PUBLISHING FREEDOM:
AFRICAN AMERICAN EDITORS AND THE LONG CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE, 1900-1955

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ABSTRACT

The writings and the experience of independent African American editors in the first half of the twentieth century from 1901 to 1955 played an invaluable role in laying the ideological groundwork for the Black Freedom movement beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The anti-imperialist writings of Pauline Hopkins who was literary editor of the *Colored American Magazine* from 1900 to 1904 celebrated revolutionary leaders, and adopted an independent course that refused partisan lines, which prompted her replacement as editor according to a letter she writes to William Monroe Trotter. The anti-imperialist writing of A. Philip Randolph as editor of *The Messenger* from 1917 to 1928, raised the role of labor organizing in the advancement of racial justice and helped to provide future organizers. These individuals founded the Southern Negro Youth Congress an analytical framework that would help organize thousands of Southern workers against the Jim Crow system into labor unions. Based on the letters he wrote to the American Fund For Public Service, Randolph raised funds by appealing to the values that he believed Fund chair Roger Baldwin also valued while protecting individual supporters of *The Messenger* from government surveillance. The anti-imperialist writing of Paul Robeson as chair of the editorial board of *Freedom* from 1950 to 1955 could not escape McCarthyist government surveillance which eventually caused its demise. However not before including an anti-fascist editorial ideology endorsing full equality for African Americans that inspired plays by Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry that imagined a world that defies the increasingly fascist rule of the American state.This thesis will argue that the Black Freedom Struggle that developed after the fifties owed a great deal to Hopkins, Randolph, and Robeson. The work that these three did as editors and writers laid a solid intellectual, ideological, and political foundation for the later and better known

moment when African American would mobilize en masse to demand meaningful equality in the United States.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

Definition of Terms

Many studies of the Black Freedom movement of the twentieth century do not account for the influence of politically independent Black editors of the early twentieth century. Through their publications, independent Black editors of the early twentieth century envisioned and proposed steps for achieving a society far more egalitarian than the one in which they lived.These editors envisioned a non-racist future beyond their magazine. This dissertation hopes to provide a fuller understanding of the Black Freedom movement in the twentieth century by examining the role that independent Black editors played in becoming what Addison Gayle, Jr. calls "a moral force for change."[1] It will explore specifically how the lives and publications of three independent Black editors: Pauline Hopkins and the *Colored American Magazine*, A. Philip Randolph and *The Messenger*, and Paul Robeson and *Freedom* helped to further the freedom struggle and force scholars to broaden their conception of the American "Civil Rights Movement," as part of the larger Black Freedom Struggle.[2] The term 'civil rights movement' as it is used by scholars of African American History, tends to be associated with an activism that is confined only to the post World War II period and, thus is very narrowly conceived. By looking at the activism of these editors this dissertation will suggest the expansion of scholarly notions of what the 'Civil Rights Movement' movement was and also suggests that the term 'Black Freedom Struggle' is a more apt descriptor of this twentieth century long process.

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[1] Addison Gayle Jr., "Black Expressions (Preface)" in *The Addison Gayle Jr. Reader,* ed. Nathaniel Norment Jr. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2009), p.280.

These three editors promoted editorial ideologies that lay the ideological groundwork for the Black Freedom Struggle. In this dissertation, the term "Black Freedom Struggle" specifically means the sustained activism against racial oppression—both intellectual and physical—that coalesced and flourished during the first full century after the abolition of slavery.[3]I have chosen to focus on these three because their work as editors and writers so clearly laid a blueprint for the struggles taken up many decades later by activists in the Black Freedom Movement. These three editors show that the Black Freedom Struggle did not begin with Rosa Parks. They show that Parks is part of a continuum that includes the role of their written word in inspiring social change. Perhaps most importantly, these editors worked tirelessly in the face of daunting obstacles, to develop an editorial ideology; one that critiqued the nation's shortcomings, and offered a better future that was not ideologically constrained by the platforms of either Republicans or Democrats.This dissertation argues that even though these editors did not often march in protests, the work that they did to build what Hubert Harrison in 1924 called "race consciousness," was crucial to later generations of Black activists who would take to the streets demanding racial justice.[4]As this dissertation will illustrate, Hopkins, Randolph and Robeson tapped into and explicated arace consciousness among African Americans of the mid twentieth century that allowed themto seek and secure political independence outside of the two party mainstream. That independence was crucial toward making meaningful progress against racial injustice in this

[3] Although African Americans have indeed been struggling for freedom since capture and throughout enslavement, scholars of the African American activist experience of the 20th century use the term "Black Freedom Struggle" to suggest a particular moment of struggle against racial oppression that is broader than that identified as the "Civil Rights Movement" of the later 20th century, but is nevertheless specific to the period of American history post-emancipation.

[4]According to Harrison then defined race consciousness' as a feeling of racial superiority which the which the white races generally exhibit that produces a protective psychological reaction in the minds of black, brown, and yellow peoples in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere. To Harrison such a consciousness was neither inherently evil nor good. Such judgments "depended upon on the uses to which it is put." Hubert Harrison, "Race Consciousness" *Boston Chronicle,* March 15, 1924; Jeffrey B. Perry, ed., *A Hubert Harrison Reader,* (Middletown (CT), Wesleyan University Press, 2001), p.116-7. In this article that was reprinted by Perry, Harrison writes that "we must evoke race-consciousness to furnish a background for our aspirations, readers for our writers, a clientele for our artists and professional people, and ideals for our future."

period of history. This laid an invaluable ideological foundation for the struggle against racial injustice. Altogether they exemplify a movement that was larger and broader than current scholarship on Black Freedom struggle gives them credit for.

Hopkins, Randolph, and Robeson's periodicals were published within five different decades between 1900 and 1960 and thus an examination of these works offers an interesting window onto African American ideas about freedom over time. Each of them encouraged a race consciousness as defined by Hubert Harrison as opposed to endorsing a racial unity as defined by Marcus Garvey. This dissertation will not discuss some of the more popular African American editors like W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey or Robert Abbott because of their direct concessions to Republican-supported interests for funds and because of their significantly weaker commitment to political independence that this dissertation will explain.[5]It will not look other periodicals that were more popular such as *Negro World, Crisis, Opportunity, Negro Digest,* because it posits that editors of these publications had a unique commitment to political independence that was significantly different from these selected editors. This dissertation looks at editors who suffered serious financial and personal costs to print ideas antithetical to those endorsed by themainstream two party system—ideas that would, in turn, spark the activist imagination of future generations of African Americans. It is important to look at these editors because without them, a lot of the accomplishments of the Black Freedom Struggle, such as the NAACP and the March on Washington Movement would not be possible.

[5] William H. Harris. *Keeping the Faith: A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,1925-1937* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1977), p.47. Harris discusses Abbott's relationship with the Pullman Company which influenced his editorial stance against Randolph's union. For Du Bois's relationship with the Republican Party and the U.S. War Department see Jeffrey Perry's *Hubert Harrison: The Father of Harlem Radicalism, 1883-1917,* (New York: Columbia University, 2009), p.385. This dissertation focuses less on Garvey's emphasis than on Randolph's emphasis on racial consciousness that this dissertation argues, was presented in *The Messenger* in a way that influenced the Black Freedom Struggle in an important way by helping establish the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

To substantiate thisbroader claim, this dissertation will examine three central elements of the lives of Hopkins, Randolph, and Robeson. First it will address the ways in which each came to offer a powerfully race-conscious editorial ideology that encouraged organized collective action; second, how they each faced barriers to publishing this editorial ideology; and third, how despite these barriers each remained determined to influence writers like Lorraine Hansberry, who wouldspread theseeditorial ideologiesthroughworks of art as novels, stories, and plays. Together these works of art challengedAmerican imperialism and racism and helped future generations of African Americans in imaging a future beyond the society in which they themselves lived and worked.This inspired more activism that led to important literary and political movements such as the Black Arts Movement and the Black Panther Party who consciously used art to inspire their audience to work for social change.

Before exploring the life experiences of these editors, we must first dissect how scholars currently understand the history of the Black Freedom struggle, the role that the Black press has played in shaping the nation, and the lives of these specific Black editors. Although the existing historical and literary literature on these matters is quite rich, it is also limited and suggests the need for the closer look at the editors that this dissertation engages in.

Literature on the Black Freedom Struggle

Existing literature on the Black Freedom struggle, or more specifically the current historiography on the American civil rights movement, can be divided into two schools: a traditional school and a revisionist school. Works in the traditional school generally tend to begin their focus on the civil rights movement with Rosa Parks and privilege the role of the federal government in finally securing any rights and new equality that African Americans would come to

enjoy. Works by historians Steven Lawson, Juan Williams and Taylor Branch exemplify this scholarly tradition.

In *Debating the Civil Rights Movement*, historian Steven Lawson argues that the federal government played an indispensable role in shaping the fortunes of the civil rights movement, and that it is impossible to understand how Blacks achieved first class citizenship without concentrating on what national leaders did in Washington, D.C.[6] He cites former Chief Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren as an example of a national leader shaping the civil rights movement in issuing the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision: "he argued that it was impossible for Blacks to obtain the full benefits of an education under the system of segregation."[7] Lawson discusses how the sympathy of former President Eisenhower did not keep him from recognizing authority in the federal government's ability to remedy racial injustice by sending troops to Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. He ends his argument by saying that the case to be made for the importance of the federal government is strengthened by looking at the post-civil rights era because of its enforcing laws against segregation.

Also in this school is Juan Williams who begins his history of the civil rights movement, *Eyes on the Prize.*[8] Williams begins his analysis by discussing the ambition of Charles Hamilton Houston, the Howard Law school dean and NAACP attorney who created the legal strategy of ending formalized racial segregation through litigation. Williams privileges the use of the federal courts in the struggle for civil rights which ultimately depends on the judicial will of the federal government. He implicitly argues that advances in the civil rights movement were accomplished most significantly by litigation. He writes that in the *Brown v. Board* decision, "the Courts called

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[6] Steven Lawson, "Debating the Civil Rights Movement: The View From the Nation" in *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968* Steven Lawson and Charles Payne, eds. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), p.3
[7] Lawson, "Debating the Civil Rights Movement," p.11.
[8] Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965* (New York: Penguin, 1987), p.2-3.

for a fundamental change in American life: Blacks were to be treated as equals in the public schools."[9] But based on the state of public schools since this decision, it has become obvious that the Court did not call for a fundamental change in American life, nor for Blacks to be treated as equals in public schools. Derrick Bell cites statistical evidence from a Supreme Court case showing that after *Brown v. Board* very little school desegregation took place. Bell's work highlights the limited role the federal government played in the struggle for civil rights which, in terms of improving public schooling, took place largely due to local struggles.[10]

Taylor Branch's study, like Lawson and Williams accounts confines the study of the civil rights movement to the sixties and to major leaders of the movement in that period in*Parting the Waters*.[11]To Branch the movement was exemplified by powerful men such as Vernon Johns at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. Branch's account of the Montgomery Bus Boycott includes the influence of local leaders like Jo Ann Gibson Robinson and E.D. Nixon. Branch mentions how Nixonwas a "union man" and "worshipped Randolph" however he does not mention the influence that Randolph's written word as a periodical editor with an expressed editorial ideology, had on Nixon.[12] This dissertation will explore this editorial ideology. By exploring the influence of Randolph's editorial ideology on union supporters, the activism of E.D. Nixon as an organizer is understood much more clearly.

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[9] Williams, *Eyes on the Prize*, p.34.

[10] Derrick Bell, *Silent Covenants: Brown v. Board of Education and the Unfulfilled Hopes For Racial Reform*, (New York, Oxford, 2004), p.96, 112, 113, 213. Bell writes that"courts were generally unwilling to consider the incidence of housing discrimination as relevant to school desegregation, or to hold school boards responsible for remedying segregation caused by housing segregation. They also failed to consider or to counteract the role of other governmental agencies in perpetuating segregation." Charles Ogletree also writes that "white flight, denial of funding for equalization, and rejection of *Brown* principles by a conservative Supreme Court have been the most effective in limiting the promise of *Brown*."See Charles Ogletree, *All Deliberate Speed: Reflections on the First Half Century of Brown v. Board of Education*, (New York, W.W. Norton, 2004), p.14.

[11] Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), p.1.

[12] Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*, (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1989), p.121.

The limitations of this traditional school are several. First, in general it applies a top down approach that discusses civil rights advances in terms of new laws instead of focusing on the local struggles that helped bring about those new laws, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Second, all of their histories begin in the mid-fifties which ignored the role that organizing played beforehand, and the influence of the editors' written words that inspired organized resistance against discrimination, which this dissertation plans to show.

When scholars in this school privilege the role of the federal government in the Black Freedom movement they obscure more about the challenges of that struggle than they reveal. By focusingso heavily on the role played by the Supreme Court in advancing the Black Freedom struggle, for example Lawson's analysis obscures the fact thatthe Court's decision in cases such as Brown did far less for the freedom struggle than they might have because of the unwillingness of the federal government to enforce real desegregation. Indeed its inability to enforce desegregation being enforced "with all deliberate speed" meant that school districts across the nation clung to desegregation and effectively resisited meaningful desegregation after. Similarly, in hailing President Eisenhower's sending of national troops from the 101st Airborne Infantry to Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, to help enforce the Supreme Court's decision, Lawson's focus on the federal government obscures the lobbying efforts made by grassroots citizens that in some way influenced Eisenhower's decision to send troops. Lawson's praise of the federal government for enforcing laws against segregation doesn't just leave out grassroots actors, it also ignores the historical reality that the federal government also worked to thwart new movement. While Eisenhower or Johnson might have made decisions that furthered the aims of that movement, other government agencies like COINTELPRO played roles in strategically

undermining the goals of the Black Freedom movement, embodied in groups like the Black Panther Party and the Revolutionary Action Movement.

By focusing attention on what figures such as Hopkins, Randolph, and Robeson were doing for the Freedom struggle in their capacity as editors, this dissertation will challenge the traditional school's sympathetic portrayal of the federal government by showing, for example, how this samegovernment that issued *Brown* worked actively to undermine African Americans' struggles against racial inequality. As readers will see this was particularly true of editorPaul Robeson, whose passport was seized by the State Department because of his outspokenness against Jim Crow laws in the South. During the entire tenure of *Freedom* magazine, he would apply at least twice to the State Department and be rejected each time. He was asked to sign an affidavit promising that he will not give political speeches when on tour and Robeson saw this as a violation of his constitutional right to free speech and refused to sign it. His passport was returned two years after the demise of *Freedom*, yet he remained steadfast in his proclamation that American Negroes should not be asked to fight in foreign wars as long as Jim Crow laws exist. This dissertation will explicate these and similar protestations of political independence by editors and their role in advancing the Black Freedom struggle.

While this dissertation will challenge the overall perspective of the traditional school, it will add to a growing revisionist school that itself began pointing to the limitations of the traditional school back in 1990 when Charles Payne published his pathbreaking article, "Men Led but Women Organized: Movement Participation of Women in the Mississippi Delta."[13]Indeed in addition to Payne, a number of historians began in the late-1990s finally to illuminate the role that ordinary local activists played in furthering the Black Freedom struggle. In addition to Charles

[13] Charles Payne, "Men Led But Women Organized: Movement Participation of Women in the Mississippi Delta" in *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers,* eds. Vicki L. Crawford et. al. (Brooklyn, Carlson, 1990), p.1-13.

Payne, historians such as Jacqueline Dowd Hall, Thomas Sugrue, Glenda Gilmore, Thomas Edgerton, Michael Honey, Robin D.G. Kelley, William Chafe, and Timothy Tyson best exemplify this school.

In *Debating the Civil Rights Movement,* Charles Payne calls much needed attention to historical actors such as Septima Clark, for example. Clark started a Citizenship School where adults were taught to read, write, and register to vote. As he points out, more than a leader, Martin Luther King, Jr. was an inheritor of momentum that other people like Clark established.[14]Historian Jacqueline Dowd Hall not only shone needed light on ordinary activists in the freedom struggle, but she has also pointed out that this struggle was much broader than the period 1954-1965. Indeed she has argued for scholars to think in terms of a "long civil rights movement."[15] As authors like Payne and Hall point out, when we change who we think of as movement actors and also broaden the movement's chronology, the history of the Black Freedom struggle starts to look quite different. As Hall writes, "this new, and longer and broader narrative...suggests that women's activism and gender dynamics were central both to the Freedom movement and to the backlash against it."[16]

Also, part of the revisionist school is historian Thomas Sugrue who challenges the traditional notion that the Freedom struggle was mostly a southern phenomenon. He chronicles the great activism and influences of northern African Americans on furthering the freedom struggle in his new book *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle For Civil Rights in the North.*[17]In his introduction to this book,Sugrue writes that the shift in racial attitudes and practices in modern

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[14] Charles Payne, "Debating the Civil Rights Movement: The View From the Trenches" in *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968,* eds. Steven Lawson and Charles Payne (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), p.119.
[15]Jacqueline Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History.*(March 2005), p.1233.
[16]Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," p.1239.
[17] Thomas Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle For Civil Rights in the North,* (New York: Random House, 2008), p.xxii.

American cannot be understood without telling the stories of myriad northern civil rights activists and their organizations.

In her new book *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1900-1950,*historian Glenda Gilmore also challenges the traditional school by locating a civil rights activism that not only was alive and well back in 1919, but was even more radical than that which came to be known as the "civil rights movement" in the 1950s.[18]Similarly, Thomas Edgerton's *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South,* notes that there were many Black intellectuals actively fighting racial oppression, including "black writers [who] have hammered away repeatedly and insistently on the same theme: we want a role—in combat, in the workplace, in the national scheme" long before Rosa Parks refused to give her seat up on that Montgomery bus.[19]One such writer to whom Edgerton calls particular attention is Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* who Edgerton says "grew into a fuller understanding of what democracy and social justice meant, and what they required of him."[20]Edgerton also looks at journalistHodding Carter whom Edgerton says were "most emphatically making a public declaration of opposition to the status quo."[21]

Historian Robin D.G. Kelley also dismantles many assumptions inherent in the tradition school in his book *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class.* As he notes, it is important to look at the history of black working-class resistance in particular because doing so begins "to recover and explore aspects of black working-class life and politics that have been relegated to the margins" and is at odds with the look of the civil rights movement from the

[18]Glenda Gilmore, Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950 (New York, W.W. Norton, 2008), p.23.
[19]John Edgerton, Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), p.253.
[20] Edgerton, *Speak Now Against the Day,* p.257.
[21] Edgerton, *Speak Now Against the Day,* p.261.

traditional school.[22]In *Going Down Jericho Road: The Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King's Last Campaign,* historian Michael Honey writes that his history is not only a story about King, but "a story about the plight of the unemployed and poor people in America who worked 'full-time jobs at part-time wages.'"[23]Even scholars who wrote some time ago such as Aldon Morris in his revisionist history *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing For Change* illustrate the need to complicate the traditional interpretations of the Black Freedom struggle.[24]

In his history of the city of Greensboro's role in the civil rights movement called *Civilities and Civil Rights,* William Chafe exposes the role that local organizers played in triggering the sit-in movement with the historic February 1st, 1960 sit-in at a Woolworth's lunch counter. Chafe shows how the four Greensboro sit-in activists, namely Joseph McNeil, were inspired to sit in not because of any government body or single individual as the traditional school would exalt but because of a combination of supportive influences at the local level such as Ralph Johns. Johns was a white Greensboro merchant who agreed beforehand with McNeil, to call a reporter friendly to their cause at the Greensboro *Record* and alert her about their planned sit-in.[25] Chafe's history shows the role that local organizing, rather than the federal government, played in the progression of the of the Black Freedom struggle.

One revisionist historian particularly stands out when it comes to reimagining how to conceptualize and think about the Black Freedom struggle. Timothy Tyson, author of *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power,*writes that studying thinkers and activists

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[22] Robin D.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class* (New York, Free Press, 1996), p.4.
[23] Michael K. Honey, *Going Down Jericho Road: The Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King's Last Campaign* (New York, W.W. Norton, 2007), p.xvii.
[24]Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing For Change* (New York, Free Press, 1986), p.xii.
[25] William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York, Oxford, 1980), p.115, 118-120.

such as Williams allows us to appreciate the extent that the civil rights movement and the Black Power movement emerged from the same soil, confronted the same predicaments, and reflected the same quest for African American freedom.[26] Tyson argues that the role that one organizer, writer, and editor, Robert Williams had in the Black Freedom struggle was indispensable.

Overall the revisionist school does a very good job of correcting the top down narrative of the traditional school by exposing the initial steps that organizers like Septima Clark took to eventually acquiring the right to vote, by pointing out that the Freedom struggle was more than a few decades deep, and by pointing to the variety and richness of experience that this freedom struggle was based upon. However, even this school has its limitations. Amanda Seligman's review of Sugrue points out, for example, that while he identifies a "false dichotomy between 'top down' and 'bottom up' organizing strategies, he nonetheless falls prey to this dichotomy because the organizing strategies that matter to him are those that point toward the already familiar stories of struggles…and not toward a broader conception of racial justice in all the arenas that northern blacks worked in."[27]

This sort of dichotomy ultimately obscures the role of editors like A. Philip Randolph and Pauline Hopkins that this dissertation aims to correct. Sugrue's goal of showing how "efforts to influence public debate" is lacking in its failure to show how the Black press was used as a tool for organization. This dissertation focuses on how articles by select editors encouraged readers to seek their rights outside of the oppressive two party system, and how it developed editorial ideologies to do so. Sugrue mentions Robeson's role in the Negro Labor Victory Committee and the Progressive Party but does not mention the integral role his publication played in advancing civil

[26] Timothy Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p.3.
[27] Amanda Seligman in "Relating the Civil Rights and Community Organizing Movements" *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas.* 7:1 (Spring 2010), p.28.

rights, particularly through the work of its writers such as Lorraine Hansberry and Robert F. Williams, who would proceed to make huge influential advances in civil rights.

Both Honey and Kelley also downplay or ignore the influence that reading politically progressive newspapers like Randolph's *Messenger* or Robeson's *Freedom*had on the activism of the working class they write about. While the revisionist school emphasizes local organizers, most of those within it with the strong exception of Tyson do not discuss the influence of organizers' literacy in advancing the civil rights movement. While Chafe writes that literacy did play a role in inspiring the Greensboro four, his list of inspiring figures to these four suggest a somewhat shallow understanding of anti-imperialism within the Black Freedom Struggle. Chafe's list of figures that he says the four read about included Ralph Bunche. Bunche is a figure that Paul Robeson's *Freedom* highly critiqued for his support of U.S. imperialismas U.N. Ambassador. This dissertation will identify more radical figures who forcefully opposed imperialism and show how literacy of specifically these kind of figures played a role in the Black Freedom struggle.

In short, most historians in this revisionist school do not discuss the role that the influence of the written word had in inspiring local organizing. This is an oversight that this dissertation seeks to correct. Unlike most historians from the revisionist school, this dissertation will emphasize the role that periodical editors played in organizing. It plans to account for the role that the editors' written word played in advancing the Black Freedom struggle and, to Seligman's point, provide a more broad conception of racial justice that includes discussion of the potential influence of the written word, particularly Robeson's public support of Henry Wallace. Ultimately, this dissertation will show how editors developed an editorial ideology, surmounted barriers to this ideology, in the form of stories, novels, or plays to progressively advance the Black Freedom struggle.

In all discussed literature on the civil rights movement, Pauline Hopkins is a politically independent Black editor whose absence is particularly glaring. Although Randolph is identified in *Eyes on the Prize*, he is identified as a labor leader, not as an editor of the influential paper *The Messenger*. Literature on the civil rights movement has largely obscured Randolph's role as an editor, and how that role played a crucial part in his influencing E.D. Nixon and the influence that had on the larger Black Freedom movement. This dissertation hopes to provide a deeper understanding of Hopkins' and Randolph's role in the Black Freedom movement by showing their ideologies as editors. This dissertation hopes to explain how their roles as editors are central to understanding the important origins of the Black Freedom movement. It hopes to illustrate that the African American freedom movement had its origins in opposing long standing traditions to white supremacy from Hopkins to Randolph to Robeson.

Literature on the Black Press

Existing literature on the Black press can be divided into two schools: expository and advocacy. The expository school tends to place more emphasis on providing a comprehensive history of the Black Press whereas the advocacy school of the Black Press tends to place more of a role of the Black Press in advancing the struggle against racial injustice. The overall literature of the Black Press tends to downplay if not ignore editors that made a distinct attempt to be politically independent, including these three. The expository school includes the work of Roland Wolseley who wrote an updated 1990 edition of *Black Press, U.S.A.* In this book Wolseley pays close attention to mainstream presses such as the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the *Chicago Defender*. These were presses that the Pullman Company essentially paid to slander A. Philip Randolph and weaken the Brotherhood according to the scholarship of William Harris and Beth Tompkins Bates. Following this text by Wolseley is another text within the expository tradition by Charles

Simmons in 1998 entitled *The African American Press: A History of News Coverage During National Crises, With Special Reference to Four Black Newspapers, 1827-1965,* is a study that focuses on papers whose editors did not prioritize political independence the way that their competitors did.[28]

Also in this expository school is William Jordan's 2001 history of the Black Press entitled *Black Newspapers & America's War for Democracy, 1914-1920,* that focuses on the presses with the largest circulation at this time, discussing accommodationist messages of the *Chicago Defender* which during the riots printed "This…is no time to solve the race question!" Attention to these papers obscured the more radical, self-determining presses that urged self-defense of Blacks such as Hubert Harrison's *The Voice,* a predecessor to Randolph's *The Messenger* which sought to explain the riots in terms of class oppression feeding racial antagonism.[29]

In a more recent 2006 history of the Black Press by Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff entitled *The Race Beat: The Press, the Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation,* we learn about the role of the press during the tumultuous times in U.S. history. We also learn a lot about the role of radical editors Daisy Bates and her husband L.C. Bates in running the *State Press.* Roberts and Klibanoff write: "in the first week of their publication in May 1941, the Bateses had set an editorial tone that positioned them in the advocacy tradition of the Negro press."[30]

Also among the literature of the Black Press are works that belong to an advocacy school devoted primarily to either the abolition of slavery in this history of the Black press in the

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[28] Charles A. Simmons, *The African American Press: A History of News Coverage During National Crises, With Special Reference To Four Black Newspapers, 1827-1965* (Jefferson, McFarland & Co., c1998), 190.
[29] William Jordan, *Black Newspapers and America's War For Democracy, 1914-1920.* (Chapel Hill (NC), University of North Carolina, 2001), p.32.
[30] Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, *The Race Beat: The Press, Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of A Nation.* (New York, Knopf, 2006).

nineteenth century, or to the abolition of Jim Crow discrimination in the twentieth century. In 1983, Lawrence Hogan's book *A Black National News Service: The Associated Negro Press and Claude Barnett, 1919-1945* was published. Hogan writes that one focus of his book is on the relationship of the Association Negro Press with a membership that played a "leadership and opinion-shaping role for a substantial number of blacks."[31] This leadership played a large role in the end of discrimination following World War II after the Pittsburgh Courier's Double V campaign which called for victory against fascism abroad and victory against Jim Crow at home. In 1997, Armistead S. Pride and Clint C. Wilson's *A History of the Black Press* was published. Unlike Wolseley's*Black Press U.S.A.*,this text pays attention to some radical editors like Daisy and L.C. Bates'*State Press,* stating that it subscribed to the prevailing slogan: militancy sells papers. This text says that the *State Press* unhesitatingly belabored the Negro for his lethargy. According to Pride and Wilson the *State Press* unfortunately folded due to a concerted effort by intimidation of its Black advertisers and printers. An endnote from Pride and Wilson's three-to-four page section on the *State Press* states: "for a detailed account of economic tactics against the Arkansas *State Press,* see Armistead S. Pride, "The Arkansas State Press: Squeezed to Death," *Grassroots Editor*, January 1962, 6-7.[32] In *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies*, published in 2002, Elizabeth McHenry writes that her book examines how literary societies have worked to promote activism, foster resistance, and create citizens in black communities throughout the United States.[33] She shows the kind of power that exists between the printed word and the reader, and is the only writer on the Black Press who

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[31] Lawrence Hogan,*A Black National News Service: The Associated Negro Press and Claude Barnett, 1919-1945.*(Teaneck (NJ), Fairleigh Dickinson University, 1984), p.12.
[32] Armistead Pride and Clint C. Wilson, *A History of the Black Press* (Washington, Howard University, 1997), p.198
[33] Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies* (Durham, Duke University, 2002), p.19.

mentions Pauline Hopkins at any length. Also within the advocacy school is *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom* by Patrick Washburn published in 2006, who writes that his book examines the sudden decline of Black newspapers' influence and power. In Washburn's book as in all books within this advocacy school is an underlying concern for the preservation of the African American press and its role in allowing progressive societal change.

Black Press literature in the expository school provides an important range of opinion within the Black Press and focuses more on presenting this large range of opinion within the newspaper mainstream. They also do not consider literary publications such as *Colored American Magazine* or *New Era Magazine* as part of the Black Press. Wolseleydoes not mention the influence of independent publications of *Colored American Magazine* by Pauline Hopkins, nor*Freedom* by Paul Robeson. During most of his coverage of the teens, twenties, and thirties, Simmons focuses his coverage on the *Pittsburgh Courier* and *Chicago Defender,* two significant competitors of *The Messenger,* edited by Randolph who maintained throughout his paper's tenure political independence from both Republican and Democratic parties. Simmons reserves mention of *The Messenger* for one sentence in which they were accused of being radical and seditious. The reductive conclusion Jordan makes in his book about editors becoming more supporting of the federal government after meeting with them does not account for the role of politically independent presses such as *The Messenger* which maintained a solid critique against the war from its inception. This dissertation will pinpoint how presses like *The Messenger* who maintained their steadfastly independent editorial ideology paid a dear price when it came to seek funds from those who would pay to change those politically independent stances. This dissertation hopes to add to the growing body of literature on the Black Press by focusing attention

on the ways that each editor developed an editorial ideology and surmounted barriers to this ideology.

Black Press literature in the advocacy school provides many important suggestions about the proscriptive role of an African American editor in mainstream society. Each of them suggest that the role of the editor should be one that challenges the menial role intended for African Americans during Jim Crow discrimination. Pride and Wilson's text however only mentions *Colored American Magazine* and *The Messenger* in passing, and does not mention Robeson's *Freedom* at all. Hogan does not mention the crucial role that the editorship of A. Philip Randolph played in strengthening the function of the Associated Negro Press. This dissertation through its historical analysis of his editorials that focus on his labor organizing hopes to do so. McHenry in *Forgotten Readers* does not apply her focus to non-mainstream publications like *The Messenger* which included valuable literary art that fosters the resistance she mentioned. Patrick Washburn in his book does not interrogate the influence of the Pullman Company on the editorial content of publications. William Harris and Beth Tompkins Bates have documented how Pullman paid many newspapers to publish pieces that were highly critical of the labor organizing that Randolph was engaging in. This dissertation is more devoted, than any book heretofore, on the fundraising dynamics of these publications and how they allowed unpopular messages to be printed in a world that proved uniquely hostile to them.

Theory and Methodology

This dissertation uses a specific approach as well as a unique method to carry out this approach. This dissertation conducts a historical analysis of the records and documents left by the editors. It will then conduct a textual analysis by analyzing the meaning and implications of the narrative that these historical documents reveal in order to trace each editor's ideology. The

narrative that these documents reveal is located firmly within an African American Studies disciplinary tradition, based on the one articulated by the first chair of an autonomous African American Studies academic department, Nathan Hare. Hare wrote in 1970 that there are two phases of African American Studies, or Black Studies, the expressive phase and the pragmatic. The expressive phase is "the effort to build in Black youth a sense of pride of self" whereas the pragmatic phase operates specifically to "prepare Black students to deal with their society." This phase is highly functional: "courses producing socio-economic skills…extensive field work and community involvement in collaboration with classroom activities."[42] This dissertation is written within the tradition of Black Studies specifically to fulfill Hare's pragmatic phase in order to produce a work that, like the editors it discusses, will provide readers and particularly Black students the historic anti-imperialist lens and analyses necessaryto challenge the two party mainstreamtoday.

When discussing the editorial ideology of these editors, this dissertation uses a theoretical lens that privileges race consciousness over a unified racial unity. It argues that in the*Colored AmericanMagazine,* Hopkins questioned like no other editor in her time, the virtues of accomodationism and its potential for achieving racial progress. It assumes that *The Messenger* continued this discourse better than any other paper including Marcus Garvey's*Negro World* because it emphasized class solidarity over racial solidarity. In doing so, this dissertation focuses on editors who encourage in their readers "race consciousness" as defined by Hubert Harrison in 1924. Harrison endorsed race conscious organizing, that was not racially exclusive, to advocate fighting racism in America rather than advocating racial nationalism outside of America that

[42] Nathan Hare, "Questions and Answers About Black Studies (1970)," in *The African American Studies Reader, Second Edition.* Nathaniel Norment Jr., ed. (Durham: Carolina Academic, 2007), p.16.

Garvey endorsed.[49] This dissertation focuses on how editors use race consciousness to show the evil use of race by both Blacks like Garvey and whitesupremacists like James Vardaman, and as such, will not focus on other editors like Du Bois whose *Crisis* imitated the *Colored American Magazine* to a large degree or Garvey whose *Negro World* assumes racial unity without interrogating how it ultimately aids the 'dominant' white race.[50] This dissertation is not suggesting that work towards racial unity be neglected; it focuses on editors who encouraged their readers to *analyze* rather than *organize* according to race. Following the *Colored American Magazine,* this dissertation focuses on *The Messenger*because of its role in radicalizing working class Negroes, one of whom would become influential in making the Montgomery Bus Boycott a success. Finally this dissertation looks at *Freedom* because of its vehement critique of U.S. imperialism. Each of the editors focused on in this dissertation are those whose papers encouraged race consciousness over racial like no other paper in the first half of the twentieth century, according to Hubert Harrison's 1924 definition of race consciousness.

This dissertation will also examine how the fiction written or inspired by these editors, imagined a future beyond their present society by applying Addison Gayle Jr.'s function of the

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[49] Perry, ed. *A Hubert Harrison Reader,* p.116. 26. Harrison believed that Garvey was ultimately not using race consciousness for good, because he emphasized race in a way that imitated Western imperialist European ways to their benefit and still to the downfall of Blacks. In his introduction, Perry writes that "Harrison's major differences from Garvey include: his desire to move in a more political, more radical, more anti-imperialist direction, his opposition to the KKK; his different approach to ending lynching; his desire for more rational and factual appeals rather than emotional ones; and his more personal and political differences concerning attitudes toward co-workers, followers, and truth." This dissertation focuses on editors with these key differences from Garvey.

[50] Perry, ed. *A Hubert Harrison Reader,* p.183, 190, 193-4. Harrison, while editing *Negro World,* helped it reach circulation of fifty thousand by June of 1920 according to Perry. Harrison writes about Garvey in a May 24, 1920 diary entry: "Knowing that my work which had failed laid the foundation for his success, I refrained from burdening his movement with my presence…His ignorance of ships and shipping matters [for his proposed *Black Star* shipping line] has resulted in his paying out tens of thousands of dollars unnecessarily and he has been victimized again and again by the white men from whom ships and ships' accessories were bought." In an August 31, 1920 entry, Harrison writes again about the third week of Garvey's 1920 UNIA convention: "The man has a perfect mania for flamboyant publicity. And this, I think, will wind a rope around his neck later. The third week was taken up with aimless talks and the 'election' of a 'Provisional President of Africa.'—himself; a leader of the American Negroes to dwell in a 'Black House' to be built in Washington, D.C.…Delegates are still asking why did I withdraw. Time will tell them: I won't."

