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From Black Woman to Black Power:
Gender Politics in the Works of Barbara Jones-Hogu

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Art History

by

Lauren Elizabeth Taylor

2014

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

From Black Woman to Black Power:
Gender Politics in the Works of Barbara Jones-Hogu

by

Lauren Elizabeth Taylor

Master of Arts in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Steven Nelson, Chair

As a member of the black artists' collective Africobra, Barbara Jones-Hogu created screen prints that promoted the values of black power movements through vivid textual and iconographical content. This essay examines representations of men, women and family in the artist's prints, to evaluate and explain the role of gender in her artistic project for social change. This essay argues that Jones-Hogu's prints espouse conservative gender politics as part of a project of strategic essentialism, deployed to displace the pathologized image of black society perpetuated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan's *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (1965). While her works utilize representations of women as instruments in this project, they also depict female subjects as empowered participants in its enactment. The negotiations of female agency and conservative gender politics in Jones-Hogu's work thus underscore the importance of women to Africobra's project for black unification and uplift – and, by extension, Black Nationalist ideology.

The thesis of Lauren Elizabeth Taylor is approved.

Dell Upton

Meredith Cohen

Steven Nelson, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

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Race, gender and family emerge as immediately legible themes in *Black Men, We Need You* (1972). [Fig. 1] In this screen print by Barbara Jones-Hogu, an adult and two children are surrounded by large words that proclaim the work's title. Further invoking the intersection of race and gender, a block of much smaller text reads, "Black men preserve your race, leave white bitches alone." In contrast to the straightforwardness with which this image discloses its implication in issues of gender, the identity of the central figure is ambiguous. Facially masculine, the subject possesses muscular arms, but they are attached to a torso that is either half-cast in shadow or rendered in unrealistically severe, womanly curves. Different discussions of the work have identified the figure inconsistently, as an "idealized father" or a "mother with her child."¹ In either case, the message that the image communicates does not change substantially: whether portraying a family in need of a father figure or a model of male behavior, the print asserts the importance of male contributions to a nuclear family.

Unlike the image's androgynous adult subject, the gender of the speaker who articulates the work's textual content is plainly identified to be black, female, and plural. While the collective pronoun deployed in "Black Men We Need You" may be understood to signify the depicted family, the phrase "preserve your race, leave white bitches alone" precludes this interpretation, its language implying a decidedly adult source. In the space surrounding the central figures, contoured lines ripple out from the silhouettes of two facial profiles, alluding to a collective female voice. As a result, this work not only calls men to action as fathers; it also shows women as the allied messengers of such a call. Although the central figure of *Black Men*

¹Zorach interpreted the figure to be female, whereas Miller discusses the figure as male. Rebecca Zorach, "Dig the Diversity in Unity': Africobra's Black Family," *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, and Enquiry*, no. 28 (2011): 110 Randall Miller, "Africobra: Philosophy at the Logan Center," *Daily Serving: An International Publication for Contemporary Art*(2013), <http://dailyserving.com/2013/07/africobra-philosophy-at-the-logan-center/>.

may be difficult to identify, the dominant themes of this print manifest themselves clearly: the value of the nuclear family, the importance of male involvement therein, and the role of woman as an active agent in the construction and maintenance of a functional home.

As a member of the black artists' collective Africobra, Jones-Hogu created screen prints that promoted the values of black power movements through vivid textual and iconographical content.² Perhaps because a number of her works, like *Black Men*, portray women as agents of social change, and perhaps also because of the artist's gender, Jones-Hogu's art has been perceived, by some, to enact relatively progressive gender politics. Gallery director David Lusenhop, a dealer of Africobra's art, explained, "a lot of scholars see her as an example of a kind of feminism. She would probably deny that tag—although she was clearly very interested in women's causes."³ Art historian Richard Powell has similarly discussed Jones-Hogu's works with respect to the artist's gender: "Among the original members of this black nationalist artists' group were three women—Jae Jarrell, Barbara Jones-Hogu, and Carolyn Lawrence—whose art (while sometimes eclipsed in discussions about the works of AFRI-COBRA's mostly male members) frequently revealed a countertype to AFRI-COBRA's often patriarchal view of black culture."⁴

² Two documents published on the group's behalf articulate their goals. Jeff Donaldson, "Africobra 1 (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists): '10 in Search of a Nation'," *Black World* XIX, no. 12 (1970)., Barbara Jones-Hogu, "The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra," in *Afri-Cobra Iii* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 1973).

³ David Lusenhop has curated a number of exhibitions of Africobra's work. He is a committee member for the Art Institute of Chicago, the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, and the South Side Community Art Center. Interview with author, David Lusenhop, 2/26/2014 2013.

⁴ Richard J. Powell, *Black Art : A Cultural History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003): 102

The content of *Black Men* can be understood to both conflict and align with such characterizations, visualizing female agency while also underscoring the dependency of nuclear families upon male involvement. In this essay, I examine representations of men, women, and family in Jones-Hogu's prints, to explain the ways that her works negotiate conservative gender politics and female agency. My analysis begins with an examination of Africobra's aesthetic philosophy and a discussion of its basis in "functionalism," a doctrine, articulated by Jones-Hogu, that emphasizes the link between art and its social effects. Viewing the artist's works with respect to this ideology, I interpret representations of family and gender roles in her prints as politically-motivated responses to the pathologized image of black men, women, and families perpetuated by *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (1965).⁵ Next, I examine the ways that her art portrays women as important agents in the liberation struggle, recognizing and representing female contributions in a positive and empowered light. Ultimately, I conclude that the gender politics of Jones-Hogu's works are as conservative as those of her male colleagues. Through their promotion of a nuclear family structure and female solidarity with black liberation movements, however, her art underscores the importance of women as both instruments and agents of the social initiatives espoused by Africobra—and, by extension, Black Nationalist ideology.

⁵ My thoughts on the relationship between *The Negro Family* and Jones-Hogu's work are indebted to Rebecca Zorach, who invokes the report in her discussion of Africobra's engagement with the representation and organizational structure of families. Zorach, "'Dig the Diversity in Unity': Africobra's Black Family."

