Half in Shadow
Benjamin, Shanna Greene

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Notes

Abbreviations

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRBML</td>
<td>Beinecke Rare Book Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRBML</td>
<td>David M. Rubenstein Rare Book &amp; Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MACNY</td>
<td>Municipal Archives of the City of New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOP MIT</td>
<td>Office of the Provost, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCA</td>
<td>Spelman College Archives, Spelman College, Atlanta, GA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QCDSCA</td>
<td>Queens College Department of Special Collections and Archives, Queens College, Queens, NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWARM</td>
<td>University of Wisconsin Archives and Records Management, Madison, WI</td>
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Prologue

5. Watson, letter to Benjamin, 9 November 2009.
6. Nell Irvin Painter, email to Patricia Watson, Susan Stanford Friedman, Thadious M. Davis, and Stanlie M. James, 7 November 2009, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
7. Susan Stanford Friedman, email to Patricia Watson, Nell Irvin Painter, Thadious M. Davis, and Stanlie M. James, 7 November 2009, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
8. Thadious M. Davis, email to Patricia Watson, Nell Irvin Painter, Susan Stanford Friedman, and Stanlie M. James, 8 November 2009, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
10. See Benjamin, “Black Women and the Biographical Method.”
Introduction

2. Behind closed doors, all the Black women I knew wondered whether this spate of cancer-related deaths was a symptom of something more sinister and pervasive. Specifically, was “death . . . becoming an occupational hazard of black female intellectual life”? See Priest, “Salvation Is the Issue,” 116–117.
5. Richard Ralston, in conversation with Shanna G. Benjamin, 1 April 2006.
7. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
8. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
15. Watson, untitled reflection, 52.
16. Watson, 52.
17. McKay understood that “[black literature] was very present in black schools in the South, especially the colleges and universities.” She made clear that “before I came to it, those teachers and scholars in black colleges and universities were tirelessly working to preserve it. We seldom give them sufficient thanks for what they did.” Nellie Y. McKay, “The Norton Anthology of African American Literature: The Promise and the Triumph” (unpublished paper, 14 June 1997), in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
23. Bay et al., Toward an Intellectual History, 4.
24. Evans, Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 36.
25. Waters and Conaway, Black Women’s Intellectual Traditions, 2.
27. Savage, “Professor Merze Tate,” 261.
30. “Editorial and Publisher’s Announcements,” 191.
33. Rampersad, 195, 196.
34. White, “Mining the Forgotten,” 238.

Notes to Introduction
36. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 6 July 1980, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
38. Green, “Annotation Tuesday!”
42. Brooks, 3.
43. Brooks, 3.

Scene One
4. Alexander, x.

Chapter One
1. “Marcus Garvey Park.”
2. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
3. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
4. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
5. McKay had one biological sister. However, since she introduced her daughter as her sister, McKay consistently used “sisters,” plural, when talking about her sibling(s).
12. Birth certificate for Nellie Yvonne Reynolds, 19 May 1930, File No. 15176, Genealogy, MACNY, certified copy in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin. In addition to identifying the countries of birth for her parents, it also identifies their occupations.
14. “Babies Hospital Historical Collection.”
17. Birth certificate for Nellie Yvonne Reynolds.
19. See Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns*, for a masterful study of the great migration as both cultural phenomenon and personal experience.

