: "Liberties are not given, they are taken." But the idea was there, in Black Power. Also, a pride in race, an insistence on black independence, and often, on black separation to achieve this independence. Malcolm X was the most eloquent spokesman for this. After he was assassinated as he spoke on a public platform in February 1965, in a plan whose origins are still obscure, he became the martyr of this movement. Hundreds of thousands read his *Autobiography*. He was more influential in death than during his lifetime.

Martin Luther King, though still respected, was being replaced now by new heroes: Huey Newton of the Black Panthers, for instance. The Panthers had guns; they said blacks should defend themselves.

Malcolm X in late 1964 had spoken to black students from Mississippi visiting Harlem:

> You'll get freedom by letting your enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom; then you'll get it. It's the only way you'll get it. When you get that kind of attitude, they'll label you as a "crazy Negro," or they'll call you a "crazy nigger"—they don't say Negro. Or they'll call you an extremist

or a subversive, or seditious, or a red or a radical. But when you stay radical long enough and get enough people to be like you, you'll get your freedom.

Congress responded to the riots of 1967 by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Presumably it would make stronger the laws prohibiting violence against blacks; it increased the penalties against those depriving people of their civil rights. However, it said: "The provisions of this section shall not apply to acts or omissions on the part of law enforcement officers, members of the National Guard . . . or members of the Armed Forces of the United States, who are engaged in suppressing a riot or civil disturbance. . . ."

Furthermore, it added a section—agreed to by liberal members of Congress in order to get the whole bill passed—that provided up to five years in prison for anyone traveling interstate or using interstate facilities (including mail and telephone) "to organize, promote, encourage, participate in, or carry on a riot." It defined a riot as an action by three or more people involving threats of violence. The first person prosecuted under the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was a young black leader of SNCC, H. Rap Brown, who had made a militant, angry speech in Maryland, just before a racial disturbance there. (Later the Act would be used against antiwar demonstrators in Chicago—the Chicago Eight.)

Martin Luther King himself became more and more concerned about problems untouched by civil rights laws—problems coming out of poverty. In the spring of 1968, he began speaking out, against the advice of some Negro leaders who feared losing friends in Washington, against the war in Vietnam. He connected war and poverty:

> . . . it's inevitable that we've got to bring out the question of the tragic mix-up in priorities. We are spending all of this money for death and destruction, and not nearly enough money for life and constructive development . . . when the guns of war become a national obsession, social needs inevitably suffer.

King now became a chief target of the FBI, which tapped his private phone conversations, sent him fake letters, threatened him, blackmailed him, and even suggested once in an anonymous letter that he commit suicide. FBI internal memos discussed finding a black leader to replace King. As a Senate report on the FBI said in 1976, the FBI tried "to destroy Dr. Martin Luther King."

King was turning his attention to troublesome questions. He still insisted on nonviolence. Riots were self-defeating, he thought. But they did express a deep feeling that could not be ignored. And so, nonviolence, he said, "must be militant, massive non-violence." He planned a "Poor

People's Encampment" on Washington, this time not with the paternal approval of the President. And he went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support a strike of garbage workers in that city. There, standing on a balcony outside his hotel room, he was shot to death by an unseen marksman. The Poor People's Encampment went on, and then it was broken up by police action, just as the World War I veterans' Bonus Army of 1932 was dispersed.

The killing of King brought new urban outbreaks all over the country, in which thirty-nine people were killed, thirty-five of them black. Evidence was piling up that even with all of the civil rights laws now on the books, the courts would not protect blacks against violence and injustice:

1. In the 1967 riots in Detroit, three black teen-agers were killed in the Algiers Motel. Three Detroit policemen and a black private guard were tried for this triple murder. The defense conceded, a UPI dispatch said, that the four men had shot two of the blacks. A jury exonerated them.
2. In Jackson, Mississippi, in the spring of 1970, on the campus of Jackson State College, a Negro college, police laid down a 28-second barrage of gunfire, using shotguns, rifles, and a submachine gun. Four hundred bullets or pieces of buckshot struck the girls' dormitory and two black students were killed. A local grand jury found the attack "justified" and U.S. District Court Judge Harold Cox (a Kennedy appointee) declared that students who engage in civil disorders "must expect to be injured or killed."
3. In Boston in April 1970, a policeman shot and killed an unarmed black man, a patient in a ward in the Boston City Hospital, firing five shots after the black man snapped a towel at him. The chief judge of the municipal court of Boston exonerated the policeman.
4. In Augusta, Georgia, in May 1970, six Negroes were shot to death during looting and disorder in the city. The *New York Times* reported:

   A confidential police report indicates that at least five of the victims were killed by the police. . . .

   An eyewitness to one of the deaths said he had watched a Negro policeman and his white partner fire nine shots into the back of a man suspected of looting. They did not fire warning shots or ask him to stop running, said Charles A. Reid, a 38-year-old businessman. . . .

5. In April 1970, a federal jury in Boston found a policeman had used "excessive force" against two black soldiers from Fort Devens, and one of them required twelve stitches in his scalp; the judge awarded the servicemen $3 in damages.

These were "normal" cases, endlessly repeated in the history of the country, coming randomly but persistently out of a racism deep

in the institutions, the mind of the country. But there was something else—a planned pattern of violence against militant black organizers, carried on by the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. On December 4, 1969, a little before five in the morning, a squad of Chicago police, armed with a submachine gun and shotguns, raided an apartment where Black Panthers lived. They fired at least eighty-two and perhaps two hundred rounds into the apartment, killing twenty-one-year-old Black Panther leader Fred Hampton as he lay in his bed, and another Black Panther, Mark Clark. Years later, it was discovered in a court proceeding that the FBI had an informer among the Panthers, and that they had given the police a floor plan of the apartment, including a sketch of where Fred Hampton slept.

Was the government turning to murder and terror because the concessions—the legislation, the speeches, the intonation of the civil rights hymn "We Shall Overcome" by President Lyndon Johnson—were not working? It was discovered later that the government in all the years of the civil rights movement, while making concessions through Congress, was acting through the FBI to harass and break up black militant groups. Between 1956 and 1971 the FBI concluded a massive Counterintelligence Program (known as COINTELPRO) that took 295 actions against black groups. Black militancy seemed stubbornly resistant to destruction. A secret FBI report to President Nixon in 1970 said "a recent poll indicates that approximately 25% of the black population has a great respect for the Black Panther Party, including 43% of blacks under 21 years of age." Was there fear that blacks would turn their attention from the controllable field of voting to the more dangerous arena of wealth and poverty—of class conflict? In 1966, seventy poor black people in Greenville, Mississippi, occupied an unused air force barracks, until they were evicted by the military. A local woman, Mrs. Unita Blackwell, said:

> I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years had been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality. We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us.

Out of the 1967 riots in Detroit came an organization devoted to organizing black workers for revolutionary change. This was the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, which lasted until 1971 and influenced thousands of black workers in Detroit during its period of activity.

The new emphasis was more dangerous than civil rights, because it created the possibility of blacks and whites uniting on the issue of class exploitation. Back in November 1963, A. Philip Randolph had spoken to an AFL-CIO convention about the civil rights movement, and foreseen its direction: "The Negro's protest today is but the first rumbling of the 'under-class.' As the Negro has taken to the streets, so will the unemployed of all races take to the streets."

Attempts began to do with blacks what had been done historically with whites—to lure a small number into the system with economic enticements. There was talk of "black capitalism." Leaders of the NAACP and CORE were invited to the White House. James Farmer of CORE, a former Freedom Rider and militant, was given a job in President Nixon's administration. Floyd McKissick of CORE received a $14 million government loan to build a housing development in North Carolina. Lyndon Johnson had given jobs to some blacks through the Office of Economic Opportunity; Nixon set up an Office of Minority Business Enterprise.

Chase Manhattan Bank and the Rockefeller family (controllers of Chase) took a special interest in developing "black capitalism." The Rockefellers had always been financial patrons of the Urban League, and a strong influence in black education through their support of Negro colleges in the South. David Rockefeller tried to persuade his fellow capitalists that while helping black businessmen with money might not be fruitful in the short run, it was necessary "to shape an environment in which the business can continue earning a profit four or five or ten years from now." With all of this, black business remained infinitesimally small. The largest black corporation (Motown Industries) had sales in 1974 of $45 million, while Exxon Corporation had sales of $42 billion. The total receipts of black-owned firms accounted for 0.3 percent of all business income.

There was a small amount of change and a lot of publicity. There were more black faces in the newspapers and on television, creating an impression of change—and siphoning off into the mainstream a small but significant number of black leaders.

Some new black voices spoke against this. Robert Allen *(Black Awakening in Capitalist America)* wrote:

> If the community as a whole is to benefit, then the community as a whole must be organized to manage collectively its internal economy and its business relations with white America. Black business firms must be treated

and operated as social property, belonging to the general black community, not as the private property of individual or limited groups of individuals. This necessitates the dismantling of capitalist property relations in the black community and their replacement with a planned communal economy.

A black woman, Patricia Robinson, in a pamphlet distributed in Boston in 1970 *(Poor Black Woman),* tied male supremacy to capitalism and said the black woman "allies herself with the have-nots in the wider world and their revolutionary struggles." She said the poor black woman did not in the past "question the social and economic system" but now she must, and in fact, "she has begun to question aggressive male domination and the class society which enforces it, capitalism."

Another black woman, Margaret Wright, said she was not fighting for equality with men if it meant equality in the world of killing, the world of competition. "I don't want to compete on no damned exploitative level. I don't want to exploit nobody. . . . I want the right to be black and me. . . ."