'role of the Negro critic' to each of the major fictional works (stories, novels and plays) these publications presented or inspired. Gayle wrote that the function of the Negro critic is to "explicate the work of art in terms of its contributions to the alleviation of those problems which have confronted humanity for too long a time."[51] This dissertation shall delineate how these editors' publications inspired works of art that imagined a future beyond the problems of Western colonialism, racism, and sexism which dominate the periods in which these publications ran. The literary criticism of these works should demonstrate how they contributed to these long standing problems of humanity, particularly in its criticism of Pauline Hopkins' novel *Winona* and Lorraine Hansberry's play *Les Blancs*. The literary criticism in this dissertation focuses specifically on novels by Hopkins and plays by Hansberry and Childress whose production was a result largely of a race conscious editorial ideology that directly critiqued sexism and racism. It aims to be part of a tradition that Joyce Ann Joyce identifies as one "that provides spiritual light which heals our wounds and sharpens our minds."[52] The purpose of including literary criticism is identical to the one laid out by Joyce in her book *Warriors, Conjurers, and Priests:*

> to affirm, appreciate and propagate the functional value of an African tradition where art is communal and thus an integral part of Black lives…the African American critic must be familiar with trends in literary theory and filter them through an African American sieve, remembering that the ruling hegemony has not yet chosen to filter African or African American thought through its mind.[53]

The research methodology that this dissertation employs is historical analysis of newspapers and personal papers. Analysis of newspapers includes grouping all pieces into fiction and nonfiction. *Colored American Magazine, The Messenger,* and *Freedom* included a significant amount of fiction. Editorial ideology will be discussed in the context of two terms: *reform* and

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[51] Addison Gayle Jr., "Black Expressions (Preface)" in *The Addison Gayle Jr. Reader,* Nathaniel Norment Jr., ed. (Urbana, University of Illinois, 2009), p.280.
[52] Joyce Ann Joyce, *Warriors, Conjurers, and Priests: Defining African-Centered Literary Criticism,* (Chicago: Third World, 1994), p.44.
[53]Joyce, *Warriors, Conjurers, and Priests,* p.45.

revolution. Articles that this dissertation will discuss are only those that suggest *reform* or *revolution*, according to categories originated by Charles V. Hamilton and fully articulated by James T. McCartney in *Black Power Ideologies*. All articles will be read strictly for their suggesting these two themes. The discussion of *Freedom* periodical looks at political organization outside the two party mainstream that encourages these two themes of reform or revolution. Articles are discussed in this dissertation are those that suggest or advocate "reform," specifically the way that Hamilton defined what he called the "political bargainer." The "political bargainer" according to Hamilton and McCartney "conforms to the established political process, because he or she can work within the two party system," and has as a major goal "equalizing opportunities to produce goods and services."[54] For example, Pauline Hopkins' editing of Nannie Helen Burroughs' recommendations to the Convention of Baptist Women is a piece that suggests or advocates *reform* because it calls on women readers to work within the two party system and end the separate coach laws: "We would suggest in this connection that we seek to secure that friendly relation between the white sister organizations that will help us in this matter."[55] This piece assumes politically independent organizing, and represents Burroughs' effort to work within the existing system to change it, to *reform* it. Pieces that are discussed in this dissertation are also those that suggest *revolution* specifically the way that Hamilton defined what he called the "alienated revolutionary." The "alienated revolutionary" according to Hamilton and McCartney argues that progressive change can only come by the use of "calculated acts of instrumental

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[54] James T. McCartney, *Black Power Ideologies: An Essay in African-American Political Thought,* (Philadelphia, Temple University, 1992), p.112. McCartney reiterates four categories, of individuals and organizations that espouse Black Power, originated by Charles V. Hamilton. He provides clear, current examples of each category. He writes that individuals like ex-Congressperson Shirley Chisholm, Representative John Conyers of Michigan are excellent real world examples of the 'political bargainer' category. In the example given, Nannie Helen Burroughs behaves as a political bargainer. The remaining three categories are: moral crusader (whom McCartney says King is), alienated reformer, and alienated revolutionary (whom McCartney says Stokely Carmichael is). McCartney cites these categories from Hamilton's article "An Advocate of Black Power Defines It" in *The Rhetoric of Black Power*,Robert Scott and Wayne Brockriede, eds. (New York, Harper and Row, 1969), p.179.

[55] Nannie Helen Burroughs, "Here and There" *Colored American Magazine*, January-February 1902, p.252.

violence." This dissertation argues that Pauline Hopkins' novel *Winona* suggests revolution because it shows the depravity that racial trauma of a racist society produces on its white and Black citizens. Historical analysis of newspapers will include looking specifically for these two themes.

Analysis of personal papers also includes looking for these same themes of revolution and reform. In the case of the *Colored American Magazine,* the Pauline Hopkins Papers in the Franklin Library Special Collections at Fisk University were read. Notes on material in these papers relevant to reform or revolution in Hopkins' editorial ideology were taken. To provide a description as to how she imagined a different present and future beyond the magazine, I provided a culturally-based literary analysis of her novels *Contending Forces*and *Winona,* which each make startling and foreshadowing suggestions about uplift of the Negro race against racial suppression and degradation.

In the case of *The Messenger,* I looked at the papers of the American Fund for Public Service (also known as the Garland Fund) from whom Randolph solicited and received thousands of dollars for his publication. Randolph was not solely responsible for his content in *The Messenger*. Both A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen co-edited *The Messenger* from 1917 to 1924, when Chandler left for Chicago after his brother's passing. From 1925 until 1928, Randolph became the sole editor of the monthly periodical and used it to advance the cause of labor organizing among Negroes. Between the two, however it was primarily Randolph who corresponded with the American Fund for Public Service. The papers detailing this correspondence are located in the Papers of the American Fund for Public Service at the New

York Public Library.[56] This was done to get a fuller understanding of exactly which obstacles Randolph faced to get funded. Every issue will be discussed in terms of their suggestions for reform or revolution.

Finally, in the case of *Freedom* by Paul Robeson, this methodology will employ a careful readingof all issues of the *Freedom* newspaper located at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York. Like the previous publications, I conduct a textual analysis of each issue of *Freedom* magazine to determine from them, the editorial ideology of Paul Robeson. I focused on how the writers who worked with *Freedom* such as Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry imagined a different present and future beyond their magazine through their fiction, in particular, through their plays. Their plays included more militant characters who would anticipate greater militance in the Black Freedom movement, seen in thework of Mamie Till-Mobley who chose to open her casket at her murdered son's funeral. This greater militance is seen in the activism of Rosa Parks who, the same year that *Freedom* ended, decided not to follow the unjust law that racially segregated her on a Montgomery city bus. This dissertation spends careful attention oneach editor's editorial ideology and will look for trends of how their editorial ideology changed.This is what reading for themes of *revolution* and *reform*allowed.Several works of art that I argue were published and produced due to the work of a particular editor in order to relate the editor's work to the overall Black Freedom struggle. In describing their editorial ideology, I conduct historical analyses of their papers. In describing barriers to these editors'surmounting of barriers to publish their ideology, I read papers of their funders in the case of A. Philip Randolph and I read FBI files in the case of Paul Robeson. In understanding their progressive art, I use Gayle's framework of explaining how the work is a moral force for change.

[56] My research on Randolph was presented at the 2012 How Class Works Conference at Stony Brook University on a panel with Jeffrey B. Perry who presented on Hubert Harrison. The conference and paper presented is available at: http://www.stonybrook.edu/workingclass/conference/2012/papers.shtml

This dissertation will consist of five overall chapters. The first is this, the introduction that provides a survey of all studied editors, the dissertation rationale and purpose of this research issue. The following three chapters will each present three aspects of the publications and their editors. These aspects are:one, their editorial ideology; two, thebarrierseach editor faced the publication of that ideology, and three, the ways they surmounted those barriers and still published their ideology in their paper and in the form of novels, plays, or fictional dialogue. The second chapter will look at these three aspects of Pauline Hopkins' work in her editing *Colored American Magazine.* The third chapter will look at these aspects of A. Philip Randolph's work in editing *The Messenger*. The fourth chapter will look at these aspects of Paul Robeson in his editing *Freedom.* The fifth chapter is the concluding chapter of this work and first plans to summarize the case of each editor. Then it intends to compare these editors in order to make inferences on trends in editorship, barriers to editorship, and the kinds of progressive art among all editors. This is done tomake concluding suggestions about the lessons these editors provided for those in the twenty first century interested in continuing the struggle for racial justice. This final chapter plans to highlight the cost of each of these editors' right to their constitutional right to freedom of expression and make suggestions about how the works of art that their publications helped produce have progressed society beyond its racism and sexism. A detailed outline of this dissertation is as follows:

I. FIRST CHAPTER--INTRODUCTION
   A. Overview of thesis on the role of editors in the Black Freedom struggle.
   B. Review of civil rights literature and black press literature.
   C. Theories and methodologies applied in this study.

II. SECOND CHAPTER ON PAULINE HOPKINS
   A. Introductory section stating the purpose of studying this particular editor.
   B. Biographical sketch on this editor.
   C. Discussion of editorial ideology of Pauline Hopkins in*Colored American Magazine.*

D. Discussion of the barriers that publishing her editorial ideology faced from John Freund.
E. Discussion of how she surmounted these barriers by continuing her editorial ideology in *New Era Magazine* and in her novels via literary criticism of her novels serialized in *Colored American Magazine*.

III. THIRD CHAPTER ON A.PHILIP RANDOLPH
A. Introductory section stating the purpose of studying this particular editor.
B. Biographical sketch on this editor.
C. Discussion of editorial ideology of A. Philip Randolph in *The Messenger*.
D. Discussion of the barriers that publishing his editorial ideology faced from the Justice Department and the American Fund for Public Service.
E. Discussion of how he surmounted these barriers to publishing his editorial ideology by his leadership in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which determined his fiction.

IV. FOURTH CHAPTER ON PAUL ROBESON
A. Introductory section stating the purpose of studying this particular editor.
B. Biographical sketch on this editor.
C. Discussion of the editorial ideologyof Paul Robeson in*Freedom.*
D. Discussion of the barriers that publishing his editorial ideology faced by McCarthyism from the federal government and how his paper surmounted these barriers to publishing his editorial ideology with the Freedom Fund tour, producing *Robeson Sings.*
E. Discussion of how the editorial ideology of Robeson surmounted these barriers by the messages in selectfictional playsby writers for *Freedom*, Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry that produced militant characters who would anticipate greater militance in Black Freedom movement.

V. FIFTH CHAPTER: CONCLUSION
A. A summary ofthe different editorial ideologies of these editors.
B. A summary ofthe different barriers these ideologies faced.
C. A summary ofhow each editor overcame these barriers.
D. A summary of how the art that each paper produced and inspired has helped society progress beyond racism and sexism to challenge white supremacy.
E. A summary of the cost that each editor paid for their published, politically independent voice and the lessons these editors teach us today about the importance of developing an editorial ideology and surmounting barriers to it.
F. Limitations and suggestions for future research.

VI. REFERENCES CITED
A. Periodicals and papers that were cited in this dissertation.
B. Books, articles, and other dissertations that were cited in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: PAULINE HOPKINS & THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the editorial ideology of Pauline Hopkins, show the barriers this ideology faced, and showhow this editorial ideology overcame these barriers to influence the Black Freedom struggle. Pauline Hopkins' editorial ideology endorsed agitation for political rights.Of her editorial ideology, this chapter looks at her critique of the two party mainstream that informed a race consciousness which led to important African American political organization. It also led to fully developed revolutionary characters she created in her fiction. This chapter consists of five sections total. Following this introduction section, is a second section which is a biographical sketch of Pauline Hopkins.Following the second section, this chapter in a third, fourth, and fifth section will look at three aspects of Pauline Hopkins: one, her editorial ideology in the *Colored American Magazine (CAM);* two, the barriers to this editorial ideology she faced by the presence of John Freund, and three, how she overcame these barriers by writing fiction of lasting meaning that imagines a non-racist and non-sexist reality. This non-racist and non-sexist reality is shown most clearly in her novels *Contending Forces* and *Winona*which this fifth section will focus on. Following this section is a biographical sketch of Hopkins which includes a review of the biographical literature on Hopkins and how this dissertation will add to the existing scholarship on Hopkins. This dissertation hopes to show ultimately Pauline Hopkins' role in the Black Freedom Struggle. Ultimately it suggests her ideology and her militant characters are part of a lineage that furthered a national Black Freedom struggle in America. This is a struggle that scholars usually see only in theworks of other better known writers and in much later decades.

Biographical Sketch of Pauline Hopkins

According to Lois Brown's extraordinarily comprehensive biography of Pauline Hopkins, we know that Hopkins was born sometime in 1859. Brown spends about two hundred pages of her biography discussing the ancestral activist heritage of Pauline Hopkins as an artist and activist, from her great great grandfather, the enslaved Caesar Nero Paul who came from Africa to her great granduncle the Reverend Thomas Paul who led an influential abolitionist leadership as pastor of the African Baptist Church in Boston. Brown provides a detailed history of Hopkins' maternal and paternal lines: her grandaunt Susan Paul became the first African American woman to join the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Brown writes that in her speeches and writings, Hopkins invoked her Union soldier-stepfather's [William Hopkins] personal history, one that resurrected the era of heroic African American self-help and emancipation during the Civil War.[57] Here Brown provides the important background for what would become Hopkins' militant editorial ideology that came through her writings in the *Colored American Magazine.* Hopkins editorial ideology did several things unique to advocacy journalism. It celebrated military service of Black men but critiqued the reasons behind them having to fight Filipinos for imperialist expansion.

Brown presents how Hopkins throughout her life fought for the cultural integrity of her work, especially as editor of the *Colored American Magazine.* Brown writes that Hopkins "never would acquire an impressive academic affiliation or benefit from the powerful institutional imprimatur that is accompanied by an Ivy League degree. What she did have, however, was a history that marked her as a descendant of Black pioneers; her Paul family legacy was the chief

[57] Lois Brown, *Pauline Hopkins: Black Daughter of the Revolution.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), p.59.

cultural and social credential she could claim."[59] It is this legacy that prepared her for the cultural cooptation of her work by alleged philanthropist John Freund and Booker T. Washington.

The respite of the magazine's financial prosperity ended by 1904 when a self-interested thief disguised as patron John Freund radically co-opted the mission of the magazine which for him was "justice; merely this and nothing more."[60] The justice for Hopkins at the offices of the *Colored American Magazine* became most seriously challenged when,according to documented letters, Freund successfully collaborated with Booker T. Washington to essentially oust her from her editorship of the *Colored American Magazine.*

Brown attributes his ability to do this to Hopkins' gullibility in thinking that Freund was a genuine benefactor to their magazine when, in fact, he was working to undermine the magazine. Freund and Washington are able to orchestrate a move of the magazine headquarters to New York, where Hopkins follows them and continues use of her pen to resist Freund and Booker T. Washington's new plans for the magazine. She published in J. Max Barber's *Voice of the Negro* publication, which she wrote that Washington also tried to co-opt. Brown shows Hopkins as a pioneering editor despite her removal from the magazine. Brown writes how Hopkins later founded another publication in 1916, *New Era Magazine,* that she edited for a few months. Brown's biography ultimately tells us that Hopkins was a writer and editor dedicated first and foremost to political agitation and one who diligently overcame barriers to remain true to this ideology.

Tanya Clark's 2004 Temple University dissertation focuses on how Pauline Hopkins "edited her way into the national conversation about race and race relations in America" using

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[59] Lois Brown, *Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins: Black Daughter of the Revolution,* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 2008), p.156.
[60] Brown, *Pauline Hopkins,* p.267.

the *Colored American Magazine.*[61] While showing how Hopkins investigates race, imperialism, and nationalism, Clark addresses how she raised funds, maintained a uniquely politically independent editorial ideology, and advocated progressive art. Clark writes that the *Colored American Magazine* encouraged cooperative economics within the community and showed that partners could work together as a business and share in its profits or losses in what is known as a co-op. Hopkins and her co-editors, according to Clark's historical read of this magazine, "invited blacks to be active members of the co-op as either agents, contributors, subscribers, or stockholders…readers could become members of the co-op by investing $5.00. *Colored American Magazine* sold at a competitively low price of $.15 per copy or $1.50 for a year's subscription." This co-op provided jobs and allowed them a mode of political expression unrestrained by race.

Ultimately this magazine, according to Clark, intended "to make African Americans aware of and proud of their history and abilities."[62] Clark speaks toHopkins' editorial ideology most significantly in her discussion of Hopkins series called "Famous Men of the Negro Race," when she describes Haiti from the perspective of Hopkins: "Both the text and the pictures capture the island in a state that might have reminded a black audience of America before the slave trade. Slavery, which is described as a 'many-headed monster,' swiftly interrupts this peace just as it did with Africans when they were seized and forced to endure the system of American slavery."[63] Clark shows howHopkins had a unique preoccupation with Haiti, the first island nation to wholeheartedly reject the institution of slavery, and Clark shows how Hopkins

[61] Tanya Clark, "Quilting the Race: Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins, the *Colored American Magazine,* and the African American Family, 1900-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 2004), p.x.
[62]Clark, "Quilting the Race," p.18-20.
[63]Clark, "Quilting the Race," p.110.

endorsed political agitation by challenging the normality of enslavement in the United States, very much like her abolitionist forbears Susan Paul and William Hopkins.

Clark also shows the progressivism within Hopkins' art when she writes that in Hopkins' novel, *Contending Forces,* America is a place that is "wild, backward, dangerous, and different because it had yet to [awaken] to the folly and wickedness exemplified in the enslavement of their fellow-beings."[64] Clark shows how Hopkins is using her novel, as the vehicle for social change she intended, to inspire her American readers to help make America less "dangerous."

In Brown's biography of Hopkins, while she provides an important answer to this second central question of this dissertation about the role of Hopkins' novel in progressing society beyond its racist mores, particularly by invoking Milton, Brown fails to properly extend her literary criticism to explicate *exactly* how, in terms of Addison Gayle, Jr., Hopkins' art is a force for moral change. In Brown's appendix of her biography is the text of a speech by Hopkins who says: "my stories are definitely planned to show the obstacles persistently placed in our paths by a dominant race to subjugate us spiritually." Brown does not acknowledge this framework in her literary criticism of Hopkins novels, particularly *Winona,* and the suggestions that Hopkins is making about the potential for well-meaning white liberals to work towards progressing society beyond the Jim Crow discrimination at this time. This chapter will remedy this oversight by focusing specifically on how one of Hopkins' serialized works display the obstacles placed in "our paths." By doing so, it hopes to answer the question of exactly how Hopkins' art has helped society progress beyond its racism and sexism.

This dissertation plans to address and expose more of the underlying assumptions of Freund and exactly why he considered it such a threat to the status quo. Clark's dissertation breaks important ground when discussing fundraising and how Black presses like *Colored*

[64]Clark, "Quilting the Race," p.144.

American Magazine could not rely on advertising revenue the way mainstream presses could and consequently had to rely on subscriptions. However as it concerns Hopkins' editorial ideology, Clark excludes mention of so many other subjects of Hopkins study such as Lewis Hayden and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper whose work resists racial subjugation in the same manner as L'Ouverture, and deserves mention. This dissertation plans to expound on the suggestions Hopkins was making about the importance of political independence by mentioning all persons in her Famous Men and Women series. As it concerns progressive art, Clark discusses every serialized novel except *Winona*, which was especially important in its suggestions about Blacks and Whites working together for social change. This dissertation plans to discuss this novel in depth and its suggestions for accomplishing social change.

Editorial Ideology of Pauline Hopkins

The inaugural May 1900 issue of the *Colored American Magazine* stated that the periodical's purpose is "the introduction of a monthly magazine of merit into every Negro family, which shall be a credit to the present and future generations."[115]She and the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company raised funds to print this magazine primarily through the work of agents who would sell the paper at a yearly subscription of $1.50 since their inaugural issue. They had agents all across the country whose job was to solicit subscribers for a yearly subscription. Printed at the back of every issue were the names of these agents. Readers were

[115]"Announcement," *Colored American Magazine* (henceforth abbreviated as *CAM),* May 1900, unnumbered.Some pages in these bound copies are not numbered and can only be located by issue and subheading title.

invited to purchase certificates of deposit in the cooperative and contributors were compensated according to the number of subscribers they were able to recruit for the magazine.[116]

Hopkins' three to four year editorship of the *Colored American Magazine* proves that she could depend on a reliable Black readership without letting her editorial ideology neglect this overall mission of being a credit to present and future and Negro generations. In this first issue she affirmed military service of colored men by printing a report by Lieutenant Braxton of Company L, the only colored military company in the Massachusetts militia that was fighting in the Spanish American war: the company:

> was the first colored organization of volunteers mustered into service, and the only one favored with active service…Every man was imbued with the spirit of General Miles' words, 'no retreat' and though opposed by their superior numbers, they held their ground…at the opening of which the Americans were ambuscaded, Company L took a prominent part, getting in the first fire on the enemy.[117]

Hopkins' decision to print the military work of colored men suggested to her readers that military involvement was a way for Black men to escapethe racial and political marginalization they faced at this time. In her June 1900 issue, Hopkins allowed more anti-imperialiststatements particularly in an article by Frank Putnam called "The Negro's Part In New National Problems." In it, Putnam challenged the role of the U.S. government and its mainstream press in exploiting the labor of colored people in Puerto Rico and the Philippines:

> Today this aristocracy of money is enslaving the white masses at the North; is preparing to enslave the patriots of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and is aiding by consent

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[116] Ira Dworkin, ed., *Daughter of the Revolution: The Major Nonfiction Works of Pauline Hopkins,* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University, 2007), p.xxiii

[117]Lieutenant Braxton, "Company 'L' in the Spanish American War," *CAM,* May 1900, (New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 19. Pages are numbered according to the issues in the bound copies of the *Colored American Magazine,* published in New York by Negro Universities Press in 1969. The copy read for this dissertation came from the Reference Collection of the Van Pelt Library at the University of Pennsylvania. Some pages in these bound copies are not numbered and can only be located by issue and subheading title. Common subheadings in *CAM* include "Here and There" and "Editorial and Publishers' Announcements." Many articles in the *Colored American Magazine* are not attributed to any author and are designated in footnotes by only their article or section name.

> the re-enslavement of the colored men of the Southern states…I voted for William McKinley. I believed in the genuine goodness of his heart, in the sturdiness of his Americanism. I still believe in him, but I see that he is, like the exceptional democratically minded member of the aristocracy of money, powerless to guide the course of his party.[118]

Hopkins already suggested from her second issue the sentiments of Putnam, the importance of an informed voter who is considering abandoning partisan lines because he sees McKinley as powerless to guide his party. Hopkins suggested to her readers that they think critically about how the position of U.S. president in being beholden to a mainstream political party is also beholden to interests in the U.S. that maintains Jim Crow discrimination. In the September 1900 issue, Hopkins printed an article by Charles Winslow Hall entitled "Racial Hatred" that critiques racism but specifically states how Negroes who adopt an independent course are threatened. Hallsuggested that the white laborer should collaborate with his fellow Negro worker in order to challenge the oppression that both face:

> No white laboring man who realized the tendency of the time can fail to see that the attack on the independence of the Negro is only the skirmish line of aristocratic legislation and agitation, which shall in the end, through the same ever-levelling forces, reduce white men to the same degradation and helplessness to which they have helped to down the Negro race.[119]

In the October 1900 issue, the magazine announced that they are the official organ of the Constitutional Rights Association of the United States and that they will publish the regular reports of the organization. One of their organizational tenets is their belief"in the equality of all men before the law, and that they should not be discriminated against, on account of their floor, in public carriages; and that all men should be endowed with their political rights and should not be disfranchised."[120]This latter tenet is the core of Hopkins' editorial ideology which advocated African Americans fighting unapologetically for political rights. Her ideology included offering

[118]Frank Putnam, "The Negro's Part in New National Problems," *CAM*, June 1900, p.70-72.
[119]Charles Winslow Hall, "Racial Hatred," *CAM*, Sep 1900, p.250.
[120]"Announcements," *CAM*, Oct. 1900, p.309.

products to agents and readers that celebrated political agitators.[121] One product was the photograph of a Black toddler wrapped in the American flag called 'The Young Colored American.' See Figure 1.

[121]Another product was the Frederick Douglass Watch, which was a gift to any agent able to acquire eight new yearly subscribers to the magazine. The advertisement for the Frederick Douglass watch can be seen in the March 1901 issue and the photo of the young Black toddler wrapped in the American flag shown in Figure 1 can be seen in the October 1900 issue.

From photo by Purdy, Boston.

THE YOUNG COLORED AMERICAN.

Figure 1: "The Young Colored American," *Colored American Magazine,* October 1900, Front Cover.

The photo of the toddler called “The Young Colored American”was available to any agent who acquired eight new yearly subscribers. In many issues, agents were encouraged to look for new

subscribers, and if they were interested enough in the magazine, these subscribers in fact could become new agents also. Hopkins advocated for the fighting of political rights in ways that predated the popular 1903 publication of W.E.B. Du Bois's*The Souls of Black Folk*.[122] In this same issue Hopkins reprinted an excerpt from the *Lewiston Journal* entitled the "Negro and Filipino" and in it she appealed to critics of the two party mainstream that decry foreign intervention and not Southern racism:

> Anti-imperialists who sweat blood because McKinley in obedience to the Senate, assumes to place the flag in Manila and to defend it there, are silent over the fact that Louisiana and Mississippi pass laws that admit the vote to white men who cannot read or white and deny it to black men because they cannot read or write.[123]

While Hopkins affirmed U.S. military service as an avenue for Black men to acquire their political rights, she also questioned the role that the U.S. military plays in oppressing peoples of color in the Philippines. In the November 1900 issue, Hopkins began her series called "Famous Men of the Negro Race" where she recognized accomplishments of Negro men. These series celebrated Negro men who have played an instrumental role in social change in the West.[124] They did so by fighting for their political rights. Hopkins obviously uses L'Ouverture's life as an example to her readers about the importance of pursuing one's political rights which was what her editorial ideology endorsed. She related the work of L'Ouverture to the work of hundreds of colored Union troops by invoking Civil War battles that colored Union regiments won:

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[122]Hopkins editorial ideology that emphasized fighting for political rights predates Du Bois's emphasis in his 1903 book *The Soulsof Black Folk*, especially in his third chapter "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," where he critiques American imperialism yet excludes Hopkins in his mention of a class of Negroes who fight for "the right to vote," "civic equality," and "the education of youth according to ability," Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, (New York, Bantam, 1903), p.38. Du Bois's exclusion of Hopkins is especially curious especially since her *Colored American Magazine* made the same critique of Washington and American imperialism at least two years prior.
[123]"Editorial and Publisher's Announcements," *CAM*, October 1900, p.333-334.
[124] C.L.R. James writes that the San Domingo (Haitian) revolution, the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807, the emancipation of slaves in 1833, and emancipation during the Civil War in America, all these events are component parts of a single historic process, which Hopkins recognizes in her appreciation for the L'Ouverture's role in the Haitian revolution which decades later necessitated the Civil War in the United States. C.L.R. James, *A History of Negro Revolt* (New York, Haskell House, 1969), p.30.

> Therefore the history of the Island of St. Domingo is interesting to the Negroes of the United States; brothers in blood, though speaking different languages, we should clasp our hands in friendship when we look back upon our past, when we, too, though unaccustomed to the sound or use of arms, marched to Fort Wagner and to Fort Pillow [Civil War battles in which colored Union regiments played a key role], and there raised our bethel consecrated by the life-blood of the brave black man. History has recorded that, also, and it shall be known; God intends it so![125]

Hopkins described Toussaint L'Ouverture as a "brave black man" and intended to inspire her readership to do several things: one,know the history of St. Domingo;two, notice L'Ouverture's efforts to appeal to the nation of France; and three, engage similar political fights in the U.S.,especially since they share the experience of winning their political rights through military battles. Later in this issue, Hopkins edited an article called "Major General Antonio Maceo: The Idol of Cuba and the Cuban Insurgents" by S.E.F.C.C. Hamedoe who wrote about Antonio Maceo, the Negro Cuban military leader who fought Spanish colonization. Hamedoe wrote:

> Antonio Maceo and his brother Jose were commanders in this army, and with the ingenuity of Antonio Maceo, Quesada was able to was able to drive the Spanish army of 110,000 men form one part of the island; and if it had not been for the excellent work of the Spanish navy, the Cubans would have dictated their own terms of peace, and instead of the blood-stained standard of Carlos Quinto, the Lone Star would have floated…He had taken part in every battle of any note since 1860, and was twenty eight times wounded, yet he never flinched, and led his troops at one time to the very gates of Havana. Many people never knew he was a Negro, and have his life and all for *Cuba Libré,* even as the Negro Crispus Attucks gave his—the hero of State Street. He was a man with a purpose, and kept that purpose in view until he was taken, we hope, to a better world. Thus ended the life of the greatest hero of the nineteenth century.[126]

In this issue, Hamedoe followed Hopkins' lead by discussing a Negro man who privileged fighting for his political rights. Like Hopkins, Hamedoe related Cuba's struggle for

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[125]Pauline Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: Toussaint L'Ouverture," *CAM,* Nov. 1900, p.24; Ira Dworkin, ed. *Daughter of the Revolution: The Major Nonfiction Works of Pauline Hopkins,* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University, 2007), p.21.

[126]S.E.F.C.C. Hamedoe, "Major General Antonio Maceo: The Idol of Cuba and the Cuban Insurgents,"*CAM,* Nov. 1900, p.52. For more on Maceo, see Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation and Revolution, 1868-1898,* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1999).

independence to the struggle for personal independence of Negro soldiers that Negro men fought for by joining the 54th Regiment and becoming a Union soldier in the Civil war. By calling Antonio Maceo the greatest hero of the nineteenth century, Hamedoe celebrated the anti-imperial work of Negro men in the West and solidified the role of *Colored American Magazine* in affirming and supporting political agitation outside of the two-party mainstream, which L'Ouverture and Maceo rejected from both France and Spain respectively.

Hopkins's coverage of the women's club movement showed her an editor with an ideology that fostered a unique avenue for women fighting for their political rights. During the first several issues, Hopkins relied on Albreta Moore Smith to relay the importance of fighting for political rights to her female readers: "Proper club indulgence encourages freedom of speech and independence of thought; yet; if that independence is wrongly used it becomes a curse instead of a blessing. At the present writing we are aware of the existence of ten popular Colored Women's Clubs in Chicago."[127]Crucially important in this issue is the second article in Hopkins' "Famous Men" series, this time about Frederick Douglass. She inspired her readership to understand that the slaveholding interests that Douglass fought against still in 1900 require a serious political agitation that depends on political independence: "we have the rise again of slave power, for the old spirit is not dead; the serpent was scorched, not killed…We have a convict lease system and the word of influential Southerners [is that] they have 'a better thing' than slavery for them."[128] Hopkins's editorial ideology included exposing how the two party mainstreamis supported by and supports the work of influential Southerners. She writes that Douglass's life presents to us "an example of possibilities which may be within the reach of

[127]Albreta Moore Smith, "Here and There, Chicago Notes," *CAM,* Dec. 1900, p.147.
[128]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: Hon. Frederick Douglass," *CAM,* Dec. 1900, p.132;Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.33.

many young men of the rising generation—a mission divinely given, gradually accomplished."[129]

In the January 1901 issue, Hopkins edited a piece written by John Livingstone Wright entitled "Elijah Parrish Lovejoy: The First Anti-Slavery Martyr." It recognized the ultimate personal sacrifice that one editor, Elijah Parrish Lovejoy, gave for the sake of maintaining his own editorial ideology. The article opened quoting Lovejoy: "As long as I am an American citizen, and as long as American blood runs in these veins, I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write, to publish whatever I please on any subject—being amenable to the laws of my country for the same." Lovejoy was a prominent abolitionist preacher and later editor of the St. Louis *Observer*. The article described the personal sacrifices he made by choosing to discuss and critique slavery in his paper. The article stated that Lovejoy believed that, instead of organizing armed rebellion, abolitionists should reason with slaveowners and try to convince them to see the enormity of keeping slaves.[130] The article concluded showing the degree to which he would unapologetically stand by his beliefs:

> And yet those words set St. Louis wild at the time they were published. Things moved rapidly. The printing press was destroyed. The office was moved across the river to Alton, in the free state of Illinois. The feeling there was intensely bitter, and thrice was the press destroyed, each time to be replaced by a new one, and worked by the indomitable Lovejoy…Early in the morning, however, the mob appeared, large in numbers and fully armed. Unheeding the appeals of the mayor and other officials who were present at the building, the mob leaders avowed their determination to have possession of the press at all hazards. Ladders were brought and lashed together, and thus the roof was gained and fired. The mob presently retreated and placed itself in ambush. Lovejoy came out, probably thinking he might still be able to influence the rabble by something he might say. He had scarcely shown himself ere five rifle bullets were buried in his body. He retreated within, and actually managed to climb to the second story before he fell. Thus perished Lovejoy…

[129]Hopkins, "Famous Men," p.132; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.33.
[130] This reasoning is a method known as moral suasion, that editor William Lloyd Garrison was later known for. The article stated that Lovejoy did not believe anti-slavery could be brought about in any other way. Hopkins celebrates editors like Lovejoy who are committed agitators against racial injustice, like she was.

Hopkins made clear the lessons she wanted her readers to learn from Lovejoy's life:

> Though dead he still speaketh, and a united world can never silence his voice. Ten thousand presses, had he employed them all, could never have done what the simple tale of his death will do.[131]

Hopkins recognized and celebrated editors who, before her time, were willing to sacrifice their lives for the values they believed in; in Lovejoy's case, abolition. Like Douglass and L'Ouverture, she held these men up as an example of how to defend your ideas even with your own life, despite the norms of a society that are bolstered by a political two party mainstream that depend on the economic exploitation of the enslaved class. In this issue is the first substantive biographical sketch of Hopkins, who traced her own abolitionist heritage so as to celebrate her own activism along the tradition of L'Ouverture, Douglass, and Lovejoy that she provided in her sketches of her "Famous Men" series:

> her father William A. Hopkins, a G.A.R. [Grand Army of the Republic] veteran of the Civil War, is a native of Alexandria Va…by her mother Miss Hopkins is a direct descendant of the famous Paul brothers, all black men, educated abroad for the Baptist ministry, the best known of whom was Thomas Paul, [who] founded St. Paul Baptist Church, Joy Street, Boston, Mass. the first colored church in this section of the United States. Susan Paul, a niece of these brothers, was a famous colored woman, long and intimately associated with William Lloyd Garrisonin the anti-slavery movement. Miss Hopkins is also a grandniece of the late James Whitfield, the California poet, who was associated with Frederick Douglass in politics and literature. His poems are in all the libraries of the Pacific coast, and Mr. Douglass had them in his library…Her ambition is to become a writer of fiction, in which the wrongs of her race shall be so handled as to enlist the sympathy of all classes of citizens, in this way reaching those who never read history or biography. 'Contending Forces' is her first published work.[132]

In this sketch we learn that Hopkins' ambition as a novelist, to handle "the wrongs of her race…as to enlist the sympathy of all classes of citizens" is to continue the abolitionist tradition of appealing to the audience's morality to show not only the absurdity of slavery, but also show the absurdity of the economy that depends heavily on what Hopkins called "a convict lease

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[131]John Livingstone Wright, "Elijah Parrish Lovejoy: The First Anti-Slavery Martyr," *CAM*, Jan. 1901, p.167-168.
[132]"Pauline Hopkins: Author of 'Contending Forces,' 'Talma Gordon,' 'General Washington,' Etc.,"*CAM*, Jan. 1901, p.218-219.

system" to thrive. This is an economy that depends on the illusion of political representation to continue. Later in this issue Hopkins recognized the work of novelist William Wells Brown. Hopkins recognized his abolitionist work "as a steward of a Lake Erie steamer [who]…was able to do much for slaves, giving free passage to sixty-five in one year."[133] She wrote that after returning to the U.S. after visiting abroad, he had "renewed vigor in the fight for the freedom of his race."[134] She concluded by writing "it is well for us to ponder the history of these self-made men of our race, and mark the progress they made with nothing but the husks of living to stimulate the soul thirsting for the springs of knowledge."[135]As she wrote about Douglass, Hopkins was interested in her readership, especially her young readership to note the progress that not only Brown made, but the progress that she, Lovejoy and L'Ouverture made to help progress society beyond its crippling sexism and racism at this time. Her editorial ideology hoped to inspire more people to influence society the way Lovejoy and L'Ouverture did.

