

GLORIA  
NAYLOR  
OTHER  
PLACES

REVEALING A WRITER'S ARCHIVE

SEPTEMBER 1 - MAY 27

DUBOIS GALLERY, MAGINNES HALL



## Introduction

Gloria Naylor (1950–2016) was a gifted storyteller, teacher, scholar, and archivist whose work explores the beauty and complexity of Black women’s lives in the 20th century. She is best known for her novels – *The Women of Brewster Place*, *Linden Hills*, *Mama Day*, *Bailey’s Cafe*, *The Men of Brewster Place*, and *1996*.

Naylor’s writing is filled with other places – locations that disrupt white supremacist, misogynist histories and geographies – whose spatial dynamics gather, shelter, or propel her characters and plots. In Naylor’s third novel, the “Other Place” is the home of *Mama Day*’s ancestors. It is a place where, through lost documents and dreams, she accesses both the grief and the power of her family’s history from enslavement to the creation of a vibrant Black community. Taking a cue from the “Other Place,” each section of the exhibition highlights a place that Naylor imagines in her novels, researches in historical documents, visits on research trips, or lives in herself. These places offer insight into Naylor’s visionary portrayals of the creative strategies Black people, especially Black women, employ to thrive despite oppressive social, political, and economic structures.

In her novels, Naylor honored Black women’s archival practices as a form of resistance and in her own archival practice, she saved drafts of her creative works, carefully crafted letters, and meticulously compiled research materials. In Naylor’s novels, Black women document their histories by making quilts from beloved clothing, collecting records, creating photo albums, writing recipe books, and making commentaries in the margins of authoritative texts. Naylor’s own collected papers document her artistic process and also contribute to twentieth-century literary and intellectual history, making her archive a creative achievement in its own right. In Naylor’s life and in her novels, archives are “other places” that affirm the lives and contributions of Black women often sidelined in state archives and dominant histories.

We gratefully acknowledge: Sacred Heart University, Gavin Ferriby, Michelle Loris, Tracy Deer-Mirek, The Gloria Naylor Estate, Sterling Lord Literistic, the members of the Gloria Naylor in the Archives Seminar in Fall '19, the members of the Humanities Center Seminar on Gloria Naylor, the members of the Gloria Naylor Archive Advisory Board, Lehigh University Art Galleries, Ayanna Woods, Kate Bullard, Office of the Vice Provost for Research and Graduate Studies, Nadia Butler, Sam Sorensen, & Isaiah Rivera.



## Brewster Place

*The Women of Brewster Place*, Naylor's first novel, was published in 1982, won the National Book Award for best first novel in 1983, and was produced as a television miniseries starring Oprah Winfrey in 1989.

A collection of “seven stories,” the novel’s interconnected chapters detail the experiences of Black women who live in an apartment building on Brewster Place, a setting loosely inspired by a Harlem apartment building owned by Naylor’s grandmother Luceelia McAlpin (whose first name is shared by one of the novel’s characters). Naylor’s 1998 novel, *The Men of Brewster Place*, returns to this setting with a focus on the men living there.

*The Women of Brewster Place* is as much a portrait of the dead-end street itself as of the women who dwell there. It begins with the street’s birth as a result of corrupt meetings between politicians and real estate developers. Even though the women revolt in a dreamscape to break down the wall that separates Brewster Place from the rest of the city, the novel ends with the street’s quiet death, as a result of “court orders and eviction notices.” *The Women of Brewster Place* offers a sharp portrait of the politics of place, the promise (and the limitations) of Black cultural traditions and community in the context of twentieth-century U.S. racism, urban poverty, and gentrification.

## The Block Party

Rain. It began the afternoon of Ben's death and came down day and night for an entire week so Brewster wasn't able to congregate around the wall and keep up a requiem of the why's and how's of his dying. They were forced to exchange opinions among only two or three of themselves at a time, and the closest they could get to the wall was in the front room windows of the apartments that faced the street. They were confined to their own homes and their own thoughts as it became increasingly difficult to ~~tell night from day steps behind the~~ <sup>see</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>stage</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> tell a night sky from a day sky behind the smoky black clouds that continually poured down the rains. The waters became the heaviest after dust as it soaked down the gray bricks and flowed in the clogged gutters like a thick, dark

Handwritten Draft of *The Women of Brewster Place*, undated (c. 1978–9)

This is the oldest document in the Gloria Naylor Archive, written while the author was a student at CUNY-Brooklyn College. In 1979, Naylor broke onto the literary scene when she published a short story called "A Life on Beekman Place" in *Essence* magazine. A second story, "When Mama Comes to Call," also appeared in *Essence*, and the two pieces would later become chapters in *The Women of Brewster Place*. As in her first publication, the eponymous street in this early draft of the novel is "Beekman Place," a name that Naylor later changed to avoid confusion with a real Beekman Place on Manhattan's East Side.

May 29, 1985

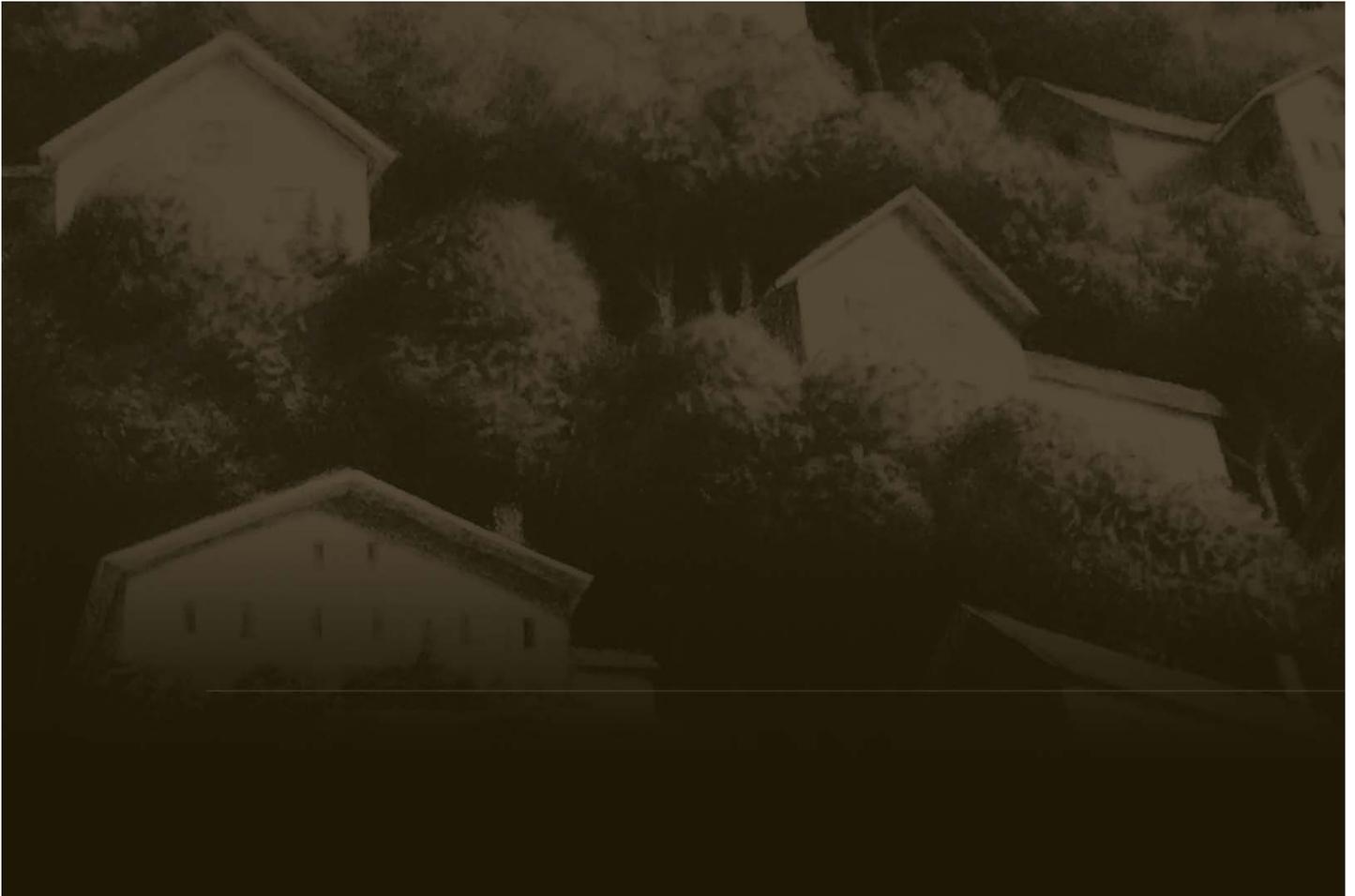
Dear Robb,

It's hard to believe that I've been in this apartment for almost a month and have gotten very little in place. The problem was that I had to start completely from scratch - completely: no dishes, towels, sheets, no bed. I realize that it's going to be a slow process getting this place exactly like I want it, but I'm very happy here. It feels as if I'm not in New York with the water on all sides, the trees, the birds. I can watch the weather change, bringing me small details about the natural cycle that I never considered before. It's been an experience with no television or radio. I get my forecasts from watching the sky. There's no danger of my becoming too ethereal here, because my side windows look out on a city street and I'm sure someone will mugg an old lady soon and bring me back down to earth.

Furniture or no, it's time to start to think about getting down to the real basics and setting this novel in motion. There's a bit more reading I have to do, a lot of thinking, and I hope to make it down to the Sea Islands next month. I've written Josephine and will probably be staying with her for a while when I'm there. I don't know why there is this need to see that part of the country, it's not the exactly the

### Letter from Gloria Naylor to Robb Forman Dew, May 29, 1985

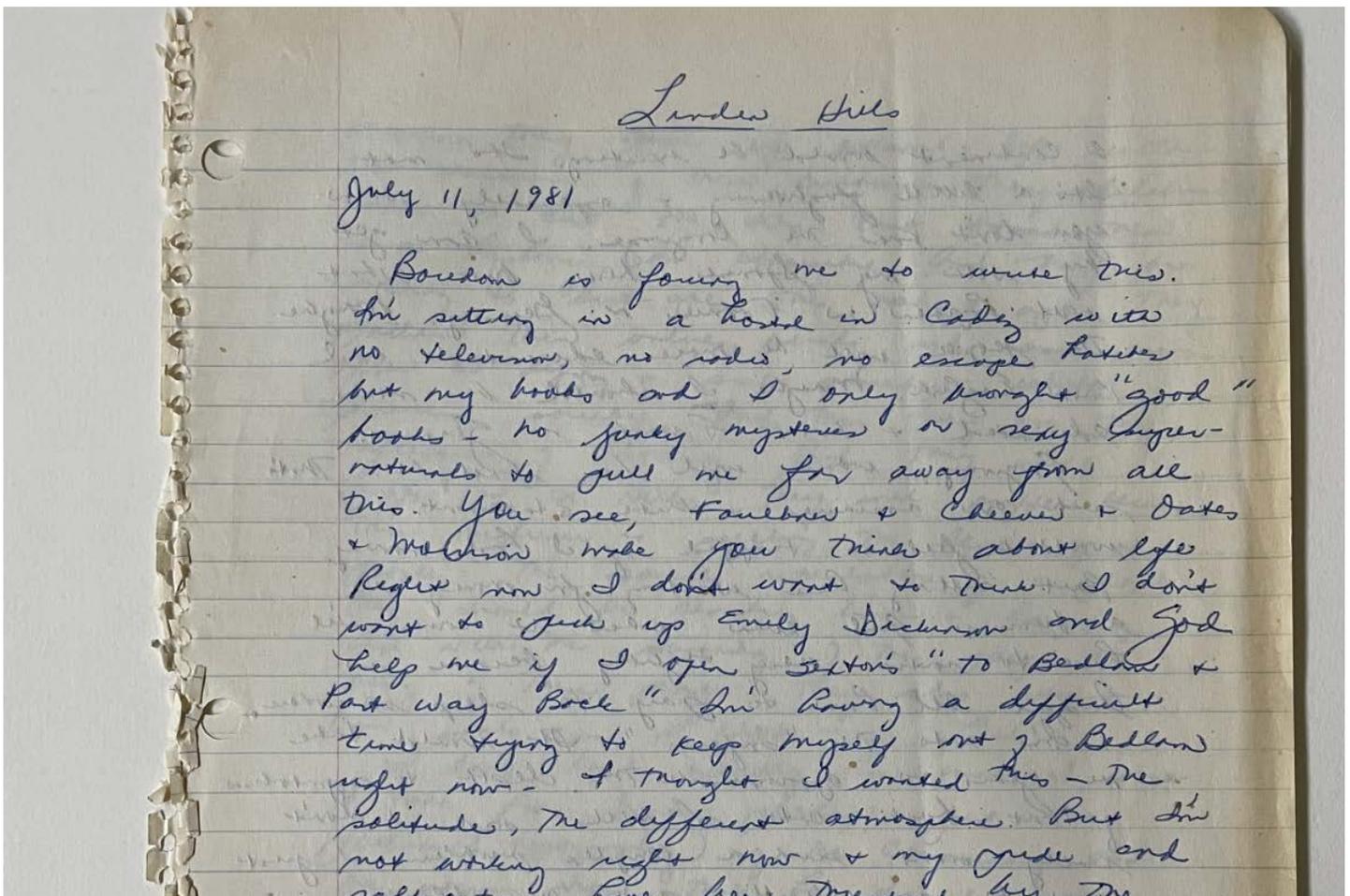
This letter is one of many over the years between Naylor and U.S. novelist Robb Forman Dew in which the writers discuss their lives and literary endeavors. Here, Naylor describes – on her new word processor – her recent move to an apartment in Hudson Heights, on Manhattan's Upper West Side. Several letters in the archive describe Naylor's multiple searches for this apartment, after spending four months living in her sister's basement. In another epistle, to novelist Pat Barker, she writes that her three requirements are light, space, and a view of the Hudson River. As in this letter, Naylor often writes privately about the importance of space to her writing process.



## Linden Hills

Naylor's second novel, *Linden Hills* (1985), is set in an affluent Black neighborhood. The novel begins with Luther Nedeed's purchase of the land in the nineteenth century. An undertaker and landlord, Nedeed originally leased property to "local blacks who were too poor to farm," and his heirs turned the property into a private enclave catering to wealthy Black men and their families. Under their stewardship, Linden Hills becomes "an ebony jewel" that reflects the American dream of wealth and property ownership, but "reflect[s] it black." The novel's chapters tell the stories of inhabitants of Linden Hills who sacrifice parts of themselves to gain economic success. Naylor's novel foregrounds how these characters, by giving up "the sanctuary of their culture," fail to understand structural oppression and abandon radical critique of racial capitalism.

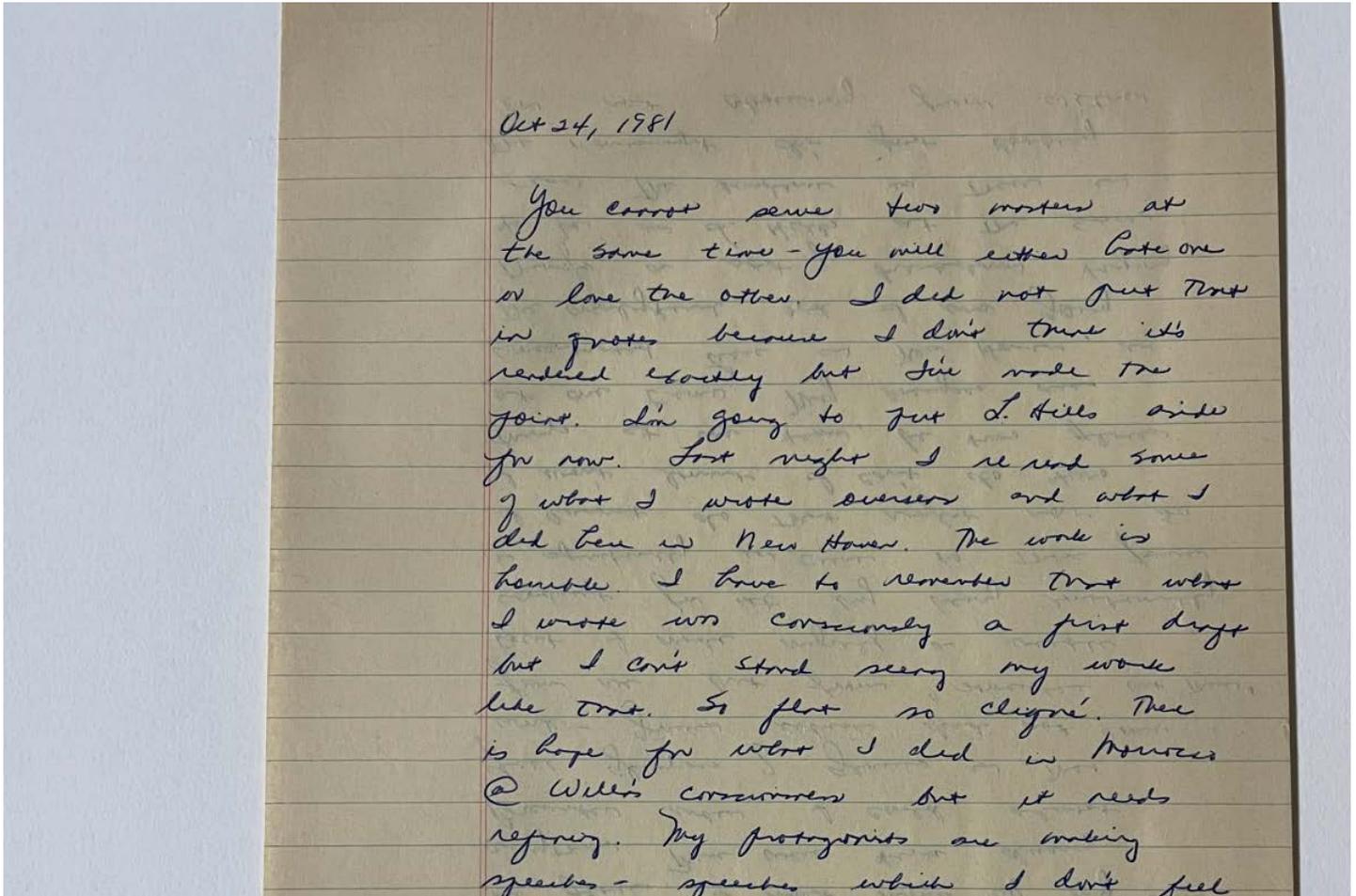
Naylor worked on *Linden Hills* in the months prior to and during her time in a graduate program in Afro-American Studies at Yale University. Archival materials reveal how Naylor's experiences at this elite institution influenced her approach to the novel. Her research bibliographies, for instance, show that she read numerous twentieth-century sociological studies of the Black middle class. In a journal entry from 1981, Naylor anticipates that her time at Yale will itself have research value: "I'm sure [*Linden Hills*] will grow within the next two years because in New Haven I'll be in contact w/ the type of people I'm writing about."