The system was working hard, by the late sixties and early seventies, to contain the frightening explosiveness of the black upsurge. Blacks were voting in large numbers in the South, and in the 1968 Democratic Convention three blacks were admitted into the Mississippi delegation. By 1977, more than two thousand blacks held office in eleven southern states (in 1965 the number was seventy-two). There were two Congressmen, eleven state senators, ninety-five state representatives, 267 county commissioners, seventy-six mayors, 824 city council members, eighteen sheriffs or chiefs of police, 508 school board members. It was a dramatic advance. But blacks, with 20 percent of the South's population, still held less than 3 percent of the elective offices. A *New York Times* reporter, analyzing the new situation in 1977, pointed out that even where blacks held important city offices: "Whites almost always retain economic power." After Maynard Jackson, a black, became mayor of Atlanta, "the white business establishment continued to exert its influence."

Those blacks in the South who could afford to go to downtown restaurants and hotels were no longer barred because of their race. More blacks could go to colleges and universities, to law schools and medical schools. Northern cities were busing children back and forth in an attempt to create racially mixed schools, despite the racial segregation in housing. None of this, however, was halting what Frances Piven and Richard Cloward *(Poor People's Movements)* called "the destruction

of the black lower class"—the unemployment, the deterioration of the ghetto, the rising crime, drug addiction, violence.

In the summer of 1977, the Department of Labor reported that the rate of unemployment among black youths was 34.8 percent. A small new black middle class of blacks had been created, and it raised the overall statistics for black income—but there was a great disparity between the newly risen middle-class black and the poor left behind. Despite the new opportunities for a small number of blacks, the median black family income of 1977 was only about 60 percent that of whites; blacks were twice as likely to die of diabetes; seven times as likely to be victims of homicidal violence rising out of the poverty and despair of the ghetto.

A *New York Times* report in early 1978 said: ". . . the places that experienced urban riots in the 1960's have, with a few exceptions, changed little, and the conditions of poverty have spread in most cities."

Statistics did not tell the whole story. Racism, always a national fact, not just a southern one, emerged in northern cities, as the federal government made concessions to poor blacks in a way that pitted them against poor whites for resources made scarce by the system. Blacks, freed from slavery to take their place under capitalism, had long been forced into conflict with whites for scarce jobs. Now, with desegregation in housing, blacks tried to move into neighborhoods where whites, themselves poor, crowded, troubled, could find in them a target for their anger. In the Boston *Globe*, November 1977:

> A Hispanic family of six fled their apartment in the Savin Hill section of Dorchester yesterday after a week of repeated stonings and window-smashings by a group of white youths, in what appears to have been racially motivated attacks, police said.

In Boston, the busing of black children to white schools, and whites to black schools, set off a wave of white neighborhood violence. The use of busing to integrate schools—sponsored by the government and the courts in response to the black movement—was an ingenious concession to protest. It had the effect of pushing poor whites and poor blacks into competition for the miserable inadequate schools which the system provided for all the poor.

Was the black population—hemmed into the ghetto, divided by the growth of a middle class, decimated by poverty, attacked by the government, driven into conflict with whites—under control? Surely, in the mid-seventies, there was no great black movement under way.

Yet, a new black consciousness had been born and was still alive. Also, whites and blacks were crossing racial lines in the South to unite as a class against employers. In 1971, two thousand woodworkers in Mississippi, black and white, joined together to protest a new method of measuring wood that led to lower wages. In the textile mills of J. P. Stevens, where 44,000 workers were employed in eighty-five plants, mostly in the South, blacks and whites were working together in union activity. In Tifton, Georgia, and Milledgeville, Georgia, in 1977, blacks and whites served together on the union committees of their plants.

Would a new black movement go beyond the limits of the civil rights actions of the sixties, beyond the spontaneous urban riots of the seventies, beyond separatism to a coalition of white and black in a historic new alliance? There was no way of knowing this in 1978. In 1978, 6 million black people were unemployed. As Langston Hughes said, what happens to a dream deferred? Does it dry up, or does it explode? If it did explode, as it had in the past, it would come with a certain inevitability—out of the conditions of black life in America—and yet, because no one knew when, it would come as a surprise.

DUTCHMAN AUDIO/VISUAL FILE

LINK:

https://dutchmandfile.weebly.com/visual-file.html

DUTCHMAN AUDIENCE ENGAGEMENT

ABOUT OUR PRODUCTION

Our production will be set in the year it first premiered, 1964. All design elements will be inspired by Baraka's stage directions, "subway heaped in modern myth," so though they appear incredible realistic their details will stretch towards mythology and parable. For example, Lula's net bag will fit the style of the net bags of 1964 but might be made with rope that looks much more like it belongs on a ship rather than a bag. The set design of the subway might appear like an exact replica of a 1964 New York Subway, but lighting and color choice will add a ghoulish unsettling feeling. Our Costume Designer will utilize textures and patterns that appear basic or normal from 20ft away but might not be quite right if witnessed in close proximity. For example, perhaps Clay's tie is patterned with skulls inspired by Lula's line, "you look like death eating a soda cracker." The conductor's costume might take inspirations from the originally costuming used by Daddy Rice for his impersonation of Jim Crow inspired by Baraka's stage direction, "doing a sort of restrained soft shoe" (38).

We hope to use *Dutchman* to bring to light race relations in America today. By choosing to set *Dutchman* in 1964, we hope to provide a barrier that will allow the audience to better receive its message. With our very straight telling we hope to have the audience thinking about how relevant the work is 55 years later.

We will make several very subtle gestures to remind the audience that there

is still work to be done in achieving racial equality. One thing that will bring *Dutchman* into the present is that there will be a pack of skittles and a bottle of Arizona iced tea as trash on the subway. These are the items that Trayvon Martin was carrying when he was killed by police and they have become a symbol of police brutality towards the black community. There is also several references to newspapers in the stage directions. This seems like a good way to make a subtle bridge that will not distract from the action. There are several headlines from the New York Times that could be useful: "MALCOLM X SEES RISE IN VIOLENCE; Says Negroes Are Ready to Act in Self-Defense" from March 13 1964. If other newspaper is needed, as subway trash perhaps, "Martin Luther King Is Slain in Memphis; A White Is Suspected; Johnson Urges Calm" from April 5th 1968 or "The L.A. Riots 25 Years Later: A Return to the Epicenter" from April 17th 2017 would do. As Villanova's library has a subscription to the Times, it would be fairly simple to reprint these cover pages from the Time's digital archive.

JOURNEY TO TIME PAST (IAN & AMY)

Given the demographics of Villanova Theatre patrons, we decided to invest a good deal of effort into explicating the social context that gave rise to *Dutchman.* Although much of the Villanova audience may have been alive during the Civil Rights movement, they may have lived in isolation from the black community and/or experience. We also believe placing this play in context will make our production more valuable to Villanova faculty bringing their students to a performance. We believe it is essential to try to build the social and political world of the 1964 Black liberation movement. Specifically, the power of *Dutchman's* violent climax may be misunderstood if the audience is not aware of the debate among Civil Rights leaders between non-violence and attaining equality "by any means necessary."

LOBBY DISPLAY (IAN & AMY)

The lobby will be set up like a museum. The walls will be covered with a visual timeline of the 1930s - 1960s offering the audience an opportunity to gain larger context around the events Clay and Lula would have lived

through. The timeline will also note when *Dutchman* first premieres as if to give the audience a "you are here" spot on the timeline map. Major events of African-American history will be listed and photographs will help punctuate the line.

LOBBY DISPLAY (CONT'D) (IAN & AMY)

In an effort to create a more holistic experience, patrons will be invited to download our *Dutchman* app where they can experience an "auditory timeline" of recorded speeches, poems, interviews, etc. from decades leading up to the 1960s. We will offer headphones available for rent in a basket at the center of the lobby. For the 1930s, we will offer interviews with former slaves recorded by The Federal Writers Project. For the 1940s, we will include works of Langston Hughes and periodical publications of Zora Neal Hurston. For the 1950s, we will include selections from the Digital Library of Georgia's "Civil Rights Oral History Interviews." For the 1960s, we will feature poetry of our beloved playwright, Amiri Baraka, as well as Malcolm X's "Ballot or the Bullet" and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have A Dream." Words of Baraka's we are considering include his readings of "The Revolutionary Theatre," "Black Art," "Dope," "Why Is We Americans," and "It's Nation Time." In an effort to contradict the usual invisibility of women of color, we will also include poetry by Sonia Sanchez such as "Blk/Wooomen/ chant," "Black Magic," and "What does it mean to be human?"

Created with the in-kind support of Villanova Software Engineer students, our *Dutchman* app will also allow audience members to explore an mobile version of the dramaturgical website offering them opportunities to learn more about the context surrounding *Dutchman* with a tap of their finger.

PRE-SHOW MUSIC (Amy)

Audience members will take an auditory journey of African American Blues music from 1899 through 1964. The music will begin when the lobby opens, one hour before the show.