Africobra, Functionalism, and Strategic Essentialism

AFRI-COBRA will not only state our problems and solutions but also state our emotions, our joys, our love, our attitude, our character, our total emotional and intellectual responses and feelings. Art can be a liberating force—a positive approach concerning the plight and direction of our people. Visual imagery should bring us together and uplift us as a people into a common—a common unit, moving toward a common destination and a common destiny. WE IN AFRI-COBRA SHALL HELP BRING THIS ABOUT.

Barbara Jones-Hogu, "The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra"⁶

In the South Side of Chicago in 1968, Jones-Hogu collaborated with Jeff Donaldson, Jae Jarrell, Wadsworth Jarrell, and Gerald Williams in a collective effort to establish a visual aesthetic rooted in black identity and experience.⁷ Their project represents a constructive reply to the negative experiences affecting African American communities during the latter half of the 1960s, which took the form of urban riots, widespread police brutality, the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., and the drafting of large numbers of black men into a controversial war in Vietnam. Aligning their philosophy with the goals underlying black power ideology, the artists viewed their aesthetic as a means to encourage a collective sense of positive black identity, setting a foundation for united community efforts to improve living conditions.⁸ The artists' interests and goals thus aligned, in many ways, with those of the Black Arts Movement, a primarily literary project, spearheaded by writer Larry Neal, which similarly

⁶ Jones-Hogu, "The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra."

⁷ Jeff Donaldson summarized the ideological tenants driving the formation of Africobra in a document titled "Ten in Search of a Nation." See: Donaldson, "Africobra 1 (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists): '10 in Search of a Nation'."

⁸ Jones-Hogu, "The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra."

sought to artistically enact the ideals and methods of Black Power ideologies, promoting black self-determination and solidarity.⁹

The collective formed by these five artists (and the several others who would later join) came to be called “Africobra,” an acronym for African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists.¹⁰ Its members met regularly to evaluate one another’s work, discuss their philosophy, and eventually organize exhibitions. Two documents— “Ten In Search of a Nation,” published by Donaldson in 1970, and “The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra,” published by Jones-Hogu in 1973— read like manifestos, expressing the allied outlook of Africobra’s members, and enumerating their goals and methods.¹¹ On behalf of Africobra, Donaldson and Jones-Hogu both express the desire for their works to relate to black communities, listing techniques that the group enacts in pursuit of this goal. While the two essays are mostly consistent in terms of philosophy and methodology, Jones-Hogu introduces “functionalism,” a concept not explicitly mentioned in Donaldson’s manifesto, which she locates at the heart of Africobra’s actions and intentions:

We had all noted that our work had a message: it was not fantasy or art for art’s sake, it was specific and functional by expressing statements about our existence as Black People. Therefore, we began our philosophy with functionalism.

⁹ The first artistic collaboration by members of Africobra, in fact, was the creation of a mural called the Wall of Respect, a project developed as a part of the OBAC (Organization of Black Artists of Chicago) workshop of the Black Arts Movement. James Wellington Phillips, "It's a Black Thing -- You Wouldn't Understand the Wall of Respect, Africobra, and the Birth of a New Aesthetic" (University of British Columbia, 2000). An explanation of the relationship between Black Power and the Black Arts Movement is provided in Lisa Gail Collins and Margo Natalie Crawford, "Introduction " in *New Thoughts on the Black Arts Movement* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

¹⁰ Africobra was originally called “Cobra,” a name that was amended when members of the group learned of the European artists’ collective of the same name. See discussion in Zorach, "Dig the Diversity in Unity': Africobra's Black Family.": 104

¹¹ Donaldson, "Africobra 1 (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists): '10 in Search of a Nation'; Jones-Hogu, "The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra."

Functional from the standpoint that it must communicate to its viewer a statement of truth, of action, of education, of conditions and a state of being to our people. We wanted to speak to them and for them, by having our common thoughts, feelings, trials and tribulations express our total existence as a people. We were aware of the negative experiences in our present and past, but we wanted to accentuate the positive mode of thought and action. Therefore our visual statements were to be Black, positive and direct with identification, purpose and direction.¹²

Jones-Hogu's definition of functionalism asserts a crucial link between art and social change, a fundamental premise of the group's artistic approach. She clarifies the ways that the products of Africobra's race-conscious aesthetic could contribute to specific social outcomes. She discusses the kinds of social issues that Africobra's art was intended to address, enumerating subjects that interest the group (family, education, social services, economics, politics, and religion), and supplementing each one with a sub-listing of the activist goals related to each topic.¹³ She also advocates the implementation of specific measures to increase an artwork's physical and psychological impact, thereby amplifying the potency of its social intervention. For example, she articulates an initiative to mass-produce Africobra's artworks as posters, making them affordable and physically attainable. Similarly, to clarify the messages that their works were intended to convey, she endorses the inclusion of text within the group's imagery.¹⁴

In pursuit of the expression of "common thoughts, feelings, trials, and tribulations," through images that were visually "Black, positive, and direct," Jones-Hogu proposes the incorporation of stylistic qualities that the artists perceived to be visually representative of

¹² "The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra."

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Donaldson also advocated the mass-production and incorporation of text. Ibid; Donaldson, "Africobra 1 (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists): '10 in Search of a Nation!'"

African American experience or African art forms.¹⁵ These aesthetic concepts include, among others, “free symmetry,” defined as “the use of syncopated, rhythmic repetition”; bright “Cool-ade” colors, invoking the saturated hues of the beverage Kool-Aid; and a quality of “shine, [...] as seen in the dress and personal grooming of shoes, hair (process or afro), laminated furniture, face, knees or skin.”¹⁶ Through such terminology, Jones-Hogu proposes a hip, positive visual vocabulary by which to express black identity.

