

A Harvest for the People: P. Sterling Stuckey, Activist and Scholar Author(s): Michael A. Gomez Source: *The Journal of African American History*, Vol. 91, No. 4, P. Sterling Stuckey: In Praise of an Intellectual Legacy (Autumn, 2006), pp. 374-384 Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of Association for the Study of African American Life and History Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20064120 Accessed: 24-05-2020 22:55 UTC

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A HARVEST FOR THE PEOPLE: P. STERLING STUCKEY, ACTIVIST AND SCHOLAR

Michael A. Gomez^{*}

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, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is this strife,— this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America... He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism.... He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

I thus begin on the occasion of the retirement of P. Sterling Stuckey from the University of California, Riverside, with this familiar passage from W. E. B. Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* published in 1903, an association I hope to demonstrate momentarily. Of course, this is a passage many can quote from memory, as it has provoked and inspired seemingly endless commentary and rumination. This is as it should be, for here and elsewhere in *Souls*, Du Bois displays his own second-sightedness, a profound insight into the condition of the African-descended, that continues to reverberate and instruct one hundred years later. This particular passage is crucial, as in it Du Bois provides a window into the interiority of the black experience, and lays his finger on the principal condition arising from the African's confrontation with the withering, steady blast of American racism. The resulting disorientation is indeed the defining feature of the African diasporic experience in North America, the notion of irreconcilability, the core of the dilemma.

Du Bois's *Souls* establishes an important context for our meditation on the life and work of P. Sterling Stuckey. The working thesis of this commentary is that Professor Stuckey responded to the pioneering work of

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Du Bois (and others) in such a profound way as to not only establish him as a pioneer in his own right, but as one who substantially answered one of the more profound challenges formulated by Du Bois.

It can be argued that the African diaspora, for which Du Bois was a principal architect, is the quintessential "imagined community," existing as both academic project and social agenda, its precise location a matter of considerable debate, but certainly not far from the verges of scholarly endeavor and political exigency, concomitantly inhabiting realms of the noumenal and experiential. As such, the African diaspora is spatially expansive and temporally comprehensive, and includes African persons and populations who have resided in both Europe and Asia as far back as antiquity. Insofar as the Atlantic world is concerned, it is perhaps more useful to envision it as (at least) a 500-year conversation, in myriad languages and cultural expressions, among various members of African-descended communities (both within nation-states and between them) over the meaning of loss and displacement. Discursive patterns characteristic of the African diaspora tend to be preoccupied with navigating the implications of the Middle Passage, the principal divergences (ideological and often literal) heading in one of two directions, either towards Africa or the Americas. Of course, the great conundrum has been the unattainable nature of the polarities: Africa, once lost, has yet to be recovered; while America, as an ideal, has yet to become home. This is the essence of the African diaspora, of Du Bois's "twoness," this inability to achieve wholeness of spirit and vision, a psychic exile.

Du Bois's problem of double consciousness in the case of black women becomes triple-conscious; indeed, the quantification of the condition is a function of the variability of identity and its performance, and is therefore extendible to multiples of prime factors. A great deal of print has been devoted to this question of double, or multiple consciousness, and the interpretations vary, as only it should be. I have also often wondered what Du Bois meant by the concept. For many, resolution of the formulation, at least enigmatic if not opaque, is to be found in the "twoness" principle—"an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings." That is, the American Negro, as she was then known, was a fractured individual, unable to fully integrate identities in opposition. While the relationship between multiple consciousness and twoness is certainly there, I am not so sure that they are immediately collapsible, that they are referring to the same phenomenon. Rather, I believe that one condition issues into and explains the other. Allow me to develop my own hermeneutic a bit further.