Released	Length	Title	Artist
1899	3:09	Maple Leaf Rag	Scott Joplin
1927	3:03	Match Box Blues (4446)	Blind Lemon Jefferson
1928	2:26	Runaway Blues	Ma Rainey
1929	2:57	Nobody Knows When You're Down and Out	Bessie Smith
1933	3:07	Tired of It All	Don Redman
1934	3:18	Chillun, Get Up	Jimmie Lunceford
1934	3:06	Miss Otis Regrets (She's Unable To Lunch Today)	Ethel Waters
1934	2:19	White Heat	Jimmie Lunceford
1936	2:29	Cross Road Blues	Robert Johnson
1939	3:12	Strange Fruit	Billie Holiday
1944	3:10	Into Each Life Some Rain Must Fall	The Ink Spots, Ella Fitzgerald
1947	3:06	Manteca	Dizzy Gillespie
1950	3:12	I'll Never Be Free	Ella Fitzgerald
1950	2:47	Summertime	Charlie Parker
1953	2:52	All The Things You Are	Dizzy Gillespie
1963	2:34	Our Day Will Come	Ruby and The Romantics

1964	2:38	Old Jim Crow	Nina Simone
1963	5:08	Alabama	John Coltrane
1964	4:56	Mississippi Goddamn	Nina Simone

Spotify playlist:
https://open.spotify.com/user/abrigoa/playlist/5k7nQKqj8x2Z0FWnBHpiL2?si=JH0D89qATFCevsccGuIwVg

SPEAKER'S NIGHT (AMY)

We are delighted to have Sonia Sanchez join us for Speaker's Night. She will reflect on the historical and social context surrounding *Dutchman* and share her experience as a poet and friend of Amiri Baraka--who would be the same age as Ms. Sanchez if he were alive today.

POST-SHOW DISCUSSIONS (AMY)

We will follow every performance with a post-show discussion to offer the audience a communal space in which to process and discuss their collective and individual experience of the play. A dramaturg and moderator would be present for every discussion and actors would be welcomed and invited to join as well. We hope this will allow our audiences to have meaningful conversations surrounding the piece and where we are with race relations in America today.

PRE-SHOW TALK (AMY)

We will offer one pre-show discussion with a leader from Black Lives Matter Philadelphia and Villanova University's very own, Dr. Glenn Bracey, to discuss whether or not much has changed in race relations in America from 1619, when the first Dutch ship brought slaves to Jamestown, to 1964, when our play takes place, to today.

BLOG POST (AMY)

Dramaturges will create blog posts commenting and reflecting on the rehearsal process.

SHORT EDUCATIONAL VIDEOS (AMY)

We will create short educational videos, with the assistance of Villanova University professors such as Dr. Crystal Lucky and Dr. Glenn Bracey, in order to provide further context for our audience. We will focus on discussion topics such as the historical context leading up to 1964 to help audience members understand the understandable rage inside of Clay. We will also ask Dr. Crystal Lucky to comment on the allegorical interpretation of the play and invite the audience to see for themselves what exactly Baraka may have meant when his poetry comes to life in *Dutchman.*

ANY CHANGES TO THE VISUAL FILE (AMY)

No.

PROGRAM NOTE EXPLANATION (AMY)

Both dramaturges created program notes individually. Thus, we have decided to create two separate explanations for each of our individual program notes. These can be found under "Program Material" underneath our respective Program Notes.

BUDGET (AMY)

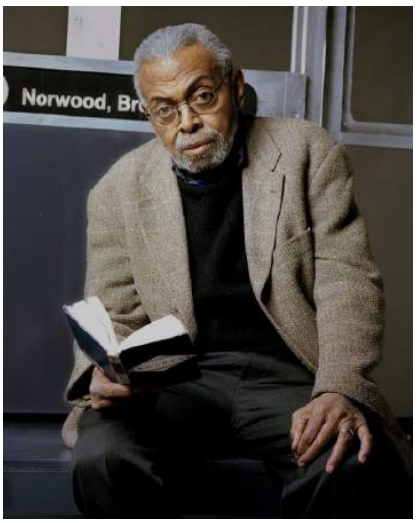
We will use $100 to purchase headphones for audience members to use to listen to the audio clips available on our *Dutchman* Dramaturgy app before the show. Once the run of the show is complete, these can be given to the box office to be used for assisted listening devices. We will use the remaining $100 any printing, copyright and/or supplies needed for the timeline lobby display.

EXPENSE	COST
HEADPHONES	$100
PRINTING/ SUPPLIES	$100
TOTAL	$200

DUTCHMAN PROGRAM MATERIALS

FIRST DRAFT: PROGRAM NOTE (AMY)

"We will scream and cry, murder, run through the streets in agony, if it means some soul will be moved, moved to actual life understanding of what the world is, and what it ought to be."
- Amiri Baraka



About the Playwright
From Black Theatre USA: Plays by African Americans
Edited by James V. Hatch, Ted Shine and Amy Abrigo

Amiri Baraka was born Everett Leroi Jones in Newark, New Jersey. He attended Rutgers University and, in 1951, transferred to Howard University. In 1954 he earned a B.A. in English from Howard University and then joined the military that same year, serving three years in the Air Force as a gunner. Baraka was a poet, playwright, author, and educator. He was founder-director of the Black Arts Repertory Theatre and School in Harlem in 1964, and later founder-director of Spirit House in Newark, where young African American playwrights' works were performed by the African Revolutionary

Movers repertory theatre company. In addition to plays, he has published more than two dozen books, including poetry, fiction, and nonfiction. He has been the recipient of numerous grants, fellowships, and awards, and in 1972 was awarded a Doctor of Humane Letters degree by Malcolm X College in Chicago. Baraka is hailed as the leader of the revolutionary Black Arts and Black Theatre movements of the 1960s.

What is Revolutionary Theatre?

Dutchman is often referred to as a piece of Revolutionary Theatre, the beginning of a movement called for by Amiri Baraka, but how is Revolutionary Theatre defined? According to Amiri Baraka, the Revolutionary Theatre should force change, expose, accuse and attack, be political, be of and for victims and help others see how they themselves are also victims. Not for victims to wallow in self-pity but to see "strength in their minds and their bodies" (Baraka 1965). Above all, the Revolutionary Theatre is intentionally *not* meant to be another delightful light hearted easy-to-digest play ending in marriage and poetic justice. Instead, "it must be food for all these who need food, and daring propaganda for the beauty of the Human Mind . . . The Revolutionary Theatre is shaped by the world, and moves to reshape the world" (Baraka 1965). In his essay on the Revolutionary Theatre, Baraka famously states: "We will scream and cry, murder, run through the streets in agony, if it means some soul will be moved, moved to actual life understanding of what the world is, and what it ought to be."

Timeline*

In 2019, people often refer to a time period ranging from the 1950s-1960s as the Civil Rights Movement. However, some individuals may be less aware of the history leading up to this era or the specific chronology of events taking place within the 1950s-60s. It is important to specify how events occurred chronologically as the timing of these events shaped the course of

history and Baraka's *Dutchman.* This timeline is an attempt to shed light on some of the events that heavily influenced the play and stemmed from Baraka's call for Revolutionary Theatre.

- 1619 - A Dutch Ship Brought The First Slaves to North America
- 1793 - Fugitive Slave Act Made it a Federal Crime to Assist a Slave Trying to Escape
- August 21, 1831 - Nat Turner Revolt
- 1831 - Abolitionism and the Underground Railroad
- March 6, 1857 - Dred Scott Case Concludes Scott is a Slave and Not a Citizen
- 1861 - 1865 American Civil War
- January 1, 1863 - The Emancipation Proclamation
- 1867 - Howard University Founded
- 1881 - Tuskegee Founded by Booker T. Washington
- 1896 - Plessy vs. Ferguson Upheld the Constitutionality of Racial Segregation
- 1900s - Washington, Carver and Du Bois
- 1909 - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Founded
- 1914 - Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Suggest Going "Back to Africa"
- 1914 - 1918 World War I
    - Harlem Hell Fighters
- 1916 - The Great Migration Begins
- 1910s - 1930s - Harlem Renaissance
- 1921 - Black Wall Street Destroyed
- 1929 - 1939 The Great Depression
    - 1936 - Jesse Owens Wins Four Gold Medals, Defying Adolf Hitler's Hope for Proof of Racial Superiority
- June 22, 1938 - Joe Louis Wins Title Fight Against Max Schmeling

- 1939 - 1945 World War II
- 1942 - Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) Founded
- November 10, 1943 - Smith v. Allwright
- June 22, 1944 - G. I. Bill Gave Some Veterans the Opportunity of Attending College
- 1945 - Cold War Begins
- April 15, 1947 - Jackie Robinson "Crossed the Color Line" of Major League Baseball
- July 26, 1948 - President Harry S. Truman Signed an Executive Order to Integrate the Military
- 1948 - Dixiecrats Founded, George Wallace Says "Segregation Forever!"
- 1950s - The Creation of White Suburbia, TVs in the Home
- May 17, 1954 - Brown v. Board of Education Incentivizes White Violence
- August 28, 1955 - Emmett Till Murdered
    - September 23, 1955 - All-white jury deliberated for less than an hour before issuing a verdict of "not guilty"
- December 5, 1955 - December 20, 1956 - Montgomery Bus Boycott
- September 1957 - Little Rock Nine
- 1959 - Fidel Castro Establishes the First Communist State in the West
- 1960 - JFK Includes Civil Rights Legislation in His Presidential Campaign Platform
- February 1, 1960 - Sit-In Movement Begins
- April 1960 - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Founded in Raleigh, North Carolina
- May 1961 - Freedom Rides
- 1962 - Integration of Ole Miss

- June 11, 1963 - President John F. Kennedy (JFK) Addresses the Nation on Civil Rights
- June 12, 1963 - Medgar Evers Murdered
- August 28, 1963 - March on Washington / MLK Gives "I Have A Dream" Speech
- September 15, 1963 - Birmingham Church Bombing
- November 22, 1963 - President JFK Assassinated / Lyndon B. Johnson Becomes President
- March 1964
    - Dutchman premiered at the Cherry Lane Theatre
    - Malcolm X Leaves Nation of Islam
- 1964
    - Baraka founded the Black Arts Repertory Theatre and School (BARTS)
    - Baraka founded the Black Arts Movement
- June 1964 - Freedom Summer and the "Mississippi Burning" Murders
- July 1964 - Civil Rights Act
- August 1964 - America Enters the Vietnam War
- February 21, 1965 - Malcolm X Assassinated
- March 7, 1965 - Selma to Montgomery March
- August 6, 1965 - Voting Rights Act
- 1960s - 1970s - Rise of Back Power
- 1966 - The Black Panther Party is founded in Oakland, California
- April 4, 1968 - Martin Luther King Jr. Assassinated

*Detailed timeline available online at dutchmandfile.weebly.com

References

"Amiri Baraka (1934-2014) BlackPast." *BlackPast*, 18 Jan. 2007, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/baraka-amiri-1934/.