Jones-Hogu’s functionalist doctrine and the stylistic qualities recommended for its enactment reveal Africobra’s effort to visualize black essentialism. Advocating the deliberate formulation of a unitary black identity in order to achieve sociopolitical ends, functionalism implicitly prescribes a form of “strategic essentialism.” This tactic, defined and analyzed by literary scholar Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, describes the construction and temporary adoption, by subaltern groups, of a collective identity, as a method to counteract the abuses of a hegemonic majority.¹⁷ Strategic essentialism, Spivak explains, enacts a deliberate discursive shift in moments of crisis, by re-defining and re-purposing a similarly essentialized (but negatively-

¹⁵ The identification and analysis of African influences in Africobra’s artwork has comprised a significant fraction of published scholarship on the group. See: “Trans-African Art: An International Style in Contemporary Art History,” *The Black Collegian* October/November(1980); Moyosore B. Okediji, *The Shattered Gourd : Yoruba Forms in Twentieth-Century American Art* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003); Nubia Kai, “Africobra Universal Aesthetics,” in *Africobra: The First Twenty Years*, ed. Nexus Contemporary Art Center (Atlanta: 1990); Michael D. Harris, “From Double Consciousness to Double Vision: The Africentric Artist,” *African Arts* 27, no. 2 (1994); Tobias Wofford, “Africa as Muse : The Visualization of Diaspora in African American Art, 1950-1980” (2011).

¹⁶ Jones-Hogu, “The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra.” “Shine” was a quality earlier discussed as a component of a black aesthetic by Larry Neal. See: Larry Neal, “And Shine Swam On ” in *African American Literary Theory : A Reader*, ed. Winston Napier (New York: New York University Press, 1968).

¹⁷ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds : Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1988):197-221

defined) identity assigned to subaltern groups by their oppressor.¹⁸ Thus, according to Spivak's model, the collective identities formed through strategic essentialism are situationally developed in response to a group's particular challenges and goals. While Spivak's initial analysis focused upon historiographical understandings of Indian subaltern groups, several scholars have since identified and discussed the deployment of strategic essentialism within a number of efforts for political unification.¹⁹ Communications scholar Dexter Gordon, for example, has argued that the model provides a useful lens through which to view the rhetoric of Black Nationalism, since it links acts of essentialism to their motives and possible outcomes, thereby differentiating essential identities implemented by dominant groups from those enacted by groups seeking emancipation.²⁰

As an artistic mode of strategic essentialism, functionalism provides a nexus point between Africobra's aesthetics, processes, and philosophy. The following section considers Jones-Hogu's representations of men, women, and family as components of the artist's

¹⁸ Art historian Moyo Okediji argues that the works of Jeff Donaldson deliberately reconfigure the "semiological import of African images." (89) Okediji explains that Donaldson did not merely borrow African aesthetic tropes, but rather sought to confront and revise the ways that African art acted as a signifier in western canons of Art. He contends that the meaning that Donaldson assigns to Yoruba cultural forms is a strategic construction; More so than reflecting or replicating Yoruba cosmology and philosophy, Donaldson's appropriations serve African American social ideologies through their attempt to revise hegemonic canons of art-historical discourse. Although he does not explicitly invoke Spivak's model, Okediji's argument might thus be viewed as an analysis of the ways that Donaldson instrumentalized African aesthetics in artistic acts of strategic essentialism. Okediji, *The Shattered Gourd : Yoruba Forms in Twentieth-Century American Art*.

¹⁹ See, for example, Dexter B. Gordon, "The Materialization of a Constitutive Rhetoric of Black Ideology " in *Black Identity : Rhetoric, Ideology, and Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalism* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003): 19, Susan Abraham, "Strategic Essentialism in Nationalist Discourses: Sketching a Feminist Agenda in the Study of Religion," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 25, no. 1 (2009). C. R. Nielsen, "Frantz Fanon and the Negritude Movement: How Strategic Essentialism Subverts Manichean Binaries," *CALLALOO* 36, no. 2 (2013).

²⁰ Gordon, "The Materialization of a Constitutive Rhetoric of Black Ideology " :19

functionalist project, identifying and explaining the gender dynamics of her art as politically motivated constructions.

Pathologized / Rehabilitated

Some of the earliest Africobra works of Barbara Jones-Hogu lack a female presence, assigning a male face to the unification efforts of black liberation movements. *Nationtime* (1970) performs this task quite literally. [Fig. 2] In this print, the face of an African American man, bearing a determined expression, is foregrounded upon a background tiled with the words “Nation,” “Unite,” and “Time,” thereby linking a male subject to efforts to increase community solidarity. *Nation Unite 2 (Black Men Rise)* (1969) calls for male leadership more explicitly. [Fig. 3] This print forms a face through blocks of text; the words “Black People Unite” delineate the character’s jaw, “Black Men Rise Now,” compose the figure’s lips, and “Unite Men,” written in yellow, highlights his cheekbones.

Nation Unite 2 thus links the cohesion of a black community to the uplift of its men. Jones-Hogu’s promotion of male power can be productively viewed in concert with the denunciation of black social structure by agents of the United States government. In 1965, assistant secretary of labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan produced *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* for President Lyndon B. Johnson, a report that argued that continuing conditions of racial inequality were largely the result of fundamental problems underlying black families. Moynihan argues, “the Negro family in the urban ghettos is crumbling,” requiring the federal

government to coordinate to promote “the establishment of a stable Negro family structure.”²¹ In a chapter titled “The Tangle of Pathology,” Moynihan asserts that female leadership roles in African American families produced devastating effects:

In essence, the Negro community has been forced into a matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of line with the rest of the American society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole, and imposes a crushing burden on the Negro male and, in consequence, on a great many Negro women as well. There is, presumably, no special reason why a society in which males are dominant in family relationships is to be preferred to a matriarchal arrangement. However, it is clearly a disadvantage for a minority group to be operating on one principle, while the great majority of the population, and the one with the most advantages to begin with, is operating on another. This is the present situation of the Negro. Ours is a society which presumes male leadership in private and public affairs. The arrangements of society facilitate such leadership and reward it.²²

As this excerpt illustrates, *The Negro Family* negatively characterizes black families, black men, and black women in complex but interrelated ways. Declaring black families to be weak, Moynihan’s claims also portray black men to be incapable and black women to be emasculating agents whose leadership hinders male progress. In an essay published in 1970, authors Jean Carey Bond and Patricia Peery describe the ways that two interpretations of Moynihan’s report perpetuate an image of the black male as pathologized:

Version number one alleges that Black men have failed throughout our history to shield their women and families from the scourge of American racism and have failed to produce a foolproof strategy for liberating black people. [...] Version number two also arrives at the point that Black men are weak via the route that

²¹ Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The Moynihan Report, the Negro Family : The Case for National Action," in *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy; a Trans-Action Social Science and Public Policy Report*, ed. Lee Yancey William L. Rainwater (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1967): 43.