Notes to Chapter One  207
26. Scott interview.
27. Scott interview.
28. Death certificate for Mrs. Nellie Reynolds; location of the grave was received from the office of East Ridgelawn Cemetery, 255 Main Avenue, Clifton, NJ 07014.
29. Even though I was unable to secure a marriage license for Joseph and Nellie Yvonne McKay (née Reynolds), an educated guess led me to a Joseph McKay born in 1931 in Saint Elizabeth, Jamaica. He died on 16 May 1979. In the record, Black River, Jamaica, is listed as a “Death Place”; on her Harvard application, McKay listed Black River High School as the place she received her secondary education. While it is impossible to know for sure, this is the only man in the database with that particular name who shared this specific locale with Nellie Yvonne. This, we know, for certain: when Nellie Yvonne left the states, she was a “Reynolds”; when she returned, she was a “McKay.” Joseph McKay entry, Jamaica, Civil Registration Birth, Marriage, and Death Records, 1878–1930, accessed 25 October 2020, Ancestry.com.
31. Patricia M. Watson interview.
32. Scott interview.
33. Scott interview.
35. Patricia M. Watson interview.
37. “Bennett Brothers: History.”
38. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
40. Patricia M. Watson interview.
41. Patricia M. Watson interview.
42. Patricia M. Watson interview.
43. Patricia M. Watson interview.
44. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
45. Plows interview.
46. Plows interview.
47. Plows interview.
52. McKay remained grateful to her Hollis Presbyterian family, and in a program printed to commemorate the church’s eighty-fifth anniversary, she is recognized under the subheading “A Cultural History of the Hollis Community.” After a brief list of her accomplishments, the program cites her inscription in a copy of The Norton Anthology of African American Literature donated to the church library: “With my sincere thanks to a community that planted seeds that grew who and what I have become and to young ones whose accomplishments will far exceed my own. All good wishes.” See Hollis Presbyterian Church, “A History of the Church and the Community, 1922-2007” (unpublished 85th anniversary program), in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.

82. “John J. McDermott: Distinguished Professor.”
83. “Alumnus Funds Million-Dollar Scholarship.”
84. Nellie Y. McKay Queens College transcript, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
85. McDermott interview.
86. McDermott interview.
87. McDermott interview.
88. Gumbs, “Nobody Mean More,” 244.
89. “Negro Chosen Head of SEEK Program.”
90. McDermott interview.
91. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
92. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
93. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
94. Alexis De Veaux, email to Shanna G. Benjamin, 4 January 2012, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
95. Nellie Y. McKay Queens College transcript, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
96. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
98. Rich, 56.
100. Savonick, v.
101. Freire defined the “banking” concept of education as the belief that “the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits.” Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 72.
103. Christian, “Being the Subject and the Object,” 120.
104. “SEEK Program: An Educational Opportunity.”
107. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, “Why I Teach This Course” statement enclosed, 31 August 1982, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML. In a handwritten note to Painter, McKay explains how this statement was “handed out with the syllabus of another course in which I am teaching all black women writers this fall.”
110. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
111. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
112. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
113. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
114. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
115. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
117. “Statement.”
118. “Statement.”
119. “Statement.”
120. Patricia M. Watson interview.
121. Harry McKay interview.
122. Harry McKay interview.
123. Harry McKay interview.
124. Harry McKay interview.
125. Harry McKay interview.
126. Scott interview.
127. Harry McKay interview.
128. Plows interview.
129. Plows interview.
131. Patricia M. Watson interview.
132. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
133. Patricia M. Watson interview.
134. Patricia M. Watson interview.
135. Patricia M. Watson interview.
136. Patricia M. Watson interview.
137. Patricia M. Watson interview.
138. Patricia M. Watson interview.
139. Scott interview.
140. Scott interview.
141. Scott interview.
142. “Preston N. Williams.”
143. Williams and Williams interview.
144. De los Reyes, “University Hall.”
146. Serkin, “The Strike, the Bust, the Memory.”
150. Southern, 500.
151. Southern, 500.
152. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
153. Rampersad interview.
154. Rampersad interview.
155. Rampersad interview.
158. “The Irvin Family.”
159. “The Irvin Family.”
160. “Frank E. Irvin.”
162. Benjamin, 1678.
163. Benjamin, 1678.
164. Wall interview.
165. Wall interview.
166. Wall interview.
167. Wall interview.
168. Wall interview.
169. Kiely, email to Benjamin, 5 June 2014.
170. Williams and Williams interview.
172. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
173. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
174. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
175. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
176. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
177. “University Designation.”
178. Jacobs, Incidents, 156.
179. “Our Mission & History.”
181. Since 1974, Simmons College’s Our Little Black Book, published by the Black Student Organization (BSO), has captured “photographs of and creative work by black students at Simmons.”
182. Harris, Black Feminist Politics, 4.
183. Harris, 4.
184. Harris, 4.
185. Taylor, How We Get Free, 4.
187. Taylor, How We Get Free, 4
188. Taylor, 4.
189. Smith, foreword, 3.
190. Smith, 3.
194. Washington, xi.
195. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
196. Washington, foreword, xi.
198. Benjamin, 1680.
199. Nellie Y. McKay interview.