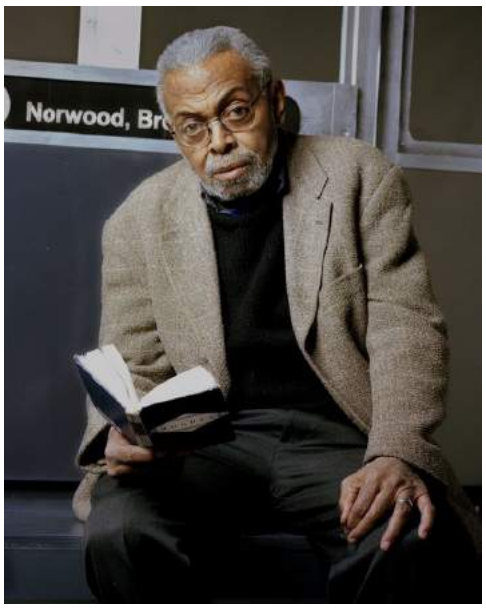
Baraka, Amiri. "The Revolutionary Theatre." *Liberator*, July 1965.

Hatch, James Vernon, and Ted Shine, editors. *Black Theatre USA: Plays by African Americans*. Free Press, 1996.

CHELSEA'S COMMENTS: PROGRAM NOTE (AMY)

- What about the resonance/importance of the Flying Dutchman myth – is that explored elsewhere?
- Write your own bio (or add to the note) that teases out the context/definition of some of these keywords and tells us what is most important for understanding *Dutchman*
- Rephrase timeline sentence "However, some individuals may be less aware of the history leading up to this era or the specific chronology of events taking place within the 1950s-60s."
- Much of this will need explanation (re: timeline list)

FINAL DRAFT: PROGRAM NOTE (AMY)



"We will scream and cry, murder, run through the streets in agony, if it means some soul will be moved, moved to actual life understanding of what the world is, and what it ought to be." - Amiri Baraka

LeRoi Jones to Amiri Baraka

Everett LeRoi Jones (now Amiri Baraka) was born in Newark, New Jersey on October 7, 1934. This means he and Lula were born the same year as she is 30 years old in 1964, the year in which our play takes place. Similar to Clay, Baraka was a poet and a college student - first at Rutgers, then transferring and earning a B. A. in English from Howard University, a Historically Black College & University (HBCU). In 1954, ten years before our play takes place and the same year of his graduation, Baraka joined the military and served three years in the Air Force as a gunner most likely in Vietnam. He lived in Greenwich Village and was a part of the Beat Movement with other poets such as Allen Ginsberg (who is subtly referenced several times throughout the play).

After visiting Cuba in 1960, Baraka broke away from the apolitical Beat movement to address radical politics. When *Dutchman* first premiered in March 1964, Baraka was still known as LeRoi Jones. After Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, Amiri Baraka separated himself from the white world changing his name to Amiri Baraka, moving to Harlem and focusing his efforts on the black community. He founded the Black Arts Repertory Theatre and School in Harlem. After FBI tampering and a lack of economic means, the school was shut down in less than a year, so Baraka founded Spirit House, a theatre space in Newark, where young African American playwrights' works were performed by the African Revolutionary Movers repertory theatre company.

Amiri Baraka was a poet, playwright, author and educator. In addition to plays, he has published more than two dozen books, including poetry, fiction, and nonfiction. He is known as the founder of the Black Arts Movement with *Dutchman* being looked at as a critical piece of Revolutionary Theatre.

What is Revolutionary Theatre?

Dutchman is often referred to as a piece of Revolutionary Theatre, the beginning of a movement called for by Amiri Baraka, but how is Revolutionary Theatre defined? According to Amiri Baraka, the Revolutionary Theatre should force change, expose, accuse and attack, be political, be of and for victims and help others see how they themselves are also victims. Not for victims to wallow in self pity but to see "strength in their minds and their bodies" (Baraka 1965). Above all, the Revolutionary Theatre is intentionally *not* meant to be another delightful light hearted easy-to-digest play ending in marriage and poetic justice. Instead, "it must be food for all these who need food, and daring propaganda for the beauty of the Human Mind . . . The Revolutionary Theatre is shaped by the world, and moves to reshape the world" (Baraka 1965). In his essay on the Revolutionary Theatre, Baraka famously states: "We will scream and cry, murder, run through the streets in agony, if it means some soul will be moved, moved to actual life understanding of what the world is, and what it ought to be."

(The Flying) Dutchman

The Flying Dutchman is a legendary ghost ship cursed to sail the ocean forever. It is known as one of the worst omens of the sea and feared by all sailors. The myth likely originated in the 17th-century golden age of the Dutch East India Company. Amiri Baraka titles the play *Dutchman* and sets it "in the flying underbelly of the city. . . The subway heaped in modern myth" (3). Baraka uses the subway train as a modern vehicle for retelling the Flying Dutchman myth. Additionally, he is also making a reference to the first ship to bring slaves into what is now the United States of America.

References

Baraka, Amiri. “The Revolutionary Theatre.” *Liberator*, July 1965.

AMY'S PROGRAM NOTE EXPLANATION

- Bio - I included the bio of Amiri Baraka so audience members could see some of the auto-biographical elements in *Dutchman* and better understand the man behind its poetry.
- Revolutionary Theatre - I defined Revolutionary Theatre so the audience could understand more about what they are about to experience and to help them unpack the piece after the show is over. I wanted the audience to understand what *Dutchman* is and what Baraka intended for it to do when he wrote it in 1964.
- The Flying Dutchman - Chelsea wisely suggested I include some explanation of *The Flying Dutchman* myth and its connection to the play. I wanted the audience to have a basic frame of reference for the legend but also be able to draw direct parallels inside the play. I also wanted the audience to catch Baraka's genius in simultaneously referencing the first slave ship to arrive in America.

FIRST DRAFT: PROGRAM NOTE (IAN)

In the flying underbelly of the city. Steaming hot, and summer on top, outside. Underground. The subway heaped in modern myth.

The layers of reference in *Dutchman* are one of the first things many people notice about the play. I am reminded of a candy jaw breaker, a hard candy too hard to bite, that can only be consumed by dissolving layer after layer. The piece becomes a sort of game where the watcher is compelled to see how many layers of mythical and religious allusion he or she can catch. Take for example the man's name: Clay. Clay is a biblical reference to what God made the first man out of. Clay is lowly and malleable, and God shall smash his enemies like a potter's vessel. Perhaps the layers of allusion reflect the apparently changing yet insidious nature of racism in the United States.

On one level, this play is a retelling of the norther European legend of the Flying Dutchman. The legend is of a ghostly merchant vessel has been cursed to wander the seas forever. It brings destruction to any ship unlucky enough to encounter it. In Baraka's retelling, the train rumbles on forever without a stop and Lula is the terrible captain constantly seeking out new prey. Richard Wagner made the legend of the Flying Dutchman famous in his opera of the same name (*Der fliegende Holländer).* However, in Wagner's adaptation, love of a woman brings redemption. But in Baraka's Lula is more like the sirens of Greek legend. She is a seductress, trying to drive Clay to his death. She is also a reference to the Biblical Eve, pushing Clay to destruction through sin.

But an underground railroad also has a very real resonance today. Like many myths, *Dutchman* is an allegory. It is a morality tale about how freedom and equality will be achieved for the Black community . The aspirations of the Black middle class to be accepted into the folds of white power is a seduction that leads to death. Like the the legend of *Flying Dutchman,* or the Bible, seduction is the path to destruction. It was, after all, Dutch merchants who brought the first African slaves to Jamestown.

Dutchman in the Context of the Militant Black Power Movement

As Dutchman builds to its climax, Clay turns to violence. This transformation must be read in the context of the struggle of Blacks to try to gain protections from government. On paper Blacks already had those protections sought by the Civil Rights Movement but they were consistently left unenforced. Lynching was largely tolerated and violence against Blacks almost always went unpunished. The violence that met the freedom riders is a perfect example. There was no law saying Blacks could not ride busses, but the government, time and time again, refused to offer protections to them when they did. There are many reports of FBI agents taking notes but not intervening while Blacks were beaten or killed by white supremacists in the south. So in this context, it is appropriate to read Clay's rise to violence as a break with the mainstream non-violent approach advocated by Martin Luther King and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Dutchman premiered the year after John F. Kennedy joined the massive rally where King made his famous "I have a dream speech." Much of the militant Black Power movement felt that the president did this to coopt the Rally of 1963 and the movement itself. Even Henry Schlesinger noted: "So in 1963 Kennedy moved to incorporate the Negro revolution into the democratic coalition." The mainstream non-violent Civil Rights movement became channeled into electoral politics. But in the north, where Blacks did have the vote for a long time, it had done little to alleviate the crushing poverty, violence and exclusion that much of the Black community faced.

Amiri Baraka: A life of Art and Social Change

Amiri Baraka was born Everett Leroy Jones in Newark New Jersey in 1934. He graduated from Howard University where he studied religion and philosophy. He served as a sergeant in but was discharged dishonorably when anonymous letter accusing him of being a communist was sent to his commanding officer.