²² Ibid. 29

Black women have castrated them by, among other things, playing their economic ace in the hole.²³

As *The Negro Family* contributed to the perception of a widespread denigration of black manhood, one crucial objective of black power movements became to re-assert the strength and power of black masculinity, an initiative that activist and scholar Angela Davis recounts: “When we said black is beautiful, in the late sixties, that meant the black man was beautiful. There is this tendency, now, to want to rehabilitate the black man as patriarch.”²⁴

The Black Nationalist project for male uplift can be viewed as an act of strategic essentialism; the assertion of a strong and empowered construction of black male identity enacts a discursive shift, displacing Moynihan’s characterization of black men as abnormal or flawed. The roles assigned to women within black power ideology might be similarly understood to contribute to projects of strategic essentialism. Faced with *The Negro Family*’s diagnosis of matriarchy as a primary cause for the emasculation of the black male and the failure of black families, black power movements adopted increasingly conservative gender politics. This tendency is revealed in a Black Nationalist pamphlet titled *Mwanamke Mwananchi (The Nationalist Woman)*, which advocates the assumption of distinct family and gender roles for men and women within black power movements:

We understand that it is and has been traditional that the man is the head of the house. He is the leader of the house/nation because his knowledge of the world is broader, his awareness is greater, his understanding is fuller and his application of

²³ Jean Carey Bond and Patricia Peery, "Is the Black Male Castrated?," in *The Black Woman; an Anthology*, ed. Toni Cade Bambara (New York: New American Library, 1970):114-115

²⁴ Marlon T. Riggs; Nicole Badgley Atkinson, "Black Is-- Black Ain't: A Personal Journey through Black Identity," (San Francisco, CA: California Newsreel, 1995).

this information is wiser... After all, it is only reasonable that the man be the head of the house because he is able to defend and protect the development of his home... Women cannot do the same things as men—they are made by nature to function differently. Equality of men and women is something that cannot happen even in the abstract world. Men are not equal to other men, i.e. ability, experience or even understanding. The value of men and women can be seen as in the value of gold and silver—they are not equal but both have great value. We must realize that men and women are a complement to each other because there is no house/family without a man and his wife. Both are essential to the development of any life.²⁵

The Nationalist Woman assigns a subordinate position to women alongside a dominant male. The pamphlet also advocates a patriarchal domestic framework by emphasizing the importance of specific, separate gender roles in the functioning of family life.

The idealization of a supportive female was not only reflected in the political rhetoric of Black Nationalism, but also within literary works of the Black Arts Movement.²⁶ In a list of characteristics rooting the movement's formulation of a black aesthetic, Larry Neal includes "woman as primarily need/man as doer," contrasting a subordinate role for woman with an active role for men.²⁷ Jones-Hogu's description of Africobra's black visual aesthetic illustrates that the group was similarly concerned with gender roles and family structure; her attention to these topics is confirmed throughout "The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics." For instance, in one

²⁵ Mumininas of Committee for Unified NewArk, "Mwanamke Mwananchi (the Nationalist Woman)" (Newark, NJ: Jihad Productions, 1971).

²⁶ Literary scholar Cherise Pollard has tracked and analyzed the ways that some Black Arts Movement writers endorsed patriarchal understandings of gender and family. Cherise A. Pollard, "Sexual Subversions, Political Inversions: Women's Poetry and the Politics of the Black Arts Movement," in *New Thoughts on the Black Arts Movement*, ed. Lisa Gail Crawford Margo Natalie Collins (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006): 176.

²⁷ Larry Neal, "Some Reflections on the Black Aesthetic," in *African American Literary Theory : A Reader*, ed. Winston Napier (New York: New York University Press, 1972): 90.

passage, she describes the artistic interests of the women of Africobra by quoting the titles of their works:

Carolyn Lawrence [...] records her concepts in “Pops,” a tribute to an old man, while in “Manhood” she pointed a direction of responsibility for all men. Jae Jarrell, the dress designer, laid out strong messages on her garments with strong patterns, textures, and colors of “Black Family,” “Unity,” and “Manhood.” [...] Last but not least is Barbara J. Jones, who states “Black People” a total people, a total force, Unite, Unite as we learn of our “Heritage” as an African in a racist country in the “Land Where My Father Died” which need to “Stop Genocide” while Black men must “Rise and Take Control.”²⁸

While Jones-Hogu’s description of herself (as Barbara J. Jones) expresses her support for male leadership in the struggle for black liberation, her discussion of the works of Africobra’s other women artists emphasizes their focus upon questions of family and gender. This framing of the women’s interests corresponds to the content of a number of their works. For instance, *Uphold Your Men* (1971), a screen print by Carolyn Lawrence, plainly promotes a supportive, subordinate role for women. [Fig.4] The text in the image reads: “Uphold your men; unify your families,” identifying her feminine duty to sustain her family and male leadership efforts. Her serious expression, ankh necklace, and folded arms convey the importance of her solidarity with the black power movement.

Although “The History, Philosophy, and Aesthetics,” only explicitly identifies Africobra’s female members with the group’s focus upon family and gender roles, these topics were addressed by the men and women of the collective.²⁹ The theme of Africobra’s first

²⁸ Jones-Hogu, “The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra.”

²⁹ Rebecca Zorach has discussed the ways that family emerges as a theme of Africobra’s works. Zorach argues that “family,” as a social framework, provides an ideal model for understanding the organizational structure of the collective. Zorach, “Dig the Diversity in Unity’: Africobra’s Black Family.”

exhibition, “The Black Family,” reveals the centrality of these subjects to the group’s concerns.³⁰ For the collective’s debut show, Wadsworth Jarrell created a painting entitled *Black Family*, which portrays a set of parents with their two children. [Fig 5] The importance of the father is emphasized in this image; unlike the mother and children, only his gaze meets the viewer directly. He stands over his family, his disproportionately large hand placed over his daughter’s chest in a protective gesture. The words “Black Prince” are written next to the man’s head, appropriating the title by which writer and actor Ossie Davis described Malcolm X in his 1965 eulogy.³¹ This textual element thus connects a father’s role to the project for black liberation.