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200. Benjamin, 1680.
201. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
203. Washington, foreword, xii.
204. Nellie Y. McKay interview.

206. Langer interview.
207. Langer interview.
208. Bromberg interview.
209. Bromberg interview.
210. Bromberg interview.

211. Marilyn French’s feminist novel The Women's Room (1977) captures the climate Bromburg describes. French earned her PhD in English from Harvard; among other things, her novel fictionalizes how gender impacts the educational trajectories and professional aspirations of (white) women.

213. Sypher.
216. Patricia M. Watson interview.
217. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
218. Nellie Y. McKay interview.

Scene Two


Chapter Two

1. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 4 April 1982, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
7. McKay, Jean Toomer, Artist, ix.

Notes to Chapter Two 213
16. “Chronicle Data: Submitted Adjunct Salaries per Course.”
20. “Richard Ralston Collects Culture through Stamps.”
25. Unable to consult the Du Bois Institute’s archived administrative records (1973–1989, inclusive) due to COVID-19 (and current staff have no record of McKay being in residence at the Institute prior to the 1990s), I deduced that McKay was in residence at the Institute from 1977 to 1978 based on her use of Institute letterhead in her correspondences with Richard Ralston, Nell Irvin Painter, and Joyce Scott during this time.
27. “Preston N. Williams.”
28. Williams and Williams interview.
29. Williams and Williams interview.
30. Williams and Williams interview.
31. Williams and Williams interview.
32. Williams and Williams interview.
33. Williams and Williams interview.
34. Wisconsin’s Board of Regents approved the establishment of the Department of Afro-American Studies during a time when students demanded cultural relevancy in their college education, a move inspired by the establishment of San Francisco State University’s Black Studies Program in 1968, which mirrored Kent State University’s Institute for African American Affairs (1969) and African American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley (1970).
36. Tesfagiorgis interview.
42. Rogers, 1.
44. Brooks, “H. Edwin Young.”
45. Brooks.
48. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
51. Werner interview.
56. Rambsy, 126.
57. Rambsy, 139.
59. Mogaka interview.
60. Edris A. Makward, Charles E. Anderson, Fred M. Hayward, and Nellie Y. McKay, “Memorial Resolution of the Faculty of the University of Wisconsin on the Death of Assistant Professor Sarah Webster Fabio,” University of Wisconsin–Madison, 3 March 1980, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
64. Painter, 9.
65. Painter, 10.
66. Painter, 10.
68. Rambsy, 9.
70. Graham, 91.
Notes to Chapter Two