Handwritten Journal Entry, July 11, 1981

In the summer of 1981, Naylor traveled to Spain, Morocco, France, and Germany, anticipating that "solitude" and a "different atmosphere" would inspire her writing for *Linden Hills*. But, in this journal entry, written while she was in a hostel in Cadiz, Naylor describes the European atmosphere as uncongenial:

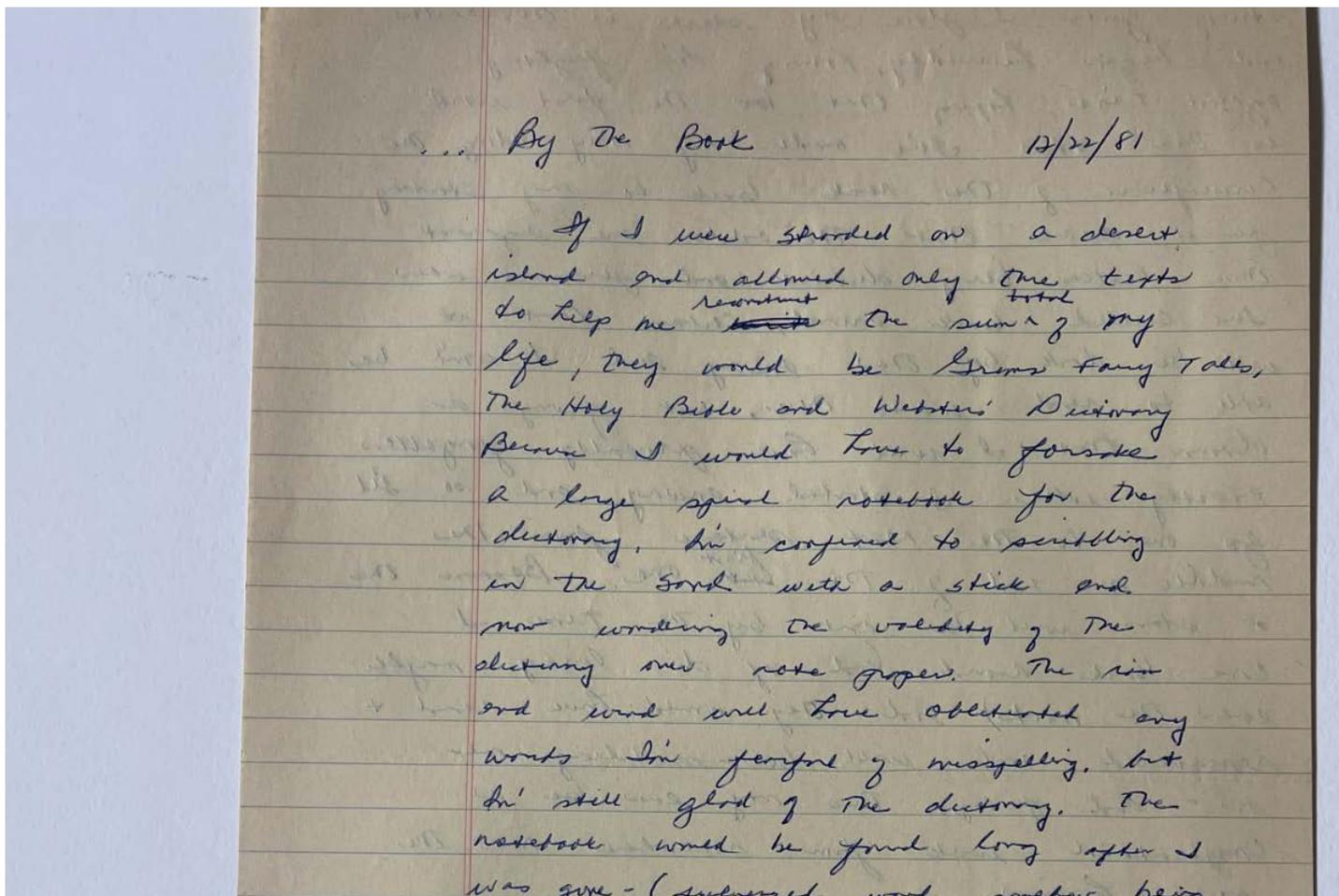
“Can anything good come out of Europe?” I thought so – misled by Baldwin & Hemingway & Vidal I really thought so. But I need a community – a reflection of myself & there’s nothing here.” This journal entry underscores the importance of U.S. Black community spaces and neighborhoods to Naylor’s writing process during the early years of her career.



Handwritten Journal Entry, October 24, 1981

While Naylor began the MA program at Yale University in the fall of 1982, she kept a journal reflecting on her academic experiences and her writing process for *Linden Hills*. In this entry, Naylor considers how she will apply the “concentration and ability [she has] achieved in her creative projects” to literary criticism. Exploring the tension between these two pursuits, Naylor writes that *Linden Hills* is “calling to be created,” and she resolves to devote her Saturdays exclusively to the novel. Other journal entries explore how Naylor’s experiences of conflict between a

predominantly white, elite educational institution and Black culture and community shape her portrayal of Linden Hills.



Handwritten Journal Entry, December 22, 1981

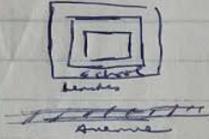
In this entry, Naylor considers the centrality of the South to her own origin story even as she affirms the cosmic reach of her art. She muses that, even if she were “stranded on a desert island,” she would still write, her words “wasted and worn by natural forces but punctuated correctly in the memory of the cosmos.” She ends the entry by returning to her own beginning: “Once upon a time, there was a little black girl who was conceived in Tunica County, Mississippi.” This brief journal entry evokes the geographic trajectories featured in so many of Naylor’s novels: Southern birthplaces, northward migration, and islands with distinctive epistemologies.

2/17/81

## Linden Hills

### Outline of Community

Dante's Inferno in blocks (circular drives?)



Center - most stagnant (wealthiest  
most conventional)

- Mentality of V - grapholistics w a monogrammed core
- upward mobility - Penthouse's introduction of black models

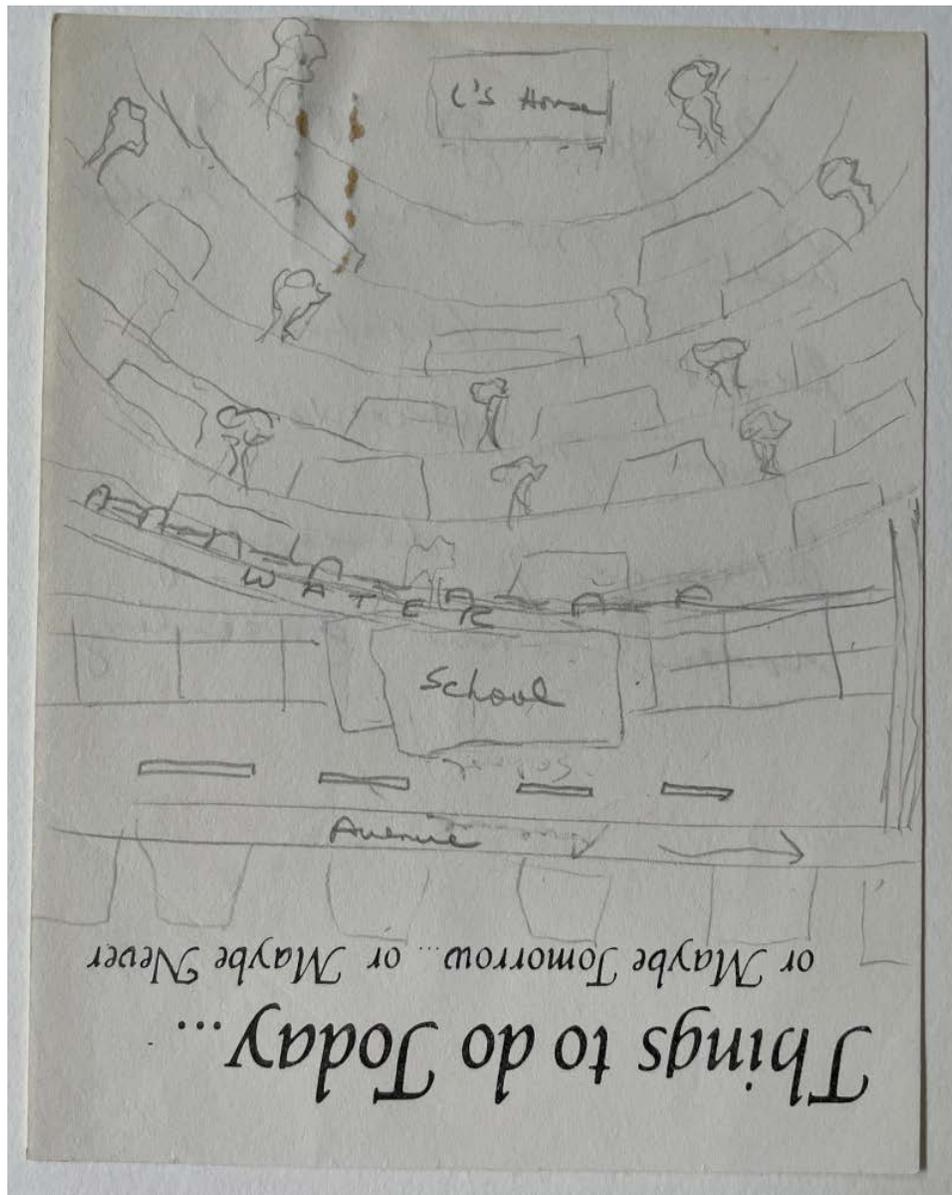
White Willie  
Shit  
Jay King

Willie Brone + Beverly  
Mrs. Brone

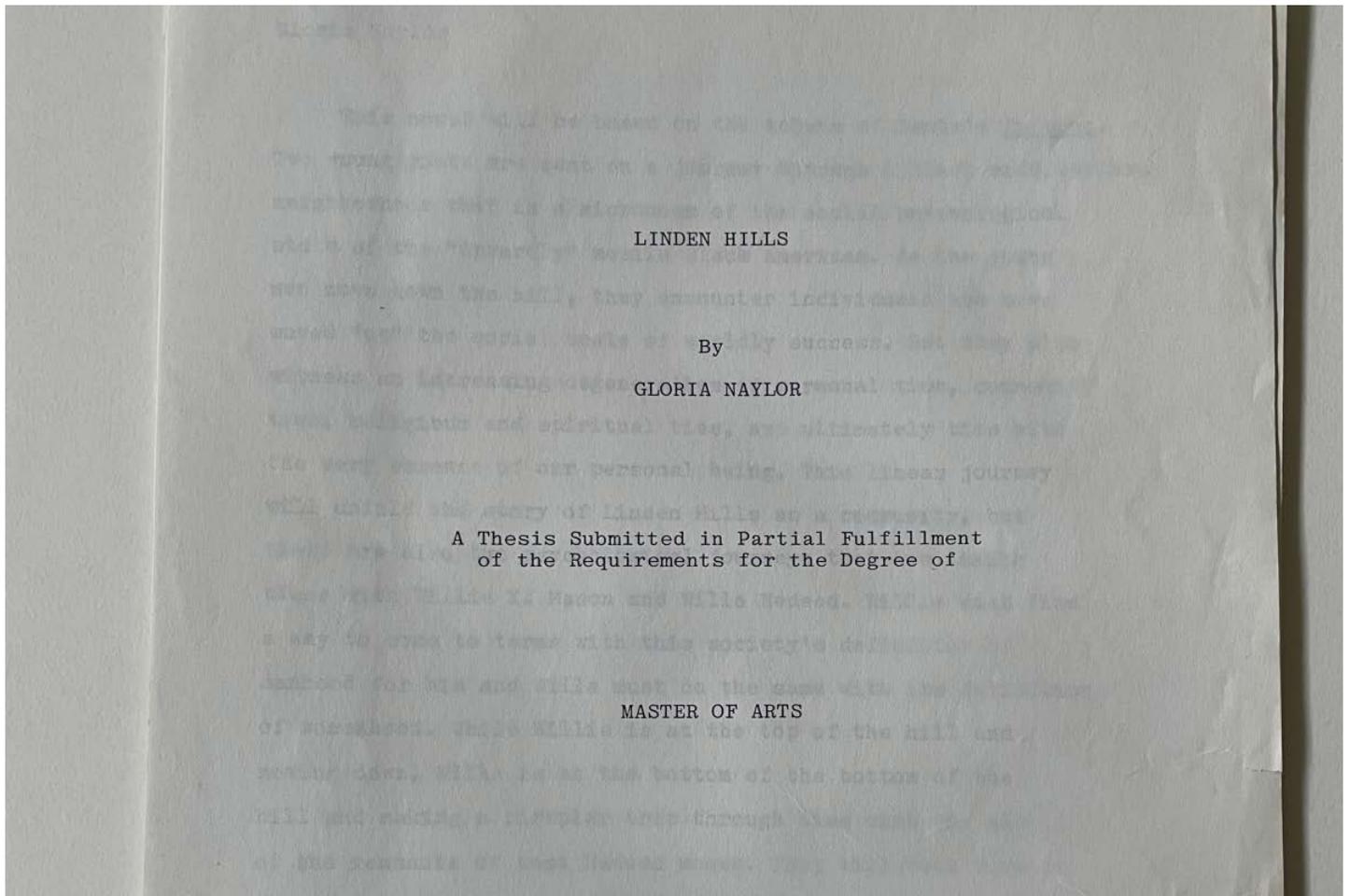
Luth + Norman  
(love story among  
squares)

Handwritten Note, "Linden Hills," February 17, 1981

Single-page notes and sketches on scraps of paper like these are a commonplace in the archive. In these two sketches, Naylor maps the geography of Linden Hills, the circular drives that descend down a hill toward the home of the neighborhood's founding family, Luther Nedeed and his heirs (labeled "L's house" in the smaller sketch). The lined tablet paper, a note about the neighborhood's logic and characters (some of whom never appear in the published book), is the earliest dated material pertaining to Linden Hills in the collection. Overall, these notes and others like them leave documentary traces of Naylor's writing process from maps of structural schemes and timelines of historical details to citations of inspirational literary quotations.

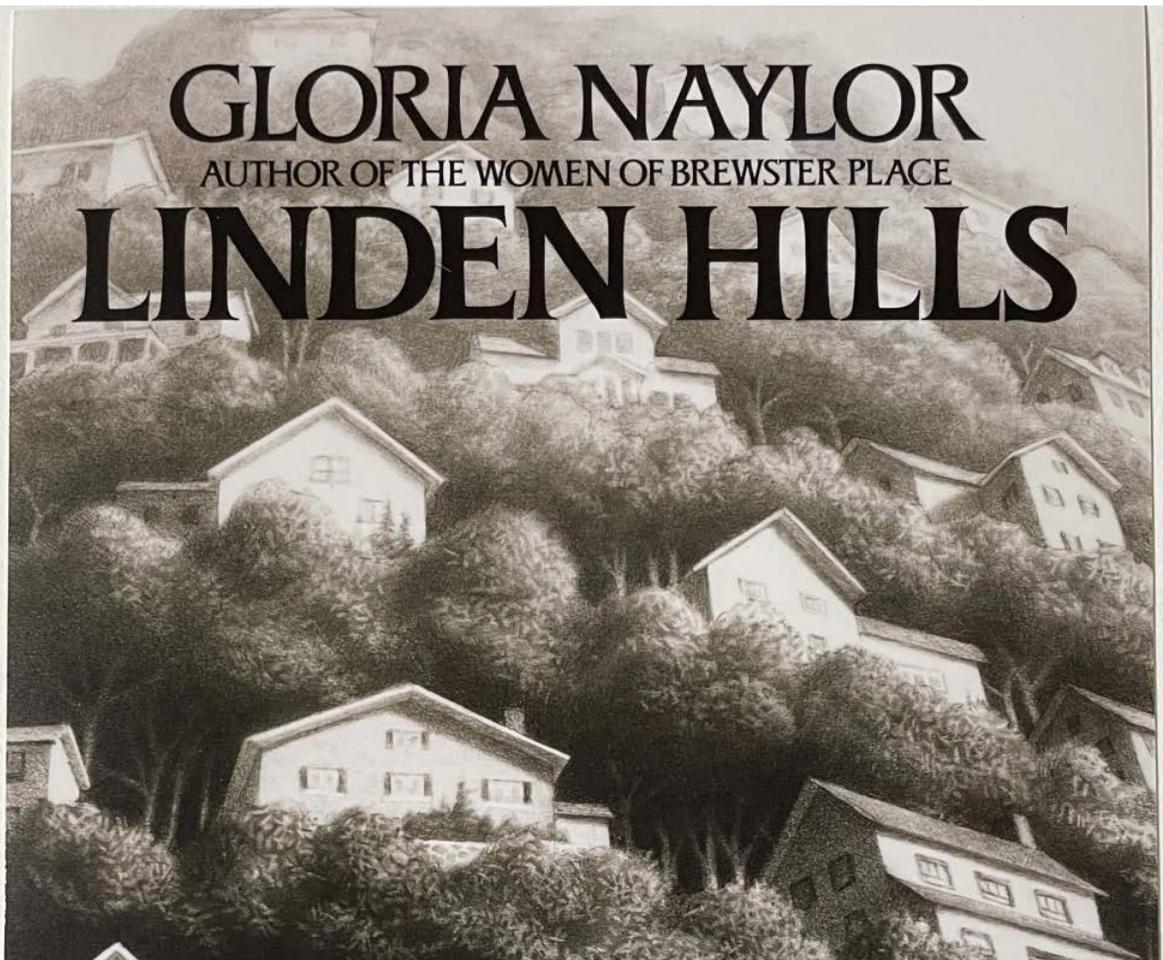


Pencil Sketch, Linden Hills Neighborhood Schematic, undated



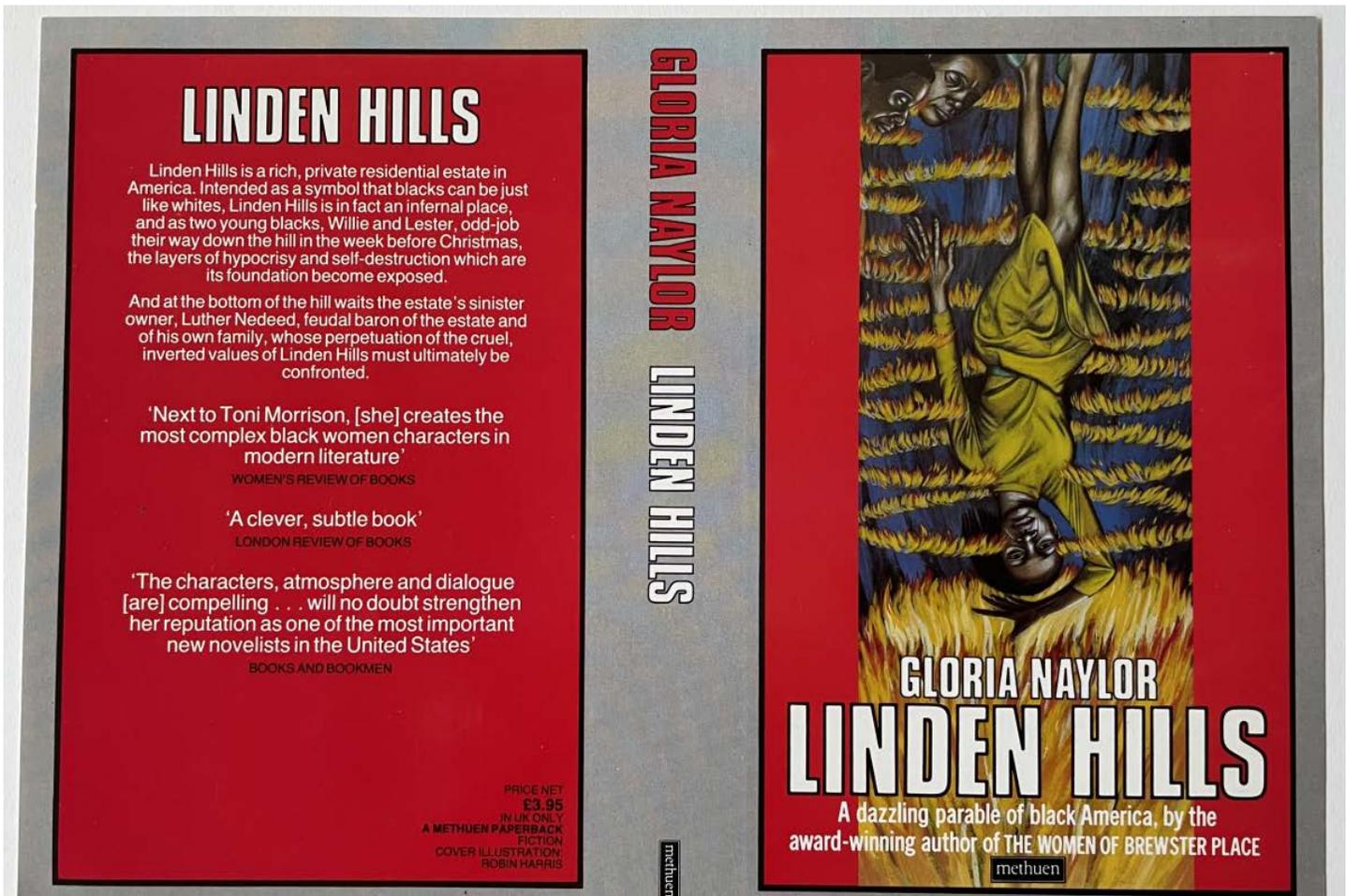
Typed Manuscript of MA Thesis Proposal, May 1983.

