Psyche & Muse: Creative Entanglements with the Science of the Soul on view at Beinecke Library, Yale University, January 28 through June 13, 2011

The Influence of Anxiety: Race and Writing in Jim Crow Times Checklist and Descriptions
Exhibition Curator: Louise Bernard, American Literature (louise.bernard@yale.edu)

America as much a problem in metaphysics as / it is a nation …

~ Robert Hayden, “[American Journal]”

The books, manuscripts, and assorted ephemera presented in this section of Psyche & Muse are drawn from the James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection of Arts and Letters. As a representative sample of the African American artist’s creative entanglement with the “science of the soul,” they serve to critique and to re-imagine those pseudo-scientific and highly reductive narratives that rendered “the Negro” a reified object for statistical study. While the disciplines of psychology and sociology have been at the forefront of “dissecting,” for better or for worse, the generational impact of enslavement and segregation, the idea of the mind, in tandem with a discourse on the soul, acquires added weight when voiced through the black artist’s lyrical understanding of racialized experience. In this framework, the focus is not the presumed “pathology” (in disease-laden terms) of the black subject, but the idea of America itself as a metaphysical conundrum laid bare for analysis. While psychoanalysis might be perceived as a bourgeois (European) desire to look ever inward, urgent political cause prompted black writers and artists to examine the broader contours of a Freudian selfhood, to consider how the principles of psychiatry might be applied both to the literal enactment of democratic freedom and to the inter-personal dynamics of creative endeavor. While the curative properties of Freudian psychoanalysis are perhaps endlessly deferred, the revisionist impulses at the heart of a socially-engaged psychotherapy offered black artists a new language with which to parse the existential dilemmas of post-war life—the rise of totalitarianism, the push for Civil Rights, and the struggle for African decolonization. At the same time, the visionary allure of “madness” is embraced for all of its humanist and creative energies—the wellsprings of myth, ritual, symbol, and story—to which Freud himself was so irrevocably drawn.

Kara Walker & the Specter of Slavery

The artist Kara Walker is perhaps best known for her large-scale silhouette cut-outs of panoramic scenes of plantation life. Her signature approach to representing the implicitly “graphic” nature of slavery brings to light the workings of the “peculiar institution,” a particular American “id.” The stark landscape, at once violent, voyeuristic, scatological, and sexually-charged, disrupts the dream-space of the pastoral South, and the repeated tropes of nightmarish metamorphosis,
conjoining, amputation, and dismemberment take center stage throughout her provocative scenes of subjection and subversion. Walker’s perverse doubling of stereotypes, or caricatured forms, renders sublime the metaphors of scission and suturing that lie at the heart of the Union’s impossible plight.


Expressions of madness are especially prominent in the early works of Nobel Laureate Toni Morrison (_The Bluest Eye, Sula_) and in her Pulitzer prize-winning novel _Beloved_. Morrison wrote her Master’s thesis at Cornell on the subject of alienation and suicide in the work of William Faulkner and Virginia Woolf.


Born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois’s industrious life and prolific career would span almost a full century. Growing up in the North less than a decade after Emancipation, he would die, having renounced his American citizenship, in Accra, Ghana, on the eve of the March on Washington, in August of 1963. Educated at Fisk and receiving a second B. A. _cum laude_ in Philosophy) from Harvard, he would go on to complete a Master’s degree in History and, following study abroad in Berlin, he became the first African American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard.

He completed his thesis, titled “The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870” in 1895, coincidentally the same year that Sigmund Freud and Josef Breuer published _Studies on Hysteria_ (the case study of Anna O.) and Freud successfully analyzed his own dream—“Irma’s injection”—which would become the model for psychoanalytic dream interpretation. While Du Bois’s doctoral thesis was published as the first volume in the Harvard Historical Monograph Series in 1896, he adds, some sixty years later, an “Apologia,” in which he critiques his failure to anticipate the visionary work of Freud and Marx.
Du Bois and William James

While Du Bois had the distinct pleasure of reading Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* one-on-one with the then young instructor George Santayana, he was greatly drawn to the enigmatic William James, brother of the novelist Henry James and a founder of the school of American Pragmatism. It was by James’s invitation that Du Bois enjoyed entrée to the Harvard Philosophical Club (a descendent of the Metaphysical Club), and while Du Bois’s experience of racial prejudice no doubt honed his own psychological insight into the vagaries of existential life, it is perhaps not too great a stretch to imagine that James’s particular emphasis on the workings of the mind influenced, to some degree, Du Bois’s use of the term “double consciousness” in his essay “Strivings of the Negro People,” *Atlantic Monthly* (August 1897); published as the first chapter, “Of Our Spiritual Strivings,” in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). William James sends a copy of *The Souls* to his brother Henry, then preparing to return to the U.S. following two decades abroad in Europe. Henry James also uses the phrase “double consciousness” in the opening chapter of his novel of the same year, *The Ambassadors* (1903) and refers to *The Souls* in his travelogue, *The American Scene* (1907).