Careful scholar that he was (a phrase I borrow from Professor Stuckey's work), Du Bois wrote to be understood, taking time to define his terms. In this instance, he characterizes double consciousness as "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity." That is, the core issue of double or multiple consciousness is the *mediation* of the self-

perspective, the acquisition of self-knowledge through processes controlled by a hostile other. To state it differently, the American Negro, in Du Bois's analysis, was in the predicament of learning about himself and herself, about her native potential, her intelligence, her beauty, her historical contributions, her social standing and value to society, and her future prospects through "the prism of American racism" (another Stuckeyan turn of phrase). He was taught that as a member of a despised and degraded "race," he was locked into a condition of inferiority and continuing servility. This American form of caste was deeply embedded in nearly every aspect of the American experience, so that the lessons of racism employed pedagogical tools and strategies that extended far beyond the narrow confines of the schoolhouse. The limited opportunities, differential pay scales, and constricted spaces of the workplace conveyed that message. The proscribed movement within public facilities, restaurants, courthouses, and means of transportation throughout the land of Jim Crow certainly reinforced the lesson. The circumstances of residence and social interaction, a quartering of black folk whether at rest or in motion, resulted in the engineering of demographic patterns so dramatic and stark as to even provide a template for South African apartheid, rigidifying the relational prison. The arrogation of power by a select few, the projection of a homogeneous iconography via film, radio, and subsequently television; indeed, the very imagery associated with divine unction, all attested to the sanctioning of order and the futility of remonstration. In contrast, the only images of the African's descendant were the coon, the shine, the buffoon, and the object lesson dangling from a tree. The curse of Ham, from all indications, had come to pass.

In presenting the core dilemma of black folk, in trying to approximate the bearing of their souls, Du Bois borrows the trope of the "two-headed" Negro, the specially gifted person, seventh in the birth order, and born "with a caul" over his face, which served as confirmation of an otherworldly choice by which the anointed have been empowered to peer into the interstices of the sacred and profane, spirit and flesh, time and before-time, to locate the cause of disease and trouble and discord. But instead of being able to see into the unknown, those "born with a veil and gifted with second-sight" in Du Bois's formulation are in fact visually impaired, for as a consequence of this circumstance of birth, their vantage point "yields [them] no true selfconsciousness." They know as they are known.

The recovery of wholeness, as opposed to "twoness," is through the obviation of mediated or multiple consciousness. To the extent that the recovery of wholeness among the African-descended has been achieved, it has in large measure been facilitated by the black intellectual, the black writer and artist, the black journalist, the black healer. The quest to arrive at a true self-knowledge, in Du Boisian language, has been a long and arduous process that continues to unfold as we speak. That process began with the earliest of African "arrivants" (à la writer/scholar Kamau Brathwaite), with every soul who dared to speak his own name or her own language. It certainly continued

in the formation of folk tales and animal stories, works of orality fashioned by the earliest of African American intellectuals that feature the African as implacable and triumphant, outwitting and outmaneuvering larger and ostensibly more powerful foes. It undoubtedly continued in the Spirituals and work songs and field hollers and liturgical styles of worship traditions, probably created by the same early artists, as transcendent and expectant in orientation and carriage as they were African in expression and movement. The black intellectual response, therefore, began on African shores if not the slave ships themselves.

That effort was joined on 2 March 1932 with the birth of a son to poet Elma and Ples Sterling Stuckey, Sr. in Memphis, Tennessee. As part of a massive relocation of black southerners to the North, the manchild would travel at the age of 13 to Chicago, where he would attend elementary and secondary schools before matriculating at Northwestern University, where he took all three degrees (the B.A. in 1955 in Political Science, the M.A. in 1965, and the Ph.D. in 1972). This was of course the era of the Civil Rights Movement, its heyday, and Professor Stuckey's participation in the movement was critical to his development as a scholar, to his ability to advance the foundational scholarship of Du Bois and others, and to elaborate theoretical mechanisms by which the Du Boisian quandary of multiple consciousness could be addressed. Stated differently, Stuckeyan methods to correct a mediated historical reconstruction were derived not only from an engagement with the academy, but from a commitment with organic, everyday struggle. One could even argue that the quotidian was a necessary precursor to the scholarly trajectory; at the very least, none could quibble with the observation that the former certainly informed the latter in critical ways.