As of the February 1901 issue, in the "Here and There" section which was devoted to blurbs about Black institutions from across the country, Hopkins presented a blurb on a school known as "The Temperance Industrial and Collegiate Institute" near old Jamestown. The blurb notes that:

> this institution is located within a few miles of old Jamestown, where the first cargo of human slaves was sold…The school is non-sectarian, but strictly moral, religious, and industrial. It is not supported by any political party or church denomination, but lives by the individual efforts of the president, the Rev. J. Smallwood, together with voluntary contributions made annually by interested funds. The Negro is here taught how to become an intelligent citizen and an *independent thinker and voter*[italics added].[136]

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[133]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: William Wells Brown," *CAM*, Jan. 1901, p.232; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.34. Paule Marshall in her memoir also pays tribute to Jamestown, where Africans were sold. See Paule Marshall, *Triangular Road* (New York, Basic, 2009).
[134]Hopkins, "Famous Men," p.232; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.36.
[135]Hopkins, "Famous Men," p.236. Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.39.
[136]"Here and There," *CAM*, Feb. 1901, p.274-279.

Hopkins made a point to teach her readers the important legacy of Blacks maintaining independent institutions so that each of them could become "an independent thinker and voter." This message of reform differs from the one given in this same issue by Albreta Moore Smith's "Chicago Notes" which argues that "when we become bankers, property holders and merchants to an alarming (?) degree, all this talk of 'color' will immediately disappear…our best hope lies in the commercial world."[137]Smith's encouragement of venturing into the commercial world challenged the ability to keep one's independent voice, as Hopkins' would face her first barrier to her editorial ideology in John Freund in 1904.

This issue contained Hopkins's fourth sketch in her "Famous Men of the Negro Race" series, this time about Robert Brown Elliott. He was a member of the South Carolina State House, where he served on the Constitutional Convention that intended to draft a new constitution for that state. He became chairman of the state executive committee until as Hopkins wrote, the Democratic Party fraudulently usurped the government:

> He bore his part bravely upon many battlefields, although uncheered by that certain hope of political elevation which victory would secure to the white man.Elliott distinguished himself there by rising in the convention and seconding the nomination of Hon. John Sherman for President of the United States…Today we cannot point to one man who has reached the dizzy heights of superiority occupied by General Elliott. By his achievements we prove that it is possible for a Negro to rise to great political eminence as well as a white man, if the desire for his 'industrial development' does not blind our eyes to other advantages in life. Robert Elliott's life story is interwoven inseparably with the political history of the United States in the most critical period of its existence.[138]

Hopkins lamented how both Republican and Democratic parties conspired to keep Negro voters intimidated and disenfranchised. The Republican party vowed to remove federal Union troops from the American South as long as the Democratic party would allow their Republican 1876 U.S. presidential candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, to become president even though he lost

[137]Albreta Moore Smith, "Chicago Notes," *CAM*, Feb. 1901, p.288.
[138]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: Robert Brown Elliott," *CAM*, Feb. 1901, p.297, 301;Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.44,48.

the popular vote to the Democratic candidate, Samuel Tilden. The removal of federal troops allowed vigilante white mobs to intimidate newly freed colored people from voting. Lynchings were a widespread method of intimidation and for Hopkins, the life of Robert Brown Elliott was a beacon of political resistance in a milieu that sought to destroy Reconstruction.

In the March 1901 issue, Hopkins edited an article by Robert W. Carter called "Queen Victoria—The Friend of the Negro" that focused on the abolitionist tendencies of Great Britain. Carter discussed white men who fought nobly for the rights of Negro men: "back in the eighteenth century, Granville Sharp worked in England as did John Brown in America, to right the wrongs done the Negro by his Anglo Saxon brother. Both of these gentlemen were abolitionists, and both of the English race of people who, on general principles, are guided by the spirit of right, of freedom and justice to all men."[139]Hopkins was interested in teaching her Black readership not just the utility of racial unity, as Marcus Garvey would later popularize. She would also teach her readership the utility of race consciousness, as Hubert Harrison would later write about, which encouraged Black people not to dismiss all white people because they are white, but to employ those whites interested in the struggle against racism. Later in this issue she celebrated the work of Edwin Garrison Walker, named after a white editor, William Lloyd Garrison. Hopkins wrote:

> Lawyer Walker could not brook the crack of the party whip when it commanded him to violence to his own best promptings in the interest of his race. In 1867 he made a speech on the Fourteenth Amendment that practically severed his connection with the Republican party. He refused to obey his political bosses and lost the chance of re-election to the Massachusetts legislature…He knew that our destruction lay in our facile obedience to one party at all hazards. He saw that the Republican party is not what it was; the old ideas which gave it birth; the inalienable right to liberty of person, mind, education and religion, have changed under the management of the present generation and the infusion of young republicanism, to a commercial and financial basis.[140]

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[139]Robert W. Carter, "Queen Victoria—The Friend of the Negro," *CAM,* Mar. 1901, p.354.
[140]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: Edwin Garrison Walker," *CAM,* Mar. 1901, p.364-366; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.54, 56.

Hopkins presented Walker's life as an example of the importance of fighting for political rights outside of the two party mainstream. Earlier in Carter's piece, he expressed confidence about the role that progressive agitators like Lovejoy and Charles Sumner "will rise in the legislative halls of the nation, on the public platform, in favor of human rights."[141] So Hopkins' editorial message to her readers did not eschew involvement in the political mainstream; she only suggested doing so outside of the two party mainstream, through a politically independent party that does not, like the Republican party in her piece on Walker, change "to a commercial and financial basis." Hopkins apologized to her readers in this issue for not supplying enough of the February issue to meet its very high demand: "We shall endeavor to see that this condition is not repeated, although as the magazine is made more interesting and timely with each new issue, it becomes most difficult to know just how many to print, in order to supply theconstantly increasing demand."[142]Hopkins's editorial ideology was one that defied conventional racism of American journalism yet still attracted a high demand.

In her sixth of the Famous Men series, Hopkins focused on the work of abolitionist Lewis Hayden who defied both the Republican and Democratic party when he defied slavery because, according to Hopkins, he had a "greatness [that] came from his love of his race, and the sacrifices he made of money, of time, and of physical comfort for the redemption of a people from chattel bondage."[144] Hopkins showed Hayden as one who not only fought for political rights within the electoral process but also outside the electoral process. Hayden served in the Massachusetts state legislature and, Hopkins writes:

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[141]Carter, "Queen Victoria," *CAM*, Mar. 1901, p.356.
[142]"Editorial and Publishers Announcements," *CAM*, Mar. 1901, p.393.
[144]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: Lewis Hayden," *CAM*, Apr. 1901, p.473-474; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.59.

> His house sheltered the fugitives in many dark hour. At the time that William and Ellen Craft escaped by the Underground Railroad, Hayden's home was their secure retreat…The marshal of the city was approached for aid in taking the fugitives from the building [and attempted to return them to their owners, but Hayden replied] 'Before a fugitive slave shall be taken from under my roof, we will all go together, pursuers and pursued. I do not value life myself, and would count such a death glorious!' said the sturdy patriot.[145]

Hopkins in this sketch showed how Hayden threatened to kill himself, the marshal, and the fugitives instead of allowing the marshal to remand the fugitives back into slavery. She mentioned the close relationship Hayden had with John Brown, saying that Hayden's home, where he helped fugitives escape enslavement, was where "John Brown himself stopped…with Hayden for weeks, just before he left Boston for the last time."[146] She inferred that based on Hayden's sacrifices for abolition and ultimately for political rights, Black activist abolitionists have a lot to teach their fellow white abolitionists like John Brown who Hopkins suggests was undoubtedly aware of the personal sacrifices that Hayden made for the cause of abolition. She appealed to her readers to see their moral obligation to help make their fellow white citizens more progressive and less beholden to the two party mainstream. She stated that if part of the Negro problem is non-educated Negroes imitating whites, then "it seems to us, then that the only solution of this problem lies in the *uplifting of the moral life of our white population, first of all*[emphasis added]."[147] This was a solution that Hopkins also endorses in her novels, as explained in the fifth section of this chapter. This solution remains one of the ways that Hopkins overcame barriers to her editorial ideology.

In her sixth sketch of the "Famous Men" series, Hopkins focused on Charles Lenox Remond who she writes "was the first Negro to enter the abolitionist movement as a regular lecturer in the anti-slavery cause, and was, no doubt, the ablest representative the race had till the

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[145]Hopkins, "Famous Men," *CAM,* Apr. 1901, p.473-478; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.60.
[146]Hopkins, "Famous Men," *CAM,* Apr. 1901, p.476-477; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.61.
[147]Hopkins, "Famous Men," *CAM,* Apr. 1901, p.476-477; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.62.

appearance of Frederick Douglass."[148]She talked about his work in the Civil War and how Remond served as a recruiting officer for the colored regiments. Hopkins presentedRemond, like she presented L'Ouverture, as one who fought for one's political rights through military work. Hopkins suggested that his military work as a Union soldier recruiter fulfilled his previous work as an abolitionist. Before he was using words and speeches to combat enslavement whereas now he was deploying troops ordered to shoot and kill Confederate soldiers who were defending enslavement. She ended this sketch by imploring readers to gleam from Remond a lesson about the importance of continued agitation against the two party mainstream: "Slavery is no more, but there still remains a tremendous amount of work to be done before the race will stand on a sound, progressive basis."[149]Also in this issue is the first historical sketch of the *Colored American Magazine* written by R.S. Elliott. He wrote that the magazine is devoted to those who would slavishly bend under the weight of prejudice and fight for racial justice, listing the treasurer, president and other officers of the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company. About the magazine, Elliott wrote very directly in 1901, as an almost prophetic argument to John Freund who would orchestrate the largest barrier to Hopkins's editorial ideology: "there has been no attempt to seek the aid of philanthropists, although we feel that there have been many less deserving projects which have been lavishly supported in that way. Today our magazine has a much larger actual monthly circulation than many journals and periodicals that are considered old, established and successful publications."[150]Both Elliott and Hopkins would reject Freund's "business advice" to raise funds for the magazine by solely depending on the aid of white philanthropists.

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[148]Hopkins, "Famous Men," *CAM,* Apr. 1901, p.476-477; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.63.
[149]Hopkins, "Famous Men," *CAM,* Apr. 1901, p.476-477; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.64.
[150]R.S. Elliott, "The Story of Our Magazine," *CAM,* May 1901, p.43.

In the June 1901 issue of the *Colored American Magazine*, Hopkins featured another Civil War hero William Carney, who served as a Sargeant in Massachusetts'historic 54th regiment of Union Army. Hopkins praised his leadership of this infantry in their fight against the Confederacy: "When the regiment retired from the fort, Sergeant Carney, by the aid of his comrades, succeeded in reaching the hospital, still holding onto the flag, where he fell, exhausted and almost lifeless on the floor, saying 'the old flag never touched the ground, boys.'"[151] She praised the Carney's bold military leadership as a beacon for her readers to aspire to the way that L'Ouverture's military battles were a beacon. At the end of this sketch, she writes that "compromise and political necessity forced the war…[and] are showing their false, smiling, faces all over the country. Compromise and political necessity hope to force us away from the country, or else grind our ambitious advance down to serfdom."[152]Hopkins decried the compromise and political necessity that created the Civil War yet celebrated the work of those like Sergeant Carney who fought within it to uphold abolition. Later in this issue, Albreta Moore Smith wrote that "of the various trades which in the past has not appealed kindly to many Negro men and boys, plumbing stands preeminent."[153]Like Hopkins will do later in her second periodical *New Era Magazine*, Albreta Smith singled out labor union racism as a contributing factor to the Negro problem of gainful employment.

In the July 1901 issue of the *Colored American Magazine*, Hopkins presented her eighth series in the "Famous Men of the Negro Race" series which is a profile on Ohio state representative and Howard university professor John Mercer Langston. By discussing his upbringing, Hopkins invoked the important role that progressive, race-conscious whites played in the socialization of an influential Negro man who fought for political independence:

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[151]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: William Carney," *CAM*, June 1901, p.76.
[152]Hopkins, "Famous Men," *CAM*, June 1901, p.76.
[153]Albreta Moore Smith, "Chicago Notes," *CAM*, June 1901, p.151.

> Educational advantages were offered him in a private school kept by two white men, scholarly and well-disposed to the colored race…The 'Oberlin Movement' headed by the men named, and the 'Abolition Movement' led by William Lloyd Garrison, had their origin the same year…In such a community the boy Langston was educated and trained.[154]

Hopkins in this sketch puts a premium on not only the presence of progressive white abolitionists but also on the movement in which these progressive abolitionists were part of which included the very influential William Lloyd Garrison. She wrote that after the early days of his professional career, Langston had the honor of being "the first colored man in the United States ever elected to an office by a popular vote." Hopkins quoted Langston saying that it was an 1863 meeting of governors in Altoona, Pennsylvania, that encouraged more Negroes to join colored regiments in the Civil War; at this meeting Stearns was assigned this task of organizing colored regiments. Langston was employed by George Stearns to recruit colored regiments in the western part of the Country. He later ran for a seat in the U.S. Congress however according to Hopkins "by fraud at the polls Mr. Langston was defeated, of course; appreciating this fact, he determined to contest the election. Then he realized that the case was almost hopeless…He found all agencies working against him—fraud, intimidation, obstruction, hindrance of voters, foul manipulation of ballots—and, greater of all, the social influences were in full operation."[155] Hopkins said in this piece: "Mr. Langston's treatment by the Democratic party and a powerful faction of the Republican party, its final results, closing in his complete vindication, must stand as among the most remarkable ones of American politics."[156]Hopkins called this remarkable perhaps because despite his familiarity with progressive whites, the Republican or Democratic parties did not meaningfully allow his full participation. Also in this issue was a very important

[154]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: John Mercer Langston," *CAM*, July 1901, p.177-178; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.78.
[155]Hopkins, "Famous Men," p.183-184; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.85.
[156]Hopkins, "Famous Men," p.183-184; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.84.

sketch of William Dupree presumably written by Hopkins herself. She praised the service of William Dupree who was made First Sergeant of Company H of the Fifty fifth regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers and writes. Of him is written:

> I believe in agitation. Public conscience can be awakened only be constant and continued exposition of conditions as they really exist…He was delegate-at-large from Massachusetts to the Colored Men's National Convention, called at Washington, D.C., February 1893. In his speech, offering a resolution memorializing Congress to pass the the Blair Educational bill, Mr. DuPree said in the course of extended remarks: "A public school system…is our sheet anchor for the future."…Mr. Dupree takes a position worthy of his history and one which will aid the race materially. The *Colored American Magazine* will lead the advance of young colored Americans to battle with the ancient foes of the abolitionist fathers. Its character is national and in its columns, as in the columns of the brave old 'Liberator" of Garrison and John Brown of Phillips, of Douglass and Remond, we will renew the battle for equal and exact justice for all races and all men.[157]

She described the role of Dupree and the overall character of the *Colored American Magazine* teaching its readers about the importance of political agitation, which required that they fight, like Dupree and all other men Hopkins wrote about in her "Famous Men" series. Specifically, that "young colored Americans to battle with the ancient foes of the abolitionist fathers."[158] She linked the fight against the foes of abolitionist fathers to the fight against those who have changed the role of the Republican partytothat of a "commercial and financial basis." Each of the men in her series chart a politically independent path that fights the foes of abolitionist fathers that still exercise power today. In the tenth sketch of her "Famous Men of the Negro Race" series, Hopkins focuses on U.S. Senator Blanche K. Bruce. She quoted his speech on the Senate floor arguing for the regeneration of the South away from the cotton economy that marginalized Mississippi's colored citizens:

> Mr. President, I represent the interest of nearly a million voters. They number more than a million producers, who, since their emancipation and outside of their contributions to the production of sugar, rice and tobacco, cereals and the mechanical industries of the

[157]"Here and There," *CAM,* Jul. 1901, "Here and There," p.230-231.
[158]"Here and There," *CAM,* Jul. 1901, p.230-231.

> country, have furnished nearly 40,000,000 bales of cotton, which at the ruling price of the world's market have yielded $2,000,000,000, a sum nearly equal to the national debt; producers who, at the accepted ratio that an able bodies laborer earns, on average $800 per year, annually bring to the aggregate of the nation's great bulk of values more than $800,000,000.[159]

Hopkins showed men of color who have worked both outside and inside the political process for effective reform and to teach her readership about the importance of fighting for political rights. Blanche was not beholden to either party but had to chart a path independent of either in order to be a meaningful advocate of his constituents. In the next September 1901 issue of the magazine, Hopkins penned a piece on the white abolitionist John Whittier, "high priest of the anti-slavery party."She wrote that in 1833 he openly allied himself with the anti-slavery cause, going as a delegate to Philadelphia, at the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society; he later became its secretary. Hopkins stated his importance after quoting him: "[Whittier:] 'I set a higher value on my name as appended to the Anti-Slavery Declaration of 1833, than on the title page of any book.' His efforts in the anti-slavery cause endeared him to the Negro and they gave to him his everlasting crown of glory." With her use of the adjective 'openly,' Hopkins suggested that supporting abolition was not a popular thing to do, for a white Quaker at that time. She wrote that Whittier edited a paper called the *Pennsylvania Freedman* with such vigor that a mob attacked and burned its office.

In the "Here and There" section of her October 1901 issue, Hopkins quoted an editorial from the *Springfield Republican:* "the amendments which grew out of the revolution of 1861 are not enforced…but the amendments are there just the same, and there they will stay, for we need them in our business…The amendments have gone into a trust with the golden rule, and are doing business on an ex propriavigore basis." Hopkins's editorial ideology considered the Civil

[159]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: Senator Blanche K. Bruce," *CAM*, Aug. 1901, p.260-261; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.92-93.

War a "revolution" and suggested that the mainstream two party system actively participated in applying these amendments to private interests instead of oppressed people of color in the U.S.[160] She specified this message with Charles H. Williams's article at the end of this issue entitled "In Columbia's Fair Land" where he writes that around thirty years ago, the white people of the South organized an extensive Mafia whose main object was to crush independent, influential Negroes "who were striving to lead their people to struggle for their rights as men taking part in affairs, and to intimidate all others from doing likewise."[161] Hopkins was concerned with seeing the "revolution of 1861" come to fruition and presented the *Colored American Magazine* by this time as a standard intended to prevent failure of the intended objective of the "revolution of 1861." She saw white vigilante mob rule of the American South as dangerously reversing the goals of this revolution.[162] Her editorial ideology in the "Famous Men of the Negro Race" series celebrated abolition and activism for political rights outside of the two party mainstream.

Hopkins began her series, "Famous Women of the Negro" with a sketch on Sojourner Truth that, like her previous issue, highlighted the Southern threat to the goals of the revolution: "such was slavery and such would be our fate today, could the South but force her principles upon the government."[163] Hopkins framed all her biographical sketches about people who were working against the principles of the private interests of the South that seek to marginalize

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[160] Hopkins inclusion of this editorial also foreshadows the 2010 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Citizens United v. FEC* that cited legal precedent in its legal designation of corporations as persons according to the fourteenth amendment.

[161]Charles Williams, "In Columbia's Fair Land,"*CAM,* November 1901, p.479.

[162] Lois Brown writes that in December 1905, Pauline Hopkins declared at Boston's Faneuil Hall that she was an unacknowledged "Black Daughter of the Revolution," *Pauline Hopkins,* p.6. Conversely, C.L.R. James would write in 1938, eight years after Hopkins' passing, that the Civil War was not a revolution because the peasant class in the Union Army failed to seize the land and, consequently, the government would not touch Southern property for the benefit of the Negroes: "Northern monopoly capitalism had America in its grasp. It left the Negro to his fate, and the South turned on him. Landless, his Northern collaborators gone, he was whipped back to an existence bordering on servitude," *A History of Negro Revolt,* p.33, 35.

[163]Hopkins, "Famous Women of the Negro Race II: Sojourner Truth," *CAM,* Dec. 1901, p.125-126; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.126.

citizens of color. Later in this sketch of Truth, Hopkins described how Truth left her home to find her son who was sold to her owner's relative. Hopkins wrote how Truth sought a lawyer to help her find him, and the lawyer told her: "if you will go to those Quakers who carried you to court, they will help you to five dollars, I have no doubt."[164] Hopkins showed how fighting for political rights in some cases requires cooperation with whites who are race conscious such as John Brown and John Whittier, whom she featured in an earlier edition. Hopkins presented in her editorial ideology, a framework or theory for maintaining political independence and, as in her words in a 1905 letter to William Monroe Trotter, the need to adopt an independent course *and* refuse partisan lines. This letter will be discussed in detail in the next section as it describes Hopkins's first formidable barrier to her editorial ideology. Hopkins shows for Sojourner Truth, finding her son required both adopting an independent course and refusing partisan lines. Doing whatever it takes to reject the role that enslavement played in separating familial bonds required cooperating with whites, well aware of the oppression that enslavement fostered, also included for Truth finding her son. After following the advice of going to the Quakers Hopkins wrote that "the next day her son was given her by the court."[165] Hopkins ended her sketch saying "she was endowed with fearlessness and child-like simplicity, *purity of character, unflinching adherence to principle*[emphasis in original]."[166]

In the following January-February 1902 issue Hopkins celebrated the politically independent abolition of Harriet Tubman:

> Sometimes her party would be foot sore and bleeding, and declare they could not go on, they must stay where they were and die; others…would insist upon returning; then there was no remedy but force; the revolver carried by this bold and intrepid pioneer would be

[164]Hopkins, "Famous Women," p. 130-132; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.129.
[165]Hopkins, "Famous Women," p. 129-130; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.129.
[166]Hopkins, "Famous Women", p. 132;Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.131.

> pointed at their heads. *'Dead niggers tell no tales,'* said Harriet; 'go on or die'; and so she compelled them to drag their weary limbs on their northward journey.[167]

This sketch celebrated the sacrifices Tubman made to push the enslaved into freedom, and to do it by secreting the enslaved into safe positions outside of the institution of slavery. Hopkins wrote that Tubman rendered "most important and efficient aid to our [Union] army" and contributed to a narrative that celebrates not only the work in the clubs as told by Moore, but celebrated the work in the military, for the liberation of the enslaved. This is also work that William Carney and William Dupree engaged in. In her January-February 1902 issue Hopkins printed an article by T. Gilbert Hazel that reexamines the colonization plan of Bishop Henry McNeal Turner. Ultimately Hazel concludes that the race is unprepared for such a step in view of the national aggressions. Instead, Hazel argues, we should consider "a gradual egression and dispersion of a portion of the colored race" in the South and other parts of the United States relieving the congestion he feels produces racial tension in more urban areas.

In presenting different views of Black liberation, from Turner's emigration to Hazel's suggested dispersion, Hopkins showed that she was an editor who did not give simple pat solutions to the question of how to achieve Black liberation by reform or revolution. She prodded her readers to consider different ways and encouraged reform in order to make it less racist and sexist. In the "Here and There" section of this issue, she discussed Nannie Helen Burroughs, whom she writes "leaves no stone unturned that will help her in getting the appeal before the white women of the South."[168] Hopkins showed her readers the importance of working outside partisan lines to, in Burroughs' case, collect petitions to end racially separate

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[167]Hopkins, "Famous Women of the Negro Race III: Harriet Tubman," *CAM*, Jan.-Feb. 1902, p. 220-221; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.135.

[168]Hopkins, "Here and There," *CAM*, Jan.-Feb. 1902, p.251. For more on Nannie Helen Burroughs, see chapter 7 of Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Jesus, Jobs and Justice: African American Women and Religion*, (New York, Knopf, 2010).

coach laws in the South. The next substantive discussion of fighting for political rights by editor Hopkins was shown in her article "Literary Workers" in the March 1902 issue. She began by discussing the work of Gertrude Fortune who, as a correspondent for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* attracted attention from many white journals. Hopkins also celebrated abolitionist Frances Harper who "during seventeen years of public speaking…has never once been other than successful in delivering thousands of speeches."[169] She acknowledged the politically independent abolitionism of Mary Church Terrell who worked to include Negro women in the National Women's Suffrage Association; and she acknowledged Mary Ann Shadd Cary who like Hopkins worked as an editor and "raised recruits [for the Union Army] in the West and brought them to Boston with as much skill and order as any recruiting officer under the government."[170]

In the April 1902 issue Hopkins pursued a stronger role in political independence for her readership. While she does not endorse membership in any one party, she still encouraged her readers to, in R.M. Hall's words "to work as other American citizens for the highest welfare of the Republic."[171] In his article "The Colored Man's Relation to the American Republic" he writes to readers that they should have hope for a utopia where the Federal government sees to it that state rights are not usurped or abused by any one state. This, like her piece on Burroughs, encouraged Hopkins' readership to, like Frederick Douglass, continuously agitate the federal government to secure civil rights of its colored citizens. Hall ended his piece asking if there is sufficient moral strength represented in our federal administration to enforce the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, or whether "commercial greed will permit the administration

[169]Hopkins, "Famous Women of the Negro Race V: Literary Workers," *CAM,* Apr. 1902, p.368-369; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.150.
[170]Hopkins, "Famous Women," *CAM,* Mar. 1902, p.370-371;Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p.153.
[171]R.M. Hall, "The Colored Man's Relation to the American Republic," *CAM,* Apr. 1902, p.405.

to…forget…the non-democratic legislative actions of the Southern states?"[172] By asking these questions, Hopkins assumed the importance of her readers continually agitating the federal government and working like Harper, Terrell, and Cary to defy the two party mainstream that uncritically sought chattel enslavement or expansion of the convict lease system for commercial profit.[173]Hopkins's editorial ideology at its root taught Hopkins's readers to fight for their political rights.

In her May 1902 issue, Hopkins continued her "Famous Women of the Negro Race" series with a focus on how educators like Elijah Lovejoy exhibited a stalwart dedication to fighting for political rights and teaching the importance of this fight to others.Miss Prudence Crandall of Connecticut established a school for young ladies that was deemed illegal by the state legislature. Its closing, Hopkins wrote, "was received by the citizens of Canterbury with…great rejoicing…but the colored people of the District were eminently progressive; they determined to have schools and to educate their children, and in the face of persecution that might well have daunted the most daring, instituted private schools where the children were taught rudiments of learning."[174] Hopkins showed the political independence of the Black community in the Canterbury, Connecticut community that Crandall came from. Their initiative to educate the children within their community is a story that Hopkins holds up to her readers about the importance of education and critical thinking against the status quo which celebrated the close of Prudence Crandall's school. Hopkins recognized the politically independent educational activism of Fanny Jackson Coppin who was a teacher from a young age at the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia. She wrote: "When we consider Miss [Fanny]

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[172]Hall, "The Colored Man's Relation," *CAM*, Apr. 1902, p.410.
[173] These questions predate the important activist work of Hubert Harrison's Liberty League, whose goal it was to agitate the Federal government to enforce the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth amendments.
[174]Hopkins, "Famous Women of the Negro Race VI: Educators," *CAM*, May 1902, p.42-44; Dworkin, ed.,*Daughter*, p.159.

Jackson's early struggles for education and the high position she occupies to-day in educational circles, we must acknowledge her to be one of the most remarkable women of the century just closed."[175]

In her July 1902 issue she recognized the work of Henry Oscar Wagoner whom she calls "the Douglass of Colorado." Wagoner worked with race conscious whites for the cause of abolition. He aided detective Allen Pinkerton in secreting fugitives from slave states to free states: "The $300 was given to Mr. Wagoner, who promised to carry out every detail of the plan unfolded by Pinkerton…every one of the refugees were safely boarded on the train and arrived in Detroit, where they were met by John Brown, and sped to British territory and freedom."[176]Hopkins celebrated politically independent revolutionary acts by people like the lesser known Henry Oscar Wagoner who, suggested to Hopkins' readership, the importance of doing one's part to join politically independent revolutionaries like John Brown. In her "Editorial and Publishers Announcements" section, Hopkins celebrated reform by including an excerpt from what seems an editorial from the *Philadelphia Courant*, responding to efforts by elected officials who allowed the movement for the abolition of Jim Crow cars to die, stating:

> We do not believe that the congressmen who volunteered to bring forward these measures [to abolish Jim Crow cars], knowing as they did how unpopular they were, would have dropped them if colored politicians who calls themselves leaders had given them intelligent support. The great trouble with our political leaders seems to be that each one is hunting for a job, and those in authority know that all that is necessary to burst the best organized Negro lobby is to promise the leaders a job. The only object many of them seem to have in going as delegates to political conventions is to get in touch with somebody who will promise them a job for their vote. They seem to have no

[175]Hopkins, "Famous Women," *CAM*, May 1902, p.45-46; Dworkin, ed., *Daughter*, p.160. Like Hopkins, Fanny Jackson Coppin edited the African Methodist Episcopal periodical, *Christian Recorder* and serialized in it the novels of Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. Hopkins in this article is recognizing the work of her literary forbear Harper by acknowledging Fanny Jackson Coppin, the woman who edited Harper's work in the AME *Christian Recorder*. Hopkins as an editor and novelist combines the roles of Coppin and Harper, respectively, and pays homage to both in her "Famous Women" series in the Colored American Magazine. For more on Coppin see Stephanie Y. Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850-1954: An Intellectual History*, (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2007).

[176]Hopkins, "Henry Oscar Wagoner: 'The Douglass of Colorado,'" *CAM*, Jul. 1902, p.191.

> idea of contending for planks in platforms or forcing issues for the benefit of their constituents.[177]

Here Hopkins developed her editorial ideology. Her excerpt above tells her readers that they should agitate for political goals for all Negroes and should not stop agitating once they get an individual job. It means lobbying on behalf of a proscribed race's group interests rather than one's individual goals. This is something that Hopkins critiqued T. Thomas Fortune for in her next September 1902 issue, where she reprinted an editorial from the *Cleveland Gazette* that says Negroes will do all they can do to support Fortune in his role as president of the Afro-American Council only as long as Fortune "will not mix too much [with] Roosevelt…and Booker T. Washington."[178] Hopkins again presented the importance of not adopting partisan lines in order to secure a job or maintain a position. In her October 1902 sketch of Munroe Rogers, she wrote:

> neither politics nor statesmanship can help the black man. The present administration has failed, previous administrations have failed because the Negro question is one of ethics too high for either party to grasp. One does not care to; the other does not dare to…If affairs remain as they are now in this unnatural and strained condition, where the manhood of both races is debased, the one by the consciousness of a wrong, committed, the other of a wrong endured, there must come a revolution. The air breathes a spirit of restlessness which precedes self-defense. If some Toussaint L'Ouverture should arise![179]

This is Hopkins' first explicit endorsement of revolution in her role as editor and, if Booker T. Washington read it, may have caused some alarm. However it fits the trend of increasing political independence since her beginning that led up to the arrival of John Freund in her Boston office. In the January 1903 issue she focused on the revolutionary work of antebellum agitators when she printed a series of articles about the Underground Railroad by Wilbur H. Seibert. On the last page of this article, Seibert wrote: "the operations of the underground railroad were

[177]"Editorial and Publishers' Annoucements," *CAM,* Aug. 1902, p.315.
[178]"Editorials," *CAM,* Sep. 1902, p.371.
[179]Hopkins, "Munroe Rogers," *CAM,* Oct. 1902, p.21.

beyond party control."[180] She showed the personal sacrifices of abolitionists, particularly Wendell Phillips in an article by Lillie B. Chase Wyman. This kind personal sacrifice is much greater compared to the way that Booker T. Washington is describedin an article by Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University called "The Anglo-Saxon and the African," where he wrote in 1903 that "nowhere does one find that Mr. Washington has stated his conviction as to the political and social status of his race in clear and unequivocal terms."[181] Washington may have been aware of this printed critique of his work, especially after receiving Walter Wallace's letter appealing to him for financial aid. Despite this question, Hopkins' editorial goal to encourage political agitation by maintaining political independence is clear. He may also have been aware of Hopkins' final article of her "Famous Men of the Negro Race" series which exclusively discussed Washington in the October 1901 issue. Her final sentence reads: "When the happenings of the Twentieth Century have become matters of history, Dr. Washington's motives will be open to as many constructions and discussions as are those of Napoleon today, or of other men of extraordinary ability, whether for good or evil, who have had like phenomenal careers."[182] Hopkins leaves open the question of whether she thinks Washington's motives are ultimately for evil. Certainly by time of her 1905 letter to Trotter she believed his motives involved some evil, as she questions his apparent need to "defraud a helpless race of an organ of free speech."[183]

As of the February 1903 issue, Hopkins engaged in a serious scrutiny of the Roosevelt administration in the *Colored American Magazine* that does not last until the end of this year,

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[180]Wilbur H. Seibert, "The Underground Railroad," *CAM*, Jan. 1903, p.175.
[181]Kelly Miller, "The Anglo Saxon and the African," *CAM*, Jan. 1903, p.204.
[182]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: Booker T. Washington," *CAM*, Oct. 1901, p.441; Dworkin, ed., *Daughter*, p.110. Of all of Hopkins' written works, the 2004 Norton Anthology of African American Literature's selection of this article is curious.
[183]Pauline Hopkins, "Letter to William Monroe Trotter," April 16, 1905, Fisk University Franklin Library Special Collections, Pauline Hopkins Papers.

around the time John Freund arrived at the offices of the *Colored American Magazine*. In the June 1903 issue the Company announces that William Dupree will take ownership of the Colored Co-Operative Publication Company. With new management, the magazine announces that they "will continue to lead the advance of young colored Americans to battle with the ancient foes of the abolitionist fathers."[184]In the July 1903 issue Hopkins presents a photo of an oil painting of Toussaint L'Ouverture under which a caption reads: "From a rare oil painting owned by Mr. William A. Hopkins" who is the stepfather of Pauline Hopkins. In this issue is an article about L'Ouverture written by Frederick Douglass, originally published in the *New York Independence*, Douglass compares his heroism to the heroism of George Washington and asserts that "in the eye of the world" one man was a saint and the other was a sinner.[185]Like Hopkins, Douglass is calling for a change or revolution in the way we look at heroes; we should look at people like L'Ouverture who fought for unadulterated self-determination. Hopkins in this July issue asked her readers to be patient with the magazine, for having skipped an April issue to print only a May-June issue. She seems to attribute the infrequent circulation of her periodical to the publishing industrywhen she says "money" is what the American world has gone wild on, and it "will prove the Anglo-Saxon's bane."[186]

In the November 1903 issue, Hopkins reprinted an article from the *Boston Transcript* critical of Washington that may have gotten his attention. While the author does not share the same opinion about T. Thomas Fortune that Hopkins shared to Trotter in her 1905 letter to him, the author like Hopkins critiqued Washington on being silent about the "wrongs and outrages heaped upon the race." He concluded that:

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[184]"Biographies of the New Officers of the New Management of Our Magazine," *CAM*, Jun. 1903, p.446.
[185]Frederick Douglass, "Editorial," *CAM*, Jul. 1903, p. 491. Douglass says that his appointment to Hayti afforded him a welcome opportunity to learn more of this remarkable man and of the estimation in which he is held by his countrymen.
[186]Hopkins,"Editorial," *CAM*, Jul. 1903, p.703.