Marginalia and end comments by Professor William James. James’s closing comments read as follows: “This is a very original thesis, full of independent thought and vigorous [sic] expressed; but, as it seems to me, the work of a man who has is yet feeling his way into clearness and has a great deal of extrication still to perform on his idea. You need especially to define how, […] the facts of the world know its end could be “scientifically” made certain. To me, that is impossible—we can only trust in its ends being what we sympathize with. The last dozen pages or so, especially need more thinking—On the whole, however, I regard it as an exceptionally promising production. Wm James.

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*The Souls of Black Folk: From Behind the Veil*

W.E.B. Du Bois’s landmark study *The Souls of Black Folk* is not a work of literature per se, rather its quintessentially modern, hybrid form—the overlapping elements of historical document, sociological treatise, personal narrative, ethnographic reflection, and allegorical fiction—captures the “truth-telling” power of (eye-witness) testimony.
“After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness.”


*The Souls of Black Folk: On Lynching*

Lynching reached epidemic proportions in the years following Emancipation. As a ritual of racial terror par excellence, the oftentimes combined act of hanging, burning, tar and feathering, and, in the case of men, castrating victims represents an absolute violation of the human body. Du Bois makes but two brief references in *The Souls* to the “crucified” figure of the sharecropper Sam Hose, yet it is the “Sam Hose affair,” as he terms it, followed by the untimely death of his baby son, Burghardt, that led, by his own admission, to a nervous breakdown. Sam Hose was viciously murdered in 1899, a few miles outside of Atlanta in retaliation for killing, in self-defense, a planter who refused to pay him or to allow him to visit his sick mother. The scene of Hose’s killing, which Du Bois witnessed in its aftermath, is seemingly repressed in *The Souls* (he writes about the event in later autobiographical reflections), yet the horrific tableau of torture and defilement rendered in broad daylight on American soil, sent Du Bois hurrying to deliver a “restrained letter” of protest to the Atlanta Constitution where Joel Chandler Harris served as editor. Hose’s blackened knuckles were by then already on display in a storefront window, his charred flesh divided up amongst a crowd hungry for souvenirs.

Lynching is, however, the subject of the penultimate chapter in *The Souls*, the short story “Of the Coming of John.” Du Bois’s short, satirical story, “On Being Crazy,” about the psychopathologies of American race relations, ran in the July 1923 issue of *The Crisis*.


*Richard Wright (1908–1960)*

Richard Wright stands as a preeminent figure in the canon of African American arts and letters. Born near Natchez, Mississippi in 1908 (all four of his grandparents had been slaves), Wright
would eventually make his way to Chicago where, largely self-educated, he committed himself to the arduous craft of writing. His short story collection *Uncle Tom’s Children* (1938), his novel *Native Son* (1940), and his autobiography *Black Boy* (1945) would go on to become international bestsellers, effectively catapulting him to the forefront of the American literary scene. Yet, while Wright served as an early mentor to the likes of Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin in New York (friendships that later took contentious turns, at once critical and competitive), he chose a prolonged self-exile with his family in Paris—a European space in which he felt better able to grapple with the existential themes of freedom, alienation, hope, and despair that figure so prominently in his characters’ often violent lives. There exists at the heart of Wright’s intellectually-engaged corpus a profound interest in the workings of the mind—both consciousness and conscience—and he maintained substantive relationships with Dr. Frederic Wertham (Lafargue Clinic, New York) and Dr. Benjamin Karpman (Howard University and St. Elizabeth’s Hospital, Washington, D.C.), both practitioners in the field of psychiatry. Wright’s commitment to the democratic tenets of well-being (the pursuit of happiness) is evident in his foundational support of the Lafargue Mental Hygiene Clinic and his later examinations of “colonial neurosis” and the struggle for decolonization in works such as *Black Power* (1954), *The Color Curtain* (1956), and *White Man, Listen!* (1957).