74. McKay, Jean Toomer, Artist, 255–258.
75. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, Malcolm L. Call letter to Nellie Y. McKay (18 January 1978); and “Jean Toomer, The Artist: A Portrait in Tragedy” reader’s report enclosed, 24 January 1978, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
76. Readers’ reports are procured by university presses, which ask experts to evaluate the merits of a manuscript and to recommend publication or not.
77. Nell Irvin Painter, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 31 January 1978, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
82. Tenure grants faculty permanent employment that can be rescinded only “for cause or under extraordinary circumstances,” and it is earned after faculty complete a series of reviews during a six-year probationary period (“Tenure,” American Association of University Professors, https://www(aaup.org/issues/tenure).
86. McKay, letter to Scott, 29 August 1980.
87. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 19 August 1980, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
88. Walkington, “How Far Have We Really Come?,” 58.
89. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 6 September 1983, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
90. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Gerda Lerner, 23 February 1988, Box 31, Papers of Gerda Lerner, SL.
91. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Gerda Lerner, 13 September 1991, Box 31, Papers of Gerda Lerner, SL.
93. Spillers interview.
94. Guy-Sheftall interview.
95. Moody interview.
96. Guy–Sheftall interview.
102. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 14 June 1980, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
104. Nellie Y. McKay, Bascom Chair Curriculum Vitae, 2003, Box 8, Folder 21, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
105. Fontenot interview.
106. Fontenot interview.
107. Fontenot interview.
108. Yarborough interview.
109. Yarborough interview.
110. When COVID-19 travel restrictions prevented me from personally accessing MLA archives, Elizabeth Israel, the Coordinator of Forums with the MLA, confirmed the creation of the discussion group on Black American Literature and Culture in 1977. “In 1983,” she wrote, “the group petitioned to become a division and held its first division sessions at the 1984 convention.” Elizabeth Israel, email to Shanna G. Benjamin, 1 June 2020, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
111. Yarborough interview.
112. Weixlmann interview.
114. Harris interview.
115. Harris interview.
116. Harris interview.
118. Barber, 24.
120. While Hull does not list a last name, she is most likely referring to Margaret “Margo” Culley, University of Massachusetts at Amherst professor emerita.
121. Akasha Gloria Hull, memorandum to CSW Members and Cheryl, 25 May 1979, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM. This citation regarding the Modern Language Association’s (MLA’s) Commission on the Status of Women in the Profession mentions “Cheryl” as a recipient but lists no last name in the document itself.
123. Hull.
124. Hull.
125. Hull.
126. Hull.
129. Hull.
130. Hull.
131. Erlene Stetson, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, n.d., Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
132. While Stetson’s letter to McKay was undated, McKay’s response to Stetson was dated 5 February 1980. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Erlene Stetson, 5 February 1980, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
133. Helene Moglen, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 14 April 1980, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
134. Shirley Nelson Garner, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 26 November 1980, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
137. Barber, 24.
138. “Delegate Assembly.”
139. Joel Conarroe, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 12 December 1978, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
140. Joel Conarroe, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 8 December 1980, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
142. James, Foster, and Guy-Sheftall, introduction, xv.
143. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Frances Smith Foster, 2 April 1980, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM; Valerie Smith, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 13 March 1980, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
144. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Frances Smith Foster, 8 May 1980, Box 10, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UW-Madison; Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Valerie Smith, 8 May 1980, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
145. McKay, letter to Foster, 8 May 1980; McKay, letter to Smith, 8 May 1980.
146. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Ann Hull, 15 May 1980, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
147. McKay, letter to Foster, 2 April 1980.
150. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 31 March 1982, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
152. Moraga, 727.
153. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 23 July 1980, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
155. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 14 October 1981, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
156. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 31 January 1982, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
157. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 9 March 1982, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
158. McKay, letter to Painter, 4 April 1982.
159. McKay, letter to Painter, 4 April 1982.
160. “Contemporary Literature.”
161. See Gray, “An Interview with Nadine Gordimer.”
162. McKay, letter to Painter, 4 April 1982.
163. Toni Morrison, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 23 April 1982, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML. A copy of Morrison’s letter to McKay was likely enclosed in one of her letters to Painter between 23 April and 28 May 1982—the day McKay mentioned that she finally “found time today to write a note to Toni Morrison asking her if she’d set a date . . . for her interview.” Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 28 May 1982, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.


166. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, article “Conversations With Black Women Writers: An Introduction to Their Works” enclosed, 23 December 1982, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.


172. McKay and Foster, introduction, x.


174. McKay, 106.

175. McKay, 105.

176. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 18 August 1983, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.

177. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 26 August 1983, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.


180. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 18 September 1983, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.

181. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 8 September 1983, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.

182. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 20 October 1983, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.

183. “Tom W. Shick Memorial Scholarship Fund” [inaugural packet], Box 10, Folder 4, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.


185. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 27 November 1978, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
188. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 19 December 1982, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
189. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 29 January 1983, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
190. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 24 April 1983, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
191. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 13 February 1984, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML. There are two letters dated 13 February 1984; the letter cited begins “It was good to talk with you yesterday.”
192. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 22 January 1985, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
193. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 6 June 1984, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
194. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 20 August 1985, Box 84, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML. There are two letters dated 20 August 1985; the letter cited begins “This is just a note.”
196. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 16 November 1986, Box 84, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
199. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 4 March 1987, Box 85, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
200. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 11 March 1987, Box 85, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
203. “Kappa Alpha Psi Tom W. Shick Award 2011.”
204. Werner interview.
205. Werner interview.
206. Werner interview.