So, he moved to New York City and became very prolific in literary culture. He became one of the preeminent music critics of blues and jazz. At this time, he also began a number of literary projects with with Beat poets like Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg. In 1958 he married Beat poet Hettie Cohen and had two daughters: Kelly Jones and Lisa Jones. He also had a daughter, Dominique, with Diane di Prima, who was co–editor of *Kulchur*, one of the literary magazines he wrote and edited for.

Inspired by the Cuban revolution, his writing became politically galvanized. He began to see the Beat poets as holding bourgeois aspirations. The Beats, he believed, wanted too much to be accepted into the *intelligencia* and this ran counter to his vision of art as a force for social change. He speaks of himself in his autobiography: "The middle class naïve intellectual, having outintegrated the most integrated now plunges headlong back to his countrymen charged up with a desire to be black, uphold black, &c …a fanatical patriot!" (Baraka, 1984, p 201). In Leninist style, he assumed the view that his art should function as a vanguard of the masses, pushing Blacks to revolution.

His work became increasingly political and he began to espouse violence. In 1961 he became a member of Edward Albee's project: The New York Playwrights Unit. This project was an attempt to incite social change through literature and was subsequently dubbed "action theater." *Dutchman* was his first project with this specific goal. A year after it was produced, he broke with the Beats, divorced and moved to Harlem to form the Black Arts Repertory Theater School. BARTS remained open for only for a short while until the FBI shut it down under the accusation that it was funneling money to the Black Panthers. However, it did inspire the start of countless similar organizations across the country.

In 1966 he married Amina Baraka (Sylvia Robinson), the actress who starred in his 1966 play *A Black Mass* The new couple started Spirit House, which was part theater, part artist training center, part residence. By the 1970s his political work began coalescing into a fusion of Pan-Africanist and Marxist ideologies. Much of his work (and his life) up to this point can be seen as trying to recreate an African culture that was shattered by American slavery. To this end, he embraced Islam, like his friend Malcolm X, and the

changed of his name to Amiri Barka. However, Baraka insisted that reclaiming, or recreating culture, was not enough and that "returning to various forms of African dress and learning a few words of Swahili" would never lead to Black liberation.

Up until the 1970s his idea of revolution had always been a Black revolution. But it became clear to him an isolated Black liberation movement could never be successful in a capitalist world. Inspired by the Marxist revolutions in much of the third world, his idea of revolution grew to include all oppressed people. His larger view required class cohesion that went beyond the fractures of race. Two quotes mark this transformation in Baraka. In his autobiography Baraka refers to an event in 1964 when a white woman asked how whites could help to support Black liberation. He responded "You could help by dying. You are a cancer. You can help the world's people with your death" His view of Black power at the time required no cooperation with white progressives. It was just a question of inciting a Black revolution. However, in 1974 he wrote "The willingness of young whites to put their lives on the line for the struggle for democracy is a noble thing… [They were] out there on the front lines doing more than I was"

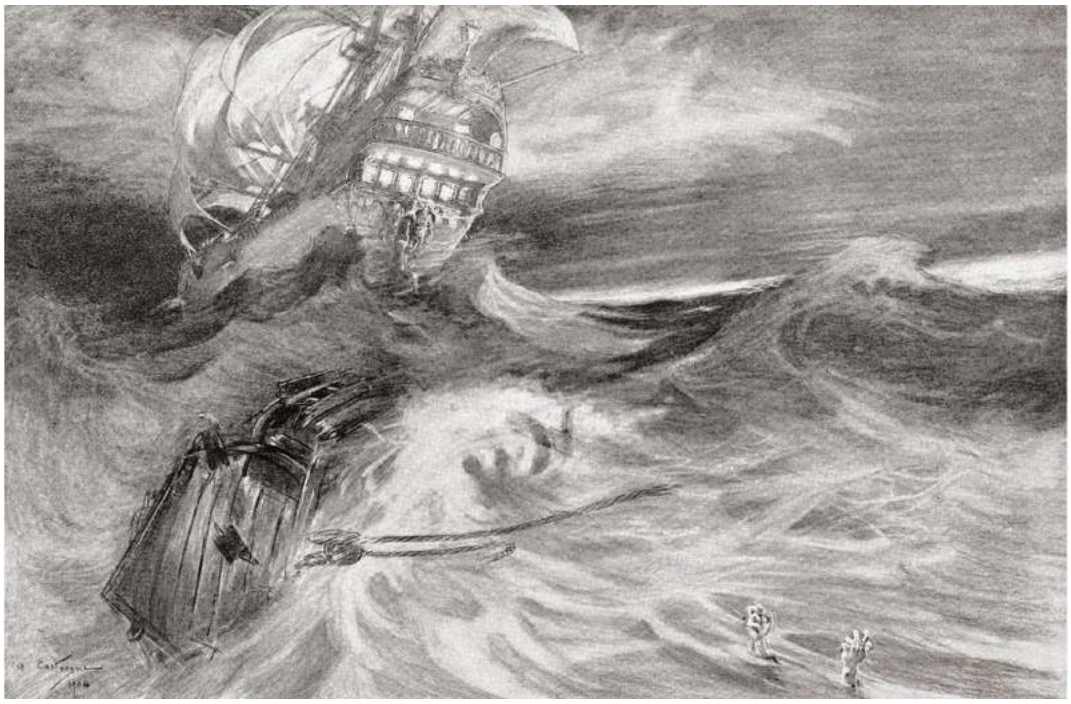
In the same way, Baraka began to see the necessity for class cohesion as superseding the sexism and homophobia that many critics claim marked his earlier plays. He reversed his stance on the equality of women and sexual minorities. He said this in his autobiography: "Not only did they [women] stand with us shoulder to shoulder, against the black people's enemies, they also had to go toe to toe with us, battling day after day against our insufferable male chauvinism"

Baraka continued writing and performing poetry, plays and films until his death in 2014.

The following are images I would like to include in the program materials. I would, however, leave the layout to people more skilled in graphic design.

Baraka the Beat. (Bernotas p 38)

Baraka leaving courthouse following 1968 conviction of possession of illegal firearms. The Charge was later overturned. (Bernotas p. 85).



Castaigne A. *1904. The Flying Dutchman. A Ghost Ship.* The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, May To October 1904 Accessed from Fine Art America website. uploaded on July 18th, 2015 Accessed April 3rd 2019. https//:fineartamerica.com

Amiri Baraka and Wilber Morris in Finland (2001)

CHELSEA'S COMMENTS: PROGRAM NOTE (IAN)

- These comments were unfortunately lost.

FINAL DRAFT: PROGRAM NOTE (IAN)

In the flying underbelly of the city. Steaming hot, and summer on top, outside. Underground. The subway heaped in modern myth.

The layers of reference in *Dutchman* are one of the first things many people notice about the play. I am reminded of a candy jaw breaker, a hard candy too hard to bite, that can only be consumed by dissolving layer after layer. The piece becomes a sort of game where the watcher is compelled to see how many layers of mythical and religious allusion he or she can catch.

The title refers to, the northern European legend of the Flying Dutchman. The legend is of a ghostly merchant vessel has been cursed to wander the seas forever. It brings destruction to any ship unlucky enough to encounter it. In Baraka's retelling, the train rumbles on forever without a stop and Lula is the terrible captain constantly seeking out new prey. Richard Wagner made the legend of the Flying Dutchman famous in his opera of the same name (*Der fliegende Holländer).* However, in Wagner's adaptation, love of a woman brings redemption. In Baraka's, on the other hand, Lula is an agent of destruction. She is certainly an allusion to the biblical Eve, tempting and trying to seduce Clay into sin and damnation. She says "It all begins with eating apples" as she makes her move on the unsuspecting man.

But this underground railroad also has a very real resonance today. Like many myths, *Dutchman* is an allegory. It is a morality tale about how freedom and equality will be achieved for the Black community. Baraka is

asserting that the aspirations of the Black middle class to be accepted into the folds of white power is pursuing a lie. For Baraka, consorting with the ghostly Lula, captain of the modern Flying Dutchman is a seduction that leads to death. It was, after all, Dutch merchants who brought the first African slaves to Jamestown.

Dutchman **in the Context of the Militant Black Power Movement**

As Dutchman builds to its climax, Clay turns to violence. This transformation must be read in the context of the struggle of Blacks to try to gain protections from government. On paper, during the 1960s, Blacks already had the protections sought by the Civil Rights Movement. But they were consistently left unenforced by federal and state governments alike. Lynchings were largely ignored and violence against Blacks almost always went unpunished. The violence that met the freedom riders is a perfect example. There was no law saying Blacks could not ride busses, but the government, time and time again, refused to offer protections to them when they did. So in this context, it is appropriate to read Clay's rise to violence as a break with the mainstream non-violent approach advocated by Martin Luther King and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Amiri Baraka: A life of Art and Activism

Amiri Baraka was born Everett Leroy Jones in Newark New Jersey in 1934. He graduated from Howard University where he studied religion and philosophy. He served as a sergeant in Air Force but was discharged dishonorably when anonymous letter accusing him of being a communist was sent to his commanding officer.

He then moved to New York City and became very prolific in literary culture. He was one of the preeminent music critics of blues and jazz. He

also began a number of literary projects with Beat poets like Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg. In 1958 he married Beat poet Hettie Cohen and had two daughters: Kelly Jones and Lisa Jones. He also had a daughter, Dominique, with Diane di Prima, who was co–editor of *Kulchur*, one of the literary magazines he wrote and edited for.