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**Native Son**

*Native Son*, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1940.

*Nigger [Native Son]*, Norway: Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1951.

Black and white still from the film version of *Native Son* directed by Pierre Chenal and starring Richard Wright as Bigger Thomas (1949–50). Shot on location in Argentina and alternately titled *Sangre Negra*, the film was banned in some states in the U.S.

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**Black Boy (American Hunger)**

“‘Under the influence of Stein’s Three Lives, I spent hours and days pounding out disconnected sentences for the sheer love of words.’”


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**Richard Wright & the Lafargue Clinic: “the turning of Freud upside down”**
The Lafargue Clinic (1946–1958) opened its doors on March 8, 1946. Situated in the basement of St. Phillips Episcopal Church and staffed by black and white professionals, the Clinic offered much needed psychotherapy to Harlem’s poor residents. While the practice of psychoanalysis places particular emphasis on the importance of a fee-paying structure in the relationship between the analyst and the analysand, the need for a broadly democratic service in a social world literally aching from the slights and tensions of de facto Jim Crow law, meant that clients were charged only 25 cents per visit (50 cents for attendance in court), or no charge at all if the patient lacked a quarter. Importantly, the writers Richard Wright (Board member) and Ralph Ellison both played decisive roles in the Clinic’s founding.

Richard Wright, “Psychiatry Comes to Harlem.” Reprinted from Free World, September, 1946.

Richard Wright, “Psychiatry Goes to Harlem,” manuscript draft.

Brochure, “The Lafargue Clinic: A Mental Hygiene Clinic in and for the Community of Harlem.”

From the Richard Wright Papers.

The Lafargue Clinic

“What the Negro needs, and what psychiatry must help him find, is the will to survive in a hostile world.” ~ Frederic Wertham, Time Magazine, December 1, 1947

Sidney M. Katz, “Jim Crow is Barred from Wertham’s Clinic.” Reprinted from Reader’s Digest Magazine (September 1946).


From the Richard Wright Papers.

Richard Wright Papers—Subject Files: Wertham, Frederic, 1942–52

Born Friedrich Ignanz Wertheimer in Nuremberg, Germany in 1895, Dr. Frederic Wertham worked briefly at the Kraepelin Clinic in Munich under Emil Kraepelin, who developed the standard system for classifying mental disorders, before emigrating to the U.S. in 1922. He accepted a position under Adolf Meyer at the Phipps Psychiatric Clinic at Johns Hopkins University, moving to New York in 1932 where he served, among a number of positions, as Director of Bellevue Mental Hygiene Clinic (later Bellevue Hospital) and as a co-founder and practicing physician at the Lafargue Clinic in Harlem. He maintained a close, professional relationship with Horace Westlake Frink, the first disciple of Freud to practice in the U.S., and Wertham became Frink’s psychiatrist when the latter suffered a mental breakdown. Wertham
was a prolific writer with wide-ranging interests in literature and art, and while he is now largely remembered for his moral campaign against the comic book industry and his study of the impact of violence in comics on juvenile delinquency (Seduction of the Innocent, 1953), he also provided expert testimony on the effects of racial segregation in the lead up to the landmark case of Brown v. Board of Education, 1954.


Frederic Wertham to Richard Wright—2 poems: January 15, 1942; May 27, 1942.

Richard Wright: Angst and Alienation


Colonial Neurosis


Frantz Fanon (1925–1961)


Letter from Frantz Fanon to Richard Wright, January 6, 1953. From the Richard Wright Papers.

The psychiatrist Frantz Fanon was born in Fort-de-France, Martinique (the poet Aimé Césaire was his teacher at the Lycée Schoelcher) and attended Medical School in Lyon, France. He dedicated himself to the cause of Algerian liberation, serving as a psychiatrist at the Blida-
Joinville Hospital. His psycho-modernist text *Peau noire, masques blanc* remains a classic, humanist treatise on the psychological effects of colonial oppression in the Antilles, while his later studies (*L’An Cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne [A Dying Colonialism], Les Damnés de la terre, and Pour la Revolution Africaine*) are hallmarks of the “Third World” liberation movement. Following treatment in Russia, Fanon died of leukemia at the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, at the age of thirty-six.