Scene Three

1. Benjamin, “There’s Something about Mary,” 121.
2. Ellison, “Out of the Hospital and under the Bar,” 244.
Chapter Three

1. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
2. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
3. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
4. Wofford interview.
5. Brandt interview.
6. Wofford interview.
7. “About the Park.”
8. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 4 April 1982, Box 83, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
10. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
20. Spillers et al., “‘Whatcha Gonna Do?,’” 300.
22. See Spillers, “‘Whatcha Gonna Do?,’” for a discussion of the “forces of opposition” that “enforce forgetfulness,” 301.
26. Morrison, review of *To Be a Black Woman*.
28. Traylor, “Re Calling the Black Woman,” x.
30. Bethel and Smith, introduction, 11.
31. Morrison, review of *To Be a Black Woman*.
32. “Susan Stanford Friedman.”
33. Nellie Y. McKay interview.
34. “Bascom Chair Materials,” Box 8, Folder 21, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
35. Andrews interview.
38. UW-Madison Afro-American Studies Department, grant proposal to the Ford Foundation, PA# 08900639.
39. Hubbard, preface, xi.
40. James interview.
41. UW-Madison Afro-American Studies Department, grant proposal to the Ford Foundation, PA# 09501520.
42. UW-Madison Afro-American Studies Department, grant proposal to the Ford Foundation, PA# 09901709.
44. Rooks, 1.
45. Rooks, 23.
49. Graham, 63.
50. Graham, 64, 65.
56. “NABAL Talks at Cornell—Rough Notes.”
57. “NABAL Talks at Cornell—Rough Notes.”
58. “NABAL Talks at Cornell—Rough Notes.”
59. Mary Helen Washington was a faculty member at the University of Massachusetts from 1980 to 1989.
62. duCille, 595.
63. Washington interview.
64. Washington interview.
65. Washington interview.
70. “NABAL Talks at Cornell—Rough Notes.”
71. “NABAL Talks at Cornell—Rough Notes.”

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73. “NABAL Talks at Cornell—Rough Notes.”
74. “NABAL Talks at Cornell—Rough Notes.”
75. McKay, “The Making.”
77. “NABAL Talks at Cornell—Rough Notes.”
81. Keneth Kinnamon's outstanding retrospective of the period leading to the NAAAL evaluates anthologies dating back to *Les Cenelles* based on organization, text selection, and the strength of contextualizing information (i.e., period introductions, headnotes, and bibliographical information). Importantly, he differentiates between anthologies based on their overall function and purpose. Some anthologies “provide a comprehensive overview of the entire tradition,” while others are meant “to capture or even define a particular moment in all its freshness and enthusiasm” or even “codif[y] distinct stages of African-American literary history.” See Kinnamon, “Anthologies of African-American Literature,” 465–466.
82. Andrews interview.
83. “White House Millennium Council.”
84. Andrews interview.
85. Foster interview.
87. Andrews interview.
88. Andrews interview.
89. Andrews interview.
90. Andrews interview.
91. Foster interview.
92. “John Benedict.”
94. “Barry K. Wade.”
98. Foster interview.
99. Foster interview.
100. Foster interview.
101. Foster interview.
103. Edwards, 10.
104. Edwards, 10–11.
107. “Dr. Entrepreneur.”
110. Edwards, Charisma, 11.
113. Priest, 120.
114. VHS tape labeled Norton Anthology African American Literature Symposium, 1997, Video 13, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
116. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Carl Grant, Eric Rothstein, and Gina Sapiro, 8 June 1989, Box 7, Folder 24, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
118. McKay, letter to Grant, Rothstein, and Sapiro, 8 June 1989.
120. “UW-Madison Gives Prof $20,600.”
121. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to A. Michael Spence, 24 August 1989, Box 7, Folder 24, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
122. A. Michael Spence, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 21 September 1989, Box 7, Folder 24, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
123. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 23 August 1989, Box 86, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
124. A. Michael Spence, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 2 March 1990, Box 7, Folder 24, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
127. Nellie McKay, letter to A. Michael Spence, 9 April 1990, Box 7, Folder 24, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
130. Rampersad interview.
132. Benjamin, 11.
134. Morrison, introduction, x.
137. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 9 October 1991, Box 88, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.