> the whites have set up Booker Washington as the divinely appointed and anointed leader of his race, and regard as sacrilege all criticism or even candid discussion on the part of those whomhe has been sent to guide. They demand for him an exemption which they have never accorded their own leaders, from George Washington to Theodore Roosevelt. Nothing could be further from Mr. Washington's thoughts than the assumption of divine commission which the white seek to impose upon him. The so-called Negroes are wholly wanting in organization and leadership.[187]

Hopkins's editorial ideology called for leadership from Negroes that would encourage the agitation for political rights in ways that Hopkins encouraged political agitation in her readers. This was a kind of leadership that is at odds with the philosophy of Booker T. Washington. In the "Editorial and Publishers' Announcements" of this issue Hopkins wrote that managing the paper "has been a stormy time, and the winds of adversity have not failed to howl about the pathway of this courageous enterprise."[188] However she added that despite obvious fundraising challenges, the magazine is still keeping up to its standard of racial uplift "by fraternal cooperation." She included blurbs of other newspapers supportive of the *Colored American Magazine,* one of which by IzwiLabantu: "Miss Hopkins is an Afro-American lady writer of wide range, experience and versatility and we must sincerely thank the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company for this interesting and inspiring token of progress of Black humanity in America."[189] Hopkins set a goal for 1904 writing that "we hope to eclipse in every way the work of the past year, and place our Magazine in the front rank of regular monthly publication."[190] As of the January 1904 issue, the influence of John Freund is clear. Hopkins wrote a brief biographical sketch of Freund at the bottom of the page that bears a lot of similarities with herself: "he has also produced several plays and is well known as a writer on social economics

[187]"Washington's Policy: Fair Play," *CAM,* Sep. 1903, p.826. Seven years later Hubert Harrison writes a letter to the editor of the *New York Sun* saying the same thing, that Booker T. Washington can only represent one side of the Negro's life today. Jeffrey B. Perry, ed. *A Hubert Harrison Reader*, (Middletown (CT), Wesleyan University, 2001), p.166. Like Hopkins, Harrison critiques "the whites" for appointing Washington as "the leader of his race."
[188]Hopkins, "Editorial and Publishers' Announcements," *CAM* ,Nov. 1903, p. 834.
[189]Hopkins, "Editorial and Publishers' Announcements," *CAM,* Nov. 1903, p.834.
[190]Hopkins, "Editorial and Publishers' Announcements," *CAM,* Dec. 1903, p.907.

and has shown much interest in the colored people."[191]The article that Hopkins featured by Freund, titled "A Trip to Paradise," simply did not match the high level of political independence that Hopkins has demonstrated in the periodical up to this point. It described Jamaica from the perspective of a white tourist that is willfully detached from the history of enslavement and the history of race and color discrimination on the island. Freund claims: "In Jamaica, the so-called colored problem has been solved. In that island there are seven hundred thousand people of color, from full-blooded Negroes to octoroons, and less than fifteen thousand whites. I was curious to see how the thing worked."[192]The "paternalism" is more evident in the following February 1904 issue that features a second article about Freund's trip to Jamaica where he writes:

> I have already been impressed by the bearing and courteous manner of the colored waiters and servants in the hotel…While there is a great disproportion between the races, there seems to be no friction whatever; indeed, good feeling and a courteous attitude on the part of the colored people to the whites seem to be the prevailing custom…I think one of the reasons why the good feeling between the whites and the blacks exists is due to the fact that when the slaves were freed England was wise enough not to do so by violent means but paid the planters for them.[193]

It is ironic that Hopkins would include Freund's distorted view of Jamaican history that ignored the role of resistance by the enslaved, given the meticulous history she provides of the role that resistance played in ending Confederate slavery. This article certainly gave her readership a different impression of what political independence means to Jamaicans compared to those in the U.S. Freund suggests emancipation of the enslaved in Jamaica took place due to the benevolence of the British when in reality the enslaved resisted their position in some violent

[191]John Freund, "A Trip to Paradise," *CAM*, Jan. 1904, p.5-6.
[192]Freund, "A Trip to Paradise," *CAM*, Jan. 1904, p.5-6.
[193]John Freund, "A Trip to Paradise, Being the Experiences of A New Yorker in the Island of Jamaica: Second Letter," *CAM*, Feb. 1904, p.85.

ways.[194]His paternalistic perception of the relationship to their enslaved mirrors the relationship he desired between himself and both Hopkins and Dupree. He saw them the way he believed British elite saw the Jamaican enslaved: as recipients who should be grateful for whatever gift of kindness, counsel or direction that whites gave, even if that gift meant maintaining uncritically the mores of a racist society that kept people of color in menial positions. The inclusion of Freund's articles on Jamaica is an obvious concession to Freund for his supposedly helpful "business knowledge" but more dangerously, it was a concession of Hopkins' own political independence that she would come to lament in her 1905 letter to Trotter. Freund's perspective of Jamaica is at odds with Hopkins's editorial ideology and foreshadows his later removal of Hopkins as editor of the *Colored American Magazine.*

In that 1905 letter she told Trotter about her own business expertise, that helped her originate the idea of having contributors, whom her readership respected, address the question of whether Industrial Education will solve the Negro problem. For Washington and Freund the affirmative answer to this was a foregone conclusion, however by the April 1904 issue the level of critical thinking and political independence in the *Colored American Magazine* waned to basically nothing. April 1904 is the last issue that Hopkins is listed as literary editor of the magazine. This was arguably Hopkins' last demonstration of her editorial ideology that encouraged her readers to agitate for their political rights. The barrier developed since Freund's article celebrating paternalistic relations forged by the tourist industry in Jamaica. His ideas about ideal relations between whites and African Americans were closely related to his

[194] Freund's simplistic history of Jamaica is also countered by the scholarship of Thomas C. Holt who writes that Jamaica's Christmas revolt of 1831 was a main factor in Britain's abolition of slavery throughout its colonies. The revolt embroiled a fifth of the enslaved population, claiming 544 lives, about 200 in combat and 344 on the gallows or before a firing squad. Holt shows how this "good feeling" in Jamaica is more a result of a continual struggle of the African population against their enslavement, rather than the Africans appreciating the supposed benevolence of the British. Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938,* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1992), p.14.

expectations that Hopkins relinquish her own editorial ideology. These expectations would form a barrier that would remove Hopkins as literary editor of the *Colored American Magazine.*

Barriers to Hopkins' Editorial Ideology

Letters to Pauline Hopkins from the apparent philanthropist John Freund indicate that the life of this periodical was jeopardized after his arrival in their Boston office in 1904. Hopkins detailed the demise of her editorship of the *Colored American Magazine* in an April 16, 1905 letter to William Monroe Trotter.

This letter describes several important events that highlight how she, Company president and former Civil War colonel, William Dupree, and their organization, the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company, was affected by the demands of John Freund.She began by telling Trotter that "from the start it was a struggle for us [the Company] to keep our heads above water because of the financial crisis just passed and the strain that had been placed upon the confidence and purses of our people."[196]She addressed this crisis by choosing to begin a series of articles as of the November 1903*Colored American Magazine* issue that asked: "Industrial Education: Will it Solve the Negro Problem?" and asked that contributors address this question and submit their work without charge. She saves money for the magazine and told Trotter: "Every one approached responded with a free contribution except Prof. Miller who charged $5…Mr. Dupree was greatly pleased with my success and told me that he thought he could help too by soliciting Mr. John C. Freund, Editor of *The Music Trades*, New York, for permission to reproduce his

[196]Pauline Hopkins, "Letter to William Monroe Trotter," April 16, 1905, Fisk University Franklin Library Special Collections;Dworkin, ed., *Daughter*, p. 238; Dworkin in a footnote to this letter writes that the original letter is published in his edited work courtesy of Fisk University Franklin Library Special Collections.

series of articles on Jamaica which had appeared in his paper."[197] Later Hopkins chronicled how this perceived benefactor, John Freund, proposed fundraising strategies for the *Colored American Magazine*that countered Hopkins' own editorial ideology of fighting for political rights.His actions eventually led to Hopkins losing her editorship of the *Colored American Magazine.*He did this by threatening the relationship between Hopkins and Company president William Dupree. Hopkins' unwillingness to execute Freund's suggestions draws his ire and leads him to influence her formerly strong group of support within the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company to eventually demand that she follow his "common sense about maintaining a business proposition." Hopkins cooperates but by the end of 1904 is replaced as editor by Fred Moore when the Company president William Dupree is convinced to sell the magazine to the *New York Age*, a paper that Hopkins called "a subsidized sheet for its editor [Fred Moore, who] is under money obligations to Mr. Washington."[198] She traced to the takeover of the *Colored American Magazine* by forces loyal to Booker T. Washington. She wrote to Trotter that the loss of her editorship of the*Colored American Magazine* had to dowith "a case of pure philanthropy, one of those rare cases which are sometimes found among wealthy, generous and eccentric white men."[199] This philanthropy begins with Freund proposing a dinner intending to acquaint those who supported the magazine. At this dinner, he writes to the Company telling them "to entertain 20 leading colored ladies at any hotel in Boston that Mr. Dupree might select at a cost of $2 per plate." Apparently Freund would cover these expenses instead of the Company. Hopkins wrote that the Company followed his orders for the sake of the Company. In her words, they would

[197]Hopkins, "Letter to William Monroe Trotter," April 16, 1905, Fisk University Franklin Library Special Collections;Dworkin, ed., *Daughter*, p. 239.
[198]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter*, p. 246.
[199]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter*, p. 240. Lois Brown writes that Hopkins and the entire staff succumbed to Freund's paternalism. *Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins: Black Daughter of the Revolution*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2008), p.414-440.

"further the interests of the magazine by personal effort, thinking that an influential white man [who] was interested in our enterprise would tend to stimulate the colored people themselves to greater effort."[200] Hopkins wrote Trotter that in early February 1904:

> Mr. Freund sent me a bouquet of Russian violets by his Boston representative, Mr. Adelbert Loomis, the book of *Self-Help* by Smiles, an expensive set of furs, a $25 check and a book *Eternalism*…I was so dense that I did not for a moment suspect that I was being politely bribed to give up my race work and principles and adopt the plans of the South for the domination of the Blacks.[201]

According to Hopkins, Freund was apparently trying to compromise her principles,which included compromising her editorial ideology that endorsed political agitation, in order to get her to do what he wanted. Along with this typewritten letter to Trotter, Hopkins enclosed twenty three additional letters, each of which she numbers.[202]The first letter, "1" is dated November 19, 1903 from John Freund to the president of the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company, William Dupree, expressing some interest in working with the magazine.[203]This comes after the first president of the company, William Watkins, wrote a letter in 1901 to Booker T. Washington soliciting his help, stating that the paper was suffering financially. Freund may have responded to Dupree without knowing about Watkins' letter; if he did know about Watkins' letter, his actions with the *Colored American Magazine* confirmed Hopkins' later suspicions about him ultimately being used by Booker T. Washington to replace Pauline Hopkins with Fred Moore. She put the rest of the numbered letters into groups according to themes she mentions to Trotter.

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[200]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 240.
[201]Dworkin, ed. *Daughter,* p.243.
[202] Hopkins numbers each of these letters "1," "2," "2a," "3," "3a," "4," "5," "6," "7," "8," "9," "10," "11," "12," "13," "14," "15," "16," "16a," "17," "18," "19," and "20" and refers to these by number throughout her letter to Trotter. These letters were enclosed in the April 16, 1905 letter that Pauline Hopkins sent to William Monroe Trotter. They are part of Pauline Hopkins Papers, Fisk University Franklin Library Special Collections, henceforth abbreviated as PHP. Special thanks to Beth Howse of Fisk University for help in reading these letters.
[203]Letter #1, in Hopkins to Trotter enclosure, April 16, 1905, PHP. Ira Dworkin also quotes from this letter in his collection of Hopkins' work. Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 238-248.

She told Trotter to read a first group of letters for evidence of her claim that Freund was changing her editorial ideology: "All this [Freund's fundraising suggestions] was for the good of the cause, but made a marked shortage in our receipts which he generously made up from his private purse."[204]The letter dated January 27, 1904,from Freund to Colonel William Dupree initially solicited Freund's input.[205] He tells Dupree that Hopkins needs to "keep out of the magazine anything that might be construed into antagonism to the whites." He tried to underscore his editing authority by suggesting that if he and Hopkins follow his advice, the magazine "ought to have five thousand new subscribers by the end of the year."[206] A letter dated January 27, 1904, is from Freund to Hopkins and here we initially see John Freund more directly curtailing Hopkins' editorial ideology: "there must not be one word of reproach in this magazine." Freund asked that Hopkins not reproach the elite in her editorship. He wants her to appeal to a market of white philanthropists, who help perpetuate the kind of historical racism that Hopkins' three year long-editing discouraged. Yet Freund said by doing this, she will "acquaint 'the white people' with what the better element in the colored race is doing."[207]Freund was apparently unaware of how Hopkins' editorial work prior to his arrival was focused less on appealing to a wealthy white readership than to an educated Black readership. Freund was trying to curtail her readership to only a market of wealthy white readers. This was also a niche market

[204] This first group of letters included those numbered "2," "2a," "3," "3a," and "4." After mentioning Freund's private purse, Hopkins writes to Trotter: "(See accompanying letters marked "2," "2a," "3," "3a," and "4" which I enclose in order to show you more closely Mr. Freund's mode of action, and to give you a slight idea of the amount of money he expended.)"; Dworkin, ed. *Daughter*, p.241.
[205]Letter #2A, in Hopkins to Trotter enclosure, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[206]Letter #2, in Hopkins to Trotter enclosure, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[207]Letter #2A, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.

that appealed to Booker T. Washington because it appealed to Washington's very influential benefactors such as Carnegie.[208]

She told Trotter that Mr. Freund caused her salary to be raised. Yet Hopkins admitted that the gifts lavished by Freund on her and her staff, including the raise and the dinners, were ways by which Freund sought to curtail the political independence in her editorial ideology and get her to "give up her race work and principles." In aletter dated January 28, 1904, Freund tells Dupree that news of successful enterprises by the Negro elite should be the leading feature of the magazine instead of criticism, essays and literary manner generally.[209]Seeing these successful enterprises by the Negro elite, according to Freund, would please the niche market of white philanthropists, and render the magazine in a more financially secure position than when Dupree solicited Freund's help. In the January 27th letter, Freund suggested to Dupree that by following his advice the magazine "ought to have five thousand subscribers by the end of the year" and in aJanuary 29, 1904 letter Freund told Dupreethat he could raise subscription rates from a few thousand "to twenty thousand."[210] In a Feburary 11, 1904 letter, Freund impresses on Hopkins the importance of running a thorough business organization.[211] According to Freund's letters that Hopkins encloses to Trotter, running a thorough business organization requires appealing to a niche market of white philanthropists, a focus on news of successful business enterprises instead of any literary manner that would reproach the work of white philanthropists.

Within one month of his direct correspondences to Hopkins and Freund, Freund asserted authority as not only editor but savior of the *Colored American Magazine*. In her letter to Trotter,

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[208] This kind of market is similar to what Ishmael Reed calls a 'niche market' which tends to support beliefs of white superiority and Black inferiority. He describes this in his book *Barack Obama and the Jim Crow Media: The Return of the Nigger Breakers.* (Montreal, Baraka Books, 2010), p.76.
[209] Letter #3, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[210]The January 29, 1904 letter is Letter #3A, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[211] Letter #4 in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.

Hopkins writes and underlines in her letter: "I found that he was curtailing my work from the broad field of international union and uplift for the Blacks in all quarters of the globe, to the narrow confines of the question as affecting solely the Afro-American."[212]In a letter dated February 18, 1904, Freund instructs Hopkins to relent on publishing literary matter and instead to focus on African Americans who have built institutions and demonstrated persistently what the colored people have done already for themselves.[213]

In an individual letter which Hopkins enclosed to Trotter that is separate from this first group, Hopkins tells Trotter that Freund hosted a second dinner in support of the Company, on March 19, 1904, this time with 200 guests. At this dinner Freund asserts his role as patriarch and savior of the Company, and as such, announces three Leagues that comprised his vision of an improved Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company: "1. The Business League with Booker Washington at the head, 2. The Colored American League with Col. W.H. Dupree at the head, 3. The Political League with Fortune at the head. (See letters marked "6" and "7")."[214]Hopkins underlining of key words in Freund's announcement speak to her suspicions of Washington's role in Freund's activities. Her underline of "The Political League" and "Fortune" is an implicit critique of Freund's motives as later in this letter she tells Trotter that Fortune, not Washington, was the original writer of *Up From Slavery.* Hopkins suggests that if Fortune heads a political league of Freund's vision, then he will ultimately be serving the interests of Washington, as he's done in the past. A letter dated February 24, 1904 lets Hopkins know that Freund has invited the wives of the office of the company to this dinner.[215] In a letter dated March 5, 1904, Freund announces the start of the Colored American League and its three sub-leagues that Hopkins lists

[212]Following this statement, in parentheses, Hopkins writes: "(See accompanying letter marked "5.")"; Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 242.
[213] Letter #5 in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[214]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 242.
[215] Letter #6 in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.

previously to Trotter.[216] His designation of these three leagues within the Company speaks to his ambition to changeHopkins' editorial ideology. By making a distinction between the Colored American League and a Political league, Freund assumed in his mind, the importance of the Colored American League remaining only as political to the extent that its political leader, T. Thomas Fortune, would have it. Hopkins already assumed that Fortune's political ambitions are ultimately controlled by Booker T. Washington and probably felt that Freund's designation of Washington and Fortune meant that he was basically doing Washington's bidding on some level.

Freund asserted that the magazine's looks are not worth its cost and he affirms his authoritative and paternalistic tone. He uses this tone to convince Hopkins in a letter dated March 12, 1904, to improve her layout by changing her then current printer, Mr. Heintzelman, whom Freund says proves "unequal to anything above the most ordinary demand."[217]It is unclear however if Freund was genuinely concerned about the poor printing, or if he used his critique of the printing to argue that the paper be moved to New York where he lived: "This, however, Mr. Dupree had flatly refused to allow until his interests were fully protected. Mr. Freund gracefully waived the point." Hopkins later writes to Trotter Freund's rationale for his demands:

> if you are going to take up the wrongs of your race, then you must depend for support absolutely upon your own race. For the colored man today to attempt to stand up to fight would be like a canary bird to face a bulldog, and an angry one at that. The whole line of work must be conciliatory, constructive, and that is where Booker Washington is showing himself to be such a giant.[218]

Freund profoundly underestimated the support that Hopkins and the Company was receiving from a Black readership for three years up to his introduction to the Company. He assumes that only a white readership would be able to economically support the magazine and

[216] Letter #7 in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[217]Letter #8, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[218]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 242; in her April 16, 1905 letter Hopkins wrote to Trotter right after noting that Freund waived the point of moving to the offices to New York: "(See letters marked "9," "10," "11," "12.").

steered Hopkins and Trotter toward specifically this kind of readership. Both Hopkins and Trotter knew that in New York, Booker T. Washington wouldconceivably have more control over the editorial content of the magazine. Beginning in a letter dated March 14, 1904, Hopkins demonstrated to Trotter how Freund weakened her editorial role by influencing Dupree.[219] In it, Freund tells Dupree to write to Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the *Evening Post*, and tells him of the fundraising struggles the magazine has had. At the bottom left corner of this letter is a handwritten note conceivably from Freund: "write a line to President Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D.C., and call his attention to the references to him in the magazine and enclose him a copy same way as others."

There seemed no end to the number of concessions to wealthy whites that Freund thought Hopkins and Dupree should make, without considering the magazine's original 1900 goal to "offer the colored people of the United States" a journal that was a "medium through which [they] can demonstrate their ability and tastes, in fiction, poetry and art, as well as in the arena of historical, social, and economical literature."[220]Freund sought primarily to please a wealthy white clientele. Before meeting John Freund, the subscribers that she sought were "colored people" who would pay money and who conceivably would read the most out of what they pay for. Conversely, John Freund is asking Dupree and Hopkins to focus on a white and wealthy readership that he claims is only interested in seeing the successes of colored people. Freund was absolutely not interested in them seeing the role that the attainment of their wealth plays in colored people being what Hopkins calls a "proscribed race." He fights successfully to weaken if not eliminate Hopkins's editorial ideology which endorses fighting for political rights. In a letter dated March 16, 1904, Freund conflates Hopkins with Dupree and chastises both of them for

[219] Letter #9, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[220]"Editorial and Publishers' Announcements."*Colored American Magazine*, May 1900, p.1.

their "lack of business knowledge" for depending on a printer whom he says charges a price not worth his service.[221] It is unclear if Freund's critique of their original printer, Heintzelman, is a cover for his ultimate ambition of moving the company's printing offices from Boston to New York where Washington would have greater control.In a letter dated March 17, 1904, Freund issues a warning to Hopkins, that her work for the magazine will come to naught if she does not stop bothering about lynchings in Ohio or being "a proscribed race."[222]

According to Freund, the affairs at the Company were in such a condition that her office, to his surprise, did not acknowledge the letters of those who have sent the Company money. After receiving gifts from Freund in February 1904, Hopkins might have had some trepidation about accepting any more gifts from Freund's supposed colleagues who intended to support the magazine. These gifts that Freund chastised Hopkins for not accepting may have had strings attached to their money that Hopkins would not have wanted. In this letter and in the rest of those in a second group of letters that Hopkins assembled for Trotter, Freund affirmed a patriarchal relationship where he plays father to Dupree and Hopkins.[223] He asserted himself as being more of an expert in the publishing and magazine industry than Hopkins and Dupree even though the latter two were able to run a magazine for a longer time than he was.[224] In his letters he asserted his own patriarchal authority by citing how white philanthropists who write and visit the Company's offices share Freund's concern about Hopkins' and Dupree's alleged lack of "ordinary knowledge of business." He wrote: "When I induced Mrs. Floyd to visit you, the very first thing that she wrote me after her visit to you and after complimenting you personally, highly was to express her fear that the entire lack of anybody about you with even the most ordinary

[221] Letter #10 in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[222]Letter #11 in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[223] This second group of letters that Hopkins refers to are ones she numbers "9," "10," "11," and "12."
[224] Lois Brown writes that John Freund had an altogether dismal and scandalous financial past. *Pauline Hopkins,* p. 417-418.

knowledge of business would render any efforts to help you abortive."[225]Freund claimed that the Company staff has no "ordinary knowledge of business" and because of this, is driving away potential funders like Mrs. Floyd. Yet Hopkins probably harbored suspicions about the motives behind the gifts of these potential funders, and these suspicions played some role in her not sending acknowledgments to these funders. Hopkins identifiedthis second group of letters as evidence that Freund treated the magazine with contempt and wanted it moved to New York where he could supervise it personally. For Hopkins, the letter dated March 24, 1904, confirmed her suspicion that Freund was an operative for Booker T. Washington.[226]In it he tells Hopkins he plans to go to Washington in order to ask for ads from his Tuskegee Institute to fund the magazine. Hopkins writes Trotter that:

> the next day I received a telegram. (See copy marked "13a.") In this telegram I was asked to write a letter of introduction; I was to introduce Mr. Freund to Mr. Washington! Mr. Dupree and the staff requested me to comply strictly with Mr. Freund's request, so, although I had NO PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH MR. WASHINGTON [underlines and caps in the original], I wrote a letter to him detailing our situation, recounting Mr. Freund's kind acts and craving Mr. Washington's good offices as a race man in our favor. I regret that I did not preserve a copy of this letter which to say the least was unique in its character and mission.[227]

By Hopkins' own admission, writing this letter was against her principles, yet she chose to do it because of two factors she mentioned: the magazine's need for funds, the patriarchal relationship between Freund and herself, which included his connections with wealthy whites. Freund's patriarchal relationship would soon cause a rift between Hopkins and Dupree. In a letter intended for Dupree, dated March 31, 1904, Freund tried to persuade William Dupree to get Hopkins to talk less about political agitation and more about the success stories of the Negro

[225]Letter #11, PHP.
[226] Letter #13, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[227] Following this note to Trotter Hopkins writes: "(See letter marked '14.')" Dworkin, ed., *Daughter*, p. 243.

race, what he called "live matter relating to live people."[228] This time, Freund used Booker T. Washington to underscore his demand to change Hopkins' editorial ideology. This letter states:

> Washington stated that he thought as soon as practicable, it would be wise if the magazine could be moved to New York, for the reason that it is the New Yorkers who will put up the money to extend its influence, and further, that it is to be national in scope, it must be issued from the largest city in the country. On this point, however, we will confer later.[229]

In a following letter directly to Hopkins, Freund writes that "Doctor [Booker T.] Washington is in absolute accord with all my views, with regard to the course the magazine should pursue."[230] Here Freund is basically alerting Hopkins that not only is Washington on board with his demand that she reduce her political independence, but so is Colonel Dupree. Her long time ally of over three years now becomes a strained business partner. Hopkins is silent on exactly how Dupree's condoning of Freund's censorship of her work is happening. Simply, she tells Trotter that the next letter Freund sends to Dupree is a "firebrand" that "made my position unbearable." Instead of telling him to see a specific marked letter, she quotes Freund's words to Dupree in an April 6, 1904 letter:

> Either Miss Hopkins will follow our suggestion in this matter and put live matter into the magazine, eliminating anything which may create offense; stop talking about wrongs and a proscribed race, or you must count me out absolutely from this day forth. I will neither personally endorse nor help a business proposition which my common sense tells me is foredoomed to failure. Every person that I have spoken to on the subject is with me. <u>IT IS MR. BOOKER WASHINGTON'S IDEA</u>.[231] [emphasis in original]

Freund is using Washington's name in his letter to persuade Dupree to heed Freund's "common sense" and get Hopkins to "put live matter in the magazine." Based on his previous letters to Hopkins and Dupree, the idea for Hopkins to change her editorial tonemay be Freund's

[228] Letter #16, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[229] Letter #16, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[230] Letter #16A, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[231] Letter #17, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP; Dworkin, ed., *Daughter*, p. 243.

original idea, not Washington's. If Freund had paid more critical attention to Hopkins own editorial comments on Washington, especially her article as part of her Famous Men of the Negro Race series in the *Colored American Magazine*, he would know that she would not enthusiastically use his name, his advice, nor his accomodationist platform to raise funds for the magazine.[232] Dupree nonetheless was persuaded by Freund's letters at this juncture and made some demands on her office work that undoubtedly made Hopkins' position as editor "unbearable." She proceeds to tell Trotter the benefit of her editorial ideology and how it catered not to wealthy white philanthropists but to her loyal subscribers. These subscribers she said "would hold us to our promises and expect the articles offered them as inducements for their subscriptions."[233]The promises she refers to is the promise of including noted writers who demonstrated a commitment to agitating for political rights, like did Hopkins herself in ways that challenged Washington's accomodationism and the two party mainstream. Hopkins described these noted writers and their works:

> Among these writers were Hon. Wm. Lloyd Garrison [son of editor of *The Liberator*], Rev. Edward A. Horton, Editor A.K. Soga, and a paid contributor, Prof. Hamedoe…Mr. Garrison's article on Industrial Education', and Prof. Hamedoe's on 'El Sr. Jose Rizal,' the Filipino martyr, were the arousers of our patron's ire and of Mr. Washington's wrath because they not only offended the South, but also, seemingly reflected upon President Roosevelt's Philippine policy. (See accompanying April magazine for the articles of Mr. Garrison, Mr. Soga and Prof. Hamedoe.)[234]

She later wrote:

> the articles referred to on 'Industrial Education' created consternation in the ranks of the Southern supporters because they were written by writers of so high a standing in the literary world as to prove that the policy of industrial education solely for the Negro was not popular, and it was doomed to failure in the end. Then it must have been that the plot

[232]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 110; *Colored American Magazine,* 3:6, Oct. 1900, p.441.
[233]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 243.
[234]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 244.

> was formed to get possession of the magazine and turn its course into the desired channel.[235]

In defending her editorial ideology before Trotter, Hopkins showed clearly how her ideology agitates not only for political rights of African Americans in the United States. Hopkins' editorial ideology also agitated for the political rights of people of color fighting U.S. military occupation in the Philippines. Freund's "common sense" about running a business proposition was at odds with Hopkins editorial ideology which included writers she said her subscribers depended on. He presses his case in an April 17, 1904, letter where he said that everything that offends must come out of the magazine in order to focus on the professional success of African Americans: "Instead of an article by Bishop Straker on the colored question, have an article on Bishop Straker himself."[236] Freund told Hopkins that he and a friend, who he frames as a potential donor, went through magazines in a library and failed to find a single one that was without offense. He reinforces racial accommodation when he writes plainly:

> If you are going to take up the wrongs of your race, then you must depend for support absolutely from your race. For the colored man to-day, to attempt to stand up to fight would be like a canary bird to face a bulldog, and an angry one at that. The whole line of work must be conciliatory, constructive, and that is where BOOKER WASHINGTON is showing himself such a giant.[237]

Freund's higher level of admiration for Washington definitely played a role in Hopkins' hesitancy of following his fundraising suggestions and diminishing her own editorial ideology. From the very first issue, it seems Hopkins remains faithful to her mission of celebrating writers who challenged American imperialism like Professor Hamedoe. Based on their three to four year history of work with the *Colored American Magazine,* Hopkins knew that the paper's

[235]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 247.
[236]Letter #18 in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[237]Letter #18, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.

livelihood did not depend on white philanthropists but on the numerous subscriptions from across the country, acquired by her editorial ideology and the work of the magazine's hundreds of agents.[238] She wrote Trotter: "in letter '19' he virtually gives up the enterprise and tells me of the unflattering comments made upon my work (the work so recently eulogized by himself) by Boston people. See letters marked "19" and "20")."[239] This letter shows Freund telling Hopkins that he was entirely honest in expressing what he thought was the best course of the magazine.[240] He believed his advice was "based upon the fact that the colored people certainly have not so far responded sufficiently to make the enterprise self-sustaining. Help, therefore must be looked for from the whites."[241] He quoted a speech from Booker T. Washington saying that the Negro will gain more through manly cooperation with the white man than through needless opposition to him. Freund assumes that Hopkins's editorial ideology was "needlessly" opposing the white man. In Freund's last letter to Hopkins, numbered "20" to Trotter, he tells her that since he discovered that she and Dupree were "not in harmony" with his fundraising ideas about the magazine, he withdrew. However, by this time, the "firebrand" had already exploded.

Freund's damage to the *Colored American Magazine* and the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company was already done: by the end of April of 1904, Dupree had sold the paper to Fred Moore without returning Hopkins' unsold novels to her, which according to her were then valued at one hundred seventy five dollars. For this reason and others including her commitment to her editorial ideology, she moved to New York and was accommodated by the magazine's strong support network of agents, like Nathaniel Dodson. She eventually retrieved

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[238] Lois Brown writes that "the editorial commitment that Hopkins made to scholars like Hamedoe and political journalists such as A.K. Soga were central to the *Colored American Magazine's* mission to educate African American about African conditions and its efforts to promote a collective colored American investment in global uplift is one that predated the Garvey movement."*Pauline Hopkins,* p.434.
[239]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 244.
[240]Letter #19 in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.
[241]Letter #19, in Hopkins to Trotter, April 16, 1905, PHP.

the copies of her novel, however not before being replaced as editor of the magazine. By 1905, as she told Trotter, regarding her work as editor: "I soon found that I was being 'frozen out' for Mr. Roscoe Conkling SIMMONS a nephew of MRS. B.T. WASHINGTON who now holds the position which I was forced to resign last September [1904]." She told Trotter that she learned "much in New York.[caps in original]" She wrote: "I learned from the lips of Mr. and Mrs. Fortune that Mr. Fortune wrote *Up From Slavery* and the famous Atlanta speech 'separate as the fingers of the hand.'" She later disclosed to Trotter that Washington had active agents who laid plans to "down opposing Negroes" such as herself, ultimately suggesting that Freund's interactions with the *Colored American Magazine* was meant to down her as editor.[242] In the final pages of this letter she underscored the importance of editors having their own political independence.

Hopkins mentioned other editors whose independent editing was threatened by Washington's plan. Particularly, editor J. Max Barber's *Voice of the Negro:* "this organ has offended Washington deeply by adopting an independent course." About Washington's agents she wrote: "these men are, also, planning the overthrow of the *Voice,* which has refused to adopt partisan lines."[243]

Hopkins provided Trotter with two criteria that prompted Washington's concerted effort to down editors: one, adopting an independent course and two, refusing to adopt partisan lines.Hopkins fulfilled these two criteria and thereby justified what she believed was Washington's attack on her editorial ideology. However, she remained true to fulfilling her

[242] Jeffrey B. Perry in his biography of Hubert Harrison describes Booker T. Washington's "downing" Hubert Harrison by getting him fired from his post office position for critiquing Washington's accomodationism in his writings. The firing ended his stable livelihood with which he supported his family yet freed him to become a respected lecturer for and later critic of the Socialist Party. Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883-1918,* (New York, Columbia University, 2009), p.132.
[243]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 246-248.

editorial ideology by always encouraging political agitation outside the two party mainstream against the two party mainstream. She described to Trotter what remained of the magazine and ultimately left Freund's motives up for debate:

> The great question is—Did Mr. Freund intend to help the enterprise when he took it up at the beginning and was he turned from his purpose by the influence of Mr. Washington's expressed views and desires, or was it a mutual understanding between these gentlemen from the beginning? The letter of introduction [that Freund asked Hopkins to write to Washington on Freund's behalf] was a curiosity. Was it possible that Mr. Freund had not met Mr. Washington? Why, if so, did he not avail himself of the help of many mutual influential white acquaintances among the white business men of great New York, anyone of whom would have gladly performed the necessary social requirement gladly? Another incident is the fact that he would write to Mr. Dupree and me on the same day; the letter to me would be conciliatory and complimentary to a degree; the letter to Mr. Dupree would condemn me and my methods wholesale, and its tone would be threatening in character. It is interesting to note, after the passage of one year, that Mr. Freund's policy of 'not a word of complaint,' no 'literary' efforts, 'no talk of wrongs,' or of 'a proscribed race,' no 'glittering generalities,' no 'international aspect' of the Negro question, no talk of 'Filipinos,' has been in full swing under the rule of purchasers who took the magazine over to New York. What was the result?