Naylor submitted a draft of *Linden Hills* as her MA thesis. African American studies scholar Henry Louis Gates, Jr. served as her advisor for the project. Naylor once described *Linden Hills* as her “intellectual book,” characterized by deep engagement with “American social thought.” Her thesis proposal includes a bibliography with works by Black intellectuals including Carter G. Woodson, W.E.B. Du Bois, Horace Mann Bond, and E. Franklin Frazier. In the proposal, she describes the process of writing *Linden Hills* as a realization of the productive counterbalance between her training as a critic and her “contributions as a creator.”



Chris Van Allsburg, Black and White Cover Art for *Linden Hills*, 1984

Chris Van Allsburg's representation of Linden Hills, with homes perched on a hillside, aligns the viewer with Luther Nedeed's perspective, looking up toward the neighborhood from his home at the bottom of the hill. This is the cover art for the first edition of *Linden Hills*, published by Ticknor and Fields in 1985.



Robin Harris, Color Cover Art for *Linden Hills*, 1984

Robin Harris's cover art for Methuen's U.K. edition foregrounds the novel's reference to Dante's *Inferno*, with rings of fire representing Linden Hills' circular drives, and visually underscores the parallel journeys taken by the novel's main characters, Willie and Willa. In her thesis proposal, Naylor described their relationship: "Willie must find a way to come to terms with this society's definition of manhood for him and Willa must do the same with its definitions of womanhood. While Willie is at the top of the hill and moving down, Willa is at the bottom of the bottom of the hill and making a circular trip through time." This cover image emphasizes how Black women and working-class Black men in the novel contend with dominant social ideologies, historical narratives, and physical space.



## TICKNOR & FIELDS

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017  
(212) 687-8996 cable: Oldcorner, New York, N.Y.

September 19, 1984

Ms. Gloria Naylor  
P.O. Box 43571  
Washington, DC 20010

Dear Gloria:

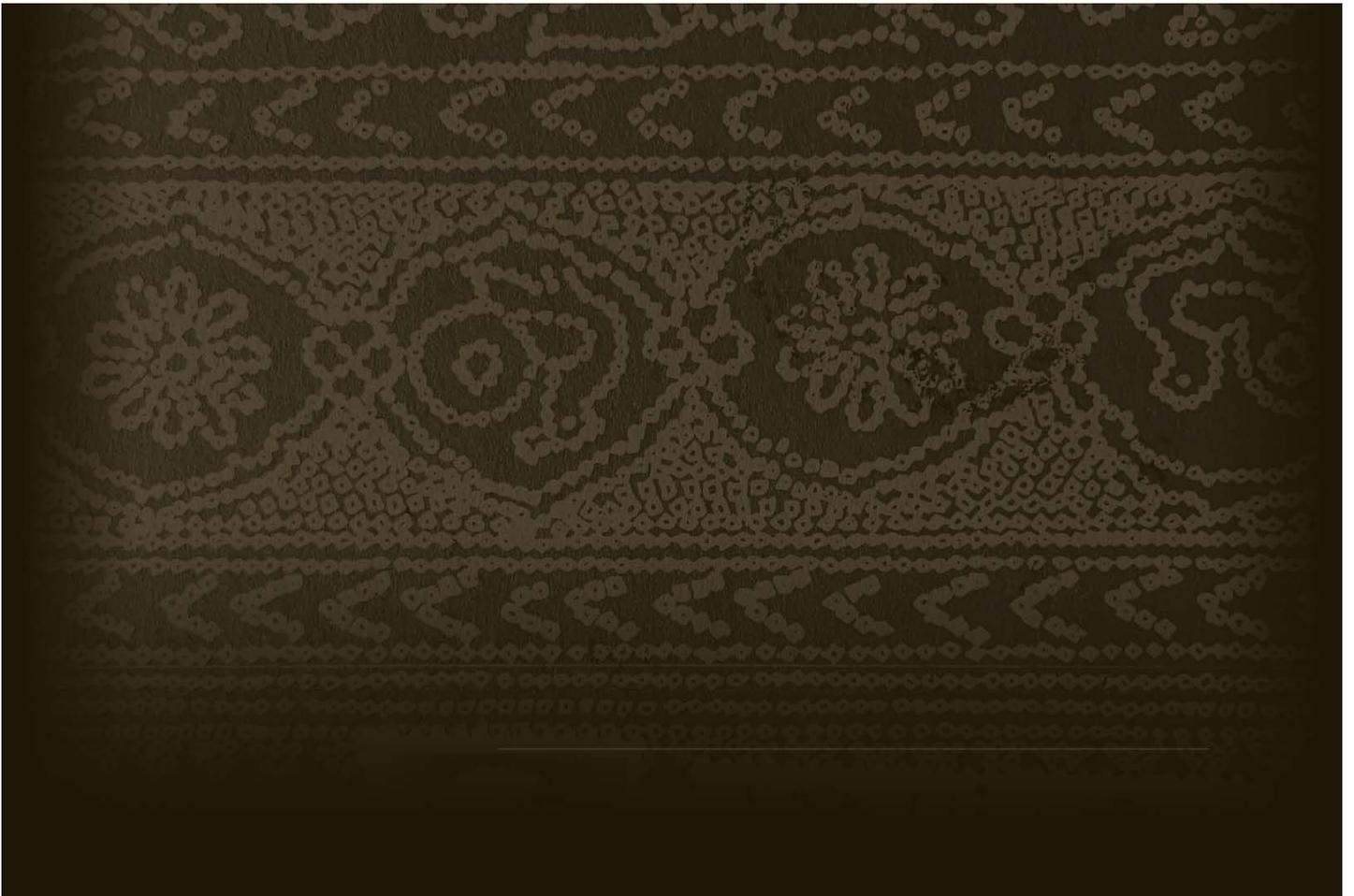
I enclose various items.

1) A print of the jacket for Linden Hills. The work was done by Chris Van Allsburg, an artist and illustrator, who has been widely celebrated primarily in the children's book field. It was some kind of fortuitous stroke which led our art director to think of Van Allsburg after reading your script. It's difficult to depict Linden Hills and this may not be exactly how you see it but I think that Van Allsburg has gone far in capturing the mood and tone of the place. A cautionary note: this is a print and does not reflect the texture of the original art (and, by extension, of the final jacket) which is simultaneously sharper and more atmospheric. For design purposes, the title and the author will be reversed and we're going to try the title in red. I will show you a later proof when we have it.

2) I also enclose the rough of the kind of ad we are contemplating. It should give you some idea of our aspirations and of the general direction we're thinking of moving.

Typed Letter from Corlies "Cork" Smith to Gloria Naylor,  
September 19, 1984

Corlies "Cork" Smith (1929–2004) was Naylor's long-time editor, working with her on almost all of her novels, with the exception of *The Women of Brewster Place* (1982) and *1996* (2005). In this letter, Smith shares the cover art for *Linden Hills* for Naylor's approval. The archive includes numerous letters between Smith and Naylor, many of which document the business of publishing in the 1980s. Naylor's epistolary exchanges with Smith and other correspondents portray the challenges Black women authors faced in the overwhelmingly white and still predominantly male publishing industry as well as Naylor's strategies for navigating them.



## India

In November 1985, Naylor spent three weeks in India as a cultural lecturer with the United States Information Agency. During her stops in Mumbai, Kolkata, Aurangabad, Mysore, and Hyderabad, Naylor met with Indian scholars, writers, and activists for lectures, readings, and seminars on “Contemporary Black Women Writers in the US.” Reflecting on her trip, Naylor wrote appreciatively about her interlocutors’ “intellectual enthusiasm.” Concerning her conversations with Dalit (lower caste) writers, Naylor wrote: “it is a rich source for the appreciation of the structural relevance involved with my being a minority writer in a majority culture.” As Naylor traveled more, she increasingly positioned her novels in conversation with minoritized cultures from varied historical and geographical settings.

Naylor stayed in contact with many of the women she met on this

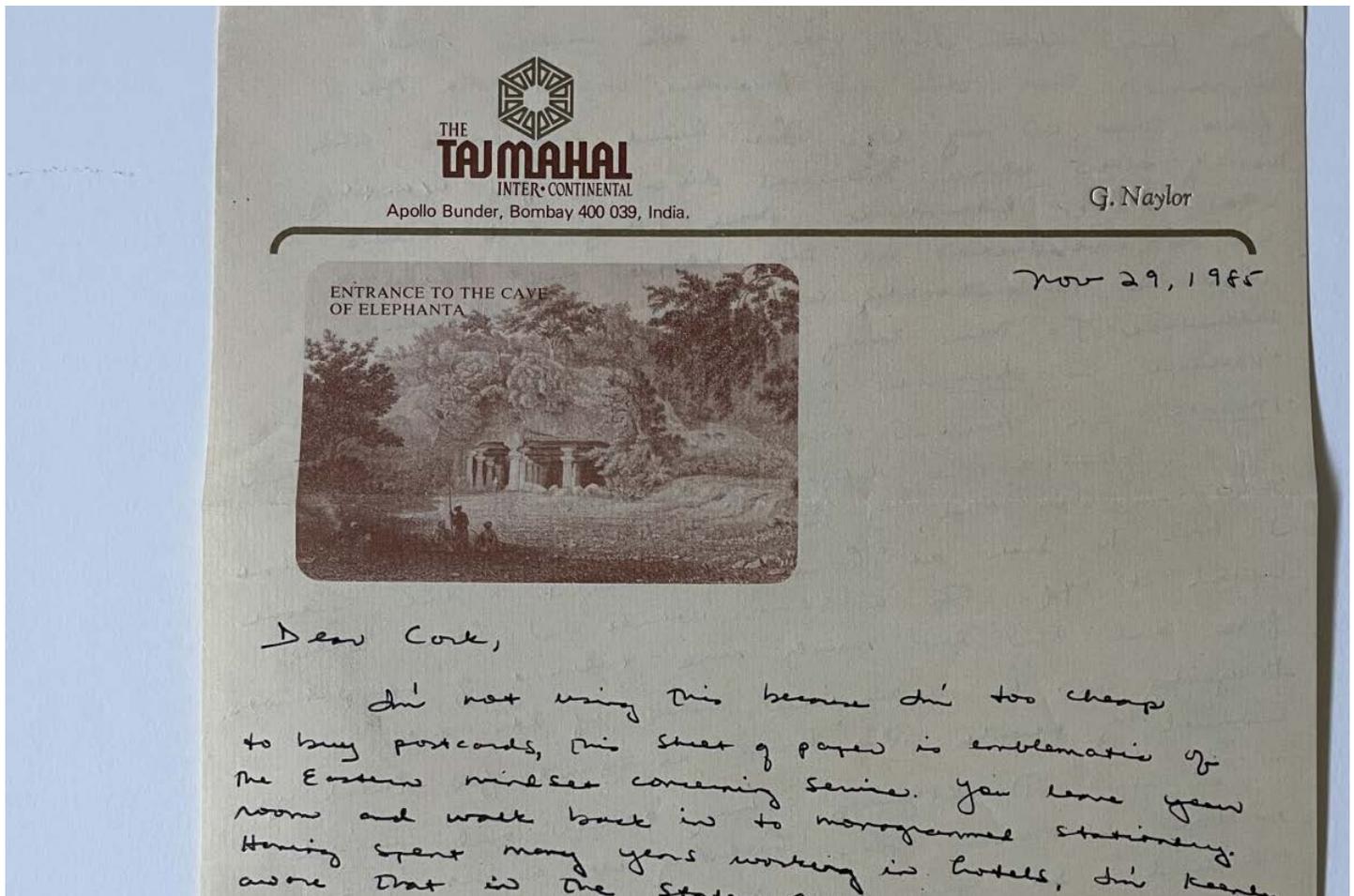
trip, and the correspondence in her archive reflects a growing transnational network of literary scholars and writers. For instance, after *Mama Day* was published in 1988, the journalist Ammu Joseph sent copies of the review she wrote for *The Indian Post*, and Naylor also exchanged several letters with Anjum Katyal of Seagull Books. Naylor's trip to India fostered a growing understanding of global audiences for her writing. This broad perspective is apparent in her subsequent novels, *Mama Day* (1988) and *Bailey's Cafe* (1992), which situate the Black diaspora more explicitly in the context of global social justice.

<p><b>ACTION COPY</b></p>	<p><b>UNCLASSIFIED UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY</b></p>	<p><b>INCOMING TELEGRAM</b></p>
<p>PAGE 01</p>	<p>002719 ICA669 05/1310Z</p>	<p>00271 9 ICA669</p>
<p>ACTION OFFICE <b>PDA-04</b> INFO ACO-01 DSO-02 PD-02 NEA-03 /012 A3 1</p>	<p>NOV. 18 0900 1030-1730</p>	<p>PROGRAM BRIEFINGS AT THE AMERICAN CENTER. PARTICIPATE IN ONE-AND-A-HALF-DAY SEMINAR ON "CONTEMPORARY BLACK WOMEN WRITERS" AT THE AMERICAN CENTER. - REQUEST NAYLOR TO GIVE AN ANALYTICAL OVERVIEW LECTURE ON CONTEMPORARY BLACK WOMEN WRITERS COMPARING THEIR LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS WITH THOSE OF THE BLACK MALE WRITERS.</p>
<p>P 051249Z SEP 85 FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI TO RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 8836 INFO RUSBAY/AMCONSUL BOMBAY 9250 RUEHCL/AMCONSUL CALCUTTA 8321 RUEHMR/AMCONSUL MADRAS 7447 BT UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 NEW DELHI 21670</p>	<p>NOV. 19 1000-1300</p>	<p>SEMINAR ON "CONTEMPORARY BLACK WOMEN WRITERS" CONTINUED. - REQUEST NAYLOR TO READ FROM HER OWN WORKS, INTERSPERSED WITH SOME COMMENTARY. P.M. - INFORMAL MEETING WITH LEADERS OF UNDER-PRIVILEGED WOMEN AND WITH SOME DALIT (UNDER-PRIVILEGED) WRITERS. - NOTE: IN ADDITION TO NAYLOR'S TWO PRESENTATIONS AT THE SEMINAR, INDIAN SPEAKERS WILL READ PAPERS ON NAYLOR HERSELF, ALICE WALKER, NTOZAKE SHANGE, AND THE STATE OF BLACK STUDIES AT THE AMERICAN STUDIES RESEARCH CENTER IN HYDERABAD.</p>
<p>USIA USIA FOR P/DA - M. VILLARREAL E.O. 12356: N/A SUBJECT: AMPART GLORIA NAYLOR REF: USIA 58935</p>	<p>NOV. 20 0615/0655</p>	<p>TRAVEL BOMBAY/AURANGABAD, IC-492. - (PROGRAM OFFICER WILLENE DANIELS AND PROGRAM MANAGER SAROJ MERANI WILL ACCOMPANY.) - STAY AT THE AJANTA AMBASSADOR HOTEL. - VISIT THE ELLORA (HINDU) CAVES - OPTIONAL. BT #1670</p>
<p>1. IN VIEW OF NAYLOR'S REDUCED AVAILABILITY PERIOD PER REFTEL, POST WILL PROGRAM NAYLOR IN BOMBAY, CALCUTTA AND MADRAS CONSULAR AREAS ON THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULE:</p>	<p>NOV. 10 A.M. 1645/1905</p>	
<p>ARRIVE BOMBAY TRAVEL BOMBAY/CALCUTTA, IC-274. STAY AT THE GRAND HOTEL.</p>		
<p>NOV. 11 FREE DAY</p>		
<p>NOV. 12 1000 1100 1300</p>		
<p>PROGRAM BRIEFINGS AT THE AMERICAN CENTER. MEDIA INTERVIEW WITH "THE TELEGRAPH". LUNCHEON WITH BENGALI AUTHORS AT THE RESIDENCE OF DBPAO PERLA MANAPOL. - FREE. INVITED TO SEE THE IMMERSION CEREMONY OF GODDESS KALI. EVENING -</p>		