149. Hoff, Law, Gender, and Injustice, 427.


151. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 10 August 1992, Box 89, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.

152. McKay, introduction, xi.


154. Howe, 12.

155. Howe, 12.

156. Howe, 16.

157. Nellie Y. McKay, email to Nellie Y. McKay, 17 December 2003, Box 8, Folder 21, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.


159. Nellie Y. McKay interview.


161. McKay, 182.

162. Andrews interview.


165. ”DRAFT PROPOSAL: Cooperation between the English Department and Afro-American Studies,” Box 9, Folder 20, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.

166. Wycliff, “Women as Presidents.”

167. Wofford interview.

168. Wofford interview.

169. “Emerita: A Fond Farewell to Susan Bernstein.”

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170. Box 9, folder 20 of Nellie Y. McKay’s papers includes several documents related to the establishment of the Bridge Program. In this folder are undated memos, dated letters, and proposal drafts. The dated items begin with “Notes on Meeting about Afro-American Studies Graduate Students” in May 1992 and end with an October 1992 letter from McKay to then-graduate director Donald “Don” Rowe, regarding “Afro-American Studies and the English Department Graduate Program.” Lacking is a specific document that confirms the date the program was approved.

171. Brandt interview.
172. Wofford interview.
175. Sherrard-Johnson interview.
176. Sherrard-Johnson interview.
178. The English Department’s failure to hire an African Americanist wasn’t due to lack of trying. In his tribute to McKay, Maurice Wallace described the “shamefulness” he felt from “hurting Nellie very deeply when [he] declined her offer to . . . join her at University of Wisconsin–Madison” (Wallace, “What Nellie Knew,” 34).

179. “Professors Embrace Black Literature.”
180. “Announcing the Global Black Studies Funding Initiative.”