Inspired by the Cuban revolution of 1958, his writing became politically galvanized. He began to see the Beat poets as holding bourgeois aspirations. The Beats, he believed, wanted too much to be accepted into the *intelligencia* and this ran counter to his vision of art as a force for social change. He speaks of himself in his autobiography: "The middle class naïve intellectual, having outintegrated the most integrated now plunges headlong back to his countrymen charged up with a desire to be black, uphold black, &c …a fanatical patriot!" (Baraka, 1984, p 201). In Leninist style, he assumed the view that his art should function as a vanguard of the masses, pushing Blacks to political revolution.

In 1961 he became a member of Edward Albee's project: The New York Playwrights Unit. This project was an attempt to incite social change through literature and was subsequently dubbed "action theater." *Dutchman* was his first project with this specific goal. A year after it was produced, he broke with the Beats, divorced and moved to Harlem to form the Black Arts Repertory Theater School. BARTS remained open for only for a short while until the FBI shut it down under the accusation that it was funneling money to the Black Panthers. However, it did inspire the start of countless similar organizations across the country.

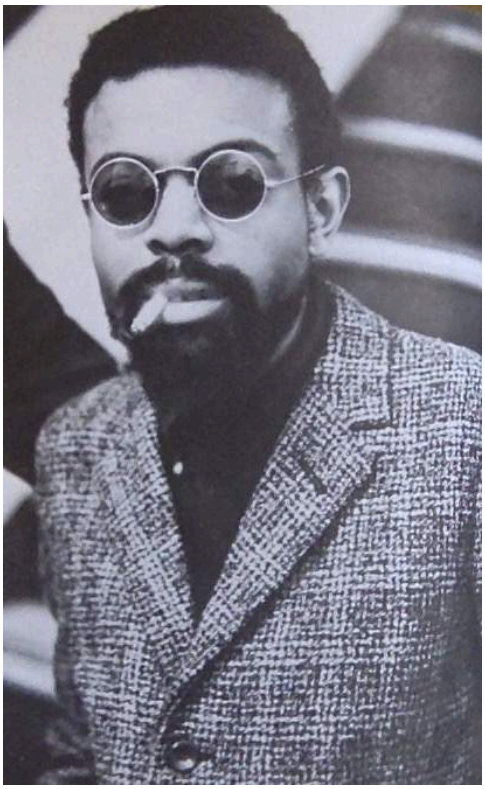
In 1966 he married Amina Baraka (Sylvia Robinson), the actress who starred in his 1966 play *A Black Mass* The new couple started Spirit House, which was part theater, part artist training center, part residence. By the 1970s his political work began coalescing into a fusion of Pan-Africanist and

Marxist ideologies. Much of his work (and his life) up to this point can be seen as trying to recreate an African culture that was shattered by American slavery. To this end, he embraced Islam, like his friend Malcolm X, and the changed of his name to Amiri Barka. However, Baraka insisted that reclaiming, or recreating culture, was not enough and that "returning to various forms of African dress and learning a few words of Swahili" would never lead to Black liberation.

Up until the 1970s his idea of revolution had always been a Black revolution. But it became clear to him an isolated Black liberation movement could never be successful in a capitalist world. Inspired by the Marxist revolutions in much of the third world, his idea of revolution grew to include all oppressed people. His larger view required class cohesion that went beyond the fractures of race.

Baraka continued writing and performing poetry, plays and films until his death in 2014.

The following are images I would like to include in the program materials. I would, however, leave the layout to people more skilled in graphic design.



Baraka the Beat. (Bernotas p 38)

Baraka leaving courthouse following 1968 conviction of possession of illegal firearms. The Charge was later overturned. (Bernotas p. 85).

Castaigne A. *1904. The Flying Dutchman. A Ghost Ship.* The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, May To October 1904 Accessed from Fine Art America website. uploaded on July 18th, 2015 Accessed April 3rd 2019. https//:fineartamerica.com

Amiri Baraka and Wilber Morris in Finland (2001)

IAN'S PROGRAM NOTE EXPLANATION

I chose to include the first section of the program notes because I wanted to give the audience some tools to unpack the dense allegorical nature of the play. Knowing the game would hopefully allow them to participate more in it. The second section was placed so that there would be some context for the violent finale. And the biography is helpful because many critics argue that there are parts of Baraka represented in Clay. Knowing a bit of his biography will help them separate Baraka from his character.

DUTCHMAN
FIRST ENCOUNTER PLAN

FIRST REHEARSAL

At the first rehearsal, cast, crew and creative of *Dutchman* will have the opportunity to test their dramaturgical knowledge by playing a live Quizziz game (see below). This would be followed by sharing the visual file and website. Lastly, we would do several games from Augusto Boal's Theater of the Oppressed. These games are particularly useful in unpacking the dynamics of power. Specially we would do the Machine of Rhythms (p 93), Separation of Mask Ritual and Motivation (p153), and The Great Game of Power (p163) from Boal's *Games for Actors and Non- Actors.*

THE CAST MEETS SONIA SANCHEZ

Some actors of Villanova have remarked, "I wish I would have heard that speaker talk *before* the show opened so I could have better incorporated that knowledge into my work." We hope to eliminate this problem (or at least reduce it) by inviting Sonia Sanchez to visit with the cast of *Dutchman* during early rehearsals. Ms. Sanchez has graciously agreed to both visits as she lives in Philadelphia. She will talk with the actors about their Larger Given Circumstances in New York City in 1964 and reflect on her personal experience as an African American female poet and activist in America.

SUBWAY TRIP:
AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSEUM IN PHILADELPHIA

The entire creative team (cast and production staff) will take SEPTA public transportation from Villanova to the African American Museum in Philadelphia. We will focus on their new invisible exhibit on the Black Arts Movement. We hope this will give people the opportunity to ride on a version of a "subway heaped in modern myth" (for anyone who has yet to have the pleasure) and offer some insight on the history surrounding *Dutchman.* After

the trip, we hope to take some time to unpack any observations on the subway and/or at the museum.

DUTCHMAN QUIZ

At the first rehearsal, cast, crew and creative of *Dutchman* will have the opportunity to test their dramaturgical knowledge by playing a live Quizziz game. The actual quiz questions and answers begin on the following page.

Link to online quiz:
https://quizizz.com/admin/quiz/5cbbcfe4a02f9a001c41bea9

Quizizz

Dutchman Pop Quiz

Name : _____

Class : _____

Date : _____

1. Clay Clay is a reference to what?

- ☐ a) The creation story of Adam and Eve
- ☐ b) Cassius Clay
- ☐ c) Double Consciousness
- ☐ d) All of the above

2. Which of these things does Baraka use in the script as a reference to Allen Ginsberg?

- ☐ a) Jewish Buddhist
- ☐ b) Jewish Poets from Yonkers
- ☐ c) Ofays
- ☐ d) All of the above

3. Who is Mao Zedong?

- ☐ a) The founding father of the People's Republic of China
- ☐ b) A famous poet
- ☐ c) A lover of the party
- ☐ d) All of the above

4. What was the name of the world's ugliest woman in the satirical American comic strip called *Lil Abner*?

- ☐ a) Lena the Hyena
- ☐ b) Morris the Hyena
- ☐ c) Lula
- ☐ d) All of the above

5. Who was Violette Morris?

- ☐ a) A cross-dressing Natzi-spy
- ☐ b) A race car driver
- ☐ c) Morris the Hyena
- ☐ d) All of the above

6. What was the name of the black night watchman who discovered the body of Mary Phagan and was nearly framed for her murder by Leo Frank?

- ☐ a) Newt Lee
- ☐ b) Jim Conley
- ☐ c) Frankie Epps
- ☐ d) Hugh Dorsey

7. Which political party originally opposed the spread of slavery?

- ☐ a) Democratic Party
- ☐ b) Republican Party

8. Dutchman is a reference to what?

- ☐ a) The first ship to bring slaves to America
- ☐ b) The story of *The Flying Dutchman*
- ☐ c) All of the above

9. What was Nina Simone's 1964 song Mississippi Goddam written in response to?

- ☐ a) The 16th Street Baptist Church bombing
- ☐ b) The Murder of Medgar Evers
- ☐ c) The treatment of African Americans in the United States of America
- ☐ d) All of the above

10. Who said the following? "Any time you know you're within the law . . . die for what you believe in. But don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. This is what is meant by equality."

- ☐ a) Malcolm X
- ☐ b) Amiri Baraka
- ☐ c) Nina Simone
- ☐ d) Martin Luther King Jr.

Answer Key

1.	d	4.	a	7.	b	10.	a
2.	d	5.	d	8.	c		
3.	d	6.	a	9.	d		

DUTCHMAN COMPLETE BIBLIOGRAPHY

1453malcolmx. *Malcolm X - What Is the Black Revolution*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IeAcQeyLX_U. Accessed 1 May 2019.

1964: The Year in Pictures | American Experience | PBS. https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/1964-The-Year-in-Pictures/. Accessed 1 May 2019.

ABC News. *Remembering Freedom Summer*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3-Vg6BYcvMc. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Adams, George R. ""MY CHRIST" IN "DUTCHMAN"." *CLA Journal* 15.1 (1971): 54-58.

Allen, Matthew. "Amiri Baraka's 'Dutchman' Turns 50 [REVIEW]." *EBONY*, 22 July 2016, https://www.ebony.com/entertainment/amiri-barakas-dutchman-turns-50-review-500/.

American Skin: Michael Niederman on Amiri Baraka's Dutchman as Presented by New Federal Theatre in Association with the Castillo Theatre. http://newyorktheatrereview.blogspot.com/2015/02/american-skin-michael-niederman-on.html. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Amiel Levi. *Dutchman Full Movie*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8VRoOAmtHsQ&t=1s. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"Amina Baraka." *The North | Newark*, http://riseupnewark.com/amina-baraka/. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"Amiri Baraka's 'Dutchman' Tackles Representation and White Feminism." *Carnegie Mellon University School of Drama*, 26 Nov. 2018, https://drama.cmu.edu/2018/11/26/amiri-barakas-dutchman-tackles-representation-and-white-feminism/.