### United States Information Agency, India Tour Travel Itinerary, September 1985

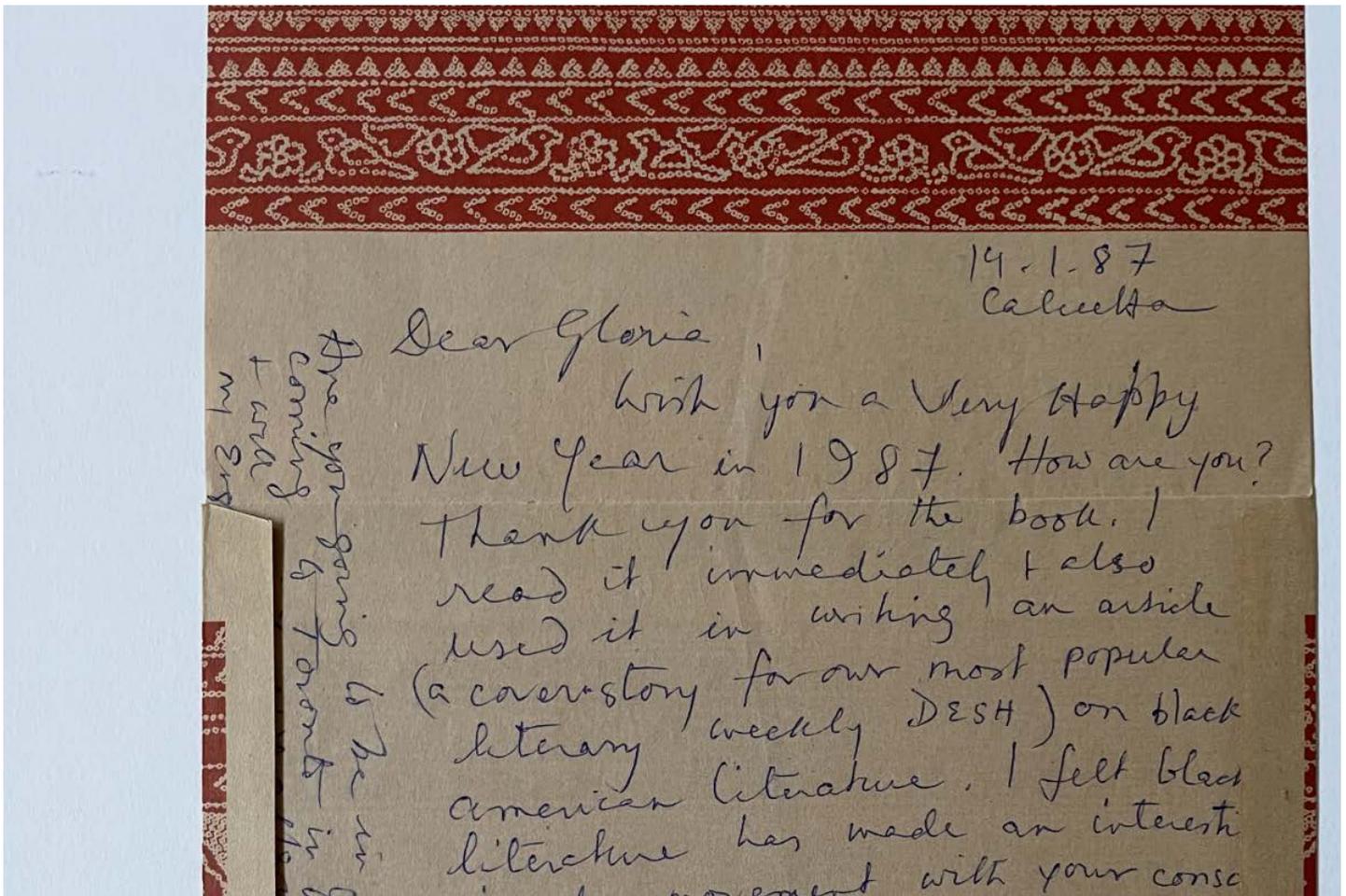
On her trip, Naylor read from *Linden Hills* and *The Women of Brewster Place*, lectured on "Contemporary Black Women Writers in the U.S.," and participated in conferences at Jadavpur University, the American Studies Research Center in Hyderabad, Osmania

University, the American Center in Mumbai, Maradwatha University, and the Literary Criterion Center for English Studies in Mysore. In addition, she gave interviews with *The Telegraph* and *Radio India*.



Handwritten Letter from Gloria Naylor to Corlies "Cork" Smith,  
November 29, 1985

In this letter to her editor, Naylor explores how her experiences in India have shifted her understanding of herself, her writing, and U.S. citizenship. She writes, "I have had to redefine poverty, silence, and laughter. But what has been especially touching is that these seminars have forced me to redefine myself. The various intellectuals who have presented papers . . . are under the impression that I'm an American writer. . . To them, being black is an American experience . . . It's odd, I had never considered what I have to bear at 'home' a weight until someone lifted it off."



Handwritten Letter from Nabaneeta Dev Sen to Gloria Naylor,  
January 14, 1987

Naylor first met Nabaneeta Dev Sen (1938–2019), a prolific Bengali poet and scholar, during her 1985 visit to Jadavpur University. Dev Sen was publicly known for her bracing honesty and irreverent tone. But this letter reveals Dev Sen at her most vulnerable, as she writes, “I am getting old and bored and losing confidence in life and in self.” Naylor’s international correspondence with activist intellectuals like Dev Sen connects with her later novels, which depart from a U.S. frame to emphasize alternative political imaginaries and transnational coalitions.



## Willow Springs

Willow Springs is the island setting of Naylor's third novel, *Mama Day* (1988). The novel follows the descendants of Sapphira Wade, an African-born woman enslaved in Savannah, Georgia in 1819. Since Sapphira secured the deed to the island in 1823, an autonomous Black community has flourished there, independent from white supremacist U.S. institutions. Although Willow Springs is a fictional island, its portrayal draws on research trips that Naylor took in 1985 to the southern U.S., where she "gathered folk remedies and personal recollections from rural black Americans in their eighties and nineties." She also traveled to the Sea Islands and New Orleans, in search of "remnants to the African legacy to these [folk] beliefs."

After the publication of *Mama Day*, Naylor purchased a home on St. Helena Island, one of the Sea Islands. There, she worked as a

production assistant on Julie Dash's 1991 *Daughters of Dust*, a film that tells the stories of generations of Gullah women on the island. Following the 1989 television miniseries of *The Women of Brewster Place*, Naylor founded her own film production company, One Way Productions, in order to write and produce her own screenplays. Maintaining creative control over a feature film version of *Mama Day* was one of her major priorities. Although the film was never made, documents in the archive record her attentiveness to rural Black community spaces as well as the forms of knowledge preserved by Black women.

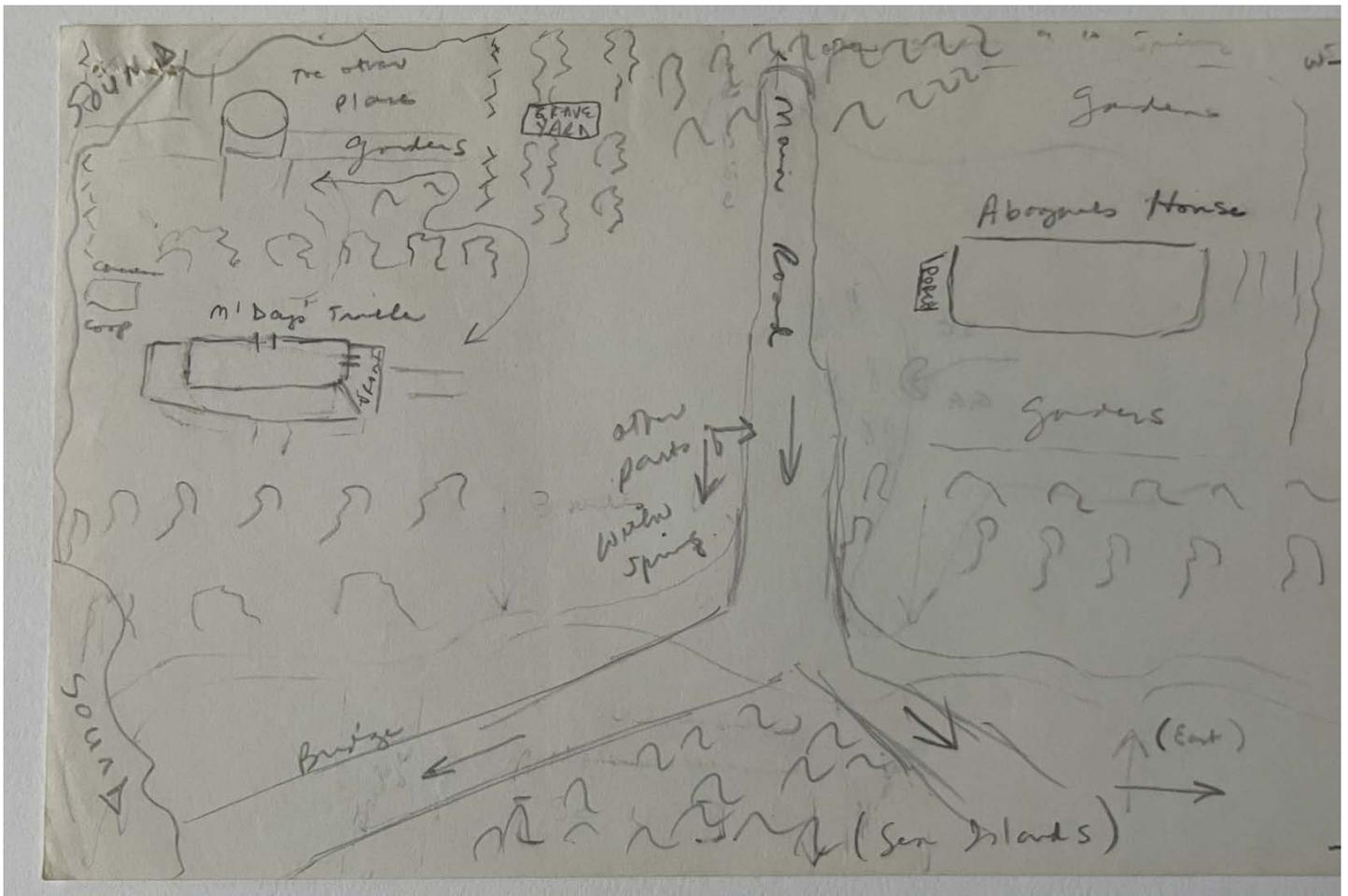


Ink Sketch of Willow Springs, undated

According to the novel, Willow Springs is “forty-nine square miles curve[d] like a bow, stretching toward Georgia on the south end and South Carolina on the north,” connected to the continental United States by a bridge that straddles the “dividing line between them two states.” This geographic fact ensures that both states’

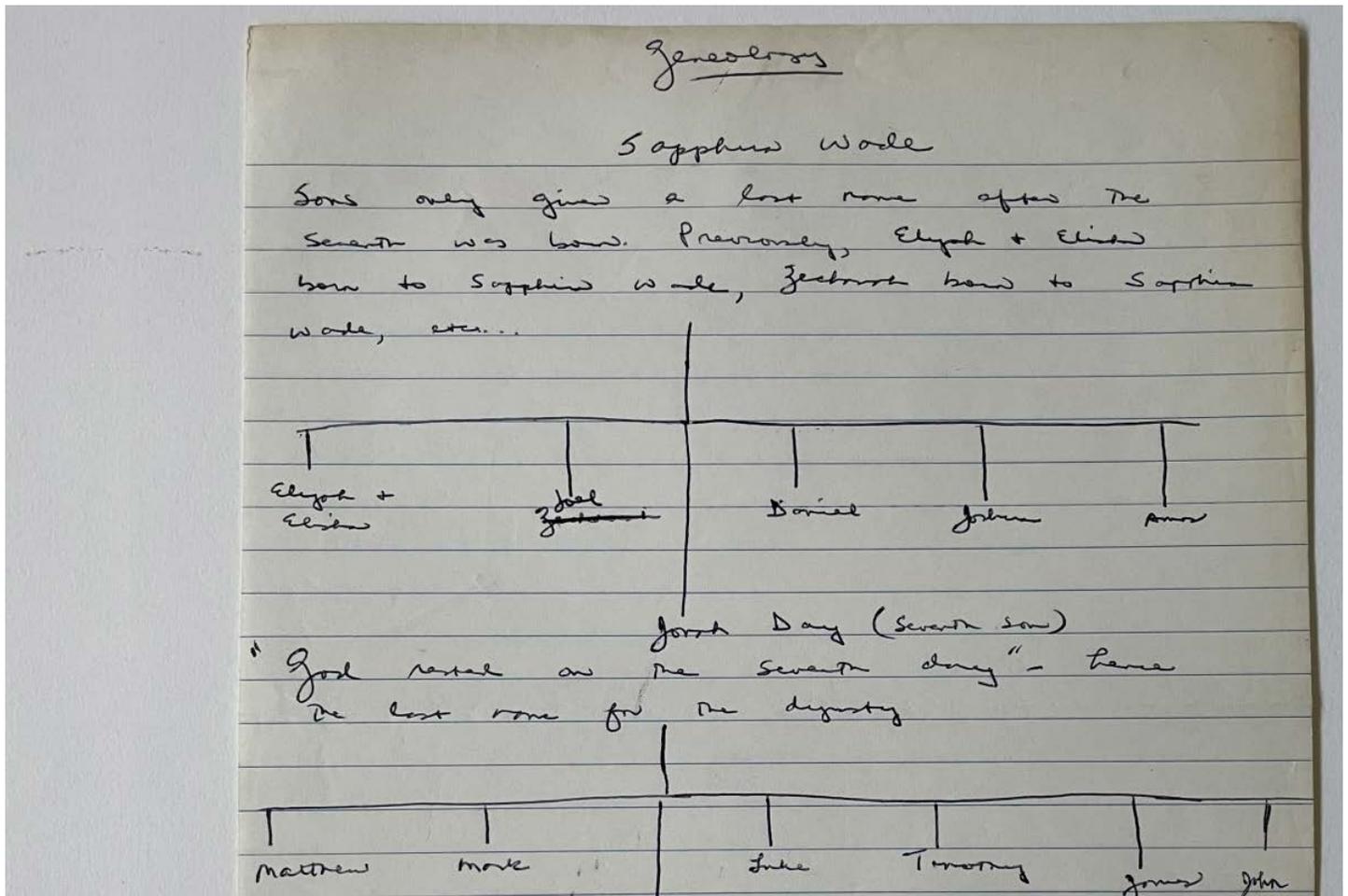
claims to ownership fail, protecting the inhabitants of Willow Springs from white supremacist laws about “slaves not owning nothing in Georgia and South Carolina.” This sketch is reworked as a stylized, graphic woodcut image (pictured below) in the prefatory pages of the published novel.





Pencil Sketch of the “West Woods,” undated

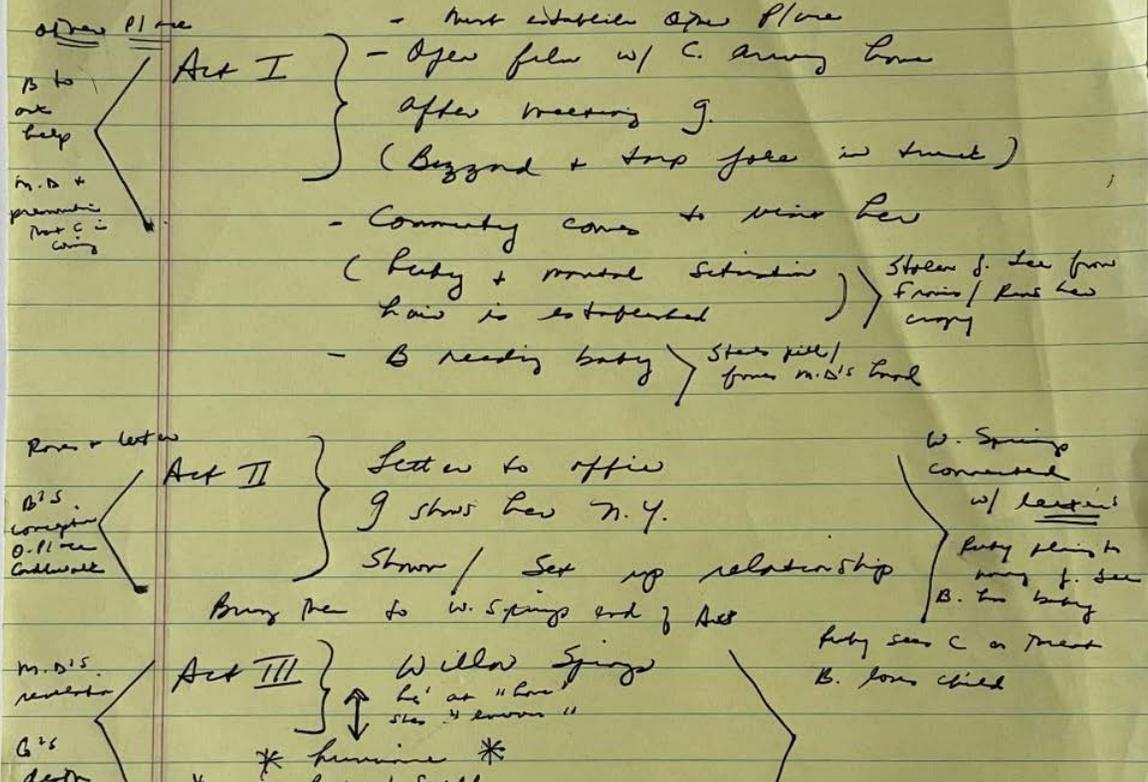
This sketch is a close-up of the area of Willow Springs where most of the action in *Mama Day* takes place: Mama Day’s trailer (including the chicken coop where one of the novel’s climactic scenes unfolds), her sister Abigail’s house, the “Other Place” where Mama Day’s and Abigail’s ancestors lived, and the nearby graveyard where those ancestors are buried. In the “Other Place,” Mama Day connects with her family history, ancestral knowledge rooted in African practices, and – ultimately – with Sapphira Wade herself.



Family Tree for the Day Family, undated

This family tree maps the generations of the Day family, from Sapphira Wade (born in West Africa in 1799) to Ophelia "Cocoa" Day (born on Willow Springs in 1953). Cocoa's cousin, Willa Prescott Nedeed, is a main character in Naylor's *Linden Hills* (1985). The family tree resists patrilineal models of descent, positioning Sapphira Wade as sole matriarch, and reflects Naylor's interest in numerology with its emphasis on the number seven. By printing a map of Willow Springs and a family tree as prefaces to *Mama Day*, Naylor emphasizes an intimate connection between place and time, with the history of the Day family rooted in the "other place."

Notes / Fishburne 10/5/93



Handwritten Notes, "Notes / Fishburne," October 5, 1993

Naylor was keen to produce *Mama Day* as a feature film and worked for many years on a screenplay. These notes show how Naylor transformed the novel's different plotlines into a three-act screenplay. The title line refers to the actor Laurence Fishburne, who had – to Naylor's great delight – formally expressed his interest in playing the role of George. The archive shows that Naylor took great care and time to gather support from industry executives and actors, and yet the film was never produced. As with her experiences in higher education and publishing, Naylor's foray into filmmaking once again found her advocating for her art in a predominantly white industry.

EXT. WEST WOODS. MORNING

George is limping as he comes through the clearing and sees the Other Place.

EXT. OTHER PLACE. MORNING

George hesitates outside the garden gate. He sees Mama Day sitting in the rocker on the veranda. They stare across the length of the yard. George opens the gate and enters.

He stumbles through the debris of the garden. When he approaches the foot of the veranda, she doesn't wait for him to open his mouth.

MAMA DAY

I want you to hear me out. I can do more things with these hands than most folks dream of--no less believe--but this time they ain't no good alone. And there was a time in my past when they weren't no good alone. I've been suffering from the memory of that failure most of my life. Our past can be a powerful thing. It can crush us--or if we're able to look beyond the pain, it can set us free. And now it done given me the answer we need.

GEORGE

What do you want me to do?