The motivations underlying the gender- and family- related interests of the artists’ works are illuminated in other sections of “The History, Philosophy, and Aesthetics” which emphasize a link between gender roles and social progress. In a subsection called “The Individual and The Family,” Jones-Hogu writes, “We will make visual statements of how we see the positive or negative relationship between husband and wife, mother and child, and father and children. What type of roles we are playing and are our roles relevant to our whole existence as a people [sic].”³² Addressing the topic of education, she presents the establishment of distinct gender roles as an important part of an individual’s formation: “The humanizing aspects of education are respect, truth, and brotherhood: The role of man: the role of woman: the role of child and family to the

³⁰ Robert L. Jarrell Wadsworth Douglas, *Wadsworth Jarrell : The Artist as Revolutionary* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1996).: 29.

³¹ Archie C. Epps, "The Rhetoric of Malcolm X," *Harvard Review*, no. 3 (1993).: 73. Notably, Jarrell created a portrait of Malcolm X which he titled “Black Prince.” Douglas, *Wadsworth Jarrell : The Artist as Revolutionary*.: 35

³² Jones-Hogu, "The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra."

total group. We must be concerned about establishing these positive values and relationships in these aspects of education.”³³

Declaring the collective’s commitment to mobilize imagery in the name of community uplift, and positing gendered constructions of family and social structure to be elements crucial to such objectives, “The History, Philosophy, and Aesthetics” lays the groundwork to understand representations of gender as one component of Africobra’s functionalist project. Viewed this way, the patriarchal ideology underpinning Jones-Hogu’s manifesto and works like *Nation Unite 2*, *Uphold Your Men*, and *Black Family* can be understood as a politically-motivated adoption of conservative gender politics. By foregrounding themes of male leadership and nuclear family structure, these works, like Black Nationalist ideology, assert a discursive shift upon the pathologized image of black society perpetuated by Moynihan’s report.

While Jones-Hogu’s portrayals of men tend to foreground their role as leaders, her depictions of women often portray female engagement in functionalist initiatives related to cultural uplift and child development. When considered in conversation with black feminist critiques of Black Nationalist ideology, the conservative gender politics underlying this tendency come into view. Francis Beale, co-founder in 1968 of the Black Women’s Liberation Committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), issues a challenge to the relegation of women to supportive roles and motherly responsibilities:

Since the advent of Black power, the Black male has exerted a more prominent leadership role in our struggle for justice in this country. He sees the system for what it really is for the most part, but where he rejects its values and mores on

³³ Ibid.

many issues, when it comes to women, he seems to take his guidelines from the pages of the *Ladies' Home Journal*.³⁴

After implicating men in the perpetuation of a limiting understanding of women's abilities and desires, Beale continues, criticizing the behaviors of women who have been complicit in the construction of such gender roles,

There are also some Black women who feel that there is no more productive role than having and raising children. [...] Those who project in an intellectual manner how great and rewarding this role will be and who feel that the most important thing that they can contribute to the Black nation is children are doing themselves a great injustice. This line of reasoning completely negates the contributions that Black women have historically made to our struggle for liberation. These Black women include Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Fannie Lou Hamer, to name but a few.³⁵ [...] To relegate women to purely supportive roles or to purely cultural considerations is a dangerous doctrine to project.³⁶

In contrast to Jones-Hogu's discussion of separate gender roles as tools for social uplift, Beale rejects the notion that a woman's solidarity with black power movements requires her assumption of duties distinct from those of men.

Whereas Beale argues that female contributions to black liberation efforts are limited by the movement's assignment of women to cultural initiatives and the upbringing of children, Jones-Hogu's *Relate to Your Heritage* (1971) and *To Be Free 2* (1972) extol the importance of these very tasks. [Fig. 6, 7] *Relate to Your Heritage* portrays six figures, adorned in varying degrees of African dress. While at least two women appear to represent African subjects, their

³⁴ Francis Beale, "Double-Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," in *The Black Woman, an Anthology*, ed. Toni Cade (New York: Mentor, 1970): 92.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 93-94

³⁶ *Ibid.* 100

faces painted, other figures are dressed in ways that American women could emulate on a more everyday basis, wearing long, patterned dresses and natural hair. According to Jones-Hogu, *Relate to Your Heritage* “was based on the African hair and clothing styles which depict our heritage, and our need to embrace them at that period of time.”³⁷ Jones-Hogu’s description, by locating the necessity to adopt Africa-inspired fashion at a specific historical moment, indicates that her work aspires to enact an African-centered shift in beauty standards in response to particular socio-historical conditions. *Relate to Your Heritage* suggests that self-styling is one method by which women unify and uplift black communities; the print mobilizes female imagery to fulfill a cultural component of Africobra’s functionalist initiatives.

To Be Free 2 similarly locates the role of black women in their community’s cultural formation. In this image, technicolor rings radiate from a Songye mask rendered in vibrant red and purple in the upper-right corner of the image. The black silhouettes of three figures, their forms evoking the format of a nuclear family, face the mask. In the foreground of the image, a woman bends over, presenting an antelope sculpture to a group of five children of varying ages and genders.³⁸ The children look attentively to the sculpture; an older boy studies it closely, while a toddler extends its arm, reaching for it. Three of the children stand alongside a different adult woman. Her presence indicates that the first woman shares an African artistic tradition not only with her own children, but also with those from other families, illustrating community collaboration.

³⁷ Interview with the author. Barbara Jones-Hogu, 1/31/2014 2014.

³⁸ Zorach has identified the antelope sculpture as a “piece of African cloth,” which seems to be incorrect. Zorach, "Dig the Diversity in Unity': Africobra's Black Family."

The composition of the print directs a viewer's eye to the right side of the image, where, beneath the Songye mask, the words "To be free, know the past and prepare for the future" are stacked. The compositional emphasis on the right half of the image, as well as the disordering effect of the radiating technicolor rings, which often manipulate the colors of the forms that they intersect, make it easy for a viewer to overlook the subtle militaristic content of this image. Upon closer examination, one notices a black sliver across the woman's back; it is a strap, and it supports a large black rifle that rises up behind her. Two figures stand in the background: a cross-armed silhouette similarly equipped with a rifle, and another figure who wears a bandolier.