Badger, Emily (2017-09-18). "Whites Have Huge Wealth Edge Over Blacks (but Don't Know It)". *The New York Times*. ISSN 0362-4331. Retrieved 2019-2-19.

Baker, Christopher. "A Trip with the Strange Woman: Amiri Baraka's Dutchman and the Book of Proverbs." *South Atlantic Review* 78.3-4 (2013): 110.

Baraka, Amiri. *The Autobiography of LeRoi Jones*. New York: Freundlich Books, New York, 1984.

Baraka, Amiri. "The Revolutionary Theatre." *Liberator*, July 1965.

Barron, James. "Amiri Baraka, Newark Poet, Looks Back on a Bloody Week in 1967." *The New York Times*, 10 Oct. 2012. *NYTimes.com*, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/11/nyregion/amiri-baraka-newark-poet-looks-back-on-a-bloody-week-in-1967.html.

Bellafante, Ginia. "Dutchman - Theater - Review." *The New York Times*, 24 Jan. 2007. *NYTimes.com*, https://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/24/theater/reviews/24dutc.html.

Bernotas, Bob. Amiri Baraka: Poet and Playwright. Chelsea House Publishers, New York, 1991.

"Black Lives Matter." *Black Lives Matter*, https://blacklivesmatter.com. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Booker, Vaughn. "Civil Rights Religion? Rethinking 1950s and 1960s Political Activism for African American Religious History." *Journal of Africana Religions*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2014.

Bracey, John H., et al., editors. *SOS -- Calling All Black People: A Black Arts Movement Reader*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2014.

"Breaking Racial Barriers." *Desert Sun*, https://www.desertsun.com/story/life/entertainment/2015/10/18/rat-pack-sammy-davis-jr/ 74069042/. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Brody, Bob. "At the 1964 World's Fair, a Phone Call to the Future." *Latimes.Com*, https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-brody-world-fair-mother-deaf-20140518-story.html. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Cardullo, Bert. "Lula and the Dutchman." *Notes on Contemporary Literature*, vol. 18, no. 5, Nov. 1988, p. 8.

California Newsreel. *Black Theater: The Making of a Movement*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EtnJQ6eV5rk. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Cardullo, Robert. "Names and Titles in Amiri Baraka's Dutchman." *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews* 22.3 (2009): 51.

Carlyle Brown & Company. *Acting Black - Carlyle Brown*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DDb0qgZxx_0&t=1s. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Christopher, Tobi. "The Black Arts Movement." *My Writer's Mind*, 5 Nov. 2018, https://mywritersmind.com/the-black-arts-movement/.

Conley, Dalton. *Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth, and Social Policy in America*. University of California Press, 1999.

CNN. *CNN: SNCC's Legacy: A Civil Rights History*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QZE0a5-p9pg. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"Color Aerial Postcard Views of Manhattan's Skyline In The 1960s & 70s." *Stuff Nobody Cares About*, 19 Oct. 2016, http://stuffnobodycaresabout.com/2016/10/19/color-views-manhattans-skyline-1960s/.

Comedy Central. *The Little Rock Nine Take on Segregation in Schools (Feat. Amandla Stenberg) - Drunk History*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c0xkUFe21Rk&feature=youtu.be. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Contino -, Patricia. *Theatre: Theatre of War Presents "(Flying) Dutchman" at The Tank – StageBiz*. http://stagebiz.com/theatre-theatre-of-war-presents-flying-dutchman-at-the-tank/. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Cook, Josh. "Penumbra Marks 40 Years of Illuminating the African-American Experience Through Art." *Growler Magazine*, 28 June 2016, https://growlermag.com/penumbra-marks-40-years-of-illuminating-the-african-american-experience-through-art/.

CrashCourse. *Christianity from Judaism to Constantine: Crash Course World History #11*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TG55ErfdaeY. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *Civil Rights and the 1950s: Crash Course US History #39*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S64zRnnn4Po. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *Into Africa and Wole Soyinka: Crash Course Theater #49*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kn-ER4bL7f8&list=PL8dPuuaLjXtONXALkeh5uisZqrAcPKCee&index=51&t=0s. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *Islam, the Quran, and the Five Pillars All Without a Flamewar: Crash Course World History #13*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TpcbfxtdoI8. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *Nonviolence and Peace Movements: Crash Course World History 228*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eP-mv5IjFzY&t=111s. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *Race Melodrama and Minstrel Shows: Crash Course Theater #30*. *YouTube*,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M3K9uKIMob0&list=PL8dPuuaLjXtONXALkeh5uisZqrAcPKCee&index=32&t=0s. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *The 1960s in America: Crash Course US History #40*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lkXFb1sMa38&list=PL8dPuuaLjXtMwmepBjTSG593eG7ObzO7s&index=41. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *The Cold War: Crash Course US History #37*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9C72ISMF_D0. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *The Harlem Renaissance: Crash Course Theater #41*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fDzVtXbtEow. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *USA vs USSR Fight! The Cold War: Crash Course World History #39*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y9HjvHZfCUI. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Davis, Angela Yvonne. *Women, Race & Class*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

Donnie Mossberg. *Malcolm X - The Ballot or the Bullet - April 4, 1964*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7oVW3HfzXkg&t=2s. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"Driving the Beat Road." *Washington Post*,

https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/lifestyle/the-beat-generation/. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Dutchman. http://www.shockcinemamagazine.com/dutchman.html. Accessed 1 May

2019.

Dutchman | *ThеaterMania*. https://www.theatermania.com/new-york-city-theater/reviews/dutchman-new-federal-theatre-review_71795.html. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"DUTCHMAN - 50th Anniversary." *Home*, https://www.nationalblacktheatre.org/dutchman. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"'Dutchman' At Secret Theater." *The Theatre Times*, 24 Feb. 2018, https://thetheatretimes.com/dutchman-secret-theater/.

"DUTCHMAN Is a Train Ride We All Need to Take." *PerformInk*, 18 Feb. 2017, http://kc.perform.ink/2017/02/dutchman-kc-meltingpot-theatre-review/.

Early, Gerald Lyn and Calihman "Early Productions". *Approaches to Teaching Baraka's Dutchman*. Edited by Early, Gerald Lyn, and Matthew Calihman. The Modern Language Association of America, 2018 New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2018.

Editors, History com. “March on Washington.” *HISTORY*, https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/march-on-washington. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Elam, Harry J. "Black Theatre in The 1960s and 1970s. By Mance Williams. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985. Pp. 192. $27.95." *Theatre Research International* 12.1 (1987): 82-84.

FilmakersLibrary. *The Ballad of Greenwich Village*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZMKfqvzF76Y. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Fisher, James. “Black Theatre in the 1960s and 1970s.” *New Theatre Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 22, May 1990, p. 196.

Fleming, Robert. "Book Reviews: "Home: Social Essays" By LeRoi Jones." *Mosaic Literary Magazine* 25 (2009): 34-35.

Freespeechtv. *Amiri Baraka (1934-2014): Poet Playwright Activist Who Shaped Revolutionary Politics, Black Culture*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bbHXQiUSnJw&list=PLRwTlC9zUBnacLtcA8y8d4Gj9Q27egecj&index=2&t=0s. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Ganza Polatzski. *Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) Reads “The Revolutionary Theater.” YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAYJtQY__6o. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Gates, J.L, Jr. (2014). *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature*. p. 542.

Ginsberg, Allen. "Allen Ginsberg Makes the Case for Marijuana." *The Atlantic*, 1 Nov. 1966, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1966/11/the-great-marijuana-hoax/383250/.

Godfrey, Mark, et al., editors. *Soul of a Nation: Art in the Age of Black Power*. Distributed Art Publishers, Inc, 2017.

Grihalva, Joey. "Theater: *Dutchman* Offers Powerful, Intimate Show." *Urban Milwaukee*, https://urbanmilwaukee.com/2014/12/18/theater-dutchman-offers-powerful-intimate-show/. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Hemmer, Kurt. "Breaking from the beats: Teaching *Dutchman* as a critique of Bohemianism,". *Approaches to Teaching Baraka's Dutchman*. Edited by Early, Gerald Lyn, and Matthew Calihman. The Modern Language Association of America, 2018 New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2018

Herve Cantero. *Brown v. Board of Education in PBS' The Supreme Court*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TTGHLdr-iak. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Hip Hughes. *Judaism Explained: Religions in Global History*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PWsKZ2Xto4Y. Accessed 1 May 2019.

History. "New York City Subway Opens." A and E Television Network, November 24, 2009. Accessed March 6th 2019. https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/new-york-city-subway-opens

HISTORY. *Sound Smart: Dred Scott Case | History*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J0OW18pIo8c. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *Sound Smart: Plessy v. Ferguson | History*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sj54KP16Ilw. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *Sound Smart: The Black Panthers | History*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B8SRcIbLQBg. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *Sound Smart: The Great Migration | History*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7TfgJnXlaxo. Accessed 1 May 2019.

---. *The Harlem Hellfighters | History*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eEuoAl1elLU. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Hooks, Bell. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1981.

Horton, James Oliver., et al. *Race: The Power of an Illusion*. [San Francisco, Calif.]: California Newsreel, 2003.

Hyman, Ramona L. "A Definition: Of the Black Arts Movement, Dutchman, and Lula." *Contemporary Literary Criticism Select*.