The scholar-activist paradigm most famously personified by Du Bois therefore found profound resonance in the life of P. Sterling Stuckey. Brief mention of Professor Stuckey's movement activities is therefore in order, and makes clear that his efforts were as considerable as they were focused and intense. From 1960 to 1962, he co-founded and chaired the Emergency Relief Committee (ERC) in Chicago, sending food, clothing, and money to Fayette and Haywood Counties in Tennessee, where voter registration drives had engendered a crisis among African Americans suffering reprisals for their efforts to register and vote. The work of the ERC was in fact the model later adopted by civil rights organizations in Chicago in relation to the southern rights struggle, and historians August Meier and Elliott Rudwick wrote that the ERC was "the most active" of CORE chapters at that time, sending "about sixty tons of food and clothing" to the Tennessee counties in a five-month period.¹ In addition to chairing the ERC, he chaired the Chicago Freedom Rider Committee in the spring and summer of 1961, and if chairing the ERC and CFRC were not enough, he also served as Mid-Western Regional Director of the CORE from 1960 to 1963. It was also in 1963 that he and Ralph Wright, Jr. were elected to co-chair the Chicago youth wing of A. Philip

Randolph's March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom Now. Even with all of these responsibilities, Stuckey still found time to serve in a variety of capacities in Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Louisiana in the 1960s, working with such pivotal figures as Bob Moses and Amzie Moore. Such was his commitment.

For someone like Sterling Stuckey, it was important to combine his civil rights work with his academic interests. The confluence of activism and scholarship resulted in the Amistad Society, "A Committee on Afro-American History and Culture," that he co-founded and chaired from 1962 to 1965. The Amistad Society was something of a vanguard organization that paved the way for the rise of Black History and Black Studies programs, sponsoring talks by such figures as Sterling Brown, John O. Killens, August Meier, Malcolm X, John Hope Franklin, and Lerone Bennett, Jr. The Society was also affiliated with the Student Advocates of Negro History, students of Mr. Stuckey, then a teacher at Wendell Phillips high school, who taught most of the classes on Black History in Chicago's Freedom Schools in the fall of 1964, when Chicago's segregated public schools were closed by boycotting students. Such efforts were trumpeted by Hoyt Fuller's Negro Digest, later Black World. Yet another example of the scholar-activist tradition was Stuckey's co-authoring the history section of the Mississippi Summer Project Curriculum in 1964, together with Staughton Lynd and Beatrice Carpenter Young. And finally in this regard, Stuckey was part of Dr. Vincent Harding's Atlanta-based Institute of the Black World in the late 1960s.² All of these events and activities were unfolding concurrently with Stuckey's civil rights field work and graduate training at Northwestern. He would remain at Northwestern as a professor until 1989, when he became Distinguished Professor of History at University of California, Riverside.

In the process of his activism and scholarship, Professor Stuckey has garnered awards and honors too numerous to fully enumerate here. To cite a few, he was twice named Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford in 1980–1981 and 2002–2003; he was a recipient of the Rockefeller Fellowship at the Center for Black Music Research at Columbia College, Chicago in 1999–2000; he received the Distinguished Humanist Achievement Award at the Center for Ideas and Society at University of California, Riverside in 1999; he was selected a Senior Fellow at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History in 1987–1988; and he was designated the W. E. B. Du Bois Visiting Research Professor at UCLA's Afro-American Studies Center in 1975–1976. In 1994, Professor Stuckey was named to a Presidential Chair at the University of California, Riverside.³

All of the foregoing constitutes enormous accomplishments, and we could justifiably end the accolades here, as the exceptional quality of Professor Stuckey's life and contributions have clearly been established. But we cannot leave out his very considerable and extraordinary scholarship, to which we now turn, for it is in his scholarship that we arguably find the center of his legacy, keeping in mind that such scholarship flows out of a life of commitment and service. They are all interconnected and mutually reinforcing.

P. Sterling Stuckey has amassed a formidable record of books, articles in refereed journals, book chapters, conference papers, keynote addresses, speeches, book forewords, introductions, and reviews. His research interests encompass the realms of North American slavery, postbellum cultural history, and intellectual history. In all three categories, Professor Stuckey's work has proven to be among the most profound, and has indeed been seminal to the production of a range of inquiries in these areas. Characterized by innovative method, qualities of precision, and an inimitable idiom of style, Professor Stuckey's contributions are enduring, and he enjoys the deepest respect among his colleagues.