She then reflects on the result of John Freund's takeover of the *Colored American Magazine:*

> A rain of dollars into the treasury?Far from it. The agents in every city have complained bitterly of the change of policy; it has hurt their sales; many of them have given the book up. In New York City we sold from 800 to 1500 per month; under the new policy the sales have shrunk to 200 per month and the magazine would be out of business were it not for the fact that it is supported from Mr. Washington's private purse. Nor did the whites rally to the support of the pitiful rag issued each month which was but a shadow of its former self…One cannot help a feeling of honest indignation and contempt for a man who would be party to defraud a helpless race of an organ of free speech, a band of men of their legal property and a woman of her means of earning a living.[244]

What Hopkins' letter to Trotter about her editing of the *Colored American Magazine* shows us is ultimately the arbitrariness of fundraising ideas and how the idea of white racism constrained the editorial ideology of Pauline Hopkins. She knew how to raise funds without needing the help of a wealthy white philanthropist like John Freund. But due in part to Freund's

[244]Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p. 247-248.

similar background to Hopkins as a playwright and journalist, Hopkins admits she fell prey to the patriarchal relations of old, and allowed John Freund to demand that she and the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company depend on wealthy white philanthropists and ultimately change her editorial ideology to relinquish an independent course and adopt partisan lines. His appeal to her to write to President Roosevelt, a celebrated Republican, was a more overt example of his rejection of her editorial ideology. Appealing to Roosevelt for support for her magazine contravened Hopkins own editorial ideology that celebrated political agitation against the policies that Roosevelt endorsed. In her September 1902 issue she reprinted an editorial from the *Cleveland Gazette* stating that T. Thomas Fortune should not mix too much with Theodore Roosevelt and Booker T. Washington. One article in the last April 1904 issue of the *Colored American Magazine* where Hopkins was listed as literary editor was "Negro Suffrage Is Not A Failure" by Moorfield Storey. Storey wrote a critique of imperialism that strictly defied Freund's order of writing anything that might create offense: "our crime in the Philippines endangers the fruit of our long contest with slavery, and every friend of freedom must stand alike for the equal rights of the Negroes in this country and the independence of the Filipinos in Asia."[245] Hopkins was well aware that she was promoting her own editorial ideology while rejecting Freund's growing demand to change it. Still she valued the diversity of opinion that Storey's take on the U.S. occupation of the Philippines would bring to the magazine. It is as diverse as simplistic the history of Jamaica that Freund gives in "A Trip to Paradise"; a history that Hopkins knew was as simplistically generous to Britain as Storey's was critical of United States foreign policy.

Hopkins' editorial ideology was ultimately too anti-imperialistfor the likes of John Freund and Booker T. Washington and, like many editors after her, she was forced to relinquish

[245]Moorfield Storey, "Negro Suffrage is Not A Failure," *CAM*, Feb. 1904, p.100.

her editorial position because of her more militant ideology than other editors like Fred Moore who endorsed Booker T. Washington's accomodationism. Ultimately, Pauline Hopkins' personal correspondence with William Monroe Trotter and her enclosed letters reveal that the fundraising of the *Colored American Magazine,* with Pauline Hopkins as editor, was affected negatively by John Freund's ambitions to move the magazine to New York. This does not reverse the incredible effect Hopkins' editorial ideology had on the Black Freedom movement. He might have prevented Hopkins editorial ideology from being printed in the *Colored American Magazine,* but he did not stop her editorial ideology from being printed at all. Hopkins continued her editorial ideology in a periodical she founded that would last for severalmonthsin 1916, called *New Era Magazine.* She also continued her editorial ideology in her novels. These published novels outlasted her tenure at the *Colored American Magazine* and outlasted her life with Oxford University Press' 1988 re-publication of her novel *Contending Forces.* The part of her editorial ideology that she would most strongly continue in her novelswas the point she made in her biographical sketch of Lewis Hayden that, our goal is strive for the "*uplifting of the moral life of our white population, first of all.*"[246]Hopkins saw this as a necessary condition for African Americans being able to successfully fight for their political rights, and she promoted anti-racist and anti-sexist ideas in her novels that sought to uplift the moral life of the white and African American population. The next section will discuss the two novels that best reflect her editorial ideology of fighting for political rights: *Contending Forces* and *Winona.*

How Hopkins Overcame Barriers to Her Editorial Ideology

Hopkins promoted an editorial ideology that advocated her readers agitate for their political rights in a way that, as her 1905 letter to Trotter stated, refused partisan lines and

[246]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: Lewis Hayden," *CAM,* Apr. 1901, p.476-477; Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p.62.

pursued “an independent course.” However according to Hopkins, John Freund under the orders of Booker T. Washington is able to orchestrate her being replaced as literary editor.However she still paves the ideological framework that later movements would build on from her writings. One aspect of this ideological framework is Hopkins’ veiled critique of imperialism that this dissertation will explain. Her first veiled critique of imperialism is seen in her short story “Talma Gordon” that appeared in the October 1900 issue of *Colored American Magazine.* In it, Hopkins endorses her editorial ideology of fighting for political rights, however in a way that unapologetically exposes racism by exposing the stigma of having “Negro blood.” “Talma Gordon” fulfills Gayle’s functional definition that art be a force for moral change. Hopkins is exposing the dangers of ideas of racism and imperialism in a way warns her readers that to engage such ideas would be to engage their own death. The story is concerned with solving the murder of Captain Jack Gordon, his wife and son. “Talma Gordon” opens in the home of Dr. William Thornton entertaining conversation in his palatial estate. One of the guests is an East Indian named Simon Cameron who is seeing Thornton for his tuberculosis. The narrator tells us that the subject for discussion was a subject that justifies American imperialism:“Expansion: Its Effect Upon the Future Development of the Anglo-Saxon Throughout the World.” Hopkins by the end of this story ultimately challenges this kind of development. The subject of the murder of the Gordon family comes up and takes center stage until the story’s end. Jack Gordon’s daughter Talma Gordon is accused of killing her father, his wife, and his son and stands trial. She is found not guilty. Talma reads a letter from her sister Jeannette expressing their fathernot leaving them an inheritance because of his disappointmentin having girls and not a son. However this disappointment is compounded when upon looking at his first son, Jack concludes that he is “of Negro blood.” He accuses his wife of infidelity however it is revealed that his

apparently white wife has Negro blood and, after witnessing her husband's agony over this, she dies of grief.Simon Cameron confesses to killing Jack Gordon and says he did it to avenge his father's murder who was "his friend, and had sailed with him for many a year as mate." One night he says:

> I am an East Indian, but my name does not matter, Cameron is as good as any. There is many a soul crying in heaven and hell for vengeance on Jonathan Gordon. Gold was his idol; and many a good man walked the plank, and many a gallant ship was stripped of her treasure, to satisfy his lust for gold. His blackest crime was the murder of my father, who was his friend, and had sailed with him for many a year as mate. One night these two went ashore together to bury their treasure. My father never returned from that expedition. His body was afterward found with a bullet through the heart on the shore where the vessel stopped that night. It was the custom among pirates for the captain to kill the men who helped bury their treasure. Captain Gordon was no better than a pirate. An East Indian never forgets, and I swore by my mother's deathbed to hunt Captain Gordon down until I had avenged my father's murder.[247]

"Talma Gordon" essentially becomes a cautionary tale to privileged whites warning them about the dangers of underestimating those subjugated under Anglo Saxon imperialism as Cameron believed his father was. This anti-imperialist moral about the dangers of underestimating the humanity of those under colonial occupation will be handled again by writer Lorraine Hansberry who like Hopkins would celebrate the Haitian revolution. Hopkins is also critiquing the East Indian characters by showing that their conscious decision to participate uncritically in Anglo Saxon imperialism will result in their illness or death. Cameron's father joins Gordon uncritically on a quest for gold and ends up dead. Cameron himself is in the palatial estate of Dr. Thornton after coming from the California gold fields where he has contracted tuberculosis. Hopkins in this cautionary tale of "Talma Gordon" is making clear anti-imperialist statements

[247]Hopkins, "Talma Gordon," *Colored American Magazine,* Oct. 1900, p.271-290.

aboutthe dangers of allowing Anglo-Saxon imperialism to continue by uncritically searching for material gain rather than trying to eradicate caste prejudice.[248]

Another aspectof this ideological framework that later movements would build on is the unadulterated reverence for the Haitian revolution that we later see in Lorraine Hansberry. Before Hopkins was replaced as literary editor of the *Colored American Magazine*, Harriett Martineau's 1841 novel *The Man And the Hour: A Historical Romance*is serializedas of the February 1904 issue.[250]As literary editor, Hopkins definitely oversaw if not approved the serializing of this novel. Itchronicles the Haitian revolution and shows how it was fueled by the color caste prejudice in then the island of Saint Dominguelater namedby a revolutionary Dessalines "Haiti" which means "land of many mountains."[251] In the March 1904 issue, she knew the importance of letting her readership know the dramatic changes taking place with the Company as of this calendar year and devotes a whole article to explain John Freund's remarks at the Revere House called "How A New York Newspaper Man Entertained a Number of Colored Ladies and Gentlemen at Dinner in the Revere House, Boston, and How The Colored America League Was Started." By April 1904, the last remnant of Hopkins's editorial ideology was the serialized sections of Martineau's novel that privileges the perspective of the enslaved in the Haitian revolution. Martineau detailed the threat that the Haitian revolution presented to the French planter elite who express mainly shock at the attempt of their enslaved to participate in an

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[248]Hopkins, "Talma Gordon," *Colored American Magazine*, October 1900, p.271-290; Hanna Wallinger, *Pauline Hopkins: A Literary Biography*, (Athens, University of Georgia, 2005), p.247. Special thanks to John Cullen Gruesser who encouraged me to discuss the anti-imperialist message of "Talma Gordon" at the 2012 American Literature Association Conference in San Francisco which hosted my first presentation of this chapter in a condensed paper called"Refusing Partisan Lines For Humanity." Gruesser at my presentation said that title of this short story is named after a white sea captain who was among the first hung for his role in the slave trade.
[250]Brown, *Pauline Hopkins*, p.294. Brown writes that both Hopkins and Martineau reveled in the chance to claim L'Ouverture. Lorraine Hansberry, a writer for the *Freedom* periodical discussed in the fourth chapter would seem to rely on Martineau's account for her unproduced teleplay on L'Ouverture called *Toussaint.*
[251]Randall Robinson, *An Unbroken Agony: Haiti. From Revolution to the Kidnapping of A President*, (New York, Basic, 2007), p.132.

island-wide revolution. This revolution represents the hope of what Hopkins' editing and writing in the *Colored American Magazine* would have on society. Hopkins's editorial ideology was stalled by her paternalistic relationship to John Freund. However, like the plantation overseers in Martineau's novel, she used covert methods of endorsing reform and revolution. In the March 1904 issue of *Colored American Magazine,* the excerpt of Martineau's novel includes a character's reaction to the imminent revolution. This character, Odeluc is described by Martineau as "an old resident" and very sympathetic to the cause of the French planter. He reacts with shock upon hearing plans to foment revolution after hearing that Haitian enslaved had "dismantled the mills, burned the sugar houses, set fire to the crops, murdered the overseers." To this Odeluc says: "Impossible! Incredible! They would be firm if the world were crushed flat! Why they love me as if I were their father!"[252]Hopkins presents this paternalistic attitude of Martineau's fictional Odeluc that supports the racist colonial order in Haiti. It is this kind of paternalism that she personally experienced from John Freund. Unlike Odeluc, however Fruend is able to successfullythwart Hopkins' editorial ideology that promoted the kind of revolutions in Haiti that Hopkins serializes in *Colored American Magazine.* However Hopkins nonetheless overcame this barrier of Freund's paternalism that eventually convinced William Dupree to remove Hopkins' editorial ideology in *Colored American Magazine.* She overcame this barrier andcontinued her editorial ideology in a new periodical called *New Era Magazine* that lasted for exactly two issues: February and March 1916. One of the "Editorial and Publishers Announcements" in the March 1916 issue reads: "we are sparing neither time nor money to make this Magazine the most authentic historian of the race's progress, and if to your personal knowledge we have made any erroneous statements please call the same to our

[252]Harriet Martineau, *The Hour and the Man,* in *Colored American Magazine,* Feb. 1904, p.110; Mar.1904, p.162.

attention."[253]Despite Freund's successful replacement of Hopkins as editor of *Colored American Magazine,* Hopkins continues to promote her editorial ideology in *New Era Magazine.* Her promotion of fighting for political rights in *New Era Magazine* is definitely less militant than it was in the *Colored American Magazine* presumably due to the New England readership she was appealing to. No piece promotes Hopkins's editorial ideology of fighting for political rights more than an article by Plenoyo Gbe Wolo called "The Colored Peoples and the War." This piece reflects the ambivalence seen in *New Era Magazine* and in Hopkins very first May 1900 issue of the *Colored American Magazine* that celebrates racial progress through military service yet critiques expansion of the U.S. military. Wolo is a Liberian student at Harvard and treasurer of the Harvard Cosmopolitan Club. He wrote that

> the colored races must feel it a duty to help in alleviating themisery and burdens of mankind…No race can excel in them [alleviating these burdens] without conscious and continuous effort. The 'colored race' should not allow themselves to be lulled by perditions by such meaningless lullabies, that any automatic altering of the status quo for the better can result because of the war.. It will come only by 'sticking it,' doing one's share and leading the positive life.[254]

Hopkins promoted Wolo's warning about colored citizens being lulled into the lullabies promoting U.S. imperialismwhichthroughout the twentieth century,included narratives aboutthe sinking of the *Lusitania* in the late teens, the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in the late sixties, and in the first decade of the twenty first century included narratives about weapons of mass destruction. Hopkins through Wolo tells her readers that as long as they remain conscious critically thinking readers who are not lulled into lullabies of propagandistic journalism, they will

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[253]"Editorial and Publisher's Announcements," *New Era Magazine,* March 1916, p.124, Reference Collection, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University. Special thanks to Joellen El-Bashir and Amber Junipher of the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University for access to their copies of the *New Era Magazine.*

[254] Plenyono Gbe Wolo, "The Colored Peoples And the War," *New Era Magazine,* March 1916, p.89. Brown writes that Hopkins marketed *New Era Magazine* primarily to New Englanders and to Northerners in general who cherished the legacy of Wendell Phillips. Hopkins in the previous February 1916 issue included "four historical articles, two on prominent white men and two that focused on unsung African Americans of New England," Brown, *Pauline Hopkins,* p.512-513.

be able to continue what Hopkins's editorial ideology promoted which was the fighting for political rights.Hopkins as editor of *New Era Magazine* subscribed to Freund's ideas about creating a market for white readers by devoting considerable written material to thepolitical work of abolitionistWendell Phillips. While her editorial board of directors at the *New Era Magazine* included Walter Wallace who was part of the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company, the periodical's short life span of two months speaks to the obvious lack of support she once garnered as a four year long editor of the *Colored American Magazine.* Yet it still showed how she remained committed to her editorial ideology.

Despite Freund's attack of her editorial ideology that displaced her as editor of the *Colored American Magazine,* Hopkins was able to continue her editorial ideology in her second periodical, the *New Era Magazine.* Hopkins also continued her work as editor by making lasting statements and projections about the need to uplift the moral life of the white population in her own novels serialized in the *Colored American Magazine*. She promoted her editorial ideology in these novels by presenting white characters who fought institutional slavery and historical racism in order to imagine a society that could progress beyond its racist and sexist mores.

Hopkins is the only editor studied in this dissertation that was a published novelist. The Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company raised funds for the *Colored American Magazine* by selling copies of her very first novel *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South.* The September 1900 issue of the *Colored American Magazine* states that *Contending Forces* was "pre-eminently a race work dedicated to the best interest of the Negro everywhere."[255]This description fits not only *Contending Forces,* but Hopkins's serialized novel *Winona.* These two novels best endorsed Hopkins' editorial ideology of fighting for political

[255]"Prospectus of the New Romance of Colored Life," *CAM,* Sep. 1900, p.1.

rights. They were also race works that fulfilled Gayle's definition of functional art and imagined a future beyond the racist and sexist Western society in which Hopkins lived. These two novels suggest specific contributions to the alleviation of racism and sexism that has confronted humanity for too long a time. They suggest that, for a colored readership, political agitation, promoted by Hopkins's editorial ideology, is paramount. They also suggest specific roles that privileged whites can play, and that is the need for a general moral uplift. Hopkins specifies this role in her biographical sketch of Lewis Hayden: "it is an unfortunate fact that the Negro is a great imitator. It seems to us, then, that the only solution of this problem lies in the *uplifting of the moral life of our white population, first of all*[emphasis added]."[256] In these two novels Hopkins is interested in uplifting "the moral life of our white population" by showing the revolutionary activism of white characters such as Warren Maxwell and John Brown in *Winona.* She also uplifts "the moral life of our white population" by detailing the trauma of uniquely American racism experienced by white characters such as Grace Montfort in *Contending Forces* and Warren Maxwell in *Winona.* She also suggests to her readership that true fundamental social change in American society requires the participation of whites who are what Hubert Harrison in 1924 called "race conscious," class conscious, and sensitive enough to the trauma caused by American racism and sexism that they would work, like Warren Maxwell did in *Winona,* to end it. Hopkins was interested in using the genre of the novel as a moral compass and became after Frances Harper one of the first Black women to develop an aesthetic specifically intended for Black people.[257]

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[256]Hopkins, "Famous Men of the Negro Race: Lewis Hayden," *CAM,* Apr. 1901, p.476-477; Dworkin, ed., *Daughter,* p.62..

[257] Hazel Carby writes that for Frances Harper, writing a novel could be "of lasting service for the race" in that it would inspire men and women with "a deeper sense of justice and humanity."Carby writes that Harper believed that only Black authors could adequately as a novelist reproduce the condition and concerns of the black community, that "out of the race must come its own thinkers and writers" as it was impossible "for a white man to put himself completely in our place." Carby, "Introduction," *Iola Leroy; or Shadows Uplifted,* (1893; Boston, Beacon, 1993),

Hopkins begins *Contending Forces* with a pastoral sketch of a slaveowning white family, the Montforts, set in the British colony of Bermuda. The family consists of two sons Jesse and Charles Jr., with Grace and Charles as parents. Hopkins spends most of the first chapter providing Charles Montfort's personal reaction to the increasing abolitionist influence on Bermuda. Her narration of the story explains the commercial role of the slaveowning Montfort family in a colonial economy: "he [Charles] was well known as an exporter of tobacco, sugar, coffee, onions and other products…from which he received large returns."[258]She provides the historical context in the British Parliament's decision to "pass laws allowing slaves on all its colonies to be known as apprenticed laborers, and to acquire thereby all the rights and privileges of freedom."[259] Charles was uneasy about this kind of gradual emancipation. His "conscience waged within him" and he eventually decided to move his family and his enslaved to the U.S. where he, instead of the British parliament, would determine the condition of his enslaved "without impoverishing himself."[260] Hopkins' narrator describes the U.S. as a place more to Charles Montfort's liking "where the institution flourished, and the people had not yet actually awakened to the folly and wickedness exemplified in the enslavement of their fellow

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p.xv-xvi.Richard Yarborough writes that Hopkins strove "to use her fiction to facilitate the uplift of her race by presenting Afro-American readers with moral guidance and instruction through contemporary characters," Richard Yarborough, "Introduction," *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South* with an introduction by Richard Yarborough, (1900; New York, Oxford University, 1988), p.xxx.For more on the importance of the role of the contemporary Black novel within the Black Aesthetic of the sixties and seventies, see Aimee Glocke's comprehensive dissertation, "Is the Black Aesthetic Dead? Positing the Black Aesthetic as the Foundation for the Black Novel," (Ph.D dissertation, Temple University, 2008). My conversations with novelist Elizabeth Nunez about the careers of novelists who belonged to the Harlem Writers Guild like herself revealed her belief that Hollywood's promotion of certain writers like Terry McMillan has essentially resulted in weakening a Black Aesthetic. Another dissertation that examines the necessityfor scholarly examination of African American women writers marketed to popular audiences is the pioneering work by Osizwe Eyi di yiye (Raena J. Harwell), "This Woman's Work: The Sociopolitical Activism of Bebe Moore Campbell," (Ph.D dissertation, Temple University, 2011).

[258] Pauline E. Hopkins, *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South* with an introduction by Richard Yarborough, (1900; New York, Oxford University, 1988), p.22. This novel was originally published 1900 by the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company. While it was not serialized in *CAM*, it was heavily advertised in most issues of the *Colored American Magazine* from 1900 to 1901.

[259] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.20.

[260] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.24.

being."[261]The narrator here foreshadows what becomes the follow of Charles' fateful move to the U.S. when his family becomes the victims of mob violence intended to punish the Montforts for not conforming fast enough to the race-based American enslavement by giving their slaves too much freedom.

As their boat arrives from Bermuda to the Pimlico Sound of North Carolina, they're spotted by Bill and Hank who according to the story seem to be day laborers who find work as overseers, and converse about the extra freedom that the British give to their enslaved. Bill tells Hank "you can't tell nothing bout these Britishers; they're allers squeamish 'bout their nigger brats; yassah, very squeamish. I've hern tell they think nuttin of ejcatin' their black brats, and freein' em, anmakin' em rich."[262]Hopkins in Bill and Hank present the racial hostility exclusively unique to American slavery that the Montforts will confront. Hopkins inserts her own moral assessment as a narrator using Hank and Bill ending the second chapter: "when we survey the flotsam and jetsam left from the wreck of the Civil War, we can deceive ourselves no longer; we must confess that the natural laws which govern individuals and communities never relax in their operation."[263]

Hopkins will later show how the natural law of racism produces a racial trauma that terrorizes whites just as easily as Blacks. By showing the punishment that the Montfort family was exposed to, for not racializing their enslavement enough, Hopkins shows the danger of being moderate on the slavery question the way Montfort was, and ultimately for her readers, she endorses unconditional abolition. The novel is a cautionary tale against moderation on the slavery question. Upon arrival, the narrator tells us that Charles Montfort befriends an

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[261] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.24.
[262] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.41.
[263] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.42. Frances Harper uses this same strategy as a narrator of the novels *Minnie's Sacrifice* and *Iola Leroy* to critique the institution of slavery when she uncritically presents cases in opposition to the institution. Hopkins likely read these novels and learned this kind of narration from Harper.

American, Anson Pollock "whose ruling passion was his covetousness."[264]Charles makes Anson promise to protect Charles' family if anything were to happen to him—his newfound trust in Anson reveals to him the family's money and deed. Anson makes what becomes a false promise. Stakes rise when Anson covets Grace and she rejects him. They rise even further when Charles soundly rejects Hank's offer to be an overseer, to put Charles's "niggers" in their place. The Montforts end up confirming all the deep seated fears and jealousy their new American friends have about them being "nigger lovers" and they incur the wrath of a lynch mob. The mob tortured Grace by tying her to a whipping post where she was "lashed with rawhides alternately by the strong savage men [Bill and Hank]."[265]Elder son Jesse manages to escape after seeing "his murdered father and mother" and discovering that his father's so-called friend Anson was planning to enslave him as a valet and all but betray his promise to his British friend Charles.[266]Hopkins shows her readers the dangers of compromising with or trusting committed supports of enslavement: not only do they threaten the families that the institution was meant to threaten, they can also threaten families like the Montforts seeking continued profit from the enslavement. Jesse runs away from North Carolina to the North and is now separated from his brother Charles. He found work in Boston yet hears that Anson "was on his way to Boston in search of him."[267]He was told to see a Mr. Whitfield in Exeter, New Hampshire, who agrees to take in the now fugitive Jesse. The narrator tells us "fifteen years later Jesse marries Elizabeth Whitfield, the baby he had rocked to sleep the first night of his arrival in Exeter. By her he had large family."[268]

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[264] Hopkins, *Contending Forces,* p.49
[265] Hopkins, *Contending Forces,* p.68.
[266] Hopkins, *Contending Forces,* p.74.
[267] Hopkins, *Contending Forces,* p.79.
[268] Hopkins, *Contending Forces,* p.79. Lois Brown calls *Contending Forces* the "ancestral narrative" of Pauline Hopkins. It seems a novel based mainly on the experience of Jesse Allen and his descendants. Allen is Pauline Hopkins' maternal grandfather, on whom Hopkins' fictionalized Jesse Montfort is based. Brown writes that Allen is

As of the next chapter, the novel skips one whole generation to about 1900, to focus on Jesse's grandchildren Will and Dora. Their mother, Jesse's daughter, is Ma Smith who makes a living taking in roomers. One of the roomers is Sappho Clark whom Will falls deeply in love with. Through Dora, Hopkins is able to address the issues of racism and sexism. Dora challenges the "proscribed role" of the colored race that Freund wanted Hopkins to stop critiquing as editor. Dora also challenges proscribed gender roles for women. She develops a close bond with Sappho and tells her plans to marry John Langley, but also considers the worthiness of Dr. Arthur Lewis, a character that critics say is based on Booker T. Washington for his vocal emphasis on industrial education. John Langley attends a public indignation meeting about lynching and engages in a debate with a Colonel on whether the end of lynching is possible. John says; "it's votes you [the Colonel] want, and after you get them, and all the subsidies, corporations, and trusts are riding easily on the front seat of the coach for another year, you won't know us; and robbing and killing the black man can go right on."[269]Hopkins shows Langley as a compassionate character who fights racial injustice. Like Charles Montfort, John Langley displays commitment to ending racism and racial injustice. She uses debates in this novel as a venue to critique Jim Crow. The next substantive critique she provides of Jim Crow is in the setting of dinner, the Canterbury Club dinner.

When a visitor from the South, Luke Sawyer, addresses the audience at this dinner, he tells a horrifying tale of Southern racism about a woman, MabelleBeaubean, who was kidnapped by a lover, rejected by him because of her Negro blood, and is forced to live as a concubine in New Orleans. Sawyer says he rescued the woman and brought her to a convent to have a baby,

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"an enigmatic figure, an elusive patriarch, [who] engages in the historical record as a mulatto who claimed both Bermuda and the city of New Bern, North Carolina as his birth place, and as a man born to parents whose forenames are identical to those of the Montfort couple who suffer so dramatically when they relocate to the antebellum South," Brown, *Pauline Hopkins,* p.224.

[269] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.235.

where she was believed to have died. In response Will gives a very spirited response to Mabelle's plight, and makes a heavy indictment of sexism and racism in the American South, concluding that the brute that they picture the Negro to be is only "the nature of his environments."[270]John learns in secret that the woman in Sawyer's tale, Mabelle, the victim of sexism and racism (since she is spurned by a lover because of her skin color) is in fact Sappho, a woman whom he has a deep romantic interest in. True to what the narrator tells us about his covetousness, John uses this knowledge as a bargaining tool to convince Sappho to run away with him. The narrator tells us that Sappho's coldness to John urged him on and "made him impatient to force her an acceptance of his own devotion, at whatever cost."[271]Hopkins shows that between John and Will who both speak against Jim Crow racial injustice, what prevents John from continuing the fight against Jim Crow is his need to fulfill his romantic interest for Sappho. He visits Sappho, tells her that he knows her real identity as Mabelle that she desperately hid since her introduction as Ma Smith's Boston roomer and begs her to: "give up Will, and trust yourself to me."[272]He implicitly warns her that he will reveal her true identity if she does not trust herself to him. Sappho resolves to leave Boston, raise her son Alphonse, and pens a letter to Will which Dora reads out loud. In it Sappho reveals her true identity as MabelleBeaubean. After reading it, Dora breaks off her engagement with John Langley and the narrator tells us that "John had given no thought of the needs of his soul in his pursuit of wealth and position."[273] Part of how John tries to convince Sappho to leave Will is his offer of the wealth and white skin privilege that he could provide. Will's anti-racist speech at the Canterbury Club dinner moved an audience member, Mr. Withington, so much, that he pays Will a visit. He

[270] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.272.
[271] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.227.
[272] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.319.
[273] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.336.

tells Ma Smith about her son's gifted oratory and Ma Smith tells him of the history of antislavery heritagein hers and Hopkins own life: "a story of faithful fathers bearing insult and injury to keep the meanly paid employment; of mothers spending many days and nights over the washtub and ironing board in order to get money to educate their children."[274]Upon learning about Will's family history, their guest Withington says:

> I believe that I am your relative descended directly from your father's brother; your grandfather's brother, he said, turning to Will, who stood an amazed spectator of this extraordinary scene. 'Impossible!' exclaimed mother and son in one breath…'Nothing is impossible with God. How often have I heard *my* father tell very much the same tale I have just listened to. Let me assure you. That the letters of Jesse Montfort to his brother Charles are still in existence…Is not this a direct intervention of the hand of Providence that we, so widely separated, should at last become known to each other?[275]

The narrator tells us that "the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars" was awarded to Mrs. Smith as the last representative of the heirs of Jesse Montfort: "justice was appeased."[276]Will and Sappho get married and we're told about John that "his undisciplined soul went forth to wander in the celestial sphere, there to continue the salutary lessons begun on earth, under the guidance of God's angels."[277]The story within this novel affirms a point made very early by Hopkins' narrator, that "nature avenges herself upon us for every law violated in the mad rush for wealth or position or personal comfort where the rights of others are not respected."[278]As historian, sociologist and novelist, Hopkins is able to create a story that demonstrates exactly how nature avenges herself upon us for every law violated in the mad rush for wealth or position or personal comfort where the rights of others are not respected. Anson Pollock and his descendant John Pollock Langley in their mad rush for wealth caused them to violate the trust of victims of racial violence, the Montfort family and Sappho, by relinquishing

[274] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.372.
[275] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.375.
[276] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.387.
[277] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.401.
[278] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, p.65.

or betraying the struggle for racial justice. These events also allow Hopkins to craft her social and political critique of sexism and racism within a novel sold, as a romance between Will and Sappho, in order to appeal to a popular audience. Hopkins shows how the separation caused by racial trauma can be overcome with a steady commitment not only to ending Jim Crow but by thanking those people who are devoted to anti-slavery causes as Charles Withington did when he visited Will Smith to thank him for asserting his political rights in his speech against racism. Throughout the novel Hopkins suggests that the contending forces which title this novel, are conflicting thoughts within the white mind on the question of slavery and racial justice: whether to condone gradual emancipation or forego financial profit, as in the case of Charles Montfort. Whether to unconditionally fight for political rights as Hopkins's editorial rights advocates, or to relinquish the effort to acquire a romantic love interest, as John Langley couldn't. Charles and John are white characters who make the more politically moderate choice, both foregoing the struggle against racism in the service of their own personal profit in the case of Charles, or personal lust in the case of John. By showing the calamities that befell these white characters, Hopkins shows the importance of personal sacrifice to achieve a greater goal of agitating for political rights against racism and sexism.*Contending Forces* published in 1900 would anticipate the contention between Hopkins and Dupree who was influenced by John Freund, a supporter of American propaganda that ignores racist violence. In Hopkins novel Charles Montfort and Anson Pollock die for being moderate or supportive of the institution of slavery. In real life, Hopkins herself was one of two contending forces trying to keep her editorial ideology against a John Freund who was trying to end it. This battle ended in her losing and, according to her, the periodical becoming a "pitiful rag" that is devoid of serious meaningful political content. According to Hopkins 1905 account to Trotter, she would infer that "nature" avenged upon the

Colored American Magazine, every law violated in the mad rush for mainly power that Freund, Fred Moore, and Booker T. Washington sought, when the periodical ended. Freund violated laws of fairness when he created division between Hopkins and Dupree and encouraged Hopkins to promote white racism in her pages and depend on white philanthropists.

In *Winona*, the novel serialized in the *Colored American Magazine* from May to October 1902, Hopkins makes her most serious suggestions to her readers about the need for revolution against racial violence. The story begins with our introduction to an American white man who identified with the non-European oppressed peoples, a character named White Eagle. He became a widower to a wife of both Native American and African American descent, named Judah. He later adopted an African American, formerly enslaved boy, and named him Judah. Hopkins' White Eagle chose to live among the Native Americans on an island on Lake Erie. We learn that White Eagle became a widower after his wife birthed his daughter Winona, an indigenous name meaning "first born daughter." We understand from the narrator that on this island White Eagle cultivated a world that was untouched by American "civilization." Hopkins presents a unit here that attempted to be as faithful as possible to indigenous tradition, led by White Eagle who had "linked his fortunes with the Seneca Indians."[279]Through White Eagle Hopkins shows her Black readership the potential for whites to reject the racist norms of society and respect indigenous culture and tradition.[280]

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[279] Pauline Hopkins, *Winona*, in *The Magazine Novels of Pauline Hopkins* with an introduction by Hazel V. Carby, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1988), p.288. This novel is a testament to the need for armed self-defense against oppressive systems and speaks not only to a society that functioned from chattel slavery; it speaks to a society that thrives from Jim Crow discrimination in the nineteenth and twentieth century to exploitative neocolonial capitalism of the twentieth and twenty first centuries.

[280] Hopkins writes: "the children busied themselves with hospitable preparations for a meal, and the men flung themselves down on a bed of dry leaves and moss, lighted their pipes, and furtively watched them…Judah brought some wood and Winona piled it on until a good bed of coals lay within the stone fireplace. Then she hung the fish on pieces of lather string, turning them round and round. Soon they lay in platters of birch, a savory incense filling th air, and in no time the hunters were satisfying their hunger with the delicious salmon and trout, washed down by copious draughts of pure spring water from a nearby rill whose gentle gurgle one could distinguish as it mingled

The novel soon focuses on Warren Maxwell, a lawyer in England who's been assigned the duty of going to America to find the heir of the Carlingford estate. The estate's last known heir is Lord George who was murdered. His brother Captain Henry was arrested, tried for his murder and convicted. Captain Henry however escaped to America and Lord George in his will left his wealth to Henry's children. We're told that Henry had a son that George strongly dislikes and for this reason, Warren's mission "must remain a profound secret."[281]Warren discovers thatthe long lost heir of the estate is a man namedWhite Eagle. Warren ends up at the Grand Island Hotel where Ebenezer Maybee is proprietor. Soon after Warren's arrival, Winona relays to Ebenezer that White Eagle has been murdered. When Warren wants to join Ebenezer to investigate White Eagle's murder, Ebenezer, whom Hopkins writes as a man of color, says to Warren "you must remember that these people are only niggers and Injuns…Truth is,--neither of them two forlorn critters realizes what bein' a nigger means; they have no idee of thar true position in this unfrien'ly world."[282]Like Bill and Hank in *Contending Forces*, Ebenezer reinforces a uniquely American racial hegemony when he downplays the seriousness of Winona and Judah's loss because of their race when he says they're "only niggers and Injuns." While he may not personally believe in racial inferiority, he still has some pity on them for being orphaned in a society built on white privilege.

The narrator tells us that Warren and Ebenezer's investigation revealed "no trace of the assassin; no clue."[283]After lamenting Winona and Judah's orphaned status, Warren resolves to

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with the noise of the dashing surf and the roar of the falls," *Winona*, p.295. Unlike Elijah Muhammad's doctrinal teachings in the Nation of Islam to then followers like Malcolm X, that all whites are devils, Hopkins rejects this teaching and shows that some whites like White Eagle and John Brown have revolutionary potential and could join with similarly interested African Americans to revolutionize society. In her fiction and nonfiction, Hopkins shows interest in whites, with what Hubert Harrison coined "race consciousness," who are willing to create an environment that rejects racist norms of mainstream American society. Her creation of White Eagle is proof of this.

[281] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.300.

[282] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.303, 310.

[283] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.308.

adopt the children, educate them, "and make them useful members of society," probably against White Eagle's attempts to raise them in a way that defied American "civilization."[284]The next day Ebenezer tells Warren that a claim by two men was put in for the two children under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850: "they was the owners of White Eagle's wife an' Judah's mother sir—nigger traders from Missouri, sir."[285]Warren resolves to go to Missouri to try and rescue them. The state at this time in the 1850s was the site of a huge slavery debate that rendered a Missouri proslavery state, and was trying to make nearby Kansas a proslavery state also. However Hopkins presents John Brown's battles in Kansas that prevented this, through the experiences of a white character in Warren Maxwell.