Jackson, Ronald L., and Mark C. Hopson. *Masculinity in the Black Imagination: Politics of Communicating Race and Manhood*. New York: Peter Lang, 2011.

Jenkins, Latanya N. *Research Guides: Black History: The FBI & Black Authors: Home*. https://guides.temple.edu/c.php?g=447944&p=3056733. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Jones, Leroi. *Blues People: Negro Music in White America*. 1 edition, Harper Perennial, 1999.

Kumar, Nita N. "The Logic of Retribution: Amiri Baraka's Dutchman: Document View." *African American Review* 37.2/3 (2003): 271.

Lane, Stewart F., and Kenny Leon. *Black Broadway: African Americans on the Great White Way*. Square One Publishers, 2015.

"Lobby Card from the Movie 'Dutchman,' Starring Al Freeman and Shirley..." *Getty Images*, https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/lobby-card-from-the-movie-dutchman-starring-al-freeman-and-news-photo/696931636. Accessed 1 May 2019.

LogistiKHD. *Martin Luther King | "I Have A Dream" Speech*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I47Y6VHc3Ms. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Lŏfgren, Lotta M. "Clay and Clara: Baraka's Dutchman, Kennedy's The Owl Answers, and the Black Arts Movement." *Modern Drama* 46.3 (2003): 424-449.

Madeja, Steve. "BLOCK PARTY: Commerce Street Between Bedford and Barrow." *Secrets of Manhattan*, 26 June 2017, https://secretsofmanhattan.wordpress.com/2017/06/26/block-party-commerce-street-between-bedford-and-barrow/.

"Malcolm X w Newspaper 1962-63 'If You'Re Not Ready to Die for It, Take the Word Freedom out of Your Vocabulary' by Gordon Parks, Web." *San Francisco Bay View*, 18 Feb. 2017, https://sfbayview.com/2017/02/black-newspapers-now-more-than-ever-must-boldly-tell-the-truth/malcolm-x-w-newspaper-1962-63-if-

youre-not-ready-to-die-for-it-take-the-word-freedom-out-of-your-vocabulary-by-gordon-parks-web-2/.

Mann, Emily., and David E. 1954- Roessel. *Political Stages: Plays That Shaped a Century*. New York: Applause Theatre & Cinema Books, 2002.

Mason, John Edwin. "How Gordon Parks' Photographs Implored White America to See Black Humanity." *Time*, http://time.com/4200148/gordon-parks-photographs-black-humanity/. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Mediasanctuary. *Amiri Baraka "Somebody Blew Up America." YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KUEu-pG1HWw. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Miletic, Philip. "Octavia E. Butler's Response to Black Arts/Black Power Literature and Rhetoric in Kindred." *African American Review* 49.3 (2016): 261-295.

MoviemaniacsDE. *13TH | Official Trailer (2016) Netflix*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K6IXQbXPO3I. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Muhammad Speaks News Paper Articles. http://www.noiwc.org/protectandelevatewomen.html.

Accessed 1 May 2019.

New Exhibit "1968: Civil Rights at 50" to Open Friday | Newseum. http://www.newseum.org/2018/01/10/new-exhibit-1968-civil-rights-at-50-to-open-friday/. Accessed 1 May 2019.

New York City. "Neighborhood Improvement Map 1969." 1969. Accessed through New York Public Library Digital Collections on March 7th 2019. https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/c430b603-8227-d8ee-e040-e00a18060b7f

NYCSubway.org New York City Historic Subway Map. 1964. Accessed March 7th 2019. http://3Nnp45uH5AwxHWJI759ns/edit?ts=5c7e8749

Offbeat. Tvt, 5 Mar. 1996.

Osborne, Tamar C. *Fallen From Disgrace: Tales of Disillusion in Amiri Baraka's Dutchman and V. S. Naipaul's Guerrillas*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2014.

Parker, J. (2006). Northern Gothic: Witches, Ghosts and Werewolves in the Savanna Hinterland of the Gold Coast, 1900s–1950s. *Africa, 76*(3), pp. 352-380.

Piggford, George. "Looking Into Black Skulls: Amiri Baraka's Dutchman and the Psychology of Race." *Modern Drama* 40.1 (1997): 74-85.

"Race, Class, and Politics in the American South." *@TheSocyCinema*, http://www.thesociologicalcinema.com/1/post/2014/07/race-class-and-politics-in-the-american-south.html. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"Rare Old NYC Subway Photos." *Am New York*, https://www.amny.com/transit/old-nyc-subway-photos-rare-images-of-trains-overcrowding-and-more-1.10496423. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Rayman, Denise. "Library/USA Exhibit at the 1964-5 New York World's Fair." *American Library Association Archives*, 8 Sept. 2014, https://archives.library.illinois.edu/ala/library-usa-exhibit/.

Rebhorn, Matthew. "Flaying Dutchman: Masochism, Minstrelsy, and the Gender Politics of Amiri Baraka's Dutchman." *Contemporary Literary Criticism Select* 2006.

Reelblack. *Amiri Baraka - It's Nation Time (1972)*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-V1AVsk1hJE. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Reilly, Darryl. "Dutch Masters - The Wild Project - Greg Keller." *TheaterScene.Net*, 11 Apr. 2018, http://www.theaterscene.net/plays/offbway-plays/dutch-masters/darryl-reilly/.

Rice, Julian C. "Leroi Jones' Dutchman: A Reading." *Contemporary Literature* 12.1 (1971): 42.

Samuel French Company. "Authors: LeRoi Jones." Updated 2019. Accessed March 9th 2019. https://www.samuelfrench.com/a/4423/leroi-jones

See Hear Say Learn. *Smith v Allwright (Landmark Court Decisions in America)*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3kezU0qHlVg. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"Shirley Knight's 'Dutchman' Still Resonates Today." *NewsOK.Com*, 27 May 2018, https://newsok.com/article/5595663/shirley-knights-dutchman-still-resonates-today/.

---. *NewsOK.Com*, 27 May 2018,

https://newsok.com/article/5595663/shirley-knights-dutchman-still-resonates-today/.

Soloski, Alexis. "Review: In 'Dutch Masters,' Subway Seatmates, So Close and Yet So Far." *The New York Times*, 28 Apr. 2018. *NYTimes.com*, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/10/theater/review-dutch-masters-andre-holland-greg-keller.html.

Sonnega, William. "Dutchman De-Stabilized: Ideology and Multicultural Discourse." *Theatre Studies*, vol. 38, Jan. 1993, p. 5.

Suganya, B. "Racial Tensions in Amiri Baraka's Dutchman." *Language In India* 16.9 (2016): 263-266.

Tate, Greg. "Amiri Amour: Baraka in Memorium." *EBONY*, 22 July 2016, https://www.ebony.com/entertainment/amiri-amour-baraka-in-memorium-111/.

TEDx Talks. *What Does It Mean to Be Human?* | *Sonia Sanchez* | *TEDxPhiladelphia*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DjY4pNBgMaA. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"THE DUTCHMAN AND THE OWL ANSWERS: An Evening of Obie Award-Winning One Acts." *Penumbra Theatre*, https://penumbratheatre.org/event/the-dutchman-and-the-owl-answers. Accessed 1 May 2019.

The Dutchman Review. http://scribblers.us/tj/?p=77. Accessed 1 May 2019.

"The History of the Black Arts Movement." *Widewalls*, https://www.widewalls.ch/black-arts-movement-art. Accessed 1 May 2019.

The School of Life. *EASTERN PHILOSOPHY - The Buddha*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tilBs32zN7I. Accessed 1 May 2019.

The System of Dante's Hell. https://www.goodreads.com/work/best_book/400490-the-system-of-dante-s-hell. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Theater, New York. "Dutch Masters Review: Black Meets White on Subway." *New York Theater*, 11 Apr. 2018, https://newyorktheater.me/2018/04/11/dutch-masters-review-black-meets-white-on-subway/.

Thelonious Monk and Allen Ginsberg, Monterey, CA 1963. https://www.morrisonhotelgallery.com/photographs/5LNbkd/Thelonious-Monk-and-Allen-Ginsberg-Monterey-CA-1963. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Times Square, New York City – 1964. 10 Jan. 2012. *Flickr*, https://www.flickr.com/photos/electrospark/6676498873/.

Tribute to Gordon Parks Gallery - The Digital Journalist. http://digitaljournalist.org/issue0604/parks19.html. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Trussell, Robert. "KC MeltingPot Tackles 'Dutchman,' An Angry, Sadly Relevant '60s Response to Racism." *KC STUDIO*, 20 Feb. 2017, http://kcstudio.org/kc-meltingpot-tackles-dutchman-angry-sadly-relevant-60s-response-racism/.

"The Flying Dutchman - Cursed." *ArtStation*, https://www.artstation.com/artwork/pirates-of-the-caribbean-dead-men-tell-no-tales-gallery-2. Accessed 20 Mar. 2019.

VisionPoint Media Group. *MPACTODAY: Amiri Baraka on the Background of Dutchman*. *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qkhL70D2ZB0. Accessed 1 May 2019.

What Happened in 1964 Inc. Pop Culture, Prices Significant Events, Key Technology and Inventions. http://www.thepeoplehistory.com/1964.html. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Wikipedia. "Amiri Baraka." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amiri_Baraka . Updated March 4th 2019. Accessed March 9th 2019.

ZaxJune 8, Talya, and 2017Getty Images. "How Allen Ginsberg Wrote The Poem Of A Generation." *The Forward*, https://forward.com/culture/books/374068/how-allen-ginsberg-wrote-the-poem-of-a-generation/. Accessed 1 May 2019.

Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States*. 1st Harper Perennial Modern Classics deluxe ed. New York: Harper Perennial, 2010.