MAMA DAY

Typed Screenplay, *Mama Day*, December 15, 1993

One of many iterations of the *Mama Day* screenplay in the archive, this version realizes the three-act structure outlined in the October note. Naylor's revision anchors the narrative in the "Other Place," establishing its significance from the opening shots, and cuts down the cast of characters from the novel more dramatically than earlier screenplay drafts. Here, we feature a conversation between Mama Day and George set in the "Other Place."

**In  
Other  
Words...  
OSSIE  
&  
RUBY**

March 6, 1985

Gloria Naylor  
111-27 204th Street  
Hollis, New York 11412

Dear Gloria,

Here are some comments about M'DEAR and some suggestions how it might be developed as a half-hour drama for television.

First off, we like the piece very much. It is rich, and thick, and dark and vibrant. It lives on the page and lives on in the memory. The characters, the action, the sustained mood and moodiness are all of a piece almost hypnotic in their power to leap over my rational mind and take residence in my heart and my imagination. We are determined to do the piece; but the rigors and restraints of the half-hour format make it impossible to do without substantial condensation and some changes.

May I suggest you consider the following ideas:

- ✓ 1. Eliminate references to or quotations from "The Journal of American Folklore." What I think you intend would constitute a delicious irony, but in a 25-minute story I can only see them as an intrusion and a stumbling block.

Letter from Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee to Gloria Naylor, March 6, 1985

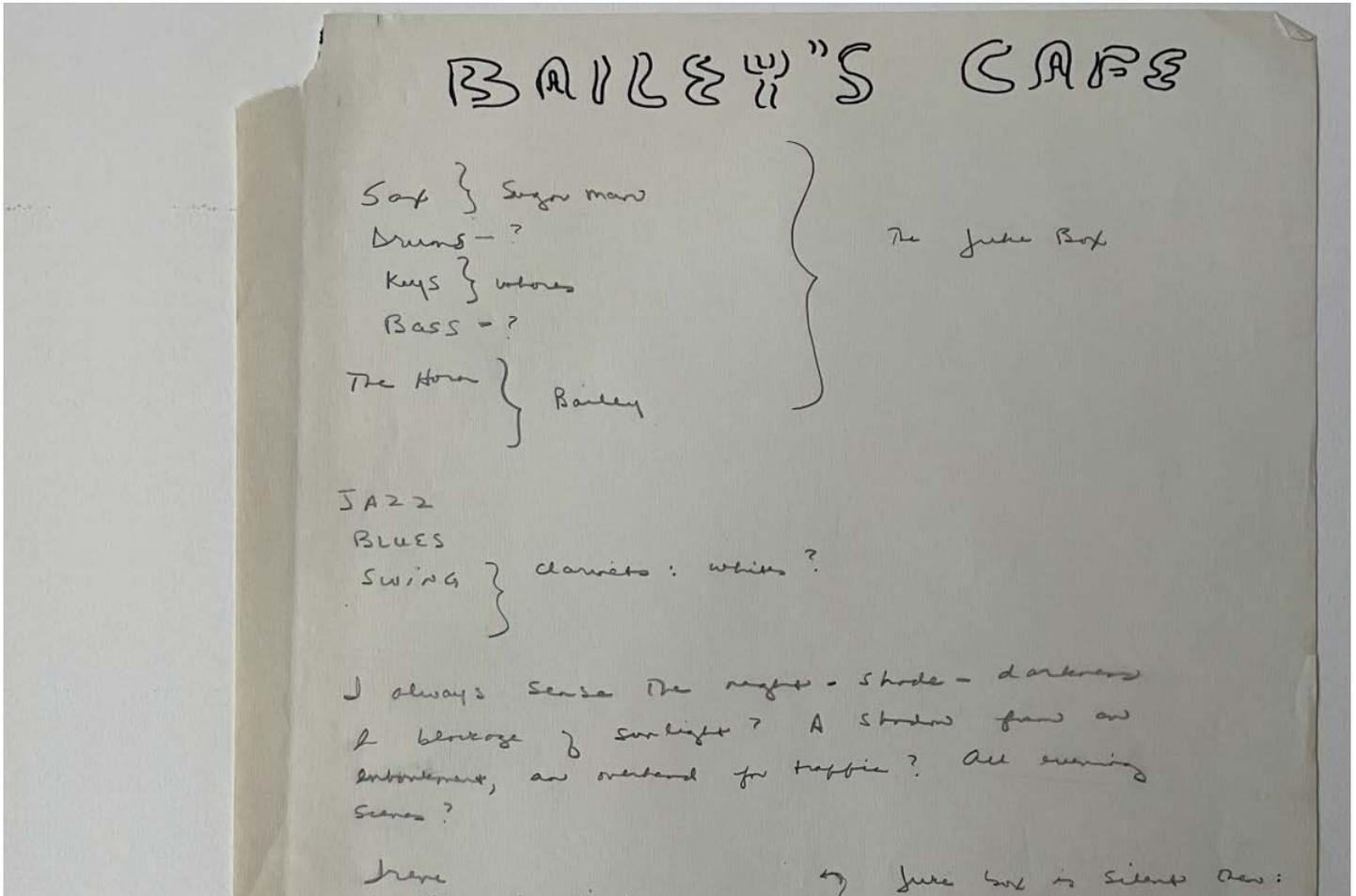
This letter from legendary actors, directors, producers, playwrights, and civil rights activists Ossie Davis (1917–2005) and Ruby Dee (1922–2014) offers three pages of detailed feedback on one of Naylor's earliest screenwriting projects, a half-hour television drama entitled *M'Dear*. The central narrative of *M'Dear*, a mother's grief at her baby's death and her entreaties to the eponymous conjure woman for assistance, was never realized on screen, despite Davis's apparent commitment to the project. However, readers of *Mama Day* will recognize it as a version of what would become Bernice's and Mama Day's story.



## Bailey's Cafe

In her fourth novel, *Bailey's Cafe* (1992), Naylor creates a space that appears to people in need of a safe haven, people who find themselves without hope in the face of oppression and marginalization. As Bailey, the novel's narrator, describes the cafe: "Even though this planet is round, there are just too many spots where you can find yourself hanging on the edge just like I was; and unless there's some space, some place, to take a breather for a while, the edge of the world – frightening as it is – could be the end of the world, which would be quite a pity." Guests arrive from wherever they are in the world: San Francisco, Ethiopia, New Orleans, Detroit, and Chicago. Even though the Cafe is both everywhere and nowhere in particular, Naylor's research materials associate it with Black cultural centers, especially the famous 125th Street in Harlem, which is still home to the legendary Apollo Theatre. Naylor's research materials for *Bailey's Cafe* show

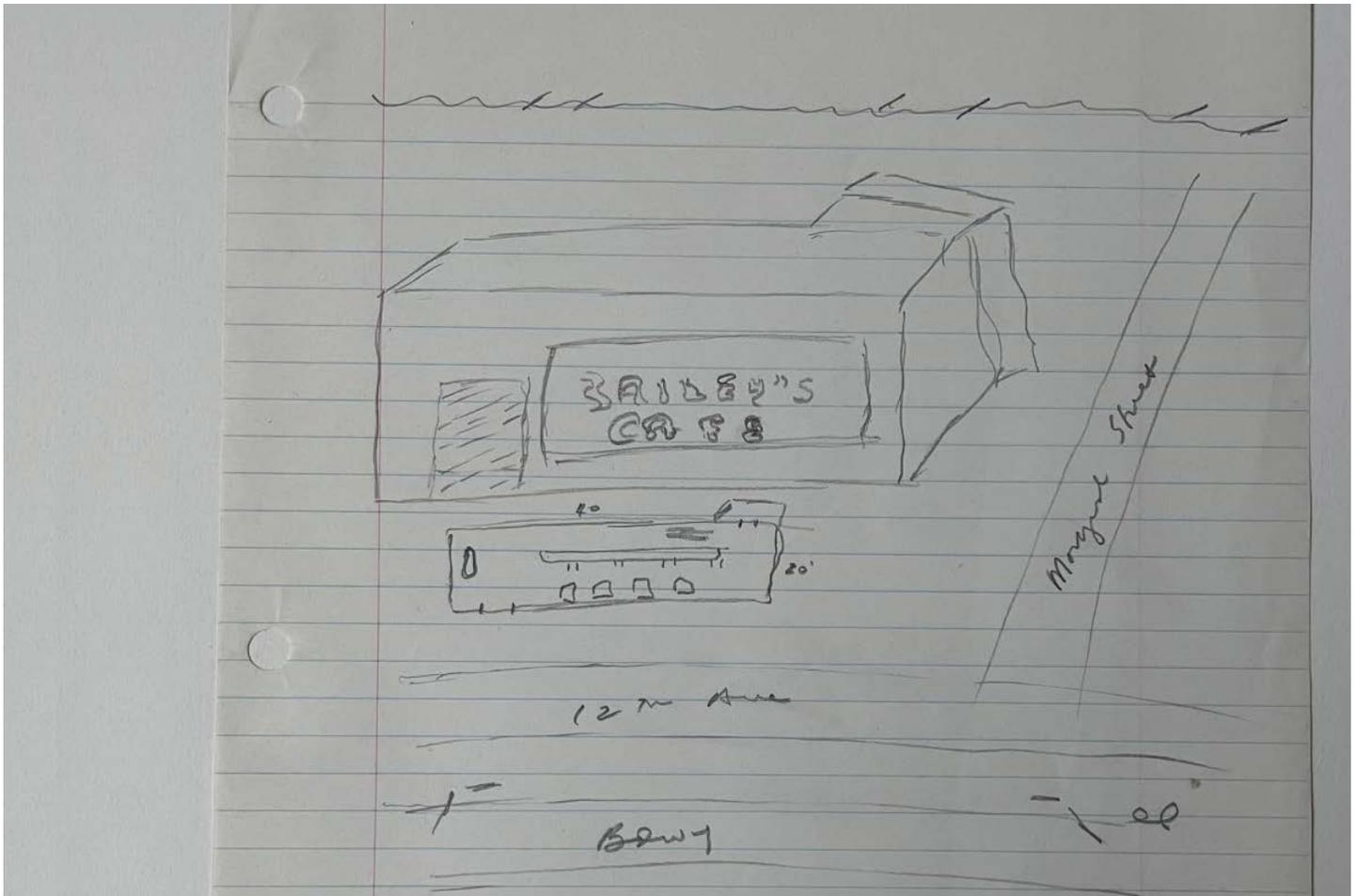
that its life-affirming hope, however tenuous, rests on Black spaces that flourish on their own terms, independent from predominantly white institutions. If the Black community on Willow Springs finds freedom from a white supremacist state through the island's unique geography, Naylor's Bailey's Cafe thrives on independent Black aesthetic, cultural, and spiritual traditions that can be accessed from anywhere by those who need refuge.



Handwritten Note, "Bailey's Cafe," undated

A rich jazz soundscape surrounds the characters in *Bailey's Cafe*, and this note sketches the novel's structure in musical terms. In a pitch to publishers, Naylor wrote, "I would like to see if I can meld the lines between the act of hearing music and the act of reading text. For example, if Duke Ellington's 'Mood Indigo' were to be prose, what texture and tempo would the words assume?" Many of the novel's section titles foreground its jazz structure – "Maestro,

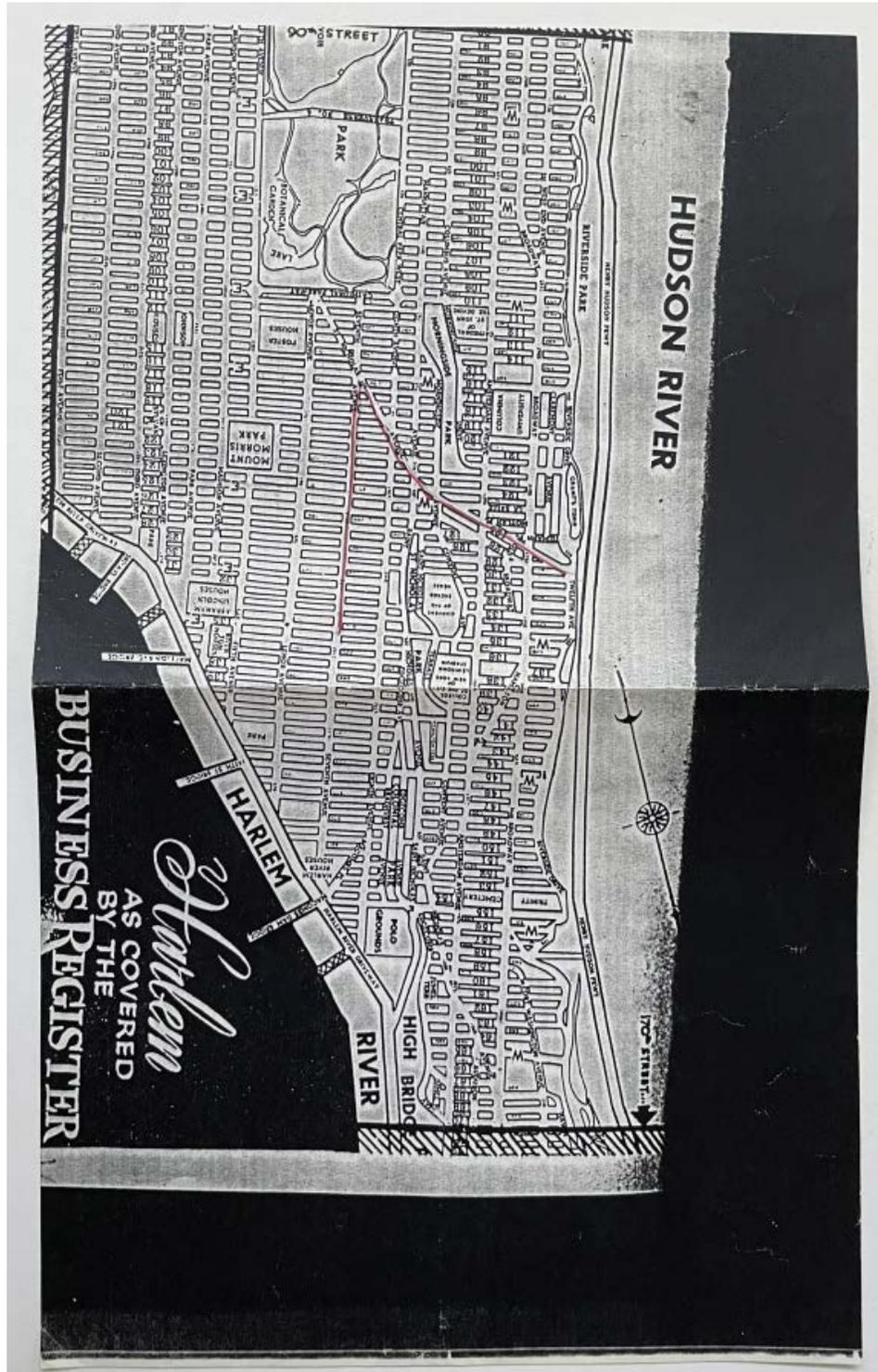
If You Please,” “The Vamp,” “The Jam,” and “The Wrap.” In a detail not explicit in the published novel, the note links individual characters with particular instruments. The novel itself, like the cafe it describes, is a space defined by jazz forms.



Pencil Sketch of Bailey’s Café, undated

Bailey’s Cafe, like Brewster Place, does not have a specific New York City address, but this sketch and other archival materials suggest how the city informed the novel’s setting. The annotations on the photocopied map and the sketch situate the cafe west of 12th avenue, between the island of Manhattan and the Hudson River. In her previous novel, *Mama Day*, Naylor describes this spot as the birthplace of a major character, and Bailey’s Cafe tells the story of that character’s birth to Mariam at the back of the restaurant. The map and the sketch, collected among Naylor’s research materials for Bailey’s Cafe, reveal the intricate

geographic detail informing the interconnected worlds described in her novels.



Photocopied Business Register Map of Harlem with Annotation, undated

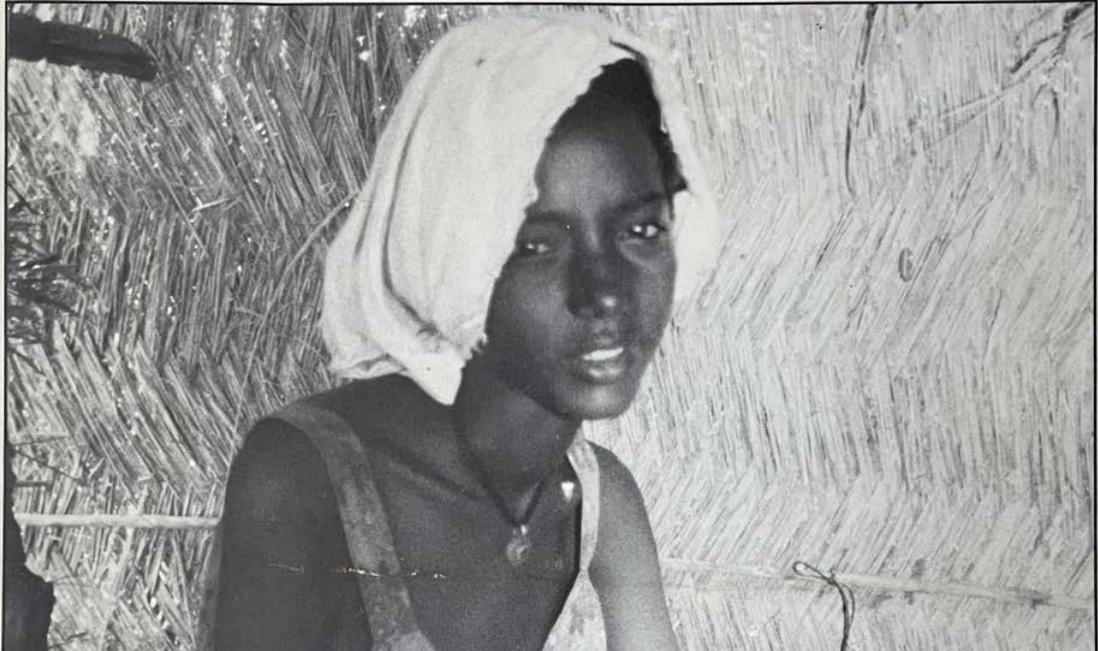


Baseball Card Deck, “Stars of the Negro League,” 1990. Text by Jack Morelli and art by Mark Chiarello

These baseball cards are part of the extensive research materials Naylor collected for Bailey’s Cafe. Bailey, the Cafe proprietor, describes Ebbets Field and the Negro League baseball teams that played there as central to his childhood in Flatbush, Brooklyn. Naylor deliberately reverses language from the baseball cards to celebrate Black players’ outstanding athletic achievements rather than describing them as secondary to iconic white players. For example, the card for Pop Lloyd describes him as the “Black Honus Wagner,” while Bailey says, “the highest compliment to pay the Flying Dutchman [Honus Wagner] is to call him the White Pop Lloyd.”