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**James Baldwin (1924–1987)**

Born to an impoverished family in Harlem, James Baldwin left behind his life as a boy preacher to pursue a career primarily as a novelist and critic. Like Richard Wright, and other African American artists before him, Baldwin left the U.S. in order to find himself as a writer in France, and he claimed to have departed from American shores, in 1948, “about five minutes before I would have been carried off to Bellevue.” His father had been committed to a mental institution where he died of tuberculosis, and the artist Beauford Delaney, a man whom Baldwin considered the most important influence in his life, was plagued by alcoholism and schizophrenia. Baldwin was forever troubled by the thin line between life and death, between madness and sanity, and when he was later challenged by accusations (as well as self-doubts) that his creative output had suffered as a result of his distance from the American literary scene and his increased engagement in Civil Rights affairs, his retort was that, in the shadow of Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr., he had been trying to write “between assassinations.”


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*The Fire Next Time*, NY: Dial Press, 1963. Published on the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation and the same year as the March on Washington, Baldwin examines the contemporary state of American race relations through the lens of his own, youthful religious experience and crisis of faith and the troubling, separatist ideologies of an emerging Nation of Islam. The second, longer part of the essay, “Down at the Cross,” first appeared in the *New Yorker* as “Letter from a Region in my Mind.”


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**James Baldwin’s Blues**

Baldwin’s trademark melancholia about race relations in the U.S. and abroad, and his own struggles with alcoholism and depression, finds particular resonance in the sonic metaphor of the
Blues—that haunting, quintessentially American music born of the slave ship and the auction block, of the cotton field and the chain gang, of migrations North to unwelcoming climes. His play *Blues for Mister Charlie* (featuring Al Freeman, Jr., the star of LeRoi Jones’s play *Dutchman* of the same year) received its world premiere under the auspices of The Actor’s Studio, directed by Burgess Meredith, April 1964. Baldwin’s loose and meandering meditation on the Blues as sign and symbol of African American life during the Civil Rights movement is represented here in his article for *Playboy*.


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**Ralph Ellison (1913–1994): “Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke”**

Ralph Ellison is best known for his groundbreaking, epic novel *Invisible Man*, winner of the National Book Award in 1953. While Ellison suffered from a seemingly terminal case of writer’s block when it came to producing his second (unfinished) novel, published in posthumous versions as *Juneteenth* and *Three Days Before the Shooting*, his essays collected in *Shadow and Act* and *Going to the Territory* are classic works in the genre. Following his near namesake Ralph Waldo Emerson, literature served, for Ellison, a “transcendental” function—one that could rise above and make sense of a society very often at odds with itself. To understand the pleasure and pain of American democracy, to recognize the deeply human contours of black life, was to mine the psychological depths of the imagination. Ellison’s essays remain as subtly complex and beguiling as his sustained subject of “society, morality, and the novel” is nuanced and unyielding. As such, Ellison’s keen interest in both Marx and Freud, the latter shaped by his close reading of the critic Kenneth Burke, was bolstered by his formative experience in New York working as a temporary receptionist and clerk for the psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan. Sullivan was renowned for his work on interpersonal relations and the connections to be fostered between psychiatry and social science. Ellison’s essay on the Lafargue Clinic, “Harlem is Nowhere,” written for *Magazine of the Year*, 1948, appeared in his collection *Shadow and Act* (1964).


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**Totem and Taboo**

In one of the pivotal, episodic scenes in *Invisible Man*, Ellison’s naïve protagonist discovers on a table at the office of Mr. Emerson, “[a]n open book, something called *Totem and Taboo*…” It is the Freud-reading, homosexual young Emerson (“I had a difficult session with my analyst last evening…”) who reveals to invisible man the treacherous nature of Dr. Bledsoe’s letter.

In regard to the uncanny interplay of race and psychoanalysis, Freud writes to Ludwig Binswanger, May 8, 1911: “I have recently referred several Moors (guess why we call them that in psychoanalytic jargon!) to Maeder.” He clarifies his comment in his letter dated May 28, 1911: “The Moors come from an old joke, well known to us, in which psychoanalysis is called an impossible task.” In German, *Mohrenwäsche* means literally “Moor-washing,” an expression that perhaps refers to Jeremiah 13, 23: “Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?” hence the idea of futility, or attempting the impossible, what James Strachey will translate as “a Sisyphean task.” Ernest Jones, however, writes “The consultation was at noon, and for some time patients were referred to as ‘Negroes.’ This strange appellation came from a cartoon in the *Fliegende Blätter* depicting a yawning lion muttering, ‘Twelve o’clock and no negro.’” [*The Sigmund Freud—Ludwig Binswanger Correspondence, 1908–1938.* Ed. Gerhard Fichter. Trans. Arnold J. Pomerans, NY: Other Press, 2003.]