The story then turns to the despised nephew of Lord George, Colonel Titus, who we learn was "one of the most bitter partisans on the side of slavery…[who] outdid the most rabid native-born Southerners."[286]We also learn of Bill Thomson, the overseer of Colonel Titus who seems to cherish his position as one who keeps people of color in the subjective, proscribed role. To Titus, Bill was "his overseer and most intimate friend."[287] After Colonel Titus and Thomson kidnaps Winona and Judah, Winona was given to Titus's ill daughter Lillian, and Judah was "made assistant overseer."[288] Hopkins is obviously interested in showing the change that Judah undergoes after being deprived of White Eagle's guidance and being socialized to be an enslaved individual. She writes how becoming an assistant overseer changes Judah:

> he had developed into a lion of a man…he had lost his sunny disposition and buoyant spirits…He was invaluable as a trainer of horses, and scrupulously attentive to his other worked, but in performing these duties he had witnessed scenes that rivaled in cruelty the

[284] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.314.
[285] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.314.
[286] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.316.
[287] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.317.
[288] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.320.

> ferocity of the savage tribes among whom he had passed his boyhood, and had experienced such personal abuse that it had driven smiles forever from his faces.[289]

Hopkins tells specifically of Judah breaking a notoriously wild horse by staring at him, mounting him, then spurring him to run laps around a track. She writes in a detached tone that is mildly critical of Judah's "civilization" or socialization into an enslaved individual: "all this happened in the first year of captivity, and since that time Judah had apparently learned his place."[290]

Soon Warren arrives on the Titus plantation telling Titus and Thomson that he is hunting for heirs of the Carlingford estate. They debate over the slavery question. Titus says "the Yankees have got to be forced to leave the States. We'll make ourselves a living terror to them. The trouble is bein' stirred up by a lot of psalm singing abolitionists and an old lunatic named Brown."[291] Maxwell with his British sensibility replies that "a government cannot prosper founded on crushed and helpless humanity."[292] Hopkins presents popular mainstream negative perceptions of John Brown even though she ultimately endorses his revolutionary acts. Hopkins in a subtle way suggests the truth of Maxwell's reply through the novel when we read and understand most clearly the actions of the "lunatic" John Brown.[293]In Warren's first night at Titus's, Judah sneaks into his cabin and tells Warren that Titus and Thomson plan to sell him and Winona "to the highest bidder."[294]Judah tells Warren that he plans to kill Winona if she is

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[289] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.320.
[290] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.328. Hopkins in her fiction is critiquing the proscribed role as one that is physically and mentally subjects other living beings to arduous labor for the financial benefit yet, with Judah's title as "assistant," one that is still subject to a supposedly superior race, the white race, as his overseer Bill Thomson makes clear to his assistant.
[291] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.332.
[292] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.332.
[293] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.333.
[294] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.334.

ultimately sold off.[295] Warren agrees to meet Judah on board a steamer the next day in an attempt to prevent them from being sold off.

Before boarding the steamer, Warren meets Ebenezer and resolves to join him and the Free Soilers in their battles against proslavery armed forces in Kansas, the kind of which he lodged at the night before. Ebenezer resolves to get Warren, Winona, and Judah on a steamer to leave the Thomson plantation. He then prays to God for a storm in order to make their escape from Titus's forces easier. As according to plan, Judah and Ebenezer secure a runaway boat and, during a tumultuous thunderstorm, Warren with Judah and Winona leave the Thomson plantation. The narrator tells us: "surely God was with them."[296] Winona and Judah are successfully prevented from being sold away.

When this group docks, joins with Ebenezer Maybee, and reaches the door of Reverend Ron Parsons, a known underground railroad conductor, they are almost shot because Parsons confuses them for proslavery forces. They plan to stay by Parsons while on the way to the camp of John Brown in Kansas. Brown at this time is fighting proslavery incursions into Kansas from Missouri in order to prevent Kansas from becoming a slave state. Through Parsons, Hopkins articulates antislavery sentiment best through an educated Black voice: "I hate the laws that make this country a nursery for slavery, and I resist them by rescuing all who come to me for refuge…But let us hope the storm will soon blow over; the South well see the error and the

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[295] Here Hopkins continues the literary tradition of paying homage and respect to the enormous sacrifice that Margaret Garner made in killing her child so that it would not endure enslavement. This is a tradition that Harper also paid homage to. Frances Harper paid Margaret Garner respect in her poem called "The Slave Mother: A Tale of Ohio" and Pauline Hopkins pays Margaret Garner respect by including this fictional account of murdering a loved one in order to prevent that loved one from experiencing the trauma of enslavement, except this time it is by a male character Judah instead of a female character like the Slave Mother in Harper's poem. This underscores the sensitivity to the trauma of enslavement not only to Black women but to Black men. Like Margaret Garner, Hopkins' Judah would rather kill his loved one Winona than see her endure the pain of separation and being someone's chattel property. For "The Slave Mother," see *A Brighter Coming Day: A Frances Ellen Watkins Harper Reader*, edited and with an introduction by Frances Smith Foster, (New York, Feminist Press, 1990), p.84-86.
[296] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.344.

Negroes will be granted freedom by peaceful means."[297]Judah adds "these bloody happenings which are convulsing Missouri and Kansas are but preliminary happenings to a glorious struggle which will end in the breaking of every chain that binds human beings to servitude in this country."[298]Both Parsons and Judah plan to do their part to fundamentally change the oppressive institution of enslavement however Parsons is more hopeful that change can come by nonviolent means; Judah is more willing to achieve that change through calculated acts of violence. Hopkins is arguably the first novelist to show Black male characters as revolutionaries who work to make Kansas a free state. Along with his revolutionary instincts, we learn that Judah by this time is hoping to make a home for himself and Winona in Canada, yet he notices the growing attraction between her and Warren and ponders: "the white man has the advantage in all things. Is it worthwhile struggling against such forces?"[299] Here Hopkins laments white privilege and its role in preventing healthy relationships for enslaved Blacks like Judah. The wealth and education that Warren earned to become and remain a lawyer was denied on some level to Judah because of his proscribed role as a man socialized, by American men like Thomson, to be enslaved. If Hopkins shows one's sacrifice of personal romance for the cause of racial justice through Sappho in *Contending Forces*, then in *Winona*, Hopkins shows such an important sacrifice in Judah.

Hopkins is saying through Judah that the fight against racism is so important that not only must one be prepared to sacrifice one's loved ones as Judah was prepared with Winona, one must also be prepared to sacrifice all romantic interests as Judah does with his adopted sister Winona. The narrator tells us how Judah puts his romantic interest aside for Winona to not only obey White Eagle but to help the cause of the Free Soilers: "he—Judah—was her natural

[297] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.351.
[298] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.352.
[299] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.357.

protector; he would be faithful to White Eagle's trust."[300]Both Judah and Warren part ways from Winona for the cause of racial justice when the women within John Brown's camp surround her and render all the men to fight against proslavery forces. Hopkins makes an interesting comment on the gender roles of men and women during revolution here. Warren promises to return to her. Hopkins narrative focuses from here on, exclusively on the revolutionary battles of Kansas that put Ebenezer, Judah, Parsons and Warren on the side of John Brown and against his proslavery attackers.

Hopkins' fictional choice to place the story within the 1850s battles of "bleeding Kansas" shows her revolutionary consciousness that exposed the issue of racialized enslavement. It also shows her suggestion that achieving real change in American society will require cooperation across races. After being separated from Winona, Warren's band is immediately confronted by Thomson who demand Winona and Judah from Warren who replies: "you have no right to claim either Winona or Judah as your slave."[301]Thomson and his forces shoot at Parson; he is wounded and not mentioned for at least several tens of pages later in the novel. They kidnap Warren and throw him into a jail cell. Thomson wants to kill him but Colonel Titus relents by saying that killing would tarnish their American ability before an English gentleman to "impress the world with our fair and impartial dealing with all mankind."[302]We move to Winona who by now is part of the camp of celebrated abolitionist John Brown who Hopkins tells us calls her his pretty "squaw." Hopkins described John Brown:

> John Brown was a man of deep religious convictions, but mingled with austerity were perfect gentleness and self-renunciation which inspired love in every breast…The fugitive slaves who came in fear and trembling were strengthened and improved by

[300] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.358.
[301] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.363.
[302] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.372.

contact with the free, strong spirit of their rescuer and his associate helpers of proscribed Free Staters.[303]

Hopkins is interested in showing her Black readership the revolutionary potential of white minds. Brown is definitely among the ranks of other white abolitionists like Wendell Phillips and Lydia Maria Child who devote their lives the cause of revolutionizing society so that it no longer enslaves other human beings. She shows the potential for whites to work with Blacks in order to produce revolutionary change as John Brown's work in Kansas against proslavery forces and later at Harper's Ferry. We shift to John Brown's camp in Kansas and follow Judah who works as a scout within the woods "following the trial of parties of desperadoes or bringing in the fruits of the line…to supply the needs in fish or meat."[304]Eventually Judah tells Winona of his love but she confesses that she has love only for Warren and not for him. Steward's wife comes to John Brown and tells them that "the Rangers [proslavery forces] done caught my husband and shot him; they've carried the young Englishman to jail."[305] John Brown's party then plans to rescue Warren.

The story then shifts to the inner thoughts of an imprisoned Warren and through these thoughts Hopkins shows in a very significant way the detrimental effect that racism has on the white mind. In Warren, like in Grace Montfort, Hopkins shows a character devastated by racist violence. A character devastated by a violent attack that was motivated by racist American beliefs that sought to uphold slavery. According to the narrator, Warren "meditated upon his position in the heart of a hostile country although supposed to advocate and champion the most advanced ideas of liberty and human rights…he had not believed such scenes as he had just

[303] Hopkins, *Winona,* p.374.
[304] Hopkins, *Winona,* p.376.
[305] Hopkins, *Winona,* p.379.

passed through, possible in a civilized land."[306]He was eventually put on trial and found guilty of aiding slaves to run away and depart from their master's service. Warren was subsequently sentenced to death. The narrator tells us that when Warren returns to jail after being sentenced to death, he becomes delirious ultimately as a result of coping as a race conscious white man fighting racial injustice in America:

> All through the long delirium of pain and weariness Warren was conscious of the tender care of his nurse. To the sick man the wearing, jarring sound of voices rushing out of a black pit was ever present and unbearable. At times they were to him the cries of ruffians who pursued him to the stake; the vengeance of the mob seemed to fill the little room and charge the atmosphere with horror. Again it was the sound of the pistol shot that killed Parson Steward, and the patient would shudder at the blood everywhere—on shirts, hands, and faces, and splashing the sides of the bare walls; or it was the flames mounting higher and higher, licking his body with hungry tongues, or it was the rushing of whirling waters against the vessel's side as he swung Winona over the side of the [steamer] "Crescent." Finally, as he lay tossing and tormented with these phantom terrors in his eyes and ears, the sound died away into the soft hush of a tender voice stilling the tumult.[307]

Hopkins shows the psychological trauma of racial violence that was apparently foreign to Warren's sensibilities before his confrontation with American racism. Warren was getting a taste of the torment that African Americans faced on a daily basis in the antebellum South as a result of efforts to keep them enslaved. Hopkins describes this trauma metaphorically as "flames mounting, higher and higher, licking his body with hungry tongues" and compares it to the waves of the river they escaped on, from Colonel Titus and Thomson. These "flames" or "waves" represent racial trauma that threaten the life of Warren Maxwell who represents for Hopkins and her readership the hope of whites' roles in revolutionary work, not only at an individual level in the rescue of Winona and Judah, but also at a society-wide level with the involvement of John Brown's Free Soil battles against proslavery forces in Kansas. Hopkins, by

[306] Hopkins, *Winona,* p.381.
[307] Hopkins, *Winona,* p.386.

showing Maxwell's threatened life and consequently his threatened psyche, is endorsing revolution in 1901 in order to progress society away from its racist mores.

Warren's delirium was treated by Allen Pink, a mulatto nurse who was sent to him because of Warren's friends. Eventually John Brown and his group of armed men break into Warren's jail and rescued him. Even after his rescue the narrator tells us that Warren was still affected by trauma of racial violence. He was in a "semi-conscious state…the sight of guns and the constant talk of the battle yet to come had a depressing effect upon the invalid; they gave a sinister effect to his freedom"[308] Hopkins suggests that American enslavement damages not only the Black body but also the white mind. As Warren escaped with John Brown's army, the narrator tells us that "the menace of impending danger, however, hung over them constantly."[309]Hopkins' literary imagination is rife at this point. She writes an imagined conversation with John Brown and Warren Maxwell where Brown reveals his Harper's Ferry "scheme for an insurrection among the slaves."[310]John Brown's band is soon attacked by proslavery forces in Kansas. Except this time, Warren is not as rattled as he was when both he and Parsons were attacked. Warren is able to attack his proslavery foe using the butt of his pistol "in a smashing blow."[311]The narrator tells us that by "thinking of only the sufferings he had endured in the dreadful time of imprisonment he continued his rain of blows upon his prostrate foe until the limpness of his inert body beneath stayed his hand."[312]Hopkins shows her readership the important use of violent resistance to stop oppressive structures. Warren seemed passive about its use in his first battle with Steward against proslavery forces but in his second battle is accustomed to the notion that violent proslavery attackers can be relented only by

[308] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.398.
[309] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.399.
[310] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.400.
[311] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.412.
[312] Hopkins, *Winona*, p.412.

retaliating against them violently. Hopkins in Warren Maxwell shows the development of a revolutionary. All the battles in the novel culminate in a final duel between Judah and his former overseer Thomson in a scene that resembles Brown's actual 1855 defeat of proslavery fighter Bill Sherman in Pottawatomie, Kansas. Like Sherman, Hopkins has Thomson meet his death after falling into a body of water.[313] Thomson fell to his death at Judah's hands and the narrator tells us that for Judah "it was not strange that vengeance seemed to him earth's only blessing."[314]It is suggested that by Thomson's death, Judah rightfully avenged the death of White Eagle at the hand of Colonel Titus and Thomson. Hopkins through Judah makes her most damning indictment of American racism in all her novels when Judah says of Thomson: "He is of those who enslave both body and soul and damn us with ignorance and vice and take our manhood. I made an oath; it was no idle threat."[315] Parson reemerges, apparently surviving his attacks. Thomson on his death bed reveals that it was him and not Captain Henry who killed Lord George because he toyed with his sister who was the Lord's servant. For the sake of his dying daughter Lillian, Colonel Titus killed White Eagle and enslaved Winona to become Lillian's servant. Thomson reveals to the reader that White Eagle was the last direct heir of Carlingford.[316]Hopkins suggests that Lillian represents the dying institution of American slavery

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[313] David S. Reynolds writes that "When Brown and his party learned that Dutch Henry, their main target, was out on the prairie searching for lost cattle, they decided upon his brother Dutch Bill instead. They led Sherman to the edge of the creek, where Brown's two youngest sons, along with Weiner and Thompson, felled him" *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights,* (New York, Knopf, 2005), p.173. Reynolds cites Stephen Oates' 1970 biography of Brown, *To Purge This Land With Blood,* (New York, Harper & Row, 1970), p. 138.
[314] Hopkins, *Winona,* p.417.
[315] Hopkins, *Winona,* p.422.
[316] Hopkins, *Winona,* p.428. Lois Brown writes that Hopkins invests in the surname of Carlingford because of the prominence of Chichester Parkinson-Fortescue, the Irish politician, statesman and member of Prime Minister William Gladstone's cabinet who was elevated in 1874 to the peerage and acquired the title Baron Carlingford. Brown writes that Parkinson-Fortescue's political career was memorable for its successes and his resistance, which included his withdrawal of support for the British home rule cause and Britain's Irish policy. The Baron enjoyed a lively marriage to Lady Frances Waldegrave, an influential social leader, but the couple had no children. Upon Carlingford's death in 1898, having no heirs, his title died with him, *Pauline Hopkins,* p.373. In her novel *Winona,* Hopkins celebrates whites like Carlingford by continuing his legacy in a narrative that enables a formerly

that can only thrive if colored familial relationships are broken. Titus ruins a potentially loving relationship between a father and his children in order to provide his daughter a servant and uphold the hegemony of American slavery. Upon learning Thomson's words, Warren finally presents the inheritance intended for White Eagle to his children and brings both of them to England. We learn that Judah never returned to America and that Winona celebrated living in England. The novel ends with both Judah and Winona finding refuge outside a country that fought a bloody civil war for the right to enslave them. A war that questioned the validity of upholding a system based on racist beliefs.

Pauline Hopkins no doubt used the setting of the antebellum midwest to comment on the continuing need in 1902 for revolution against the failure of Reconstruction she meticulously wrote about in the *Colored American Magazine*. True to Hopkins's editorial ideology, the novel is a holistic endorsement of political activism against racial injustice. She shows the important role that whites like Warren Maxwell can play, in revolutionizing society. John Brown shared plans of his revolt at Harper's Ferry which led to the Civil War, which led to the ultimate abolition of slavery by law. Through Warren Maxwell, Hopkins is most effectively attempting to uplift the moral life of the white population by teaching them that their welfare is inextricably linked to the welfare of the fellow citizens of color, as Warren learned after being chased, shot at, and imprisoned. In *Winona*, Hopkins makes the effect of racism and enslavement personal for privileged whites. Warren was interested in freeing Judah and Winona because he had a personal interest in Winona, but he also had larger thoughts about the contradictions of an American democracy that upheld enslavement and separated families. Hopkins shows her Black readers the importance of uniting with race conscious whites to revolutionize society that would

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disinterested white man to become radicalized and fight for revolution of American society. She suggests to her white readers to think about how their anti-racist legacies can be remembered.

end all racial injustice. The novel is her strongest critique of American racism. It is a prophetic warning against American individuals like John Freund who do the bidding of businessmen who accommodatean American society that advocate African Americans in more menial than militant roles. Its 1988 republication by Oxford University Press is a testament to how her editorial ideology that endorsed fighting for political rights was able to overcome the barriers of John Freund and Booker T. Washington. Hopkins' novels *Contending Forces* and *Winona* have contributed to humanity by exposing the trauma of racist violence from people fighting to maintain racial slavery. This is part of the perilous American hegemony in a way that ultimately aids its deconstruction.

CHAPTER 3: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH & THE MESSENGER

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to show how the editorial work of A. Philip Randolph was a necessary element for the Black Freedom Struggle. It plans to show how his editorial ideology that would help radicalize readers like E.D. Nixon that would play a leading role in the Black Freedom Movement. Randolph's editorial ideology promoted race conscious political organization that encouraged his "Negro readership" to engage in labor organizing. This chapter will first provide in a second section a biographical sketch of A. Philip Randolph. Within this sketch is a review of the biographical literature on Randolph and how this dissertation will add to the existing scholarship on Randolph. In a third section, this chapter will then show the development of Randolph's editorial ideology in his periodical *The Messenger* from 1917 to 1928 primarily through his correspondence with the American Fund for Public Service. It will show in a fourth section the development of barriers to Randolph's editorial ideology that threatened his ability to encourage race conscious political organizing. These barriers emerged in the form of Roger Baldwin's and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's demands that he compromise his editorial ideology in order to receive their funds. Finally, in a fifth section, this chapter will show how Randolph surmounted these barriers to not only continue his editorial ideology that focused on labor organizing, but to also fulfill his editorial ideology by leading the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as of 1925. *The Messenger* like no other periodical in U.S. history encouraged its working class readers of color to advance the struggle for racial justice by labor organizing. One working class reader, Ashley Totten, a Pullman porter, was so inspired that he asked A. Philip Randolph himself to lead a labor union of Pullman porters later known as the

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters or, the Brotherhood. Randolph's editorial ideology and his surmounting of barriers to it, was essentially responsible for his influential role in leading the Brotherhood which was the largest union of Black men at the time. Randolph influenced another working class reader in E.D. Nixon who became so radicalized as to jointhe Brotherhood. His joining the Brotherhood led him to work as an organizer, eventually in the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955, where he selected a young reverend named Martin Luther King, Jr. to lead this movement. This significant boycott that is a watershed even in the Black Freedom Movement could not have happened without Randolph's editorial ideology in *The Messenger* that encouraged labor organizing. Like Hopkins, Randolph would develop an editorial ideology that not only focused on agitating for political rights but that encouraged labor organizing. Also like Hopkins, Randolph would face barriers in paternalistic whites like Roger Baldwin and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn who denied his periodical funding if he did not conform to their paternalistic expectations. However also like Hopkins, Randolph would surmount these barriers. In the process of surmounting them, Randolph would lead an incredibly influential labor union that would inspire future labor leaders whose work would lead to the Black Freedom movement.

Biographical Sketch of A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida in 1889. He later moved to Jacksonville where he attended primary and secondary school at what was then Cookman Institute. His mother was a washerwoman and his father was an itinerant African Methodist Episcopal preacher. In 1911 he moved to Harlem and planned to become a stage actor, however he became deeply influenced by the socialist teachings of lecturer Hubert Harrison and City

College professor Morris R. Cohen.[317] In 1917, he and Chandler Owen was asked by an employer of Negro headwaiters to edit a newsletter discussing their issues. They called the paper *Hotel Messenger*. Randolph and Owen were fired by this employer after they published the harsh truths of how headwaiters were exploiting the lesser paid sidewaiters. However they continued writing, editing, and publishing for the cause of the exploited Negro worker and continued their own magazine which became known as *The Messenger*. Both A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen co-edited *The Messenger* from 1917 to 1924, when Chandler left for Chicago after his brother's passing. From 1925 until 1928, Randolph became the sole editor of the monthly periodical and used it to advance the cause of labor organizing among Negroes. It was funded by several sources, including subscribers and agents, which proved ultimately unreliable from year to year. A more reliable source of *The Messenger's* funding came from the American Fund for Public Service, whose correspondence with Randolph this chapter will explore. In interviews, Randolph has admitted that his most reliable source of funding of *The Messenger* was his wife, Lucille Green Randolph, who owned a hair salon in Harlem before Randolph starts *The Messenger* and up until its last year.Randolph credits her as the most significant source of fundraising of *The Messenger.*[318]While the funding from his wife Lucille is harder to document, the funding from the American Fund for Public Service (AFPS) is less hard

[317]Jeffrey Perry writes that Randolph and Chandler Owen attended nearly if not all of Hubert Harrison's outdoor lectures on the corner of 135th Street and Lenox Avenue in Harlem in 1916. Randolph called Harrison "the father of Harlem radicalism."Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Father of Harlem Radicalism, 1883-1917,* (New York, Columbia, 2009), p.5, 265-266.About City College in the mid-teens of the twentieth century, A. Philip Randolph said: "he found the classrooms and corridors to be among 'the hottest beds of radicalism in New York City.'" About Morris R. Cohen, Randolph said that Cohen "stirred more intellectual restlessness and discontent in him than any other teacher at City College." Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1973), p.60, 79-80.

[318]A. Philip Randolph credits Lucille Green Randolph for funding *The Messenger* in two significant interviews. One with William Wray, From *"The Reminiscences of A. Philip Randolph"* by William Wray, transcript of a 1971 interview with A. Philip Randolph, conducted by the Columbia University Oral History Project. A second is with Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait.* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1973), p.81-82.

to document, and Randolph's correspondence with the AFPS from 1922 to 1925 is discussed in this chapter. It should be noted that during the tenure of *The Messenger*, efforts were made by Randolph to raise funds independently without the help of white liberal groups, however by 1922, Randolph appealed routinely to the AFPS for help.[319] This appeal would not come without Randolph first establishingan editorial ideology with clear, defined characteristics.

The biographical literature on A. Philip Randolph, including the extant copies of his seminal publication, *The Messenger*, provide not only a glimpse into his political independence but also his fundraising and his penchant for progressive art. Jervis Anderson's 1973 biography of A. Philip Randolph entitled *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait*,provides a glimpse of Randolph as an editor and discusses the obstacles he faced as editor of *The Messenger*. Randolph's work as an editor in galvanizing support for what would become the largest labor union of Black men is arguably one of the most important roles towards the accomplishment of the Black Freedom movement in the twentieth century because it proved that labor could be independent of the financial needs of the Pullman company, which was then the largest employer of Black men. Unfortunately,he could not harness the power of this organized labor to abolish tipping during the life of *The Messenger*. However, his political independence would lead him and his wife to run for the New York State Assembly on the Socialist Party ticket in 1923.

In his biography of Randolph, Anderson includes a cartoon from the *The Messenger* of two dogs fighting over a bone which is Figure 2, shown later in this dissertation. One dog is labeled negro labor and the other is white labor and a third smaller dog labeled 'capital' is seen

[319] In the May/June 1919 issue of *The Messenger*, Randolph wrote: "for sixty days, beginning May 1st, [1919], the *Messenger* Publishing Company Inc., will place on the market five thousand share of stock at $5.00 per share—the same to be disposed of to make *The Messenger* the most powerful organ of public opinion in the world…" *The Messenger*, May/Jun 1919, (New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969), p.18.Pages are numbered according to the issues in the bound copies of the *Colored American Magazine*, published in New York by Negro Universities Press in 1969. Where page numbers were indicated in the actual text of *The Messenger*, they were cited.

capturing a ham labeled 'profits.' The caption of the cartoon reads: 'Drop that bone and get the ham! You are just working dogs!'[320] Anderson shows how Randolph used both art and editorials to advance the Black Freedom struggle. It took expressions like these to attract the attention of a Pullman porter named Ashley Totten:

> One morning in June 1925, two months past his thirty sixth birthday, and his new political future apparently behind him, Randolph was walking from his new apartment at 314 West 133rd Street, up seventh avenue, on his way to the *Messenger's* office. At the corner of 135th street, he was stopped by a man who doffed his white Panama hat, introduced himself as Ashley Totten, and asked to have a word…Totten further introduced himself as someone who had read the *Messenger* for several years and who had once been a regular listener at Randolph's soapbox forums. What he had on his mind was this: would Randolph consider coming to the Pullman porters' athletic association one evening, and speaking to the members on the subject of trade unionism and collective bargaining? Randolph said he would be glad to…Totten knew from reading *The Messenger* and from listening to Randolph's old soapbox speeches, that no one in Harlem had a deeper understanding of the need for labor unionism or a greater concern for the problems of the black workingman. As a public speaker, Randolph was one of the best Harlemites he ever heard. He also had a magazine, a ready-made mouthpiece for any new labor organization. And most important, he wasn't a Pullman porter.[321]

Anderson shows the role that Randolph's editing played in his being approached by Totten to lead what would then become the largest labor union of African Americans in the nation. His biography of Randolph shows above all a commitment to a political independence outside of the mainstream Democratic and Republican parties that led to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. One that expressed itself also in the form of art.

Editorial Ideology of A. Philip Randolph

Within four months into his second term as U.S. President, Woodrow Wilson went before a joint session of Congress and declared war against Germany claiming that "the world must be

[320]Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, p.91. This conflict of raising the issue of race for capitalist profit was raised first in the March 1919 issue of *The Messenger*.
[321]Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, p.153-4.

made safe for democracy."[368] This marked yet another iteration of an American imperial invasion that followed Pauline Hopkins anti-imperialist critique of American occupation of the Philippines in 1900. However in 1917 this iteration of American imperialism into Germany was challenged most forcefully by Hubert Harrrison. Instead of making the world safe for democracy, Harrisonorganized Blacks in Harlem on June 12, 1917, at Bethel A.M.E. Church in Harlemto demand that the U.S. government help make the American South safe for democracy. At this meeting he circulated a petition that was later sent to the U.S. House of Representatives, demanding an end to federal antilynching legislation. This was also the founding meetingof Harrison's Liberty League, which called for the enforcement of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the U.S. Constitution. Two hundred dollars were raised at this meeting to establish the Liberty League's official organ edited by Harrison himself known as *The Voice.*[369] James Weldon Johnson called this meeting "Harlem's first real sight of [Marcus] Garvey."[370]

Within one month after this meeting, race riots erupted in East Saint Louis and in New York. In East Saint Louis, the riot was precipitated by a car of white joy riders who fired guns into the Black section; it reportedly killed hundreds of African Americans. Samuel Gompers, the white leader of the American Federation of Labor endorsed this shooting into the Black section of East Saint Louis in order to intimidate recent Black Southern migrants in East Saint Louis from entering the job market. He took full responsibility for it.[371]In New York, after a reserve policeman arrested a uniformed Black soldier, an estimated two thousand people fought in the

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[368]"President Calls For War Declaration," *New York Times,* April 3, 1917; Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Father of Harlem Radicalism, 1883-1917,* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2009), p.281.
[369]Perry, *Hubert Harrison,* p.283-285.
[370]James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (1930; New York, Atheneum, 1977), p.253.
[371]Hubert Harrison, "As Hubert Harrison Sees It," *Amsterdam News,* October 6, 1926; Perry, ed. *A Hubert Harrison Reader,* (Middletown (CT), Wesleyan University Press, 2001), p. 79-80. Perry explains this 1917 race riot further, saying they were attributed to white labor's opposition to Black workers coming into the labor market.

San Juan Hill section of Manhattan.[372]Harrison,in response to Gompers, advised Black people who feared mob violence to take direct action and supply themselves with rifles. He expressed this in his own periodical edited by himself known as *The Voice.* In an editorial critiquing the American Federation of Labor (A.F. of L), he encouraged Black readers to defend themselves:

> The A.F. of L., which claims a part of the responsibility for the East St. Louis outrage, is playing with fire. The American Negro may join hands with the American capitalist and scab them out of existence. And the editor of the *The Voice* calls upon Negroes to do this…[Form] your own unions and make a truce with your capitalist enemy until you get rid of this traitor to the cause of labor. The writer has been a member of a party which stood for the rights of labor and the principle of Industrial Unionism (the 20th Century kind). He understands the conditions of the country and desires to see the working man win out. But his first duty, here as everywhere, is to the Negro race. And he refuses to put ahead of his race's rights a collection of diddering jackasses which can publicly palliate such atrocities as that of East Saint Louis and publicly assume, as Gompers did, responsibility for it. Therefore, he issues the advice to the workers of his race, to "can the A.F. of L." Since the A.F. of L. chooses to put Race before Class, let us return the compliment.[373]

For Harrison, these race riots merely exposedthe steadfast inability of the white working class to work alongside Negroes to oppose conscription into World War One. David Swanson writes that the United States was manipulated into World War One to come to the aid of Britain and France. Even after receiving warnings from the German embassy that foreign ships approaching their waters that carry weapons would be attacked, the United States allowed the British submarine *Lusitania* to leave New York, and sail towards Germany, where it was sunk on May 7, 1915 by German forces. The German embassy warned the U.S. government,saying that any vessels "flying the flag of Great Britain…are liable to destruction in those waters."[374] The U.S. government nonetheless allowed the *Lusitania* to sail.This action led to hostilities between Germany and both the United States and Great Britain. However it also led to a serious

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[372] "Negro Guardsmen in San Juan Riot," *New York Times,* July 4, 1917; Perry, *Hubert Harrison,* p. 297-298.
[373] Hubert Harrison, "The Negro and the Labor Unions," *The Voice,* c. August 1917; Hubert Harrison, *When Africa Awakes,* (1920; Baltimore, Black Classic Press, 1997), p. 20-22; Perry, ed. *A Hubert Harrison Reader,* p.79-80.
[374] German Embassy to the U.S. Government, quoted in Thomas Bailey, David M. Kennedy, Lizabeth Cohen, eds. *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic,* (New York, Houghton Mifflin, 2002), p.170.

propaganda campaign by the United States and Great Britain intended to justify war on Germany. The British cut the telgraph cable between Germany and the United States so that the Americans would get their war news only from Britain. President Woodrow Wilson's Committee on Public Information banned images of dead Americans while the Postmaster General censured radical magazines like the *The Messenger* by denying them first class mailing status. President Wilson's Secretary of State resigned in protest of his false claim that the *Lusitania* carried no weapons. Swanson cites a 2008 report exposing that dive crews found weapons on the sunken *Lusitania* that questioned Wilson's claim that Germany's attack was unprovoked and merited military retaliation.[375]

Following the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the consequent war propaganda, Wilson's April 2nd announcement, Harrison's June 12th meeting, and the July race riots, the year 1917 saw the rise of several mililtant anti imperialist papers edited by exclusively African American, or Negro radicals. These radicals saw the importance of founding and maintaining their own independent press in the face of intensifying race riots and increasing war propaganda. Jeffrey Perry writes that Hubert Harrison's paper *The Voice* led several other periodicals that emerged after the summer of 1917 that would express the developing political and intellectual ferment in the era of World War I. These periodicals included the *Negro World* edited by Marcus Garvey, *TheCrusader* edited by Cyril Briggs, and *The Messenger* edited by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen.[376]

In the very first November 1917 issue of *The Messenger* edited by Randolph and Owen, they call on their readers to oppose World War One on the grounds that it is a war intended to,

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[375] David Swanson, *War Is A Lie*, (Charlottesville (VA), David Swanson, 2010), p. 71-73; See WarIsALie.org. Alan Axelrod,*Selling the Great War: The Making of American Propaganda* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p.57.
[376] Perry, *Hubert Harrison*, p.300.

not make the world "safe for democracy" as Woodrow Wilson would claim, but, in Randolph's words, to "make profits out of the workingman, whether he be white or black."[377] Randolph was trying to teach his readers that supporting the war meant supporting the efforts of those who owned food for soldiers, clothing for soldiers, steel for battleships, "aeroplanes" and coal: "Mr. Common Man, do you own any of these things? If you don't then you cannot profit from the war." This critique of imperialism is a logical extension of the critiques of imperialism that Hopkins made in the *Colored American Magazine* and the *New Era Magazine*. Randolph then challenged the notion of whether the U.S. was actually governing by consent by participating in his war. He changes Wilson's famed statement of making the world "safe for democracy" to making the world "safe for business interests." Finally,following the militarism of Harrison's *The Voice,* in his editorial Randolph implores his readers:

> Mr. Negro voter, vote your men into office! Why should you pay high rents when you build the houses? Your Republican and Democratic leaders say that you are extravagant…As a race, we are without 'elective representation' in the burgs and the national assemblies. The greatest handicap, set-back and curse of the Negro has been 'political jobs.' Those white politicians who do the bidding of financial kinds of the country are the bosses of our big Negro leaders.[378]

Randolph later gives an example of how Charles Anderson was given a political job by Wilson in order to get some amount of the Negro vote, and after the election Anderson was fired.[379] Randolph ultimately encourages his readers not to vote for Negroes with "political jobs" who are endorsed by the two major parties, but to vote for those who genuinely work for the educational and economic well being of all Negroes. Randolph and Owen later describe the editorial tone of their paper:

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[377]A. Philip Randolph, "Editorial," *The Messenger,* November 1917, p.8..
[378]Randolph, *The Messenger,* November 1917, p. 13-15.
[379] Perry writes that Charles Anderson conspired with Fred Moore under the aegis of Booker T. Washington to fire Hubert Harrison from his job at a New York City Post Office in 1911. Randolph presented Anderson as having a "political job" and not being deserving of his vote because ultimately Anderson did not try to represent interests of Negroes.Perry, *Hubert Harrison,* p.132.