Concerning method, Professor Stuckey pioneered the interdisciplinary approach to the study of slavery, combining folklore, art history, material cultural studies, anthropology, and theories of music and dance in ways which have yet to be approximated by anyone in these fields. His approach could be categorized as "thick description" à la anthropologist Clifford Geertz, but it is one thoroughly grounded in the historical discipline. In analyzing folkloric and literary materials with respect to music and dance, he demonstrates an uncanny ability to translate what has been previously recorded/penned into three-dimensional representations *within the idiom* of the written word. Quite frankly, I have never seen (or experienced) anything like it. And in discussing intellectual history, Professor Stuckey exhibits remarkable mastery of the materials as one who has read deeply and widely, and contemplates the implications of a given argument with the utmost seriousness.

A careful examination of his record reveals an individual who achieved both national and international recognition as a scholar of tremendous significance many years ago, but who continues to forge ahead in a most vigorous fashion in pursuit of a dauntingly exacting research agenda. Far from resting on his considerable and well deserved laurels, Professor Stuckey evinces a capacity that is ever growing, ever expanding, conditioned by experience and acquisition, yet relentlessly inquisitive, and fully engaged. In the vaulted tradition of W. E. B. Du Bois, Professor Stuckey is himself a quintessential trailblazer.

As is true of his awards and honors, Professor Stuckey's publications are too numerous to cite in total. But there are several that command attention and commentary, as they make connections with Du Bois's multiple consciousness dilemma in ways that are striking. Professor Stuckey's initial, indelible imprint upon the scholarly community came in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the publication of the article, "Through the Prism of Folklore: The Black Ethos in Slavery" (1968), and his edited volume, *The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism* (1972). In the former, which to date has appeared in nineteen publications, Professor Stuckey successfully argues for a cultural agency within the enslaved community that can be understood through a careful analysis of folklore and slave narrative. As such, he was beginning to fashion a response to Du Bois's problem of mediated self-awareness. With this work and those that follow, he establishes methods of reading folklore that allow direct access into the life, thought, values, and perspectives of the subject, a collective "ethos" in his characterization that constituted an autonomous sphere. The exploration of that sphere would not end with this publication.⁴

Nearly twenty years later, in 1987, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* was published.⁵ It is an incomparable work, one that will prove to be one of the most important interventions into the history of slavery published in the 20th century. It is so far, in my opinion, the crowning jewel of Professor Stuckey's corpus of work.

For it is here, in Slave Culture, that Professor Stuckey takes on the Du Boisian problematic of multiple or mediated consciousness by going far beyond the veneer of cultural analyses of slavery and establishing linkages and antecedents with an African past that extend into an African American future. In achieving this, Professor Stuckey once again affirms the experience that the African American past is not confined to these shores, that scholars must, if they are serious about overcoming the challenge of mediated consciousness, necessarily venture beyond territorial and disciplinary boundaries. In doing so, they will uncover material and engender interpretations that facilitate exchange among scholars who otherwise operate in relative isolation. To such ends, Professor Stuckey's willingness to branch out, beyond his professional training in U.S. history, and direct a very specific inquiry into west and west central African history, resulted in the demonstration of very tangible connections between all three areas. Forgive the redundancy, but reiteration in this instance speaks highly of Professor Stuckey's caliber of scholarship: He pioneered the study of the Ring Shout in African American culture, and provided, for the first time, convincing proof of its ubiquity throughout the antebellum and postbellum South and North; its linkages to west and west central African antecedents; and its foundational role in the development of Blues, Jazz, and Jazz Dance. This was an achievement of singular brilliance, a moment of high drama in the field, and one that continues to inform.

In my opinion, *Slave Culture's* opening chapter, "Slavery and the Circle of Culture," is one of the most important chapters to ever appear on American slavery. Professor Stuckey's dexterity in working with sources drawn from a wide expanse of disciplinary branches, and his ability to weave them into an incisive and coherent narrative fabric, is displayed in spectacular fashion. From his use of such folkloric tales as "The King Buzzard" and "Red Hill Churchyard," to his employment of anthropological findings in both Africa and the Americas, to his treatment of narratives of former slaves and their postbellum diaries, Professor Stuckey brings a dizzying array of testimony to bear upon the experience of the enslaved.