Ralph Ellison: The Art of Criticism


“As a writer, Richard Wright has outlined for himself a dual role: To discover and depict the meaning of Negro experience; and to reveal to both Negroes and whites those problems of a psychological and emotional nature which arise between them when they strive for mutual understanding…. Imagine Bigger Thomas projecting his own life in lucid prose, guided, say, by the insights of Marx and Freud and you have an idea of this autobiography.”


Chester Himes (1909–1984): Stir Crazy

Serving time for armed robbery, one of Chester Himes’s first published stories, “Crazy in the Stir” (1934), débuted in *Esquire* with only his prison number—59623—as a marker of authorship. While Himes is best known for his successful series of detective fiction starring Grave Digger Jones and Coffin Ed Johnson, his semi-autobiographical novel *The End of a Primitive* offers a brilliant, if flawed, surreal study of the writer on the verge of a nervous breakdown. While it encompasses the emotional trauma of critical failure, the novel is more precisely about rejection, failure’s wretched twin, with the crushing blows of the literary establishment amply reflecting those meted out in the conservative climate of a cold-war milieu.
(Himes’s work, like that of Wright and Baldwin, invited FBI surveillance). Himes drank heavily throughout his career, suffered from hypertension and stomach ulcers, and controlled the stress of writing by self-medicating on the tranquilizer Dexamyl. Himes writes in his memoir *My Life of Absurdity* that in the case of *Primitive*, “Thousands of stupid, senseless, pointless, mean, petty, and spiteful changes had been made in the original manuscript,” and that it “took days to restore my manuscript to its original form.” When he finished, the copy “looked like a painting of a writer’s nightmare by Dubuffet.” Needless to say, the novel was originally published in heavily revised condition under the truncated and perversely reductive title *The Primitive*.


LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka): A Theatre of the Absurd

As a representative work of the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s, LeRoi Jones’s Obie Award-winning play *Dutchman*, which opened at the Cherry Lane Theatre in 1964, captures with cathartic force the intense psycho-sexual dynamics that undergrid racial mythos in the popular imagination. Jones returns to the underground motif, as a signifying riff on the earlier works of Wright and Ellison, using the confined space of the subway car to bring to the surface all of the incipient tensions that ripple between his antagonists, Clay and Lena. It is the diabolical Lena, a new age Lilith, who will goad the uptight, Adamic Clay Williams into righteous anger, a prelude to his (symbolic) death.

*Dutchman* (the film): Promotional broadside; black & white stills.


Adrienne Kennedy: A Theatre of Cruelty

Adrienne Kennedy’s early, ritualistic dramas are suffused with representations of blood and violence, perverse doublings and deformities, and nightmarish tableaus of imprisonment and retribution. Such imagistic spectacles function as meditations on the haunting legacies of an Afro-diasporic world—one bound to the histories of slavery and colonialism. Kennedy is especially drawn to the idea of hysteria, and her (female) characters are very often over-wrought, schizoid, teetering on the verge of madness as they attempt to navigate worlds that have lost all rational meaning.

From graffiti artist to art world celebrity, Jean-Michel Basquiat’s short-lived, meteoric career embodies the heady milieu of the Eighties downtown scene. All the complexities of money, excess, and fame filter through Basquiat’s highly-charged canvases, and while he had to negotiate the various pressures of being stereotyped as both primitive “wild child” and temperamental “genius,” his vibrant mixing of bright color and obsessive text forged a new and dynamic visual language. Basquiat’s homage is to history, to an African diasporic past filled with myth and symbol, to a Jim Crow past shot through with pain. Yet his idiosyncratic renderings of iconic figures (athletes and jazz musicians) also echo his first artistic influence—a copy of Gray’s Anatomy, a gift from his mother following the removal of his spleen as a child (he was hit by a car). His oeuvre remains, therefore, a compelling study, in formal terms, of psyche and soma. Discombobulated body parts—fractured skulls; disjointed limbs—litter his large canvases and so depict the human sensorium laid bare. Jean-Michel Basquiat died of a heroin overdose at the age of twenty-seven.


Jean-Michel Basquiat: Mourning & Melancholia

Palladium Presents… After-Party invitation for the Warhol/Basquiat collaboration show (Toni Shafrazi Gallery), September 14, 1985.


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