> We are no longer with *Hotel Messenger*. The radical tone of the editors' writings did not set well with the…controller in the hotel field. We always did not say 'nice things' about the head waiters' attitude toward the side waiters and the inadequate wages paid them. We edit with calm dispassionate poise. It shall be forward, aggressive, militant, revolutionary.[380]

Randolph finally said in this first issue that markets need to be run "for service and not for profit." This demand that markets be run for service and not for profit is a key theme throughout the speeches by those prominent activists of the Black Freedom Struggle like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. who in 1967 said that a nation who spends more on military programs than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death. King's call for the nation to spend more on social programs than on military weapons is a result of Randolph's initial call for markets being run "for service." Jeffrey Perry writes that King is part of two great ideological trends of the Black Freedom movement: the labor/civil rights trend and the race/nationalist trend. The race/nationalist trend says Perry is identified more with Malcolm X. According to Perry, Hubert Harrison provided "the key link" in the ideological unity between the labor/civil rights trend, and the race/nationalist trend.[381]Randolph's initial description of this editorial ideology in his inaugural November 1917 issue of *The Messenger* as being "forward, aggressive, militant, revolutionary" will eventually identify him as part of the labor/civil rights trend of the Black Freedom movement. This is a trend that would radicalize E.D. Nixon in the twenties who would later recruit Martin Luther King to be the public face of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Randolph's editing of *The Messenger*, inspired by Harrison's activism is responsible for King's place in the Black Freedom Struggle. This third section of the chapter will focus on those issues of *The Messenger* that best expressed Randolph's editorial ideology. This is an ideology that

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[380]Randolph, *The Messenger,* November 1917, p. 20.
[381] Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Time to Break the Silence," in *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, edited by James Melvin Washington, (New York, Harper & Row, 1986), p. 241; Perry, *Hubert Harrison,* p.5. Randolph himself said in 1972 that "the Black militants of today are standing upon the shoulders of the New Negro radicals of my day," Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph,* p.21.

encouraged "forward, aggressive, militant, revolutionary" thinking of the New Negro in its five years and encouraged labor organizing in its latter six years.

In most European cities, Randolph writes in the November 1917 initial issue, gas, electric, light, telephone service and transportation cost much less than in American cities because they are owned and operated by the cities. He said this to argue: "you will get cheaper light and transportation when the city owns these public utilities and operates them for service and not for profit."[382] He encouraged his readers to see that as long as utilities like these are privately owned, the cost to have them will increase and continually keep those who use them in economic poverty.

By the January 1918 issue of *The Messenger,* the struggle against imperialism had a stronger imperative. This year saw stronger efforts by the U.S. government to use their imperial invasion to repress free speech of its citizens protesting its nation's imperialism. In June of 1917 Wilson and the U.S. Congress passed the Espionage Act, which made obstructing the draft into World War One a crime. By the same time next year, the Act had been amended to make even the attempt at obstruction a felony.[383]David Shannon writes that between June 15, 1917 and July 1, 1918, prsecutions under the 1917 Sedition Act totaled nearly one thousand.[384]Randolph writes that his publication takes "pardonable pride" in stating to the public that it was the only one "published by Negroes in New York which supported woman suffrage." He continues his ideological critique of the U.S. entering World War One:

> I accuse the American business interests of making profits out of the U.S. Government since the country entered the war—huge scandalous profits—profits that would be

[382]Randolph, *The Messenger,* November 1917, p. 34.
[383] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph,* p.105. Anderson mentions Kate Richards O'Hare who had been imprisoned for making an antiwar speech in North Dakota. *The Messenger* in its pages also captured some of this government suppression.
[384]David Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America,* (New York, Macmillan, 1955), p.109-110.

> impossible in peace; profits that can be made only during periods of crises, profits whose country is a dollar mark and whose god is gold.[385]

Randolph here claims the main culprit behind the need to start World War One is not the national enemy in Germany but the internal enemy which is a worship of material wealth. Randolph asks his readers to disabuse themselves of the notion that their entrance into World War I had something to do with Germany more than it had to with the opportunity to make money from producing artillery to fight Germany. Chandler Owen in this issue wrote an article entitled "The Failure of the Negro Leaders" where he writes: "Dr. Du Bois and all the other Negro editors…preach a gospel of hate of labor unions in criminal ignorance of the trend of the modern working world, when they should be explaining to Negroes the necessity of allying themselves with the workers' motive power and weapon—the Labor Union and the Strike."[386]

The next monthly issue of *The Messenger* would not arrive until July 1918 because of Randolph and Owen's tours, intending to promote *The Messenger* and essentially defy the Espionage Act in a way to foment national outrage against America's imperial ventures.They forecast the selection of elected officials by the end of 1918: "the capitalist forces which caused their selection would not permit them to present a fundamental solution for the economic, political, and social problems of the Negro…the Republican Party represent the few. The great masses, the many, are not represented by that party—no, not even remotely."[387]Before the end of this year, Randolph and Owen are arrested in Cleveland for selling *The Messenger* and encouraging draft dodging from World War One. This violated the Espionage Act of 1917, which forbade citizens from obstructing the conscription in World War One. Jervis Anderson writes that Randolph and Owen jailed for two days, held on $1,000 bail and got legal

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[385]Randolph, Editorial, *The Messenger*, January 1918, p.12.
[386]Chandler Owen, "The Failure of Negro Leaders," *The Messenger*, January 1918, p.23
[387]Editorial, *The Messenger*, July 1918, p.8

representation from Seymour Stedman of Chicago who was soon to appear in the defense of Eugene Debs, the white Socialist Party leader who would receive a ten year prison term in 1918. During this year, both Randolph and Debs were openly defying the Espionage Act of 1917 and encouraging Americans to avoid conscription into World War One. Jervis Anderson writes that in Eugene Debs, Randolph found "a white man" with a strong spiritual character, with "such a great and warm feeling for the human mission of socialism."[388]He would later respectfully acknowledge Debs in his November 1920 issue when he writes to theworking class man saying "he is told by his leaders, to vote for Harding, when it is to his interest to vote for Debs."[389]In a 1971 interview, Randolph told William Wray that he and Owen enjoyed his association with Debs and the fact that there were such people in 1918 "living among Negroes and carrying on a program of Socialist theory." Randolph called him "one of the great labor leaders of this country."[390]Randolph's relationship with Debs made him different from Hopkins in the sense that he had an ally in actively protesting his government's recruitment of the workers to try to secure the raw materials of other sovereign nations. What Hopkins fictionalized in her interracial solidarity in *Winona,* Randolph actualized in his conscription protest in 1918. Randolph recalled that the judge who heard his 1918 Espionage case asked him: "don't you know that you are opposing your own government and that you are subject to imprisonment for treason?" Randolph said: "we told him we believed in the principle of human justice and that our right to express our conscience was above the law." The judge later replied "take make my advice and get out of town. If we catch you here again, you won't be so lucky."[391] Randolph and Owen followed that advice and later continued to edit according to their "principle of human

[388] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph,* p.76.
[389]Randolph, *The Messenger*, November 1920, p.132.
[390]William Wray, "The Reminiscences of A. Philip Randolph," Columbia University Oral History Project, p.114-115.
[391] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph,* p. 107.

justice" in *The Messenger*. In the July 1918 issue of *The Messenger* Randolph described how Du Bois conception of politics does not seek the welfare of the Negro voter as these editors claim they do but is instead "strictly opportunist." They describe Du Bois:

> within the last six years he has been Democratic, Socialist and Republican. His attitude toward the parties is the old, antiquated conception of swinging on to the one thought most likely to win. That accounted for his support of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, when the split in the Republican party presaged a Democratic victory. Propitiation-for-favors policy![392]

Randolph and Owen ultimately discourage this kind of holding on to one of the two mainstream parties "most likely to win." They encouraged only voting for those elected officials who are purely independent and will not change their policy agenda according to the economic demands of one of the two mainstream political parties.

In the March 1919 issue Randolph and Owen saw the Bolshevik revolution in Russia as having an incredible potential to open the eyes of the *The Messenger* readership to the reality that World War One was not about attacking Germany more than it was about the wealthiest continually trying to acquire moreprivate wealth. Randolph and Owen decried both major parties' trying to save Russia from Communism: "why…do the so-called liberals and bourgeois democrats desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia now? This is the most significant experiment in the international laboratory of world politics, sociology, and economics…Again we demand that the allies get out of Russia!"[393]

Randolph in this issue wrote that "the press is owned and controlled by the employing class and it is used to influence the minds of the races; to foment race hatred; it gives wide circulation to that insidious doctrine of the Negroes being the hewers of wood and drawers of water for white men."He later said that Republican and Democratic leaders, like the press, are

[392]Editorial, *The Messenger*, July 1918, p. 27.
[393]Editorial, *The Messenger*, March 1919, p.8.

"paid by Rockefeller, Morgan, Armour, Carnegie, owners of Southern railroads, coal mines, lumber mills, turpentine stills, cotton-plantations, etc. who makes millions out of your labor."[394] Randolph was expecting that his readership will begin to agitate against the white supremacist capitalist system. The supposed fruits of his editorial labor would not come for another seven years, however.

In the next May/June 1919 issue, Randolph said that "the Negro has been obsequiously serving plutocratic, rich white men too long. I knew this when I got my first editing job. No one can bow and kow tow and stand erect at the same time."[395]Randolph defined how he would like to be an editor, as one who is like no other. Since their first issue, they described themselves as "militant, aggressive and revolutionary" as well as one who is planning to "stand erect" rather than bow and kow tow to the forces he so vehemently critiques. One of the forces he critiques in this issue is the Union League Club which is an organization of wealthy businessmen whose wealth was inherited from the "employing class" he mentioned in the previous issue. He wrote:

> you gentlemen represent and control about one-third of the wealth of the United States—*one hundred billion dollars*. There is hardly a corporation, trust, syndicate, railroad or bank which you do not control directly or indirectly. Your political party is the party of big business—the Republican Party…Negroes are Jim-Crowed and made to ride like cattle on the government controlled railroads of the United States…will the Union League Club direct Republican controlled Congress to abolish the despicable Jim Crow Car?[396]

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[394]Editorial, *The Messenger*, March 1919, p.11,12. Patrick Morrison reiterates A. Philip Randolph's concern about media consolidation when he writes for FAIR.org [Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting] that Ben Bagdikian's classic 1983 text *The Media Monopoly* rightfully identified the dangerous consolidation of media ownership. Regarding newspapers, Morrison writes that "Bagdikian's prediction [about the newspaper industry being dominated by fewer corporations since 1983] was correct." In 2009, five corporations received over half the newspaper industry's $19.7 billion revenues: Gannett Co. (publisher of such papers as *USA Today* and the *Arizona Republic*), Tribune Co. (*L.A. Times, Chicago Tribune*), New York Times Co.(*New York Times, Boston Globe*), Advance Publications (*Oregonian Plain Dealer*), and MediaNews Group (*San Jose Mercury News, Denver Post*). Patrick Morrison, "Media Monopoly Revisited: The 20 Corporations That Dominate Our Information And Ideas," FAIR online, accessed 14 January 2012 at: http://www.fair.org/index.php?page=4443.

[395]Randolph, *The Messenger*, May/June 1919, p.6.
[396]Randolph, *The Messenger*, May/June 1919, p.11.

Randolph intended for his dispute with the Union League Club to be made public. He later told them that the League gets their living from "rent; interest and profits." And that they secure these ultimately by the labor of the toiling Black and the sweated white workers. Randolph then described in his editorial attacking the Union League club how U.S. imperialism works:

> the Big Five [Allied] countries will set up and reserve for themselves an exclusive monopoly in the manufacture and traffic of munitions for undeveloped countries. This will be supplemented by stirring up strife continually to keep these small nationalities fighting so that they will consume the munitions. Ain't it clear as day to even a blind man?[397]

Randolph hoped his readers would understand how both parties aim to support these two parties by stirring up strife so that they will consume "munitions." He italicized and stressed Wilson's identity as a Democrat in order to show readers to be wary of organizing within this or the other political party. In the next July 1919 issue, Randolph illustrated the largesse of wealth that the Democratic and Republican parties represent by comparing the experience of Germans whom U.S. troops were attacking in World War One, to the experience of Negroes in the United States: "At all times it was possible for a Negro to attend the university of Kaiser Wilhelm, but no Negro could put his foot into Woodrow Wilson's university—Princeton—which, by the way, is in the United States. There was plenty conscientious Negro objectors and there should have been more."[398] He later attacked*The Crisis*and its editor W.E.B. Du Boisfor imploring readers to "close ranks" and forget about racial oppression to fight the Germans. Randolph concluded that *The Crisis* by this point "no longer represents the opinion of millions of Negroes of the United States who are insisting upon justice without compromise or apology."[399] He later wrote more directly that "the Republican and Democratic bosses are servants of the employing or capitalist

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[397]Randolph, *The Messenger*, May/June 1919, p.14.
[398]Randolph, *The Messenger*, July 1919, p. 12.
[399]Randolph, *The Messenger*, July 1919, p. 12. Hubert Harrison also historically lambasted W.E.B. Du Bois in 1917, before Randolph did, for saying that Blacks should forget their grievances at home and focus on winning World War I abroad. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Father of Harlem Radicalism*, p.170,172.

class which thrives upon low wages and high prices, the ignorance and degradation of the workers of which 12 percent are Negroes."[400]Finally significant in this issue is Randolph's outline to his readers about exactly how they should vote for a candidate: "first his chief interests must be identical with those by whom he is elected; second, he must be the member of a party organization which is controlled by its constituents; and third, he must be sufficiently intelligent to understand his class interests."[401] Randolph concluded that "the election of Negroes by Negroes is not enough and does not guarantee Negroes'…chief interests will be represented."[402] He argued that because the Socialist Party is supported financially by working men and working women, they should "reject both evils, the Republicans and Democratic parties and select a positive good—Socialism."

While Randolph celebrated Negro businesswomen in Madame C.J. Walker, he excoriated a Historically Black College and University in Tuskegee for "producing a sufficiently supply of Negro scab labor, so as to inculcate race prejudice between whites and blacks, break the strikes which occur and to instill in the minds of Negro young men and women the spirit of sycophancy and servility."[403]He provided nuance in his editing and does not celebrate an individual or an institution for simply being "Black." His editorial ideology promoted a kind of socialism that encouraged in his readers a more critical approach to the two party mainstream.

While he does not broach the importance of critically approaching the two party mainstream in the August 1919 issue of *The Messenger*, he does so in the September 1919 issue. He focused on the economic conditions of the island of Saint Thomas, of the Virgin Islands. In his sketch on this island, Randolph proposed a food commission which was meant to avoid the

[400]Randolph, *The Messenger*, July 1919, p. 20.
[401]Randolph, *The Messenger*, July 1919, p. 20.
[402]Editorial, *The Messenger*, July 1919, p. 20.
[403]Randolph, *The Messenger*, July 1919, p. 21, 32.

poverty-inducing practice of price speculation which Randolph says, is supported by the two party mainstream: "so long as we maintain membership in the Republican or Democratic Party we are necessarily limited to the sphere of petition, and being so limited, we are safe for the big and the little capitalistic bandits."[404]

Randolph made his most daring and comprehensive critique of racism and imperialism in the October 1919 issue where he tied both mainstream parties to the then planned military invasion of Mexico. Randolph presented a leading editorial called "Oil is Power" in the September 14, 1919 issue of the New York Times. Randolph quoted this editorial saying that the U.S. cannot allow Mexico to confiscate "by taxation or otherwise, oil interest to which American citizens can show legal title." Randolph illuminates for his readers the exact wealthy whites that are involved: "the citizens referred to, of course are the Rockefeller and Doheny interests, etc., and the legal title has its sanction in the corrupt regimes of Diaz and Huerta."[405]Randolph showed his readers that the editorials in the *New York Times* spoke mainly to wealthy whites whoprop up corrupt leaders to secure their private commercial profit.

Within the next five pages, Randolph traced these moneyed interests to both mainstream parties: "the Rockefeller, Morgan, Armour, Shonts own and control the Republican and Democratic Parties. The Republican and Democratic parties cannot, nor do they desire to offer any relief."[406] He continued saying "A Negro Republican or Democrat whom you might elect to office can do you no good whatever. Because he is a tool of a party which is controlled by the very landlords who rob you through high rents."[407]Randolph for the first time here ties the two party mainstream to highly unaffordable rents of his readers in order to bring home the message

[404]Randolph, *The Messenger*, September 1919, p. 30.
[405]Randolph, *The Messenger*, October 1919, p. 10.
[406]Randolph, *The Messenger*, October 1919, p. 15.
[407]Randolph, *The Messenger*, October 1919, p. 15.

to his readership, that they should eschew the two party mainstream. Later in this issue Randolph wrote that "the tools" which his readers use "to produce the things when you need are owned by men who desire to make profits out of your needs." He wrote that we must have food and clothing but, "the man who owns the factory in which these necessities are produced, can charge you the price he pleases." He also used the analogy of the workplace: "the workers in the factory, who operate the machinery and produce these goods, must accept the wages offered them or quit, being poor; if they quit they will starve." Finally he reached his point that "the Republican and Democrat parties receive campaign funds from those men who control the food and clothing supply, etc., and the man who feeds the dog will rub his back, and the dog, in turn, will lick his hand. Is not *that* clear, Mr. Negro voter? [emphasis added]"[408] Randolph is imploring his listeners to understand that price increases are arbitrary decisions from private owners of food and clothing producers who are supported by the white supremacist two party mainstream. The sooner they can organize outside this mainstream, the better off they can avoid being the "dogs" of these owners of food and clothing production.

There was apparently no November 1919 issue of *The Messenger*, but the December 1919 issue provided Randolph an opportunity to discuss the influence of the two party mainstream on education. He wrote: "the Republican and Democratic Government officials are not interested in educating the children of the masses, white or black."[409] He later described how economically infeasible it is for supporters of the Democratic Party to maintain a living, by challenging the idea this mainstream supports that citizens can realistically save a million dollars: "you would have to live one thousand years in order to save a million dollars. Do you get that?...These Republicans and Democrats are huge jokes. They take you for fools, and you

[408]Randolph, *The Messenger*, October 1919, p. 16.
[409]Randolph, *The Messenger*, December 1919, p.13.

are fools, if you believe what they tell you."[410] Randolph's question of "do you get that?" spoke to the ways he hoped his readers would see that the Republican and Democratic parties are essentially ridiculing the masses in order to make more financial profit. See Figure 2.

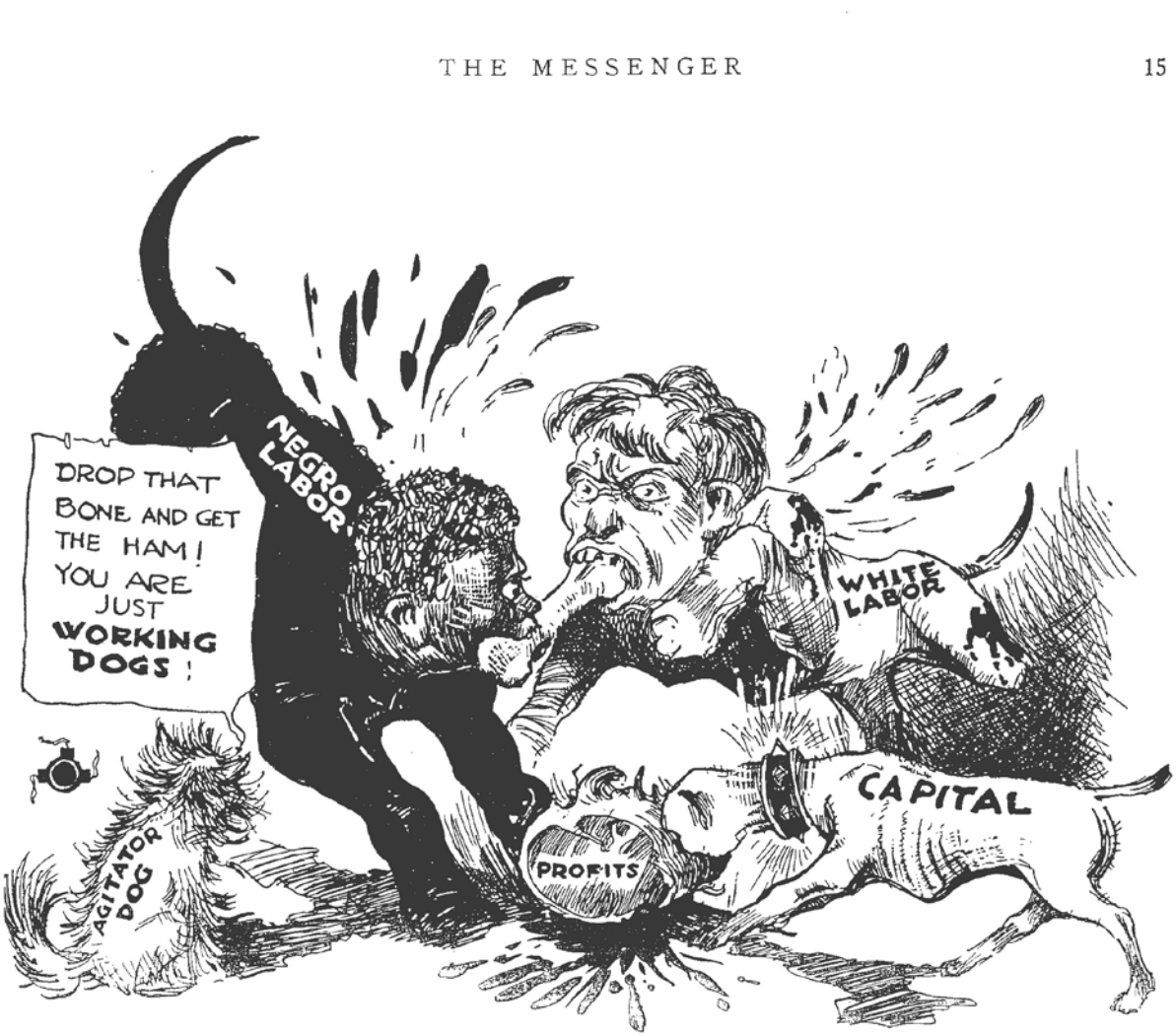

Figure 2: ***"Drop that Bone and Get the Ham! You Are Just Working Dogs!" The Messenger, December 1919, p.15.***

Thisis a very important unattributed political cartoon. For Randolph's readers, this cartoon would highlight the importance of white workers and Black workers uniting against capital instead of fighting for one bone. The message of this cartoon would embody Randolph's

[410]Randolph, *The Messenger*, December 1919, p.14.

editorial ideology of encouraging a militant, uncompromising New Negro while at the same time encourage labor organizing.

In the next January 1920 issue Randolph made his strongest defense of the editorial ideology he hopes his readers will organize around: socialism. He wrote that "both Republicans and Democrats are opposed to Socialists and they will do anything to prevent the Socialist from getting more power. The race question has an economic foundation. In order to settle it, the Negro must organize his economic and political power." After providing an analysis of the reasons why Negroes should not Democratic or Republicans, Randolph conformed to the "New Negro" tradition started by Hubert Harrison in the recent few years. What makes the "New Negro" in fact "new," according to Randolph and Harrison, is that he does not blindly follow the dictates of the mainstream two party system. Randolph specified the terms on which his readers should vote for any candidate. He wrote they should not vote for anyone "who is not committed to an anti-lynching, anti-jim-crow and anti-disenfranchisement program."[411] While Randolph does not tell his readers to blindly support the Socialist Party, he wants them to vote for elected officials who have committed themselves to a policy that is against lynching and racial discrimination. He is obviously skeptical about either party endorsing a candidate who will stand against these policies. Later in this issue Randolph made a wholesale endorsement of socialism as a feasible alternative to the two party mainstream: "socialism is impotent where freedom of speech and information is limited and stagnant. The old world is passing. The world is being born." He suggestedthat other nations' decisions not to cooperate with the white supremacist capitalist system of the United States should be a signal that Negro readers in the U.S. should align with this growing majority outside the country and challenge it. Finally in this issue as a critique of the two party system and very much like Pauline Hopkins, Randolph said

[411]Randolph, *The Messenger*, January 1920, p.3.

that a spirit of Confederate Americanism is threatening to dominate the present federal administration which includes both Democrats and Republicans. He commented that Harding's cabinet, who are Democrats, are "largely Confederate-Americans" and that wherever this attitude prevails, so does this idea of 'keeping the Negro in his place.' Randolph concluded that "Confederate-Americanism is a menace to American ideals."[412] As another critique against imperialism and World War One involvement, Randolph showed the moral decay that military life builds within Negro women: "military life tends toward stagnation…his women insulted and reduced to prostitution—how can the Negro pursue any happiness? The only genuine friends the Negroes have in this country are radicals."[413]

In the March 1920 issue, Randolph wrote that "people who vote Democratic or Republican are compelled to vote for the party," but beyond this he does not explicitly mention either mainstream party. He tried to predict the nationalization of mines and other basic industries as a result of the value of the British pound going down, however this does not happen. He sharply critiqued the decision to arbitrarily raise the price of sugar at seventeen cents per pound, saying that sugar could be purchased by the Government and sold at nine cents a pound "with profit." However Randolph writes in a mocking tone: "but you would have eaten too much and been suffering at this very moment with diabetes. So the President's Sugar Board allowed the good old Louisiana sugar men to set seventeen cents per pound as the wholesale price on sugar…of course, your judgment, your discretion could not be trusted to limit your consumption of sugar, if you could get it at 9 cents per pound." Randolph later quotes Wilson saying "'the masters of the government of the United States are the combined manufacturers and

[412]Randolph, *The Mesenger*, January 1920, p.10. This argument that Randolph makes about Coolidge is similar to the one that Edward Sebesta makes about current President Barack Obama for choosing to lay a wreath for Confederate soldiers at Arlington National Cemetery. See *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction*, Euan Hague, Heidi Beirich, and Edward Sebesta, eds. (Austin, University of Texas, 2008).
[413]Randolph, *The Mesenger*, January 1920, p.12.

capitalists of the United States. They have erected upon the forms of democracy, an invisible empire.' We agree with Mr. Wilson. This statement was and is true."[414] Randolph was trying to convince his readers that Democratic or Republican presidents are not raising the price of sugar out of a concern for consumers' health but out of a concern primarily that those privately owned companies who sell the sugar make the maximum profit. His quoting Wilson was a warning to his readers that supporting mainstream party policy is supporting this "invisible empire" that only erects a form of democracy run by the manufacturers and capitalists.

We do not get an explicit endorsement of political independent outside the two party mainstream from March, until the August 1920 issue of *The Messenger*, where Randolph provides in his own words a more sophisticated description of the political analysis by Wilson he quoted in the March issue: "the present existing government is dominated by manufacturers, bankers, corporations, land owners, packers, railroads, steel and coal magnates. There is not a single labor representative in Congress. Thus it is evidence of…unsophistication to expect the present capitalist government to reduce the high cost of living, unless a rising storm of protest from the people threatens to sweep it into political oblivion."[415] Randolph was essentially endorsing revolution here. He was implicitly saying that voting alone is not enough in order to put into office leaders that fight for antilynching and against racial discrimination. Randolph argued that it is not enough simply for Negroes to overcome the oppression of the two party mainstream by becoming businessmen. This critique would speak fifty decades later to the Nixon administration's initiatives to promote Black capitalism. Randolph critiqued the work of the Booker T. Washington-founded National Negro Business League for imitating the Rockefellers, Morgans, and Carnegies. He writes that what should be discussed at the meetings

[414]Randolph, *The Messenger*, March 1920, p.4.
[415]Randolph, *The Messenger*, August 1920, p.69.

are "capital and labor, cooperative business, monopoly principles, valuing goods, salesmanship, the relationship of transportation to production" which are all subjects that Randolph himself has addressed previously in *The Messenger*.[416]He went on to critique the Negro Church and the Historically Black College and University by arguing that they have:

> been influenced by donations from the capitalists [Democrats and Republicans] of the country. Witness the tremendous endowment of funds of Hampton, Tuskegee, Howard, Fisk, etc.! Where did they come from? They came from those who rob Black and white labor—Rockefeller, Morgan, Rosenwald, the railroad, coal, food and land kings of America.[417]

Randolph wanted his readers to realize how systemic the white supremacist capitalist system is throughout their individual lives. He wanted them to see how the interests of those who have money can shape society and maintain racial segregation in order to support and endorse white supremacy. By doing this Randolph implicitly suggested the point in his previous issue that this system should be changed by "a rising storm of protest to sweep this capitalist government into political oblivion."

Randolph wrote that the panics are caused by the nature of the capitalist government of this country and by the end of this issue he concluded that "the final solution of the problem of panics is the complete abolition of the capitalist system." Randolph claimed: "The Socialist program is planful; the existing capitalist system of production and exchange is planless. Hence, panics!"[418] Randolph suggested that the panics are caused by the arbitrary choices of private businessmen to set high prices on products that would maintain their maximum profit while ensuring increased poverty among consumers. Hence, Randolph endorses for his readers socialism over the two party mainstream. The October 1920 issue of *The Messenger* included an article entitled "Should Negroes Be Socialists?" and at its end Randolph answered this question

[416]Randolph, *The Messenger*, September 1920, p.51.
[417]Randolph, *The Messenger*, September 1920, p.82.
[418]Randolph, *The Messenger*, September 1920, p.88.

affirmatively: "I'll tell anybody that the Socialist Party stands for the principles that the workers are entitled to the full production of his toil. It also stands for the reduction of the high cost of living."[419]

In the November 1920 issue Randolph delivered his strongest critique against U.S policy towards Haiti when he writes that the National City Bank of New York is supporting Harding for President, and even if this bank is making Haiti a hell hole through the Democratic administration (of Wilson), "does it not seem that it wants to exploit Haiti more through the Republican party?"[420] Randolph is showing to his readership that both the Democrats through President Wilson and the Republicans cooperate in making Haiti a "hell hole" and, as readers, they should elect leaders who will advocate a less racist and hostile policy toward the country. Randolph suggested that through socialism our entire hostile policy towards Haiti can be fundamentally changed. Randolph continued this critique of U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis the two party mainstream in the next December 1920 issue when he writes that Wilson "bullied Mexico, invaded her soil without justification, remained there till it pleased him to withdraw, and came away without apology for this unfriendly act."[421] Randolph attacked the racist foreign policy of the United States and urged his readers to see the thoughtless racism behind this foreign policy. He did this in order encourage them to think about supporting or organizing within themselves a political group independent of the two party mainstream.

The next significant expression of Randolph's editorial ideology is seen in the July 1921 issue of *The Messenger,* Randolph indirectly mentioned both parties when he lauds a Haitian

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[419]Randolph, "Should Negroes Be Socialists?" *The Messenger,* October 1920, p.107
[420]Randolph, *The Messenger,* November 1920, p.141. Like Woodrow Wilson, Obama has, in American presidential tradition, exhibited hostility toward Haiti by appointing Bill Clinton as U.S. ambassador, when Clinton's policies towards Haiti has always favored the Western manufacturers and capitalists over the working conditions and rights of the Haitian masses.
[421]Randolph, *The Messenger,* December 1920, p.173.

memorial, which he called "a merited rebuke of American imperialism." He said that the only answer for Harding to address this issue is to "clean house, change habits, make apologies and extend a fitting reparation for our misdeeds and our debauchery of Haiti," which Randolph called "more shameless and inexcusable than the German rape of the Belgian Congo."[422] Randolph also in this issue calls on all readers to send telegrams and letters to President Harding demanding for the release of labor organizer Ben Fletcher. Randolph celebrated political prisoners like Fletcher and castigates beneficiaries of political appointees. He said at the end of this issue that "the mass of Negroes and the mass of organized workers are in both instances sacrificed for the pecuniary gains of leading Judases. The only reason these gentlemen have ever received any such appointments at all is because they have contributed to "the betrayal of their race or class."[423] Randolph encouraged his readers to be suspicious and critical of elected officials who are complimented and exalted by the two party mainstream.

In the October 1921 issue of *The Messenger*, Randolph suggested that the two party system is vested in the overall ignorance of the masses when he wrote that "widespread illiteracy in America is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that out of every one hundred dollars which the government spends, ninety three are spent for war and only one dollar and four cents for education."[424]He later described how Socialism would not permit the widespread illiteracy and poverty that was seen under the current system: "under socialism, we shall run factories, mills and mines. Food will have to be eaten, clothes worn, houses worn, houses lived in…but this will not be done for the benefit of a few Rockefellers, Morgans, Schwabs and Carnegies, but for the teeming and toiling millions who today produce food which they cannot eat, make clothes

[422]Randolph, *The Messenger*, July 1921, p.209.
[423]Randolph, *The Messenger*, July 1921, p.237.
[424]Randolph, *The Messenger*, September 1921, p.243.

which they cannot wear, build houses which they cannot live in."[425] Randolph again reminded his readership of the vast opportunity they have to replace the current system in which they live, if they could organize along class lines. His editorial ideology encouraged the replacement of the current capitalist system by labor organizing.It called for "a rising storm of protest to sweep this capitalist government into political oblivion."

The October 1921 issue of *The Messenger* is primarily devoted to encouraging labor organizing among its readers. Randolph wrote that a capitalist press, school, forum, church, stage, and screen "can only be counteracted by a labor press, school, forum, church, stage, and screen." Randolph was essentially encouraging white labor union members to close ranks with Black labor union members and "hold meetings together," the innocent way that white and Black children eat, play and dance together. He said that Local 8 in Philadelphia is an example that other labor unions across the country must emulate if the Ku Klux Klan which is behind Tulsas "is to be destroyed."[426] He also applied another aspect of New Negro thinking when he implored readers to be aware of any elected officials who voted against the Dyer anti-lynching bill. While Randolph did not encourage listeners to ignore the workings of the two party mainstream, he still encouraged them to be aware of it yet still organize for better working rights within the group of a union. However Randolph soundly critiqued the work of the conservative American Federation of Labor. In this issue he critiqued the 1921 American Federation of Labor's (A.F. of L) convention for adopting resolutions that Randolph claimed did nothing. He said that the A.F. of L convention adopted a resolution to deal with issues of racial injustice, however Randolph called these resolutions "another capitalist trick to deceive the people."[427] Randolph's editorial

[425]Randolph, *The Messenger*, September 1921, p.247.
[426]Randolph, *The Messenger*, October 1921, p.263.
[427]Randolph, *The Messenger*, October 1921, p.269. Hubert Harrison who established himself as an outspoken lecturer and editor before Randolph provides a more detailed and forceful critique of the American Federation of

ideology strongly endorsed labor organization that did not cooperate with the corporations in order reduce the quality of working conditions.

In the next November 1921 issue, Randolph and Owen provided different examples of labor unions that were intended to inspire his readership to increase their class consciousness (their awareness of class struggle). In the editorials section, Randolph described a railroad strike, and said explicitly: "we want Negro and white labor to join hands but we want white labor to accept the Negro worker's hand upon a basis of brotherhood and not a basis of opportunism. They called on readers to join this group; they also called on readers to know about and join the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. In this issue Randolph or Owen described their experience at this retreat and later complimented for having "the absence of race prejudice…Gentle reader, is this not a lesson which labor is teaching those poisoned by prejudice?"[428] Randolph suggested that the powers-that-be which run the two party mainstream maintain their power by depending on the working masses to remain poisoned by race prejudice. In the next December 1921 issue we see traces of Randolph's support for a labor union among Pullman porters, when in an article called "Organized Labor and the Negro," he printed that the Chicago Federation of Labor went on record as instructing their delegates to give their moral support to "help bring about a thorough organization among…Pullman porters and dining car waiters and cooks."

Labor. Harrison wrote: "there are two kinds of labor unionism: the A. F. of L. kind and the other kinds. So far, the Negro has been taught to think that all unionism was like the unionism of the American Federation of Labor, and because of this ignorance, his attitude toward organized labor has been that of the scab. For this no member of the A. F. of L. can blame the Negro. The policy of that organization toward the Negro has been damnable. It has kept him out of work and out of the unions as long as it could; and when it could no longer do this it has taken him in, tricked him, and discriminated against him." "The Negro and the Labor Unions," *The Voice*, (c. August 1917); Perry, ed., *A Hubert Harrison Reader*, (Middletown, Wesleyan University, 2001), p.80.Randolph reads and emulates this critique and other philosophies of Harrison in his editing of *The Messenger*.

[428]Editorial, *The Messenger*, November 1921, p.282.