# The Falashas: The Jews of Ethiopia

The Minority Rights Group Report No. 67



Minority Rights Group Report, *The Falashas: The Jews of Ethiopia*, 1985

This pamphlet informs Naylor's representation of Mariam, a pregnant fourteen-year-old girl ostracized from the Ethiopian Jewish community, Beta Israel, where she was raised. (The term "Falasha," in use at the time of Naylor's research, is now considered derogatory.) Gabe, a Jewish refugee from the Caucasus Mountains who runs a pawn shop next to the Cafe, wants to find a place where Mariam can safely have her baby, but the Israeli government won't let her "into the country under the Law of Return." *Bailey's Cafe* reflects on the relationship between the ancient Ethiopian Jewish community, "outcasts in their own nation," and European Jews displaced by white supremacist, genocidal violence.

1

The following is an annotated list of books for recommended reading:

General Histories

The Oldest Profession: A History of Prostitution--Lujo Basserman

Fairly thorough coverage of the western world from ancient Greece to the 1960's, but highly opinionated and often snide at the expense of the women themselves.

Great Bordellos of the World--Emmett Murphy

Begins earlier than the Basserman text with slight references to biblical prostitution and the Sumerians; and is broader in its scope, covering the eastern and western world. But text primarily exists as a backdrop for the erotic illustrations--superficial information that's often tongue-in-cheek.

Prostitution: An Illustrated Social History--Vern and Bonnie Bullough

Highly recommended. A thoroughly researched and serious study that covers the western and eastern world and seeks the roots of prostitution in prehistoric times. First reference I have seen of prostitution in traditional African societies.

Child Prostitution

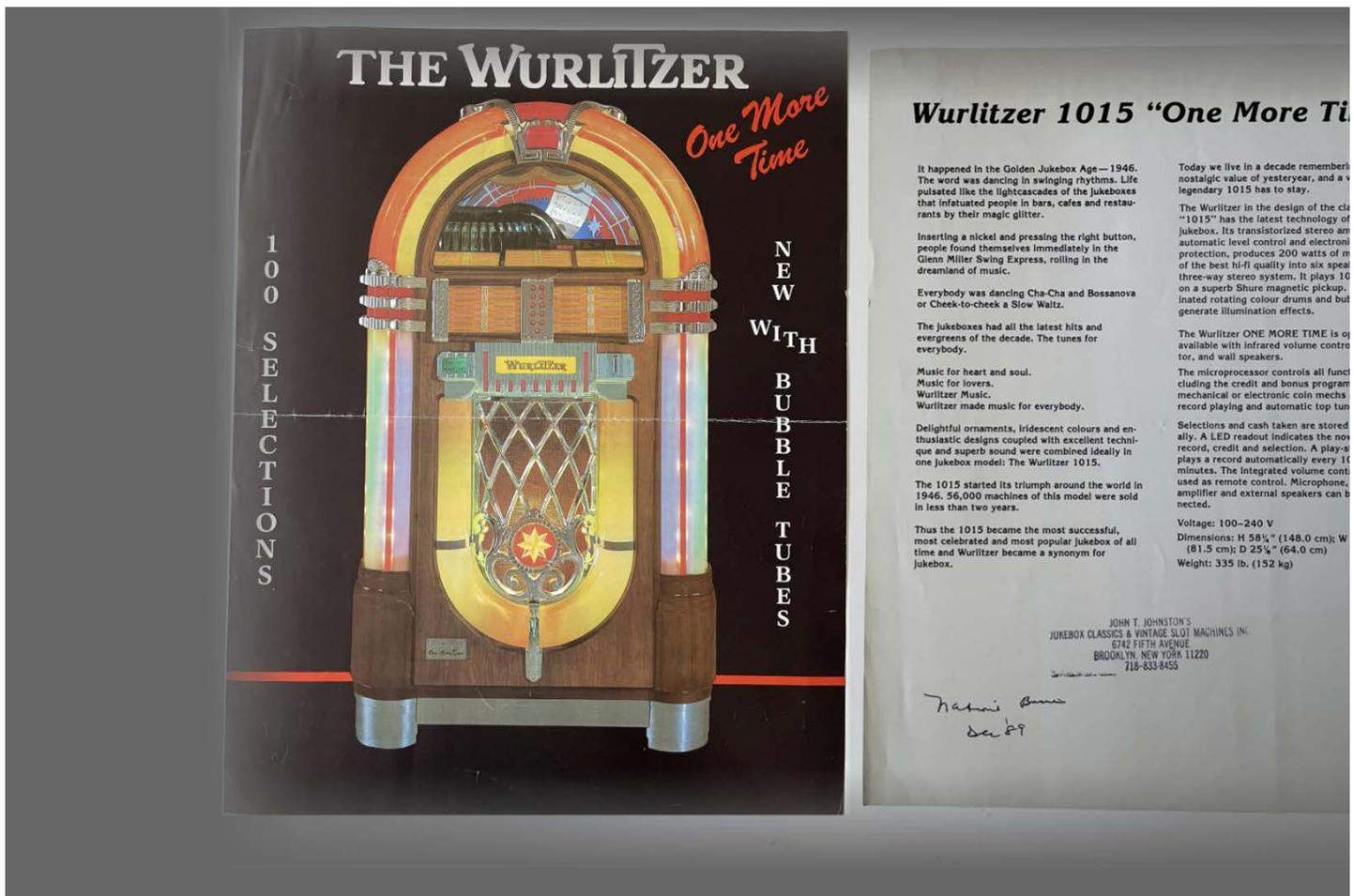
"Baby Pros" Preliminary Profiles--Dorothy Bracey

The Invisible Children--Gitta Sereny

"Adolescent Prostitution," Michael Baizerman, Children Today, Sept/Oct 1979

Bibliography on Sex Work, undated

Eve's boarding house, home to the women whose stories make up the majority of *Bailey's Cafe*, is another key place in the novel. Some characters condemn Eve's place as a brothel while others, including Eve herself, describe it as a boarding house for women who have nowhere else to go. This research bibliography outlines feminist analysis of sex work as an important intellectual context for the novel. In particular, the bibliography highlights works in which women are "given the chance to speak for themselves." In *Bailey's Cafe*, the women at Eve's (with the exception of Mariam) likewise tell their own stories. Eve's is a specifically Black feminist space, where Black women can heal from the injuries produced by sexist, racist, and classist institutions.



Wurlitzer Jukebox Advertisement (Front and Back), December 1989

This is one of several documents about jukeboxes among the Bailey's Cafe research materials. The stamp on the back suggests that Naylor might have gotten the advertisement at a vintage jukebox store, where she could have seen the Wurlitzer in action. According to the flier, this particular Wurlitzer jukebox is part of the "Golden Jukebox Age," when the aftermath of World War II fomented desire for "the dreamland of music." There is just such a jukebox in *Bailey's Cafe*, which is also set in the post-war period, and characters feed it nickels as its "blue-and-yellow lights" play across their faces. Just as the women at Eve's can get their favorite flowers and order any meal they like at the cafe on weekends, so too can they choose their preferred soundtracks.

Decca  
Savoy  
Atlantic } 78's  
10 + 12 inch

Local

[D 3  
R+B] Bobby's Records (opened 1946) Owner: Bobby Robinson  
125 St. bet. new corner } St. Hubert  
bet. Apollo + Frank's Place (entertainment - business  
concern)

1930's Radio

John Lee  
5th - a Play  
6 for 204

Luke Ellington at Cotton Club }  
Chuck Webb at the Savoy }  
Swing / big band }  
John  
Hubert  
bandleads

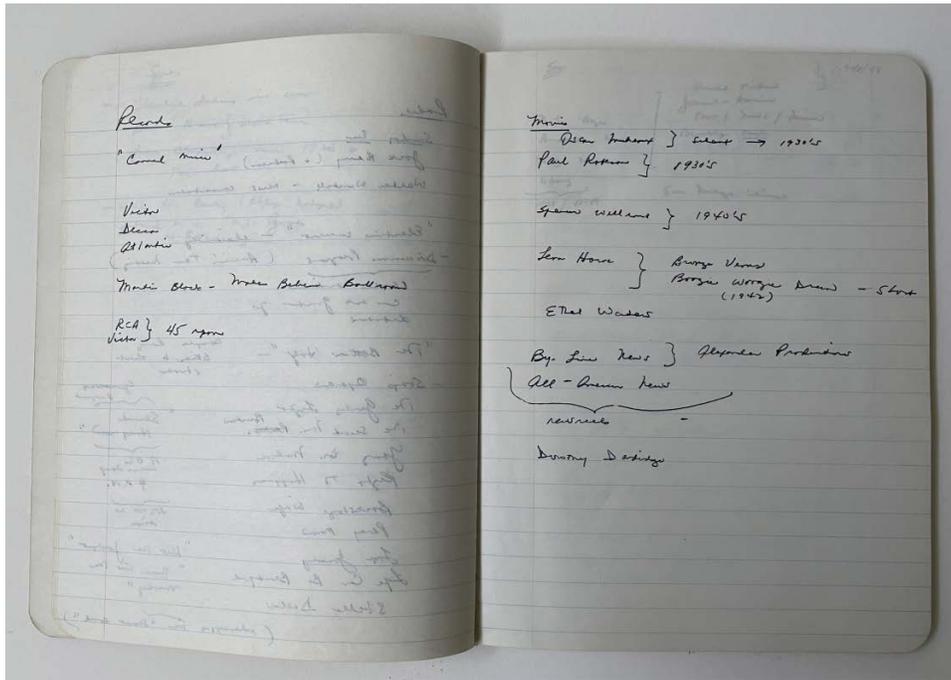
Earl Hines - Chicago's Good Terrace

Sponsors bought clubs of time for the forgotten  
black artists w/ products

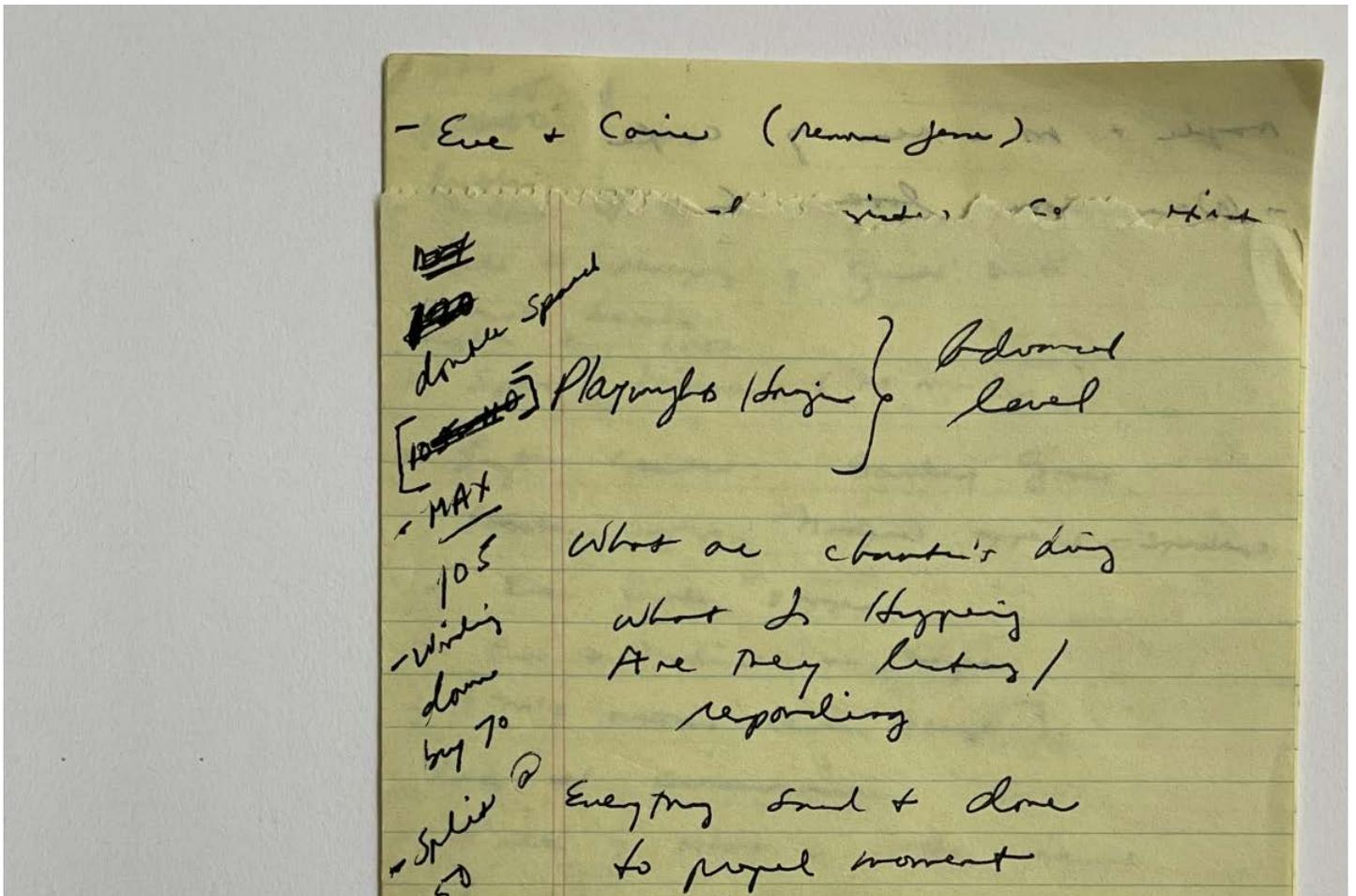
"King Biscuit Time" - early 40's  
Helen Helen, Miss (black doctor)

Handwritten Note, "Local," undated

These notes list details about film and music in the 1930s and 1940s. Similar handwritten lists appear among the archived research materials for most of Naylor's novels, an indication of her aesthetic commitment to historical and material specificity. The names of musicians, clubs, record stores, actors, directors, and bandleaders on this list reflect Black culture of the time. For example, "Bobby's Records" refers to the Harlem store on 125th St., just down the block from the legendary Apollo Theatre, founded by independent songwriter and producer Bobby Robinson upon his return from military service in 1946. Few of these names appear directly in *Bailey's Cafe*, but they undeniably inform the novel's setting and soundscape.

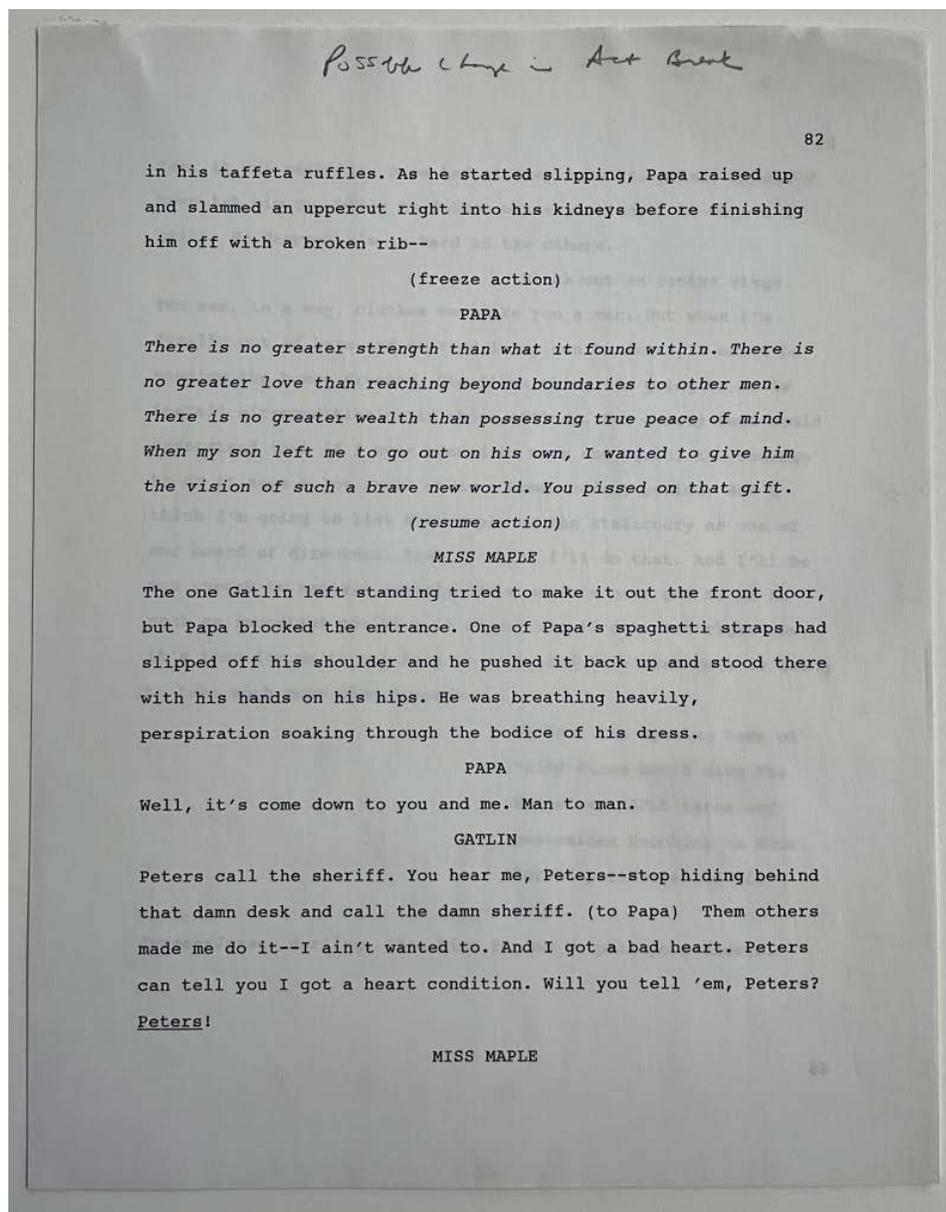


Composition Book with Handwritten Notes, "Records" and "Movies," undated



Handwritten Notes, undated (c. 1992-1993)

Naylor adapted *Bailey's Cafe* for the theater, and after a reading at the Kennedy Center, the Hartford Stage mounted a full production in 1994, directed by Novella Nelson (1939–2017). Naylor's undated notes consider the mechanics of adapting a novel for theatrical performance, including a sketch of stage geography. Some copies of the script in the archive document Naylor's collaborative work with Nelson, with handwritten questions about staging and possible script revisions. The script includes Naylor's vision for blocking the cafe and Eve's boarding house as well as her musical selections.