In many ways, this image directly promotes objectives that Jones-Hogu describes in "The History, Philosophy, and Aesthetics." She discusses a need for black communities to "unite as we learn of our Heritage as an African in a racist country," which this print illustrates, depicting women collaborating to introduce children to African sculpture.³⁹ The inclusion of weapons as a means to "prepare for the future" correlates to a section of Jones-Hogu's manifesto that echoes the Black Panthers' call for armed self-defense: "We will visually analyze our protective forces in the police or the use of security guards. Do they actually protect and serve our communities? If not, how can this be altered? The protection of the community and all its components should be our responsibility and should not be allocated to an opposing group."⁴⁰

The rifle-strapped woman in the foreground of this print is associated with both objectives; she contributes to the cultural formation of children, and also to militant self-defense. Art historian Rebecca Zorach argues that this image thus communicates a necessity for women to

³⁹ Jones-Hogu, "The History, Philosophy and Aesthetics of Africobra."

⁴⁰ Ibid.

adopt multiple roles in the revolutionary struggle: “As with the Panthers’ ideology, the print proposes that women’s role in bearing and teaching children is indeed revolutionary. [...] But woman’s role is double: they also have to prepare to fight.”⁴¹

Zorach argues that this print communicates a woman’s duty to engage with black liberation struggles as both a mother and a soldier. Interpreting this image as less demanding and more uplifting, it may convey the ability (rather than the requirement) for a woman to contribute in multiple ways. Even if understood this way, however, the message conveyed by this work remains in sharp opposition to Beale’s argument that the separation of gender roles represents an illogical or damaging aspect of Black Nationalist ideology. For, although the woman’s weapon aligns her task with that of the militants who stand behind her, she is associated more obviously with children and the other woman in the image, to whom she is linked by proximity, as well as through her bent posture and colorful, vaguely African wardrobe. Despite the woman’s possession of a rifle, she assumes the role of cultural educator, while armed men stand some distance behind her, obscured in silhouette. As a result, this composition emphasizes the separate spheres of the militarized men and the nurturing woman.

The depiction of armed women was far from unprecedented in Black Nationalist imagery, and in fact, appears repeatedly in screen prints created by Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture of the Black Panther Party, as illustrations for *The Black Panther*, the party’s weekly newspaper. An image from the June 27, 1970 edition of the publication shows a woman holding a rifle; her expression is focused and her finger is poised upon the trigger. [Fig. 8] The woman’s sleeves are rolled up and punctured by a yellow pin, which bears the words “Self Defense,”

⁴¹ Zorach, "Dig the Diversity in Unity': Africobra's Black Family."

clarifying the woman's militant intentions. In contrast to Douglas's militarized woman, the rifle strapped passively upon the back of the woman in *To Be Free 2* appears to be more accessory than weapon.

As an alternative to Zorach's argument that the gun in Jones-Hogu's image refers to a woman's "double-duty," the rifle can instead be understood to symbolically align her contributions with the revolutionary cause, while her actions assert the form that those contributions should take: as one who raises children, addresses cultural concerns, and educates. The textual content of the image is amenable to this understanding: the woman contributes to black liberation ("to be free") by presenting an element of African heritage ("know the past") to children, the future soldiers of the movement ("prepare for the future"). Rather than portraying an expanded role for women in the revolution, this image can be understood as an expression of reverent acclaim for their separate but essential contributions. As such, the representations of men and women in this print mobilize discursive shifts upon conceptions of a pathologized black society; while men are portrayed as the protectors of women and children, women are depicted as cultural educators invested in the development of children.

The preceding section of my analysis demonstrates two points: first, that Jones-Hogu's works espouse conservative gender politics, and second, that her endorsement of such patriarchal standards served the larger functionalist project at the heart of Africobra's work. In the following section, I discuss the ways that her prints, while instrumentalizing representations of women to promote such politics, also portray women as agents in the mutual uplift of black men and women, a depiction that, I will explain, further promotes Africobra's functionalist objectives.

Negotiating Agency

Aligning a woman's cultural contributions with the objectives of the revolutionary struggle, *To Be Free 2* can, like *Black Men*, be understood to indicate active female participation in black liberation efforts within a framework of conservative gender politics. While these works highlight the importance of women by illustrating their involvement in the development of family and culture, a number of Jones-Hogu's prints allude more generally to female agency in black liberation efforts. It is perhaps because of these images that the artist's works have occasionally been interpreted to express a more progressive attitude, with respect to gender, than those of her male colleagues in Africobra. However, as I will discuss in this section, the active roles of women in Jones-Hogu's imagery do not upset the conservative gender politics articulated in Africobra's art and writing. In fact, when viewed in conversation with black feminist critiques of Black Nationalism, Jones-Hogu's portrayals of female empowerment locate women in a position of solidarity with the dominant discourses of the struggle.

A number of black feminist authors of the 1960s and 1970s objected to the limitations imposed upon women by Black Nationalist ideology on the grounds that it limited female agency, a phenomenon discussed at length by literary scholar Margo Natalie Crawford.⁴² An anonymous poem, originally published in 1969 in *Rat*, a college student militancy magazine, provides an example of a dissenting account of the effects of black male uplift upon African American women:

⁴² Margo Natalie Crawford, "Must Revolution Be a Family Affair?: Revisiting the Black Woman," in *Want to Start a Revolution? : Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle*, ed. Dayo F. Gore and Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

Some black women feel it is not fair
to the Black men of today to want to
proclaim our Liberation

We still feel sorry for him – as a mother
feels about a crippled child

It is still present in our minds the white
man's emasculation of his manhood

And like a child learning to walk – he is
just now gaining his self-respect.

But listen Black sisters we held
Black men up for over 300 years

No matter how heavy the Burden
WE HAVE HELD HIM UP

...
But we the Black women of this country have been the tools of this
country have been the tools of
men long enough – and it's time
they laid these time worn tools
down.⁴³

The poem asserts that the project for black male uplift inhibits the liberation of black women, instrumentalizing them as the “tools of men” rather than serving their own needs and desires. Viewed in comparison to such critiques, the manifestation of female agency in Jones-Hogu's works becomes increasingly visible as an affirmation of female solidarity with black liberation efforts, rather than an expression of an alternative to patriarchal understandings of gender.