Professor Stuckey did not stop with this milestone. His work on African cultural persistence in Albany, New York, and New York City has been nothing short of remarkable, as he has shown the continuities in celebrations such as Pinkster and Emancipation Day, not only via newspaper accounts, contemporary correspondence, and various other sources conventional to historians, but also through enlisting no less a figure than Herman Melville himself. Placing a young Melville on the streets of Albany and New York City, Professor Stuckey convincingly argues that various passages in Moby-Dick (1851) and Benito Cereno (1865) were intimately influenced by a young Melville's memory of encounters with black dance and music. Perhaps even more arresting is Professor Stuckey's argument that Melville was witness to a critical, liminal phase in the development of Blues, Jazz, and Jazz Dance as they emerged out of the Ring Shout; that is, Melville experienced the veritable birth of these genres, "in the process of their formation." Professor Stuckey's reading of Melville has assumed a trajectory that parallels his work on slavery. That is, his discussion of Melville has gone beyond American shores, and has identified African themes and influences and motifs in Melville's work, thereby requiring Melville scholars to reassess long-standing interpretations. Professor Stuckey's work on Melville appears in numerous venues, including "The Tambourine in Glory: African Culture and Melville's Art" in the 1998 Cambridge Companion to Herman Melville; and "How Melville Created Atufal and the Forecastle Bell in Benito Cereno," in Letterature d'America Revista Trimestrale (2002). His book on Melville. African Culture and Melville's Art: The Creative Process in Benito Cereno and Moby Dick, is forthcoming, and he was one of three keynote speakers slated to appear at the Sesquicentennial Celebration of Frederick Douglass and Herman Melville in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in June 2005. In researching the American South, Professor Stuckey showed a facility to move beyond the region into Africa; in his more recent work on New York and Melville, he has again demonstrated the capacity to go beyond the familiar and to contest the conventions of a parochial, limiting regionalism.

But neither has Professor Stuckey stopped with these milestones. Another project focuses on the life and contributions of Paul Robeson. Of course, Professor Stuckey has written on such luminaries as Denmark Vesey, Frederick Douglass, and W. E. B. Du Bois, but this work on Robeson will be a monumental task, and I can think of no one better positioned to undertake it. Having examined the relationship of Paul Robeson and Richard Wright to the arts and to slave culture in a contribution to Winthrop Jordan's *Slavery and the American South* (2003), Professor Stuckey clearly has firm command of the salient issues and questions.⁶ To be sure, his interest in Paul Robeson goes back to 1971 with the publication of "The Cultural Philosophy of Paul Robeson," but he has recently returned to the Robeson project and is pursuing it for the purpose of producing a biography.⁷ It may be that this will be Professor Stuckey's most important work of all, given the political and cultural leadership of Paul Robeson in the struggles of black and working-class communities the world over.

This is an astonishing record of achievement, a record that is ongoing and fueled by a level of energy and enthusiasm that is unabated, sustaining Professor Stuckey through a long and distinguished career. This is difficult, painstaking work, and represents an investment of time and effort that runs counter to current trends among some, where clever ideas and resourceful turns of phrase often mask the absence of serious research while posing as scholarship. No, this is challenging, arduous work, and I am frankly amazed that at this stage in his career, Professor Stuckey still has the mettle to take on the archive. When his scholarship is considered together with a life of commitment to humanitarian causes, one can only conclude that Professor Stuckey is an exemplar of scholarly achievement and academic and community engagement. He is a model of erudition for so many in the academy and is, in many respects, peerless. Far from coasting, Professor Stuckey is thoroughly engaged, and rigorously so.

It has been my privilege to know Professor Stuckey as mentor, colleague, and friend. His influence on my own work has been profound, and I am forever in his intellectual debt. I have taken note of his composure, his poise, his comportment as the consummate gentleman. His is a space of quiet, graceful dignity. I have two regrets: that I did not come to know him sooner, and that I have yet to work with him in a formal and sustainable collaborative fashion. I remain hopeful, as there is so much more to learn from him.