Draft Script with Annotation, *Bailey's Cafe*, undated (c. 1992–1993)

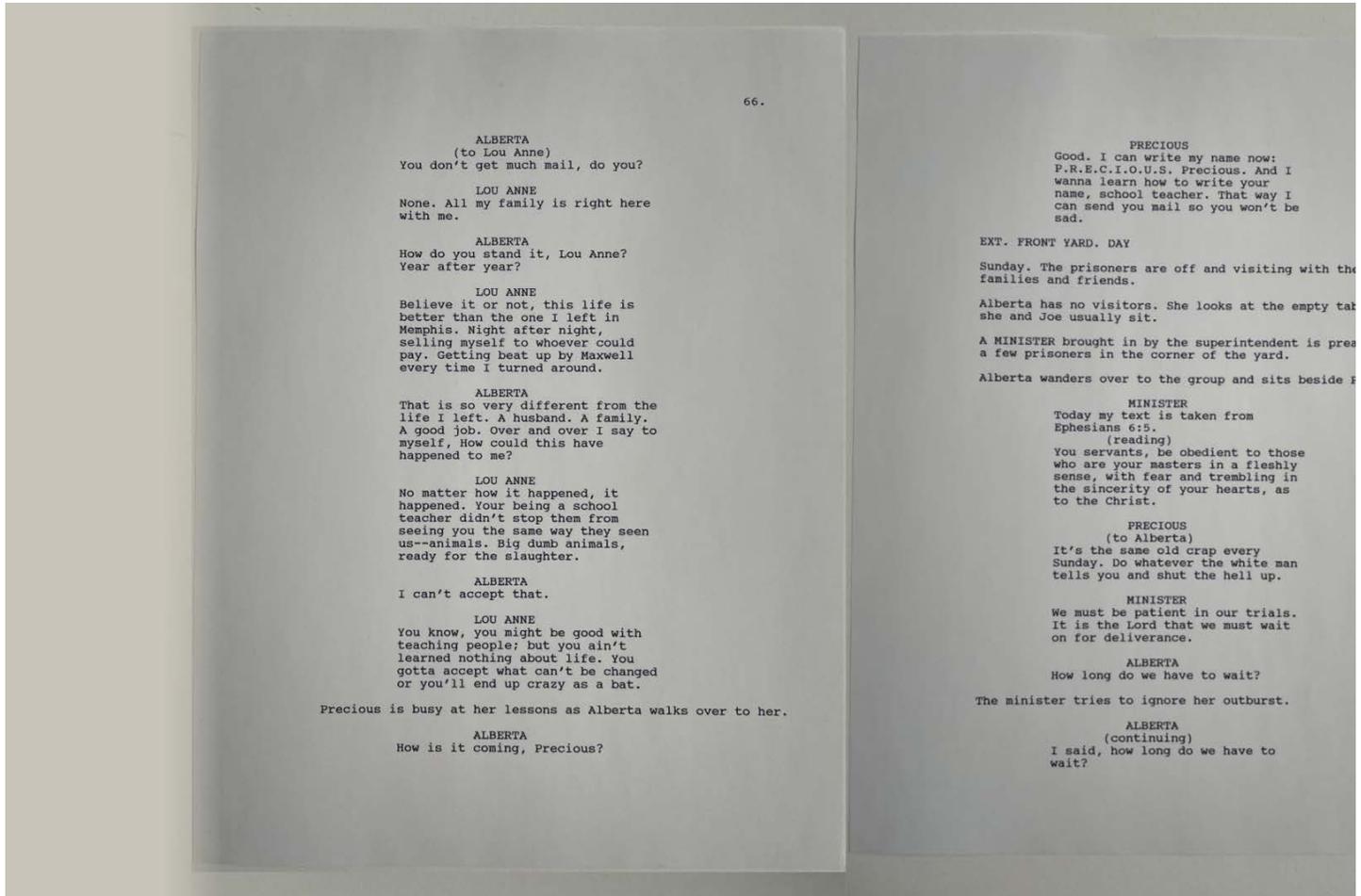


## Parchman

In addition to *Mama Day* and *M'Dear*, Naylor's archive includes other screenplays, including one focused on Parchman Farm, also known as Mississippi State Penitentiary. Opened in 1901, Parchman Farm, located among 20,000 acres of cotton fields, was one of two Mississippi prisons originally reserved for Black people in the state. There, prison supervisors forced incarcerated people to labor as unpaid agricultural, commercial, and domestic workers. As forced labor camps with predominantly Black populations, prison farms like Parchman functioned in much the same way as antebellum plantations and convict leasing systems. Naylor's screenplay, set in 1937, tells the story of three Black women imprisoned at Parchman, focusing on their life-affirming friendship. *Parchman* connects violent histories of enslavement in the United States to the rise of the prison industrial complex, with

a particular focus on Black women's resistance to carceral abuses through cross-class coalitions.

Although TNT (Turner Network Television) optioned the *Parchman* screenplay from Naylor's One Way Productions, they declined to produce it and paid a "kill fee" in 1998. Even though it was not produced, the screenplay is a major Black feminist contribution to criticism of the prison industrial complex.



Draft Screenplay, *Parchman*, undated (c. 1998)

*Parchman* focuses on the lives of three Black women – Alberta, a teacher wrongfully arrested for prostitution and recently arrived at the prison farm; Lou Anne, convicted of manslaughter in the death of her abuser nineteen years ago; and Precious, Lou Anne's eighteen-year-old daughter, who was born in the prison and is rumored to be the superintendent's daughter. Over Lou Anne's objections, Alberta teaches Precious how to read, a skill that she

will need “in the outside world.” In return, Precious and Lou Anne teach Alberta how to survive in the prison. At the end of the screenplay, the women work together to engineer Alberta’s and Precious’s escape so that the latter’s baby can be born outside the prison.

**Jailhouse Blues**

**Transcription**

Sam Linsky

June 11, 1998

Side A

1. Dangerous Blues (Mattie Mae Thomas)

(spoken) Mattie Mae Thomas.

*And what's the name of the song?*

Dangerous Blues.

(sung) You keep talkin' 'bout the dangerous blues.

If I had a pistol, I'd be dangerous too.

Yeah, you may be a bully but I don't know.

But I fix you so you won't gimme' no more trouble in the world I know.

She won't cook ma' breakfast, won't wash no clothes.

Yeah that woman don't do nothin' but wild faro.

My knee bone hurt me and my ankle swell.

Yes, I might get better, but I won't get well.

Yeah, Mattie had a baby and he got blue eyes.

Yeah, must be the captain he's a hangin' around.

Yeah, must be the captain keep a hangin' around.

Keep on hanging around.

2. Noah Built the Ark (Josephine Douglas & Group)

Josephine Douglas (JD): Two little doggies on the landin'.

Waitin' 'til the steamer come down.

Cotton bale's a rollin' mighty heavy.

Miles and miles around.

I thought I heard the steamer when she landed.

Transcription, “Jailhouse Blues,” June 11, 1998

This document, prepared by a research assistant at Naylor’s request, transcribes songs from “Jailhouse Blues,” an album released by Rosetta Records in 1987. The album is a collection of women’s a cappella songs recorded at Parchman penitentiary’s women’s camp between 1936 and 1939. This album clearly inspires Naylor’s screenplay, as Alberta’s story broadly recalls a recording by Eva White about her unjust arrest for solicitation. According to Cheri Wolfe’s liner notes for the album, these recordings bring to light the distinctive contributions of Black women to the Mississippi Delta blues tradition most often associated with male

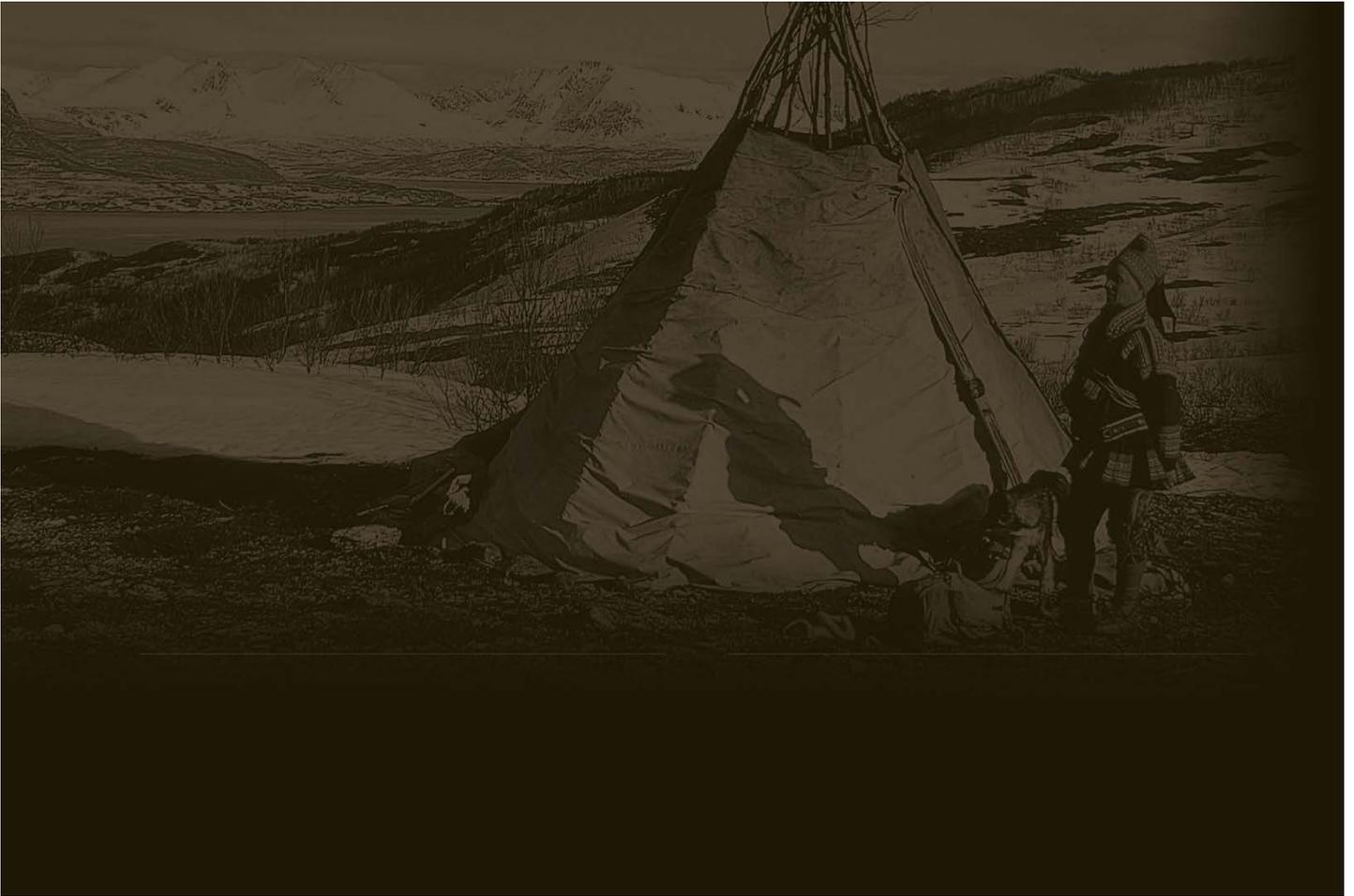
artists like Skip James, Muddy Waters, and B.B. King. The songs on “Jailhouse Blues” critique white supremacist structures that dehumanize Black women and express Black joy.



Photocopied photograph, Building at Parchman Farm, undated

This photocopied image pictures the superintendent’s mansion at Parchman, a setting that Naylor’s screenplay describes as “a large black and white Victorian cottage with a screened veranda and lush garden.” Naylor’s superintendent casts his penal project as a social good, saying “everything [the prisoners] eat, the clothes they wear, all of it, is taken care of right here. And even with the depression going on we turned a profit on our cotton last year and expecting to this year as well.” On the “Jailhouse Blues” album, “Ricketiest Superintendent” exposes the violence behind the superintendent’s words. Parchman Farm made exorbitant profits through the theft of incarcerated people’s labor, skills, and knowledge. Naylor’s screenplay shows how guards enforced

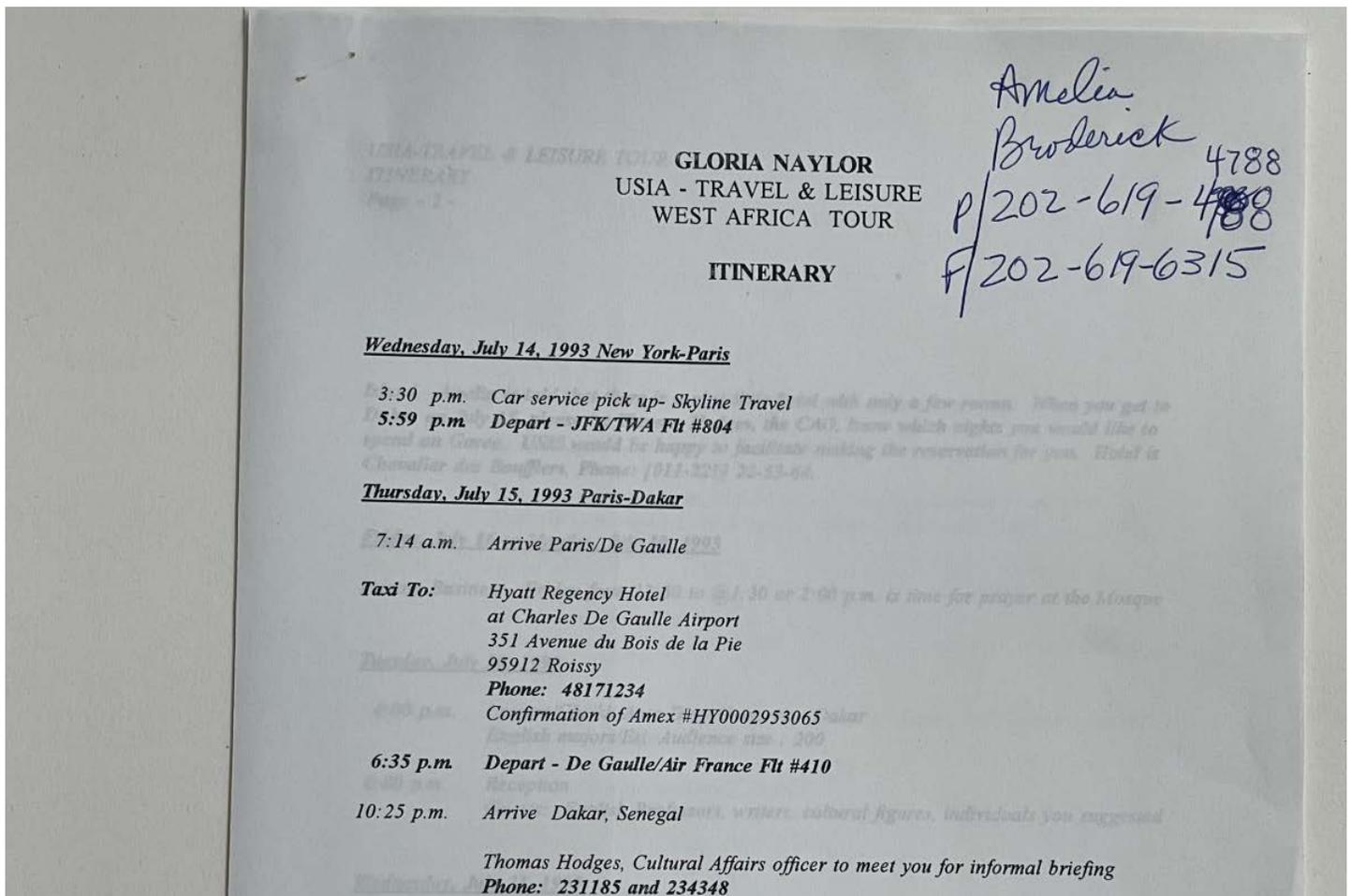
compliance with arduous regimes through beatings, sexual assault, and murder.



## W. Africa & N. Europe

Western Africa, Scandinavia, and Willow Springs were to be the settings for the novel that Naylor anticipated would be her seventh, titled *Sapphira Wade*. In a 2000 interview, she outlined the plot, stating that it would recount the origin story of Willow Springs, the events leading up to Sapphira's "mysterious means of obtaining land from Bascombe Wade" in 1823. As Naylor envisioned it, *Sapphira Wade* would have a global scope: "Well, in my new book what I'm going to do is follow Wade's journey from Norway and Sapphira's journey from Senegal. They meet in Savannah and they go off with a Native American group." Although Naylor never published *Sapphira Wade*, she did include an unfinished 35,000-word draft among her collected papers. The

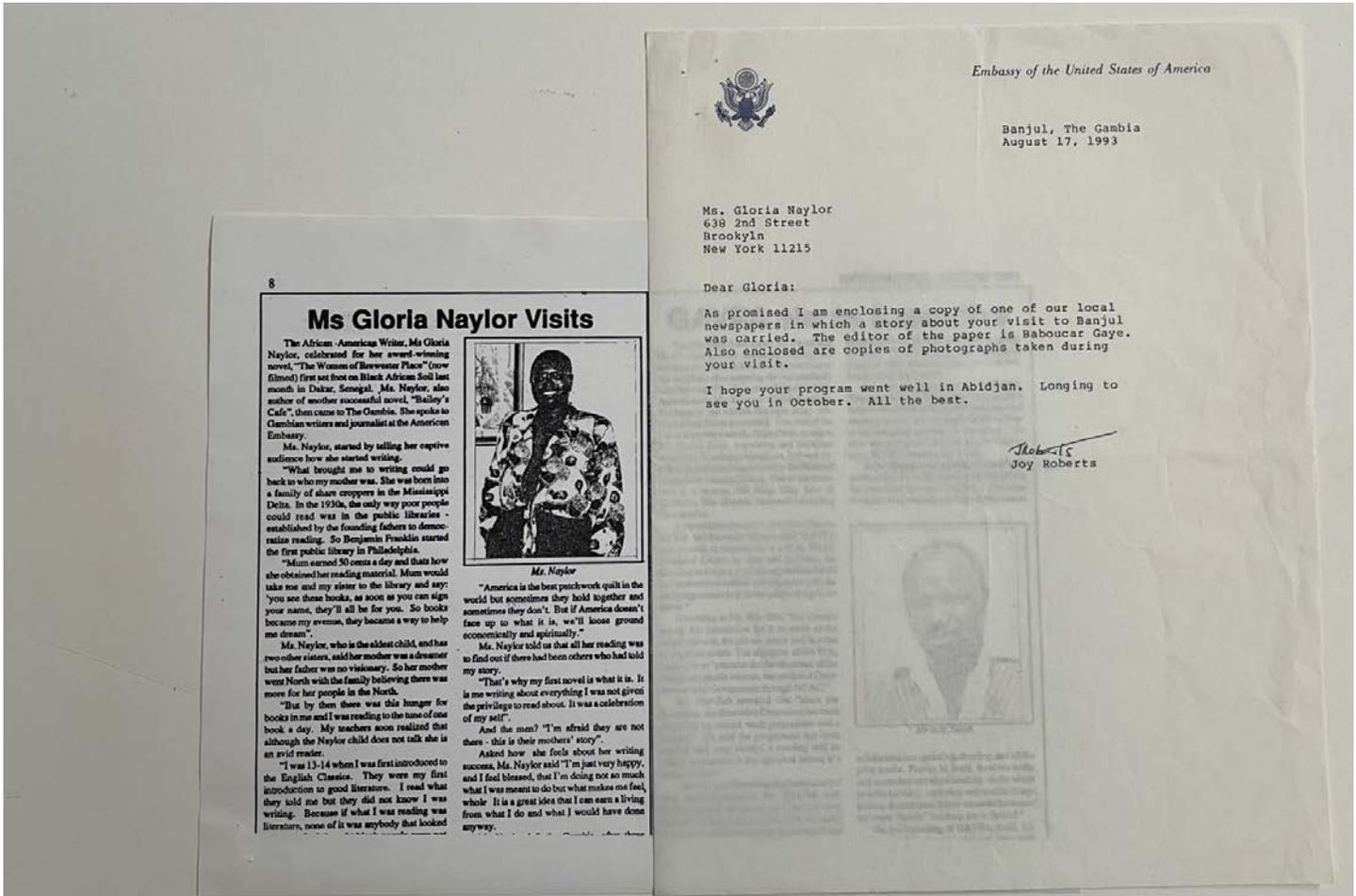
first section of that draft, written in June 2004, relates Cocoa's return to Willow Springs as an elderly woman in search of her ancestors' 200-year-old history. The second section, dated August 2006, begins with the birth of a child in a fishing village in North Norway in 1789. The draft's central themes resonate with those found in Naylor's earlier novels: migration, folk knowledge, and religious belief. At the same time, the unfinished *Sapphira Wade* develops new territory for Naylor, including detailed historical portrayals of colonialism, nationalism, and whiteness in the nineteenth century.