TCB: To Be Free (1971-1972) communicates the ideals of black uplift through a woman's image. [Fig. 9] In this print, the face of an African-American woman is rendered in perfect frontality and centrality, her nose marking the midpoint of the image's height and width. The figure's race is revealed most conspicuously through her tremendous afro, which occupies

⁴³ Ibid.: 200

almost half of the picture plane, while her gender is disclosed through her sloped, feminine jawline and prominent collarbones. Most of the work's title, "To Be Free," is written across her forehead. Upon further viewing, the afro and background space disassemble into a web of letter-like forms, shapes whose meanings intermittently emerge as legible and retreat into illegibility. A patient viewer might decipher additional textual content within the image: "To be free" written twice more in the woman's hair and "we must protect our community" appearing to the viewer's left; exerting greater interpretive effort, one identifies the words "Come together to defend us" to the viewer's right, and "TCB," the name of a line of African-American hair care products and an acronym for "Taking Care of Business," written in the afro across the top of the image.⁴⁴ The woman's face is thus a vehicle for communicating ideals of solidarity, self-determination, and self-defense, values that lay at the core of Africobra's mission, and Black Nationalism more generally. In contrast to black feminist discussions of a woman's alienation from the objectives of black power, this image articulates a position of dignity and strength for female revolutionaries.

Unite (1970) more subtly denotes the importance of female contributions to black power. [Fig. 11] In this work, ten afro-clad figures raise their fists into the black power salute, adopting the iconic gesture performed by Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the medal ceremony of the 1968 Olympics. Behind them, the word "Unite" repeats, forming a background of crisscrossing, colorful pennants of text. Through its iconographic allusion to black power and its verbal call for unification, the content of *Unite* illustrates Africobra's functionalist goal to encourage solidarity and empowerment within African American communities.

⁴⁴ The content of this text becomes especially clear through a comparison of *TCB: To Be Free* with *TCB: Take Care of Business*, a tapestry by Napoleon Jones-Henderson that appropriates Jones-Hogu's design. See [Fig. 10]

Upon closer examination, a viewer may notice a single ankh earring punctuating the composition of figures. The jewelry appropriating the ancient Egyptian hieroglyph is one of the only details to differentiate an individual among the assembly of characters whose features are otherwise stylized, to the degree that their genders are rendered indeterminate. The earring not only alludes to the notion of essential black identity, through the glyph's symbolic evocation of shared African heritage, but also indicates that its wearer is female. While the differences between male and female figures are otherwise indiscernible, this nuanced allusion to female presence underscores the active role of women in the struggle.

While this image suggests female agency, it also conveys the solidarity of male and female revolutionaries. In contrast to critics, like the anonymous poet in *Rat*, who characterized the conservative gender politics of Black Nationalism to be antithetical to the liberation of black women, this print portrays women and men as allies in their mutual uplift. Black Studies scholar Nathan Hare advocated this gender dynamic within the black liberation struggle in 1971:

This is the era of liberation, and because it is the era of liberation, the black men will be able to bring the woman along in our common struggle [...] The black woman is, can be, the black man's helper, an undying collaborator, standing up with him, beside her man. The white man, not the black man, is the black woman's oppressor, the oppressor of us all, including his own woman, and we must never forget this fact.⁴⁵

Although Hare's emphasis upon a woman's subordinate role is not reflected in Jones-Hogu's print, his words illustrate a compatibility between conservative gender politics and the unified efforts of men and women for black liberation manifest in *Unite*.

TCB and *Unite* underscore the importance of a woman's contributions to Black Nationalism, portraying female involvement in a positive, empowered light. An overview of

⁴⁵ Nathan Hare, "Will the Real Black Man Please Stand Up?," *Black Scholar* 2 no. 10 (1971).

Africobra's works reveals that the recognition of women as contributors to the revolutionary struggle was not solely articulated in the works of Jones-Hogu or the collective's female artists, but rather represents a general concern of the group. Jeff Donaldson's *Wives of Shango* (1969), for example, shows three women, armed with rifles and bullets. [Fig. 12] Curator Tuliza Fleming has explained that these women represent Yoruba orishas, styled in 1960s American mini-dresses.⁴⁶ The painting thus mobilizes the female subjects as meeting points between militant preparedness and African heritage. Paintings by W. Jarrell and Gerald Williams also acknowledge a woman's contributions to the struggle; both artists, for example, painted portraits of Angela Davis in 1971.⁴⁷ *Revolutionary* (1971), by W. Jarrell, positions a viewer's perspective below Davis, looking up to see her face, from which empowering phrases soar, proclaiming "black is beautiful," "resist," and "revolution." [Fig. 13] Wooden bullets, attached to the painting's surface, emphasize Davis's role in the struggle, but also reveal that Jarrell portrayed Davis wearing *Revolutionary Suit* (1969), a work by fellow Africobra member Jae Jarrell. [Fig.14] *Revolutionary Suit* is a tweed, short-skirted suit, with hand-painted wooden bullets running across its jacket in a stylized bandolier. Combining a militarized aesthetic with a specifically female commodity, this work, like the others, asserts the participation of women in the protection and uplift of black communities.

The works of fellow Africobra artists reveal that Jones-Hogu's portrayals of female agency do not represent an aberration from a group otherwise invested in patriarchal interests.

⁴⁶ Tuliza Fleming, "The Convergence of Aesthetics, Politics, and Culture: Jeff Donaldson's *Wives of Shango*," (2013), <http://africobra.uchicago.edu/the-convergence-of-aesthetics-politics-and-culture-jeff-donaldsons-wives-of-shango/>.

⁴⁷ William's portrait is titled "Angela Davis," and appears on Africobra's website. Gerald Williams, "Africobra," Africobra LLC, <http://africobra.com/Gerald/GeraldImages/GWImage05.html>.

Instead, her acknowledgement of the contributions of women, in works like *Unite*, *TCB*, and *To Be Free 2*, manifest a larger intention of Africobra; even within the framework of a conservative gender politics, the collective's art often portrays women as agents of change in the black struggle.