But I came not to lament, but rather to celebrate a life of vision and purpose and commitment and strength and character. Long and hard did such fabled luminaries as David Walker, W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, and Sterling Brown labor in the vineyards of the conceptual and the everyday, striving mightily to cultivate seeds of hope and courage and enlightenment. And it is from this land of titans that another giant arose, whose life and work constitute a veritable harvest of knowledge and insight and imagination and joy and laughter and renewal. I therefore come to extol a man whose focus has not simply been the illustrious, the redoubtable, the renowned figure in history, but who has also endeavored to uncover the contributions and artistry and sufferings and dreams and innovations of millions of the unnamed, the unsung, the overlooked. So break out timbrel and lyre and prepare the fattened calf. Adorn the hall of feast. Not in honor of a prodigal son, but in tribute to one whose contributions have shown the way home for so many prodigals. Given such impressive accomplishments, is it possible that Elma Stuckey had her own son in mind, at least partially, when she penned "Momma's Dream":

Done sent him off to school Shined up like a silver dollar— Shoes polished, britches pressed And put him on a clean white collar, Praise God, that boy is gonna be something. Yes, I see him lead the class, Hear teacher say, "Your boy don't sass, He don't even wallow on the grass. Minnie, your boy is gonna pass." Told you that the boy gonna be something.

Yeah, I see him finishing school, I said I'd never raise a fool. Huh, got a satchel in his hand, Good Lawd er mighty, he's a lawyer man. I knowed the boy gonna be something.

Gone straight in the court house, too, Talking up smart, like lawyers do. Hear judge say, "You're Minnie's son, Young man, you have the case done won."

Thank God er mighty, he won the case, Thank God er mighty, he won the case, That's my chile, he-is-done-won-the-case You hear me \dots ⁸

Professor P. Sterling Stuckey has indeed "won the case." What a resplendent moment for the academy; what a joyous harvest for the people.

NOTES

¹August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942–1968 (New York, 1973), 122.

²For the broader context for the Civil Rights Movement in which Professor Stuckey participated, see Meier and Rudwick, CORE; Vincent Harding, There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America (New York, 1981); Vicki L. Crawford, et al., eds., Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941–1965 (Bloomington, IN, 1993); Eric Burner, And Gently He Shall Lead Them: Robert Parris Moses and Civil Rights in Mississippi, (New York, 1994); Charles M. Payne, I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle, Berkeley, 1995); Bettye Collier-Thomas and V. P. Franklin, My Soul Is a Witness: A Chronology of the Civil Rights Era, 1954–1965 (New York, 2000); Barbara Ransby, Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision (Chapel Hill, NC, 2003); Dionne Danns, Something Better for Our Children: Black Organizing in Chicago Public Schools (New York, 2003);

³In addition to the Civil Rights Movement and various university appointments and committees, Professor Stuckey has rendered important service on the executive and editorial boards of a combination of academic, philanthropic, and civic institutions that include the Council of the American Studies Association, the scholarly journals *The American Quarterly* and *The Journal of African American History*, the Peace Museum, the Illinois Folk Arts Council, the Museum of Science and Industry's Black Creativity Board in Chicago, the Riverside Philharmonic, the *Oxford Companion to American History, The American Heritage Encyclopedia of American History, The Music of the Black Diaspora* (with Samuel A. Floyd as the series editor, University of California Press), and the Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora. He is the executor of the Ewart Guinier Papers (who helped organize Harvard's Department of Afro-American Studies, serving as its first chair in 1969), housed at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. He is the executor of the Vivian Johnson Cook Papers, a prominent black educator and civic leader in Baltimore, Maryland, whose correspondence includes letters from Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, W. E. B. Du Bois,

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Mary McLeod Bethune, and Eleanor Roosevelt, and are housed in the Moorland-Springarn Collection at Howard University. And he is executor of the papers of the poet Elma Stuckey, housed at the Chicago Historical Society.

⁴P. Sterling Stuckey, "Through the Prism of Folklore: The Black Ethos in Slavery," *Massachusetts Review* 9 (Summer 1968): 417–37; and *The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism* (Boston, MA, 1972).

⁵Idem, Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America (New York, 1987).

⁶Stuckey, "Paul Robeson and Richard Wright on the Arts and Slave Culture," in *Slavery and the American South: Essays and Commentaries*, ed. Winthrop Jordan (Oxford, MS, 2003), 147–68.

⁷Stuckey, "The Cultural Philosophy of Paul Robeson," in *African American Sociology: A Social Study of the Pan-African Diaspora* (Chicago, IL, 1999), 23–36.

⁸Elma Stuckey, "Momma's Dream," in The Collected Poems of Elma Stuckey (Chicago, IL, 1987), 156.

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