### USIA Travel Itinerary for West Africa, July 1993

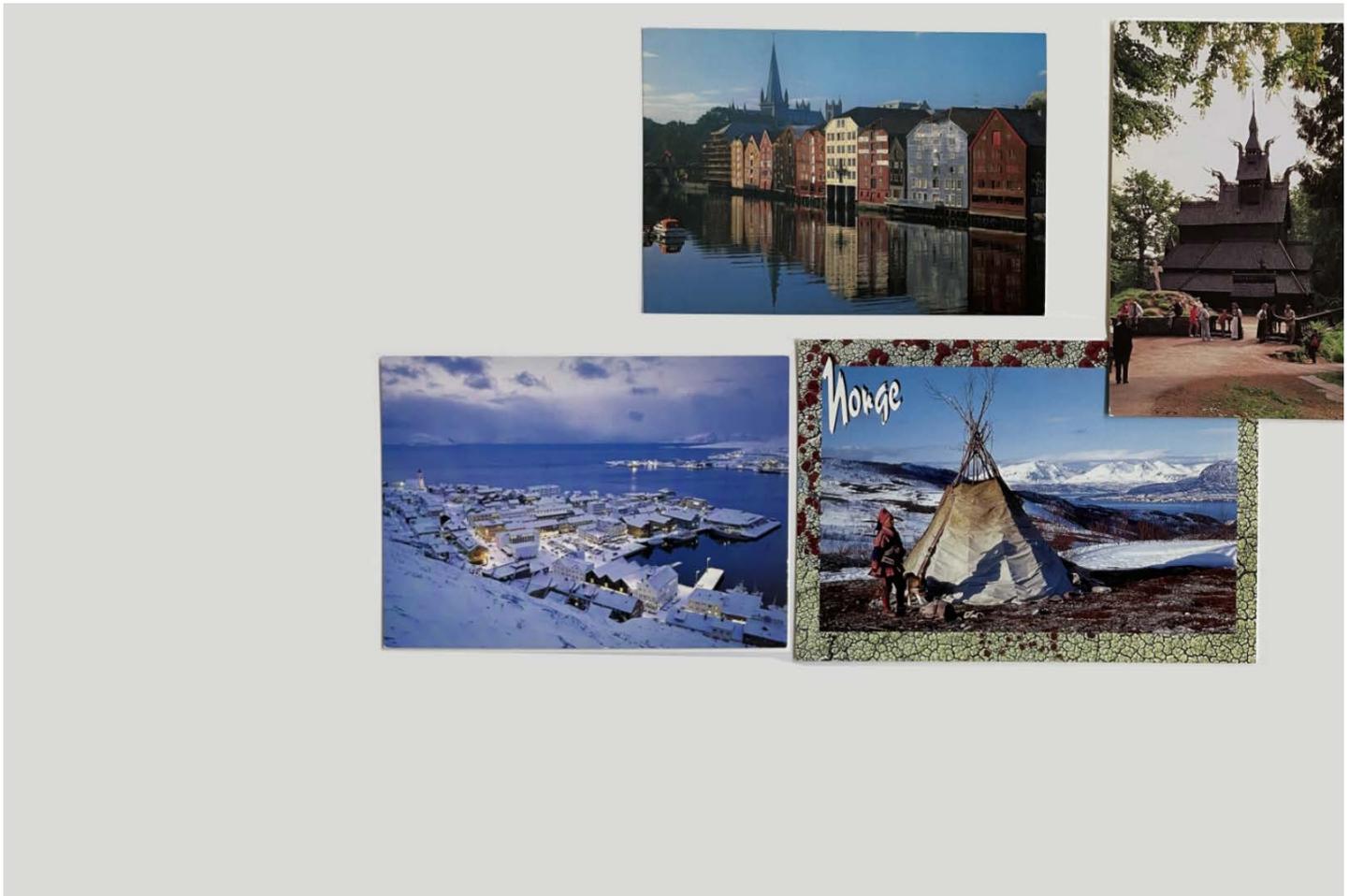
Just as she traveled to India in 1985, Gloria Naylor toured Senegal, The Gambia, and Côte d'Ivoire with USIA in 1993. She met with professors, writers (Séry Bailly, Tanella Boni, Boubacar Boris Diop, Monique Ilboudo), and cultural figures (griot Jaliba Kuyateh) at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, the U.S. Embassy in Banjul,

and an Ivorian Writers' Association event in Abidjan. Lecture and discussion topics included "literatures and national languages," and "comparative study of African and African-American writers." In a letter, Naylor indicated that part of her purpose for this trip was "research for my new novel, *Sapphira Wade*."



Newspaper clipping, "Ms. Gloria Naylor Visits" by Bakar Fatim, Newsmonth, August 1993

Newsmonth (1993–1998), an independent monthly newspaper in The Gambia, highlighted Naylor's visit as the first time the author "set foot on Black African Soil." The piece, written by Bakar Fatim and sent to Naylor with the compliments of editor Baboucar Gaye, frames Naylor's storytelling as part of an African tradition. Fatim writes that Naylor's next novel, to be titled *Sapphira Wade*, will "undoubtedly again be a celebration of the African American woman – another story of our mothers."



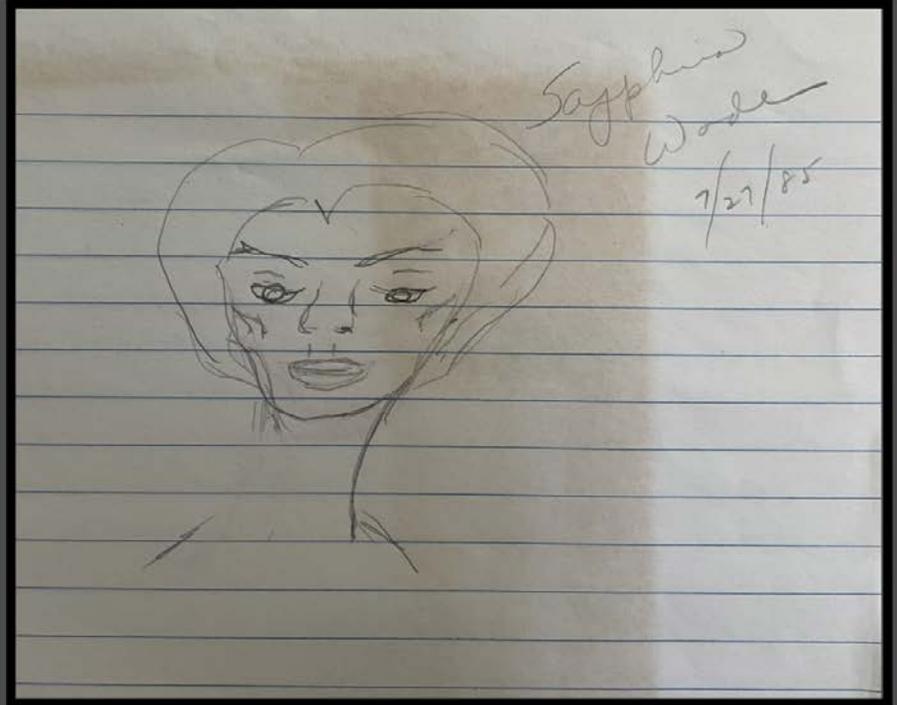
Postcards, undated (probably collected c. 1994)

In 1994, Naylor traveled to the United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway, another trip that was part of her research for *Sapphira Wade*. A small collection of unsent postcards, collected with other research on Scandinavia, furnishes images of places that feature prominently in the unfinished manuscript: the “northernmost town in the world,” Hammerfest, in Norway’s Finnmark region; waterfront homes in Trondheim; a stave church with Viking architecture; and a goahte, the traditional dwelling of the indigenous Sami. The partial *Sapphira Wade* manuscript explores the cultural, religious, and linguistic relationships among nomadic indigenous groups, settled rural communities, and cosmopolitan urban centers. This portrait of Bascombe’s early life explores how emergent nineteenth-century Norwegian nationalism at once obscures and exploits the layered histories of and varied cultures that shape the region.



Carved Wooden Masks, undated

Naylor's research materials for *Sapphira Wade* include several articles about masks from Senegal, which Naylor identified as a setting for Sapphira's story, and from southeast Africa. In particular, these articles describe masks as a legacy of the interaction between Islam and sub-Saharan art and culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The provenance of these masks, grouped in the archive with Naylor's awards, is unknown. Perhaps they were gifts that Naylor received on her visit to Western Africa or perhaps she purchased them herself as reference images, like the Norwegian postcards, for the novel she was researching.



Pencil Sketch, “Sapphira Wade,” July 27, 1985

Naylor planned to write *Sapphira Wade* from the early years of her literary career. In a journal entry from 1981, when she was working on *Linden Hills*, she laid out her plans: “After Willie and Lester will come Mom Day and somewhere after her Sapphira.” In a letter to friend and fellow writer Julia Alvarez, Naylor wrote, “I have lived with [Sapphira’s story] for a long time. The woman’s face first came to me when I was working the midnight shift on a hotel switchboard back in the late 70s. I drew it and put it away, knowing that she was my muse.” Her words suggest that this sketch from 1985 may have been one of many that Naylor drew over the years.

Saturday, Jan 1, 2000  
Cuverville Island, Antarctica

I am sitting on a Russian expedition ship  
practically alone. Most of the other 65 passengers  
have gone ashore. It is a beautiful clear  
day with pastel blue skies and the sun shining  
on snow covered mountains. These hills & mountains  
are spectacular but not as frightening as the  
ones I first saw at the Lofoten archipelago  
sailing along the western coast of Norway. Those  
rocks were dark & bare; here the snow seems  
to ameliorate the starkness of the planet. I feel  
it is just that, the planet. I am living a dream  
to spend the millennium at the end of the world.

Handwritten Journal Entry, January 1, 2000

Naylor wrote this journal entry at the “turn of the millennium,” while she was docked at Cuverville Island off the western coast of Antarctica. In it, she alludes to the traumatic experiences of racism that she would later describe in her “fictionalized memoir” 1996 (2005) and reflects on the healing she needed in order to write *Sapphira Wade*. She describes Cuverville Island as less “frightening” than the Lofoten archipelago in Norway, the setting of Bascombe Wade’s origin story, because at the edge of the earth she can see things differently: “here the snow seems to ameliorate the starkness of the planet. . . . At the end of the world other things in the world appear dwarfed.”

April 22, 2006

Dear Julia—

I read Saving The World and I think it's quite an achievement. It could have easily been two books; I was almost as drawn along by Alma's story as I was by Isabela's (perhaps because I knew it was based on your life) but I'm sure that the 19<sup>th</sup> century story was the more challenging. I read with two minds because I'm going to try and tackle an historical novel next: one mind let itself be drawn along with the narrative while the other one sought the intimate details used to set the time and place. And I realized that subtle hints are enough: a mantilla, a cloak, all suggest her costume; I "saw" the ship without a lot of technical terms for its components. I'm sure the temptation is to try and use all the research that was so hard to come by but you didn't fall into that trap. I learned a lot and found myself asking many questions (which you don't have to answer): Was there distance between her and the traveling and the researching or was it one continuum within a reasonable span of time from the research to the writing? How long did the research take her? How long did the actual writing take her? One story shadows another—were they written separately or did her mind bounce back and forth from one century to the next? How many drafts?

I was asking myself these questions because of what I've been grappling with as far as "Sapphira Wade" All the years, all the traveling, all the research. How do I tell this story? I don't want to be like Dorothea's husband in Middlemarch: decades of

Typed Letter, Gloria Naylor to Julia Alvarez, April 2006

This letter is one of many intimate exchanges between Naylor and Julia Alvarez (b. 1950), in which the two writers share details about their personal lives and literary endeavors. In this document, Naylor divulges that she has begun to make progress on *Sapphira Wade*, with "a lot of digging, a lot of concentration in the sifting, selecting, [and] polishing." She writes that her breakthrough on this long-awaited novel "has begun, believe it or not, with poetry." She ends her message to her friend by writing, "for now, I'm living one of the lines of my poem: A woman must tell stories / to save her life."

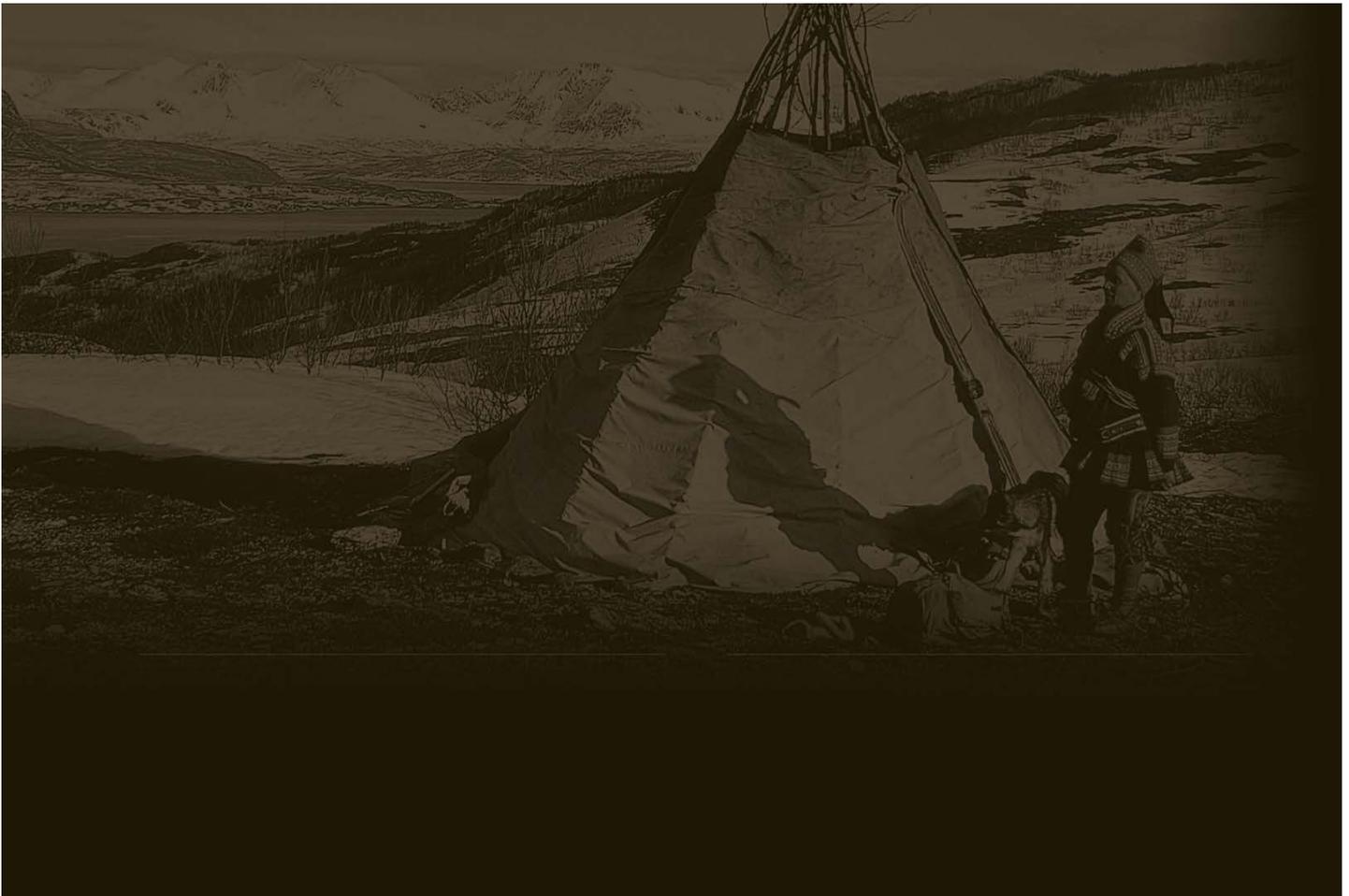
8/06

North Norway, 1789

There was no sand when I was born. Dec 22nd.  
The darkest day of the year. Snow quietly piled  
up in deep drifts outside our wooden cottages  
and inside Smoky tallow lamps left dark  
smudges on the walls and ceiling. My mother,  
her forehead clanking w/ sweat, swallowed her internal  
pain in deep breaths as she pushed me silently  
into the cold air of that drifty room. She gazed  
bitch like a Finn, the midwife murmured  
through her fevered tobacco-stained teeth. There were  
strange women and this was a strange one too.  
Tom placed his arthritic hands on each side  
of my mother's stomach to check for contractions  
and massage. With the quiet ones (such a quiet one) there was  
no way to tell how far (she was) they were along. The  
clinics

Handwritten Manuscript, "Opening Chapter of Sapphira Wade,"  
June 2004–August 2006

Although unfinished, this 131-page draft focused on Bascombe Wade's origin story is carefully crafted and edited with reference to Naylor's extensive research notes and fragmentary early drafts of key scenes. However, Naylor may not have planned to continue her work on the novel because she donated the original handwritten draft as well as the research materials about the nineteenth-century western Sahel that were to provide historical context for Sapphira's early life in the novel's second section. Nonetheless, her inclusion of the partial draft among her collected papers suggests an invitation to read the unfinished work. Both the draft story of Bascombe Wade's upbringing and the research she did for Sapphira's story reveal the broad geographic purview of her literary vision and provide new contexts for thinking about her published novels.



Gloria Naylor's collected papers are a map, at times fragmentary and at times detailed, to the interconnected worlds of her creative works and to the global network of audiences, writers, and aesthetic traditions with which she was engaged. Gloria Naylor's vision, both in her archive and in her literary works, honors creative place-making by Black communities that preserves marginalized histories, provides mutual care, and builds hospitable refuges from white supremacist, misogynist, classist, and homophobic institutions. In this work, she reminds us that mass incarceration and police violence, migration and gentrification, homophobic violence, the enduring legacies of enslavement and colonization, capitalism and globalization have shaped the ground on which we stand. At the same time, she reveals places that might still be otherwise through Black joy, cultural traditions, and resistance to oppressive structures that can build liberatory communities and different futures.

# Credits

The Gloria Naylor Archive <https://wordpress.lehigh.edu/naylorarchive/>

**Curated by** Suzanne M. Edwards, Mark Wonsidler, & Mary Foltz

**Research assistance provided by** Alishya Almeida, MA '20; Victoria Davis, MA '20;  
Robin Lee, MA '20; and Sarita Mizin, PhD '20

**Digital version of the exhibition by** Rob Weidman