Conclusion

In an interview in 2012, Jones-Hogu was asked whether the recurring appearance of women in her work was deliberate. In reply, the artist explained that her inclusion of female subjects was not formulated to express her identity, but rather, to respond to social issues: "I didn't specifically think about women, doing just women. It was based on whatever I was identifying as the problem... maybe, that we as women have to address."⁴⁸

Jones-Hogu's explanation describes her inclusion of female subjects as reactions to social issues, while also identifying women as the leaders of such interventions. In so doing, she identifies the dual roles that women assume in her functionalist art, as both instruments and agents of social change. Her description provides a model for understanding the negotiation of conservative gender politics and female agency in her work: as compatible components of the artist's initiative for black unification and uplift.

By discussing her inclusion of women as responses to problems, Jones-Hogu indicates that her art deploys gender as a component of functionalism, Africobra's project to implement social change through positive visual expressions of black identity. Considered as such, the

⁴⁸ Edna M. Togba, "Barbara Jones Hogu in Conversation with Edna M. Togba.," *Nka* 30 (2012):144

conservative gender politics that emerge in Jones-Hogu's art and writing, through representations of nuclear families, male leadership, and nurturing women, participate in a larger project to increase black unification and power. I propose that these portrayals can thus be understood as acts of strategic essentialism, deployed to displace the pathologized image of black society perpetuated by Moynihan's *The Negro Family*. While her prints utilize representations of women as instruments in this project, they are also often shown to be empowered participants in its enactment, providing a counter-representation to black feminist critiques of Black Nationalist gender politics. Jones-Hogu's works thus highlight the importance of female contributions to the struggle, lending a positive, uplifting image to the roles assumed by women within a patriarchal framework.

This examination of Jones-Hogu's art revises prior discussions of her work as representing an exception to the patriarchal imagery of Africobra's male artists; an analysis of her oeuvre reveals that her prints espouse equally conservative gender politics. While it is true that her works often convey the importance of a woman's contributions to the revolutionary struggle, this tendency is not unique to Jones-Hogu, nor to the female members of Africobra. Instead, her prints affirm the collective's broader recognition of the important role of women in their project for black liberation.

[Image redacted]

Figure 1

Barbara Jones-Hogu

Black Men We Need You

1972

20" x 38"

Screen Print on Board

Image Source:

https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/210679/Black_Men_We_Need_You

[Image redacted]

Figure 2

Barbara Jones-Hogu

Nationtime

1970

22.5" x 30"

Screen print on paper

Image Source:

http://luna.lib.uchicago.edu/luna/servlet/detail/uofclibmgr2~4~4~101730~118041:Nation-Time-II?sort=Title%2CObject_Date%2CStylePeriod%2CCulture&qvq=w4s:/who/Jones-Hogu,%20Barbara;q:Order_ID%3D1022%2B;sort:Title%2CObject_Date%2CStylePeriod%2CCulture;lc:uofclibmgr2~4~4,uofclibmgr2~3~3,univcincin~27~27,CORNELL~14~1,FBC~100~1,MOAC~100~1&mi=9&trs=20

[Image redacted]

Figure 3

Barbara Jones-Hogu

Nation Unite 2 (Black Men Rise)

1969

24" x 30"

Screen print on board

Image Source: <http://africobra.com/Gerald/ImageFilesPosted/BarbaraImages/BJImage02.html>

[Image redacted]

Figure 4

Carolyn Lawrence

Uphold Your Men

1971

30" x 24"

Screen Print on Paper

Image Source: http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/nka/v030/30.donaldson01_img08.html

[Image redacted]

Figure 5

Wadsworth Jarrell

Black Family

1969

46" x 36"

Acrylic on canvas

Image Source: Douglas, Robert. *Wadsworth Jarrell: The Artist as Revolutionary* (1996):27.

[Image redacted]

Figure 6

Barbara Jones-Hogu

Relate to Your Heritage

1971

29" x 37"

Screen print on paper

Image Source: <http://africobra.com/Gerald/ImageFilesPosted/BarbaraImages/BJImage06.html>

[Image redacted]

Figure 7

Barbara Jones-Hogu

To Be Free 2

1972

22.5" x 24.5"

Screen Print on Paper

Image Source: <http://africobra.com/Gerald/ImageFilesPosted/BarbaraImages/BJImage04.html>.

[Image redacted]

Figure 8

Emory Douglas

Illustration from *The Black Panther*, 6/27/1970

Image Source: Douglas, Emory. *Black Panther: The Revolutionary Art of Emory Douglas* (2007): 100

[Image redacted]

Figure 9

Barbara Jones-Hogu

TCB: To Be Free

1971-72

22.5" x 30"

Screen print on paper

Image Source: <http://africobra.com/Gerald/ImageFilesPosted/BarbaraImages/BJImage05.html>

[Image redacted]

Figure 10

Napoleon Jones-Henderson

TCB: Take Care of Business

1972

48" x 64"

Tapestry

Image Source: Jones-Henderson, Napoleon. "Remembering Africobra and the Black Arts Movement in 1960s Chicago." *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* (06// 2012): 100

[Image redacted]

Figure 11

Barbara Jones-Hogu

Unite

1970

22.5" x 30"

Screen print on paper

Image Source:

http://luna.lib.uchicago.edu/luna/servlet/detail/uofclibmgr2~4~4~101724~118039:Unite?sort=Title%2CObject_Date%2CStylePeriod%2CCulture&qvq=w4s:/who/Jones-Hogu,%20Barbara;q:Order_ID%3D1022%2B;sort:Title%2CObject_Date%2CStylePeriod%2CCulture;lc:uofclibmgr2~4~4,uofclibmgr2~3~3,univcincin~27~27,CORNELL~14~1,FBC~100~1,MOAC~100~1&mi=7&trs=20

[Image redacted]

Figure 12

Jeff Donaldson

Wives of Shango

1969

30" x 22"

Watercolor with mixed media on paper

Image Source:

https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/210675/Wives_of_Shango

[Image redacted]

Figure 13

Wadsworth Jarrell

Revolutionary

1971

63.5" x 50.5"

Acrylic on canvas

Image Source: Douglas, Robert. *Wadsworth Jarrell: The Artist as Revolutionary* (1996):33.

[Image redacted]

Figure 14

Jae Jarrell

Revolutionary Suit

1969

Wool tweed with hand suede bandolier and hand painted wood bullets

Image Source: http://africobra.com/Gerald/ImageFilesPosted/JaeImages/JaeImage_05.html

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