Scene Four


Chapter Four

1. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 11 May 1990, Box 87, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
2. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 18 September 1992, Box 89, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
3. Teresa Fleming, “Extensions of the Self: Homeownership and Personal Space in the Nellie McKay-Nell Irvin Painter Correspondence” (unpublished paper, 24 July 2015), in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin. The title was inspired by a line from a letter from McKay to Painter in which the former noted that “houses are a big deal. They are extensions of the self.” Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 3 September 1992, Box 89, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
4. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 24 July 1985, Box 84, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
5. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 6 August 1992, Box 89, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
12. “UW-Madison Gives Prof $20,600.”
14. LaCroix interview.
15. Gordon interview.
16. Friedman interview.
17. “Our Story.”
18. Bernstein interview.
20. This overview of McKay’s illness included in this paragraph cites the following as its source material: “Clinic Note,” Nellie McKay, UW Health University Hospital, 21 February 2005, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin; and “Clinic Note,” Nellie McKay, UW Health University Hospital, 24 February 2005, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
21. Pritchard interview.
22. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 19 August 1980, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
23. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 14 September 1980, Box 82, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
27. Beavers interview.
28. Beavers interview.
29. Beavers interview.
30. Howe, The Politics of Women’s Studies, 204.
31. Nell Irvin Painter, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 6 May 1990, Box 87, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
32. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Nell Irvin Painter, 13 May 1990, Box 87, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
35. Friedman interview.
36. Friedman interview.
37. Friedman interview.
38. Friedman interview.
39. Langer interview.
40. Langer interview.
41. Gaines interview.
42. Gaines interview.
43. Gaines interview.
44. Gaines interview.
45. Gaines interview.
46. Gaines interview.
47. Pickens, “Feeling Embodied and Being Displaced,” 69.
48. Gaines interview.
49. Nellie Y. McKay, memo to H. Bucher, 1 March 1979, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
50. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Office of Youth Programs, National Endowment for the Humanities, 14 April 1980, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
51. Nellie Y. McKay, letter to Ralph W. Johnson, 26 October 1982, Box 10, Folder 6, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
52. Auerbach, untitled essay, 30.
53. Blanche H. Gelfant, Florence Howe, and Nellie Y. McKay, “Being Poor,” What’s the Word?, 1998, Box 1, Folder 9, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
54. UW Odyssey Project, “About.”
55. “College Days 2003 Brochure,” Box 8, Folder 1, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
56. “College Days: 6/7/01,” Box 7, Folder 26, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UW-Madison; “College Days: June 4, 2003,” Box 7, Folder 26, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
57. Bonnie Hutchins, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 18 June 2003, Box 8, Folder 1, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
62. Denard interview.
63. Denard interview.
64. Denard interview.
65. Denard, untitled essay, 62.
67. “Society History.”
68. Denard interview.
71. Priest, 117–118.
72. Priest, 116.
73. Gumbs, Spill, xii.
75. Nellie Y. McKay, fax to Percy Hintzen for Barbara T. Christian, 19 April 2000, Box 8, Folder 17, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
76. Gordon interview.
77. Zimmerman interview.
78. Zimmerman interview.
79. Zimmerman interview.
80. Johnson interview.
81. Lisa Cappelli, email to Shanna G. Benjamin, 2 July 2020, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
82. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
83. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
84. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
85. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
86. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
87. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
88. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
89. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
90. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
91. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
92. Certain interview.
93. Gordon interview.
94. As cited in Blockett and Rutledge, introduction, 39.
95. Blockett and Rutledge, 39.
96. Bernstein interview.
97. James interview.
98. James interview.
99. Werner interview.
100. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
101. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
102. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
103. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
104. Foster interview.
105. Foster interview.
106. Blockett interview.
107. Blockett interview.
108. Blockett interview.
109. Blockett interview.
110. Blockett interview.
111. Blockett interview.
112. Blockett interview.
113. Blockett interview.
114. Gaines interview.
115. Gaines interview.
116. Bernstein interview.
117. Patricia M. Watson interview.
118. Bernstein interview.
119. Bernstein interview.
121. Foster interview.
122. Foster interview.
123. Foster interview.
124. Foster interview.
125. Foster interview.
126. Gordon interview.
127. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
128. Cappelli, email to Benjamin, 2 July 2020.
129. Foster interview.
130. Patricia M. Watson interview.
131. Patricia M. Watson interview.
133. Wendell P. Russell Jr., email to Rutgers Business School and “black_list” list-serve, 24 January 2006, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
134. Scott interview.
135. Scott interview.
136. Scott interview.
137. James interview.
138. James interview.
140. Scott interview.
141. Nell Irvin Painter, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 11 May 1990, Box 87, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
142. Nell Irvin Painter, letter to Nellie Y. McKay, 11 May 2005, Box 89, Nell Irvin Painter Papers, Nellie Y. McKay Subseries, DRBML.
146. Brandt interview.
147. Brandt interview.
149. Keisha Watson interview.
150. McKay interview.
151. Keisha Watson interview.
152. Sherrard-Johnson, untitled essay, 55.
153. In the African American Review’s memorial tribute to McKay, thirty-three colleagues and former students wrote reflections on what McKay’s mentoring meant to them.
154. Johnson interview.
155. Johnson interview.
156. Johnson interview.
157. Johnson interview.
158. Johnson interview.
159. Krueger, “Lakeshore Dorm Kicks Off Year with Fresh Name.”

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160. Krueger, “Lakeshore Dorm Kicks Off Year with Fresh Name.”
161. “Nellie Y. McKay Lecture in the Humanities.”
162. “Global Black Literatures at UW.”
163. “Global Black Literatures at UW.”
165. Gates and Smith, Norton Anthology of African American Literature, xxix.
166. Julia Reidhead, email to Shanna G. Benjamin, 4 April 2014, in possession of Shanna G. Benjamin.
167. Narrative draft for “An Interpretive History of African American Literature,” Box 8, Folder 21, Nellie Y. McKay Papers, UWARM.
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