Randolph presented by this time labor organizing as a key factorin effectively resisting racism used by the ruling class to divide and weaken the power of the working class. As a testament to his belief in not allowing race to divide the working class, by the end of this issue, *The Messenger* stated more definitively: "as a sound practicable, democratic position, we favor identity of treatment of the Negro with the white man…We believe in the unconditional intermarriage of races between any sane grown persons who desire to marry without regard to race, or color."[429] They later state that they favor the intermarriage of Negro men with white women and intermarriage of white men and Negro women and they admit how unpopular this is now, but Randolph and Owen was getting at the root of the racist beliefs and traditions of those wealthy families which run both parties. Randolph's editorial ideology promoted race consciousness defined by Hubert Harrison in 1924 as opposed to racial unity.

In their opening editorial of their January 1922 issue, Randolph wrote that the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill confirms their charge that "there is no difference between the two old parties, except name and the difference which might arise between any two Democratic or Republicans in their efforts to get political jobs, or the right and privilege to represent their masters—Wall Street. They predict that even if the bill passes the House and the Senate that the Chief Justice will declare the bill will constitute "a grave and unconstitutional invasion of the sacred doctrine of 'states' rights."[430] Randolph showed his readers how they should raise candidates outside of those endorsed by the two party mainstream. This was a hallmark of his editorial ideology: that readers support candidates outside of the two party mainstream.

Randolph in the February 1922 issue asked his readers, including "every American citizen, black and white, Jew and Gentile; every worker and lover of liberty…[to] write or

[429]Randolph, *The Messenger*, December 1921, p.305.
[430]Randolph, *The Messenger*, January 1922, c.p.350, opening editorial.

telegraph his congressman and senator, the President and Attorney General to let the I.W.W.'s and political prisoners go."[431] Randolph encouraged his readers to develop working relationships with their elected officials instead of altogether ignoring them because they were part of the same "foul bird of capitalism." He described how European imperialists rape Africa, first in the Congo by Belgians then in South Africa. After mentioning these examples he asked: "what is the lesson [in] South Africa's industrial tempest? To the workers it is an unequivocal and decisive challenge. 'Either rise united, or go down divided.'" Randolph argued that Black workers will collude with the same ruling class that cynically uses race to divide the working class as long as "white brothers continue to practice their narrow, bigoted, racial proletarian imperialism toward them."[432]Like Harrison's 1917 editorial asking Black readers to "return the favor" of race prejudice, Randolph warns white workers that if they let their race prejudiceprevent them from organizing with Black workers, they will be unable to improve their lot. Randolph seemed to appeal more to white readers to check their racial attitudes and win better conditions above all for the cause of working conditions.

In the March 1922 issue Randolph critiqued the two party mainstream by providing the most sophisticated critique of the currently celebrated Garveyism, which Randolph and Owen strongly critiqued for what they see as its misguided emphasis on race and not on class. Randolph perceived Garvey's readiness to adopt the Western model he celebrated in racist white American industry to Africa. They say that "Garvey's African Empire dream is obsolete and undesirable."[433] They argued that their Negro readership should focus more on "unionization of Negroes, all from way from $30 per week to $60 per week."[434] The alternative that editors

[431]Randolph, *The Messenger*, February 1922, p.355.
[432]Randolph, *The Messenger*, March 1922, p.370.
[433]Randolph, *The Messenger*, April 1922, p.390-391.
[434]Randolph, *The Messenger*, April 1922, p.391.

Randolph and Owen proposed to Garveyism is labor unionization.Race consciousness and labor unionizationwere key factors in Randolph's editorial ideology.

The June 1922 issue of*The Messenger* detailed the atrocity of the U.S. foreign policy supported by both Republicans and Democrats when he wrote again that "maintaining law and order is the smoke screen, the hypocritical moral pretext behind which Haitian and Santo Dominicans are murdered by American Marines for the benefit of the banking and sugar interests in the United States."[435]

In the August 1922 issue of *The Messenger,* Randolph endorsed a labor party whose platform demanded among other things include "the withdrawal from imperialistic enterprises upon which we already have embarked."[436] Randolph advocated this because he discouraged labor competition between the exploiting country and the exploited country. Part of the problem of imperialism for Randolph was that it depended on increased profit as a result of the labor of the exploited country.

In the next September issue Randolph quoted President Warren Harding who said there was "a fundamental eternal and inescapable difference" between the two parties. Following this Randolph wrote: "there is no difference. They are as alike as two peas. They are the political enemies of the white workers as well as of the Negro workers…the masters of labor own two parties."[437] Randolph as an editor was hoping his readers would see the game that the powers-that-be play with voters: "by 1920 millions of voters were ready to throw out the Democrats. They did throw them out. But the voters did not vote themselves in. They voted the other party

[435] Cuban historian Aline Helg writes about the race riot of 1919 in Cuba. This was arguably fomented by ruling interests in Cuba and the United States to dilute Cuba's growing economic power as a producer of beet sugar. See *Our Rightful Share: the Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912,* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1995).
[436]Randolph, *The Messenger,* August 1922, p.468.
[437]Randolph, *The Messenger,* September 1922, p.501.

of the capitalist owners in and conditions have been as bad, or even worse than before."[438] Randolph urged his readers to think about how continuing to vote for one of the two mainstream parties wouldessentially keep or worsen the socioeconomic conditions in which they live. In the next November issue Randolph wrote that the Republican and Democratic politicians always find plenty of money for everything good except education. In this issue Randolph celebrated the strikers of the I.W.W. in Philadelphia and Portland. He wrote that they were striking "to preserve a decent standard of living and to save their organizations from the savage and brutal assaults of the hypocritical and frightened Stevedores, the powerful steamship interests."[439] By the end of 1922, Randolph sought steady financial support for *The Messenger* from the American Fund for Public Service. However this support came with significant strings that would threaten his editorial ideology.

Barriers to Randolph's Editorial Ideology

The American Fund for Public Service was founded as a result of Charles Garland refusing a million dollar inheritance. Garland told a reporter that he refused to take money from "a system which starves thousands while hundreds are stuffed." He consequently became a celebrity at the start of a decade in which celebrity would become an obsession. In the February 1921 issue of *The Messenger*, however, Randolph did not admire Garland's rejection of his inheritance: "it is not an expression of 'sterling character' it is just the symptom of a simpleton—

[438]Randolph, *The Messenger*, October 1922, p.501

[439]Randolph, *The Messenger*, December 1922, p.537. In this issue Randolph also critiques Marcus Garvey's emigration plan to Africa. He said: "any thoughtful person who reads the Garvey utterances will instantly realize that the man is a typical demagogue, ready and willing to say well nigh any thing, at any time…but it takes no strained interpretation to see that Garvey has no domestic program; that he is not concerned here or there, with the fate of the American Negroes." Randolph argues that "the West Indian should draw closer to the American Negro" and that the Negro in New York is greatly handicapped in the fight for his rights because of the large percentage of West Indians "who cannot vote."

the irrefutable evidence of a mental nut!"[440] Randolph thought Garland should have used his wealth to spread his beliefs rather than making what Randolph saw as a purely symbolic gesture in rejecting his father's inheritance. His 1922 statement ultimately asks whether Garland rejected his inheritance because of a genuine care and concern about the poorer working classes, or because he wanted to attract more profitable publicity to himself in a way that would create an image separate from his father's. He carried some amount of this disdain in his correspondence with the American Fund for Public Service. Randolph true to his editorial ideology applied this critique of motives also to Roger Baldwin who became executive director of the American Fund for Public Service. This critique of white liberalism is what determined his correspondence with the American Fund for Public Service. Baldwin before becoming director had a past, like Randolph's, that demonstrated genuine activism for the cause of labor organizing.[441]Randolph wrote in *The Messenger* to cheer up Baldwin yet wonderedhow Baldwin could "support liberalism and radicalism among whites and endorse reaction among Negroes." Randolph noticed that Baldwin privileged labor organizing for whites more than he did for Negroes. Gloria Garrett Samson, historian of the American Fund for Public Service writes that Roger Baldwin's experience as a worker taught him that labor's struggle for control of the jobs should happen exclusively by the workers themselves. Before corresponding with Randolph as of 1922,

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[440] Gloria Garrett Samson, *The American Fund For Public Service: Charles Garland and Radical Philanthropy, 1922-1941*, (Greenwich, Greenwood, 1996), p.2

[441] Both Randolph and Baldwin were arrested for violating the Espionage Act of 1917. Randolph was arrested in Cleveland in 1918 for promoting *The Messenger* and encouraging young men to resist the draft to World War I. Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, p. 106; Baldwin was arrested and sentenced to a year in prison for openly resisting the draft. Samson writes that after Baldwin was released from prison in 1919, he announced "I am going to do what a so called intellectual can do in the labor movement and aid in the struggle of the workers to control society in the interest of the masses," Samson,*The American Fund*, p.11, 87. This law of 1917 is the one that whistleblower Bradley Manning is recently accused of violating when he allegedly leaked "classified" government cables to the independent news organization WikiLeaks in 2010. In his military-conducted pretrial hearing, prosecutors have not been able to clarify how Manning's alleged violations aided "the enemy." Randolph and Baldwin were challenging not only conscription, but the conduct of the military vis-à-vis foreign countries. Randolph, Baldwin, and Manning (if proven guilty) challenge the use of the military as a means to increase the private wealth of the wealthiest class of society. For more on Manning see Charles Jerome Schoch's "Blood On Their Hands: Media Framing of the Afghan War Diary Leaks," (Master's thesis, Wichita State University, 2011).

he founded the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 which, Samson writes, was intended to enlighten "the rank and file citizens" who have been dazed by the kaleidoscopic changes of the last few years and deceived into accepting "the dictatorship of property in the name of patriotism."[442] However according to Baldwin's scrupulous management of what was Garland's inheritance, Baldwin treated the funds of AFPS as property. Baldwin wrote to Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Russell Sage asking for examples of their applications that the AFPS could emulate and present to fund applicants like Randolph. Samson writes that, for an organization like the AFPS that was intended to challenge the status quo, the idea of approaching those foundations "dominated by class interests seemed particularly unimaginative."[443] She later writes that Charles Garland repeated a desire that the Board refrain from attempting to control the policies of Fund recipients—perhaps in recognition of Baldwin's well earned reputation for meddling—but he had "no objection to controlling their business practices in the interest of efficiency and economy…As recipients would learn, control of business practices put the camel's nose in the policy tent."[444] Baldwin's nose was in Randolph's policy tent. Especially as it concerned the amount the AFPS would agree to give *The Messenger*.

Baldwin applied the high standard of "efficient radicalism" to all publications seeking AFPS funding including *The Messenger*. Fund recipients were expected to apply rigorous "business conditions in the handling of gifts." Samson writes that this demand presented an obstacle to applicants whose priority was the achievement of a particular end, education, worker

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[442]Samson, *The American Fund*, p.17. Baldwin and Randolph's protest against the World War I was not only in the name of labor organizing but also in the name of anti-imperialism. They both saw the human loss of human lives as an unjustifiable collateral in a war created by the wealthiest class to secure their own profit and more property. However in his editorials in *The Messenger*, Randolph apparently came to see Baldwin as neglecting the class struggle for the cause of white liberalism. In his August 1921 issue, Randolph's editorial section titled "Sincere But Misled White Friends of the Negro—A Reply to Roger Baldwin" asks ultimately, "Does Mr. Baldwin honestly believe that these corporation lawyers, packing, steel, coal, copper, clothing and banking magnates have not a very clear eye on the class struggle phase of the Urban League?"
[443]Samson, *The American Fund*, p.27.
[444]Samson, *The American Fund*, p.34.

organization, militant action—and not the installation of a bookkeeping system satisfactory to Stuart Chase, who was an accountant that essentially audited *The Messenger's* financial records.

The Fund looked for gains in newspapers' circulation, increases in workers' education enrollment, and rising support by the enterprises' constituents to determine whether contributions were producing results. This results oriented approach, known as "efficient radicalism" was based on the Marxist "efficient business practices" model, which contradicted the anti-individualistic socialist ethos that Randolph promoted in *The Messenger*. Samson writes that most of the board of the directors, especially Baldwin, agreed with Karl Marx and his philosophy of "efficient radicalism" that proved to be a formidable criterion for Randolph to pass in order to fund *The Messenger*. Marxism, Cedric Robinson writes, incorporated theoretical and ideological weaknesses that stemmed from the same social forces that provided the bases of capitalist formation. One of these weaknesses included denying the capitalistic regularities of wealth concentration that was initially acquired in the Western hemisphere by the free labor of enslaved Africans. While Randolph did not stress the origin of African labor as a negotiating tool to receive more funds from the AFPS, he did stress the common interest across races of labor organizing. As Baldwin became director of the AFPS, his denial of capitalistic regularities despite his former anti-capitalist protest of World War I, became a reality for Randolph.[445]Baldwin in essence became part of the upper class that he formerly worked against

[445] Cedric Robinson's discussion of Marxism's weaknesses is most clearly articulated in his explanation of Richard Wright's and C.L.R. James' conclusions of Marxism: "Marxist theory [for Wright] was an expression of petit bourgeois consciousness and its critique of bourgeois society and capitalism was most fundamentally addressed to that [bourgeois] class's [and not the working class's] suffocation by the authority of the bourgeois ruling class…the critique of capitalism was only the beginning of the struggle for liberation…James would come to the theoretical position that 'in the decisive hour' it was only the consciousness and activity of the revolutionary masses that could preserve the revolution from compromise, betrayal, or the ill-considered usurpation of revolutionary authority." Roger Baldwin had essentially become part of the ruling bourgeois class that compromised the class struggle that Randolph thought he and Baldwin were part of. Randolph's correspondence with Baldwin challenged what he saw in Baldwin as his replacing the role of dictator rather than working to fundamentally change the structure of the society that produces more dictators and the desire for them.Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the*

as a union spy. The strict criterion that Randolph appealed to in order to fund *The Messenger* is a testament to this. According to Randolph, in applying this criterion of efficient radicalism to *The Messenger*, Baldwin did not account for the myriad ways that the federal government worked to undermine the work of *The Messenger* by intimidation. Baldwin's criterion of efficient radicalism in *The Messenger's* fundraising was unrealistic given the climate of racial discrimination that was hostile to African Americans who were reading literature that was encouraging labor organizing.

In his letters to the AFPS, Randolph's critique of Baldwin's criterion to receive funds, given their shared labor activist history, was essentially a critique of the Baldwin's and other white leftists' uncritical worship of Karl Marx. Given his intense socialist ideology, Randolph's correspondence with the Fund made them look like gatekeepers suppressing progressive class struggle, or very much like the petit bourgeois class replacing the colonists but maintaining the same system of economic oppression.[446]Randolph's critique of Baldwin's criterion was also a critique of Baldwin's conservative retreat to join instead of break the ranks of capital.

In order to receive funds from the AFPS, A. Philip Randolph had to complete a questionnaire by the end of 1922 that detailed his goals as editor of *The Messenger*. The questionnaire that Randolph and Owen completed provided a history of the organization in order to prove to the AFPS that they were following a strict protocol of money management. Along with this initial audit of their expenses, Chandler Owen later in 1922 wrote to Roger Baldwin,

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Black Radical Tradition, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1998), p.10, 304-5, 315. Randolph in his *July 1922* issue of *The Messenger* called AFPS board of directors member Scott Nearing "the best known white professor in the U.S." Samson quotes Nearing on the AFPS: "he believed that the Fund was performing too cautiously and that it was a mistake for the Fund to spend itself in nickels and quarters 'rarely awarding enough to make an enterprise really viable.' Baldwin's influence was viable for he had earned fame for his tight fists. No tough man of a bank cage exists than Roger Baldwin, who lived a life framed by Puritan observance of farthings," Samson, *The American Fund*, p.105.

[446]This "petit-bourgeois revolution" is seen in revolutionary struggles such as the Haitian revolution where the more radical leader Dessalines rejected the petit-bourgeois system of economic oppression that the more celebrated Toussaint L'Ouverture wanted to maintain after ejecting the French colonists.

executive secretary of the AFPS, requesting ten thousand dollars "be given as follows: 1. $5,000 immediately and 2. $5,000 to be given on the following conditions: $1,000 for each $250 we raise until the second $5,000 is consumed."[447] James Weldon Johnson, who was a member of the board of directors of the AFPS wrote to the Board in support of Randolph and Owen receiving this amount, "even though it may not be given in the sums and upon the terms requested by the applicants."[448] Johnson was in a sense challenging Randolph's audacity to describe the terms the AFPS ought to lend Randolph money. This audacity came from Randolph's belief that Baldwin's criterion for receiving funding contravened the class struggle.

Randolph issued Baldwin another letter stating that Baldwin has set up a condition that is impossible to fulfill in order to receive money: "with nothing to work on for getting subscriptions, you ask us to do what you probably asked of no <u>white</u>journal. In view of the foregoing facts we are again presenting our request for a loan if you will not give us five thousand dollars [underlined emphasis in original]."[449] Here Randolph was challenging what Samson calls the criterion of "efficient radicalism." Samson writes that the board of the AFPS that decided who should be funded, was so imbued with the "ubiquitous [Marxist] admiration of science and efficiency, they often used it as a primary criterion for deciding who received money."[450] In his February 15th letter to Baldwin, Randolph stated that the Board's criterion of "efficient radicalism" was more strict for journals intended for Negroes than it was for journals intended for whites. Later in the letter Randolph wrote that the Negro is expected to be educated but "we won't give him any schools." He then restated what Baldwin wrote to him: "If you

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[447] "Letter dated December 19, 1922, from Chandler Owen to Roger N. Baldwin," New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, American Fund for Public Service Records (henceforth abbreviated AFPS Records), Box 22, Reel 10.
[448]"Memorandum re Application of *The Messenger*, from James Weldon Johnson to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[449] "Letter dated February 15, 1923 from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[450]Samson, *The American Fund*, p.34.

show you don't need us, then we will give you help." Randolph ended his letter saying "we need help now. You can give it to us. We believe you ought to do it. Will you?"[451] Randolph questioned Baldwin's logic, that he ought to prove his financial independence, but Randolph countered by stating that they will not be in a position to prove such financial independence without initial capital from a loan from the AFPS.

Baldwin then wrote to James Weldon Johnson asking him to read Randolph's February reply and tell him that he should not "take exception" to Baldwin's condition of receiving money "because of race."[452] Johnson consequently wrote to Randolph stating that he "regrets" that Randolph's letter to Baldwin was written in the tone it was. The tone that Johnson was referring to was seen no less as a demanding tone that assumed, for Randolph, an unfair burden is placed on *The Messenger* for fundraising in a society dominated by a white supremacist capitalist economy that makes it difficult for periodicals like *The Messenger* to thrive unlike other periodicals that AFPS funded like *Labor Herald*, *New York Call*, and the *Daily Worker*whose focus was not organizing Negroes in labor unions. Johnson in his letter however assured Randolph that the terms on which *The Messenger* would be given money were "on par with accounts and terms in the cases of similar publications."[453]

Apparently the AFPS agreed to the terms Randolph proposed and in March Randolph wrote a letter of thanks to the AFPS for $500 and an additional $250 over six months. Randolph asked that the AFPS send these two latter amounts in lump sum.[454] Baldwin declined to do this, telling Randolph that $500 is sufficient to start a subscription drive that would presumably bring

[451] "Letter dated February 15, 1923 from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[452] "Letter dated February 20, 1923 from Roger N. Baldwin to A. Philip Randolph," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[453] "Letter dated February 26, 1923 from James Weldon Johnson to A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[454] "Letter dated March 6, 1923 from A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.

in $250 by the end of six months. Upon this rebuff, Randolph restated his thanks and made another request for $250 "in view of the exceeding great difficulty in securing subscriptions." He also asked them "to consider our newsstand sales as well as subscriptions as a basis for the allowance of $250."[455] Within a week Baldwin wrote him back saying he would consider his "stand sales as well as subscriptions in estimating our appropriations."[456]Baldwin then asked for Randolph's circulation returns "based upon some authoritative showing." Randolph in a June 1923 letter provided Baldwin with a five page subscription list from March to June of 1923 which showed that *The Messenger* made a total of $288.50, which included the work of agents.[457] By the next week, Baldwin wrote Randolph saying he is enclosing a check for $250.00 and that any more help from the AFPS Board "is only available insofar as such increase in circulation is made before…September 30th." By his letters from January to June of 1923, Randolph would prove that the content of *The Messenger,* faithful to his editorial ideology, would prove worthy of funds it received from the AFPS.

In the January 1923 issue Randolph included advertisements celebrating labor unions. One advertisement sent greetings to readers styled as "our Negro Brothers and Sisters from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America." He included an ad from the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. This ad appealed for one hundred colored men to learn the trade of a motion picture operator. In his February 1923 issue Randolph spelled out the goal of his Friends of Negro Freedom organization. This is the greater goal of his editorial ideology,which is to create a "militant, uncompromising, aggressive, intelligent, New Negro—a Negro whose ideals are unpurchasable and who subordinates his personal interests to the interests of the masses."[458]

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[455] "Letter dated April 12, 1923 from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[456] "Letter dated April 12, 1923 from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[457] "Letter dated June 26, 1923, from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[458]Randolph, "Economics and Politics," *The Messenger*, February 1923, p.595.

Randolph's Friends of Negro Freedom called for similar goals to Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association with the exception of emigrating to Africa. This group said it could call yearly conventions and "spread the gospel of *intelligent race consciousness* co-operation and good fellowship among these peoples."[459] Randolph believed what distinguished his less popular political organizing from Garvey's in the UNIA is that he called for a race consciousness that was intelligent as opposed to Garvey's that sought to make Garvey a "Provisional President of Africa" and essentially dictate to native Africans what they should do upon their arrival.

Later in this issue Randolph in an article called "American Politics" wrote that "the Socialist party would provide schools instead of battleships for the people. They would abolish lynching, the Jim Crow Car…it is a matter of common knowledge that the Republican and Democratic parties get their campaign funds from the same interests—the corporations."[460] This speaks to the goal of his editorial ideology which was to create a militant, aggressive, uncompromising and intelligent New Negro.

By the November 1923 issue, Randolph focused more on labor organizing than on Socialism. By now he also relies on income from the AFPS but also on advertisers who see the by now four year longevity as a worthy investment in spreading the word about their paper. Robert Russa Moton wrote an article in this issue that tries to relate all of Randolph support for anti-mainstream political organizing to the importance of Negro private enterprise: "the race is helped as much by the success of its business men as it is by the labor of any other group among us."[461] William Pickens wrote an article called "Jim Crow 'Within the Law'" that described the racist treatment of Negro Pullman customers who are often discouraged from seating in first class accommodation because of their skin color: "the colored passenger had thus to pay thirty

[459]Randolph, "American Politics," *The Messenger*, February 1923, p.596-597.
[460]Randolph, "American Politics," *The Messenger*, February 1923, p.596-597.
[461] Robert Russa Moton, "The Future of Negro Business," *The Messenger*, November 1923, p.878.

cents more to get to Chicago and to go to other trouble to get his tickets. This is not 'equal accomodations.' This is savagery."[462]

By the end of 1923, Baldwin was expecting Randolph increase his circulation in order to receive more funds, however Baldwin showed little interest in hearing any fundraising models outside of those of "efficient radicalism." While Baldwin imposes his "efficient radicalism," he does not account for the ways that both Randolph and his subscribers avoided the scrutiny of the federal government. Randolph wrote a letter again thanking him for the $250 and makes another request to the AFPS for "not less than $500."[463]Roger Baldwin wrote him back, saying that the AFPS Board is unable to comply with Randolph's request of regular support but can extend the period of loan repayment until March 1924. In a letter that same month, Randolph wrote Baldwin asking for the second installment of $250, which was agreed to be given by Baldwin in a previous letter. He sent a subscription list of only ten new subscriptions in July.[464]Baldwin replied asking Randolph to wait until the end of September as they agreed, however Randolph seemed to send him the subscription list early in order to show how infeasible it was for Randolph to increase the subscription list over the summer, as Baldwin expected according to his beliefs about efficient radicalism.

Randolph from July to August shows that *The Messenger* made exactly $230 in new subscriptions, this time more from institutions than the individual subscriptions seen in his previous list. By the end of the September, Randolph asked the AFPS for another lump sum of $1000 rather than the $250 lumps that Randolph said kept *The Messenger* "in trouble with our

[462]William Pickens, "Jim Crow 'Within the Law'"*The Messenger*, November 1923, p.880.
[463] "Letter dated July 2, 1923, from A. Philip Randolph to Norman Thomas, President of The American Fund for Public Service," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[464] "Letter dated August 15, 1923, from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.

creditors."[465]Roger Baldwin replied stating that his request will be considered and that on behalf of the Board, "we want to do what is most helpful to *The Messenger*, but we are not convinced that this is the best way to help…What we want to see is *The Messenger* on its feet from the point of view of business management."[466]This speaks to Randolph's critique of Baldwin seeing Negroes as capable of organizing violently but not peaceably in labor unions. Baldwin's expectation of business management still came from the framework of supporting and seriously reforming the philanthropic-driven society in which he lived. This challenged Randolph's socialist vision of society that created and nurtured Negroes who were part of labor unions. By the end of October 1923, Baldwin agreed to give another $250 to *The Messenger* in August. By October, Randolph asks for an extension from the AFPS, to meet the $250 demand by the end of September. The unwritten expectation within this correspondence is that Randolph's subscription list would increase between August and October but Randolph anticipated that it wouldn't. He asked for a one month extension to pay the $250 back to the AFSC.[467]Randolph asked to pay this by November 18th. By the end of October, Roger Baldwin wrote in a letter to Stuart Chase, the auditor of the AFPS, asking him to "make an examination of the financial affairs of *The Messenger* publishing company." Baldwin stated "we have paid $1000 and they want the remaining $1000 [of a loan] in a lump sum in order to settle outstanding obligations and to help get on their feet." He said more candidly that "we have felt that their financial system was sketchy and amateurish and what they need is no such money as intelligent management."[468] In the letter Baldwin tells Randolph ultimately that in order to receive these loans, they need

[465] "Letter dated September 20, 1923, from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[466] "Letter dated September 28, 1923 from Roger N. Baldwin to A. Philip Randolph," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[467] "Letter dated October 4, 1923, from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[468] "Letter dated October 26, 1923 from Roger N. Baldwin to Stuart Chase," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.

information on the group that includes: receipts, and the amount at which they could settle their debt.

Chase's analysis of *The Messenger's* bookkeeping weighed pros and cons of Randolph's fundraising of *The Messenger*. He wrote summarily to Baldwin: "in respect to the bookkeeping and financial methods employed by *The Messenger*, the less said, the better."Chase called their accounting methods "deplorable" in his December 8th report to Baldwin. He said *The Messenger's* main book for records is the "cash book." He looked for the income and expenses of *The Messenger*, but said that the cash book statements were "absurdly understated." This was during a time when Randolph was well aware of how the federal government paid spies to investigate socialist organizations and presses like *The Messenger*. Chase wrote to Baldwin "I have no idea what the total classified payments for the year [1922] actually were and thus I am unable to form any judgment as to the operating loss for the year."[469]

This statement raises two serious issues. First, if Randolph is requesting funds from the AFPS and was made aware of Stuart Chase's role in scrutinizing his financial records as Baldwin's letter to him proves, why wouldn't Randolph or Owen make clear exactly what *The Messenger's* expenses included? Second, the statement does not account for Randolph's awareness of government surveillance. Randolph was possibly protecting the life and identity of his subscribers by not documenting their names to Chase. Theodore Kornweibel details the work of the federal government that sought to weed out so called Communist infiltrators of Negroes. Randolph was well aware of the Justice Department's claim in 1919 that *The*

[469] "Letter dated December 8, 1923, from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.

Messenger was "the most able and most dangerous of all Negro publications."[470] It is possible that he deliberately removed the names of his subscribers in order to protect them. Later in his report, Chase tells Baldwin "it can very definitely be said, therefore that *The Messenger* is on the upswing, both in circulation and in gross income, though it is still far from producing a magazine within its earned income." Chase argued that *The Messenger* is spending more money than it is receiving and, as such, should reassess these practices to create a bookkeeping plan that is more efficiently radical. However this plan proved on some level infeasible for Randolph.

Chase concluded in his report about *The Messenger*, "some judicious accounts of working capital with which to give elbow room for circulation and advertising promotion, is certainly in order for a magazine as fundamental as *The Messenger*. But I would advise them to clean house a little first."[471]Baldwin ultimately used Chase's report to justify not supporting *The Messenger* until they have repaid their present loans in full and until they have installed a bookkeeping system "worthy of the name." He told James Weldon Johnson to write a letter to Randolph saying they must improve their bookkeeping in order to receive any more funds.[472]In a letter dated the following month, Randolph offers to pay $550 of the initial $1000 loan to the AFPS.[473]

Baldwin in a letter to Johnson but not Randolph wrote that "Stuart Chase's report makes it impossible for us to continue to any negotiations with *The Messenger* until they have complied

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[470]Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, p.81-82. For more on the intimidation of Blacks in the 1920s for their alleged communist affiliations, see the fifth chapter of Theodore Kornweibel's *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919-1925*. (Indianapolis, Indiana University, 1998).
[471] "Report on Messenger Publishing Co." from Stuart Chase to the American Fund for Public Service, AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[472] "Letter dated December 12, 1923, from Roger N. Baldwin to James Weldon Johnson," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[473] "Letter dated January 24, 1924 letter from A. Philip Randolph to Chandler Owen," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.

with the elementary requirements he laid down."[474]By the next week Randolph wrote to Baldwin saying that he was disappointed in Baldwin for not considering his and Owen's proposition for liquidating *The Messenger's* indebtedness to the AFPS. Baldwin instead wanted Randolph to "improve" his financial bookkeeping rather than allow Randolph to get closer to owing the AFPS nothing. Randolph said that Baldwin's methods of allocating AFPS funds were "unnecessarily supertechnical."[475] This speaks to the "efficient radicalism" that Baldwin expected from *The Messenger*. Randolph believed apparently that Baldwin was unreasonable not only in his expectation for *The Messenger* to "improve" its bookkeeping but also in his analysis of Stuart Chase's report which concluded in fact that the Fund should grant *The Messenger* at least a thousand dollars.

By writing to Johnson about Chase's report, Baldwin avoids corresponding with Randolph about liquidating their debt *and* he avoids Chase's ultimate endorsement that *The Messenger* is worthy of receiving funds. Instead Baldwin questions the honesty of *The Messenger's* financial records before Chase's report and acts on this perceived dishonesty following Chase's report, by not corresponding directly with Randolph on the matter. Based on the tone of Baldwin's letters, as far as he was concerned, Randolph and Owen's poor financial accounting was a foregone conclusion before and after Chase's report. Randolph was aware of the Jim Crow oppression that those on a subscription list could face if such a list was sent to Baldwin. Throughout the year of 1923, Randolph is aware of the threat that the Justice

[474] "Letter dated January 15, 1924, from Roger N. Baldwin to James Weldon Johnson," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[475] "Letter dated January 24, 1924, from A. Philip Randolph to Roger N. Baldwin," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10. Randolph said later that he took exception to Baldwin's opinion of the business methods of *The Messenger*. He said that "may I add that I don't recall any recommendations in regard to our bookkeeping system made by Mr. Chase. Certainly we should not have thrown Mr. Chase's recommendations aside without giving them due and respectful consideration." Despite Chase's critiques, he still maintains that *The Messenger* should receive funds for *The Messenger*.

Department perceived him to be. He reprinted a report from Baldwin's American Civil Liberties Union in the April 1923 issue of *The Messenger* stating:

> a sharp increase of activities attributed to the Ku Klux Klan and particularly the extension to the middle west and the north [happened in] the month of January. More instances are reported for the single month than for any month since the Klan became active…everytime a Negro is lynched or unjustly dealt with, Negroes should boycott the white businesses. A blow in the pocketbook is sometimes as effective as a bullet in the belly.[476]

Certainly Randolph as an editor was aware of the "increase of activities" of the Klan and he possibly ensured the safety of the newer subscribers of *The Messenger* by not disclosing to even Baldwin their names. He also knew the danger of inquiring whether in fact Baldwin could have been working with the Justice Department via local police to suppress "subversive" elements like himself and his subscribers, as this could have jeopardized the funds he needed to run *The Messenger*. Theodore Kornweibel writes that sometime in the early twenties, agent Betty Thompson was assigned to penetrate *The Messenger* circle and managed to interview the office manager by posing as a journalism student.[477]Well before Randolph began corresponding with Baldwin, Kornweibel writes that not only was J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1919 spying on*The Messenger,* but that Randolph was aware of this surveillance.[478]

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[476] A. Philip Randolph, editorial, *The Messenger,* (New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969), April 1923, p.654.
[477] Theodore Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair: Black and The Messenger,* (Greenwich, Greenwood, 1975), p.82.
[478] Kornweibel writes that on August 12, 1919, Hoover sent a memorandum to New York based-Bureau chief Frank Burke describing "the principal Black targets of his anti-radical General Intelligence Division. Foremost among them was *The Messenger*…Hoover ordered agents [like Burke and other Black agents like the Jamaican born-Harlem businessman Herbert S. Boulin] to determine the citizenship of all persons on *The Messenger* staff. Associates of anyone connected with *The Messenger* were to be investigated. In his memo, Hoover specifically said 'particular attention should be given to ascertaining whether any of these persons are in any way connected with [editor] Max Eastman, agents of the Bolsheviki in the United States or the IWW. Income from subscriptions, advertisements, plus any private sources of funds should also be determined.'" Kornweibel later writes that Randolph and Owen were well aware of this fact ("the meaning of white stenographers at their meetings and rallies were clear"), and for this reason probably decided not to present the AFPS or Baldwin with a detailed subscription list. Theodore Kornweibel, *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919-1925,* (Indianapolis, Indiana University, 1998), p.85, 92.

Despite this surveillance, Randolph endorsed use of an economic boycott to challenge white supremacy. He brazenly taught readers of *The Messenger* to combat white supremacy in this way and probably knew that the same Justice Department that called him and his wife by this year "the two most dangerous Negroes in America," would be the same Justice Department to resent his socialist leanings and advice to Negroes to essentially challenge white supremacy by boycotting. This was arguably a fundraising strategy for Randolph to keep *The Messenger* strong. It probably received support from funders whose nameshad to be kept secret in order to protect them from the watchful eye of the Justice Department.

Throughout 1924, *The Mesenger* was under the watchful eye of Stuart Chase whose Marxist-based assessmentof the periodical's fundraising would determine whether they would sink or swim. However Randolph stayed true to his editorial ideology that was decidedly anti-imperialist and sought to create uncompromising intelligent and "militant" New Negro men. In their first issue of 1924, *The Messenger* wrote in their opening editorial that they are going to show how "Negro women are unique, accomplished, beautiful, intelligent, industrious, talented, successful."[479] Randolph's choice to include anti-imperialist women made him pioneering among African American editors in his time who tended to ignore the important role Black women played in breaking down gender oppression among African Americans at this time. In an article called "A Repudiation of War," Fanny Bixby Spencer wrote: "the net gain of the World War has not been democracy and international understanding, but intensified nationalism, augmented prejudice, and narrowed vision everywhere…Nationalism is an inflation of the ego, which like personal selfishness and conceit, is not concerned with human service."[480]

[479] Fanny Bixby Spencer, "A Repudiation of War,"*The Messenger*, January 1924.
[480] Fanny Bixby Spencer, "A Repudiation of War,"*The Messenger*, January 1924, p.26.

The Messenger appealedat this time to female readership in ways that it appealed prior to an exclusively male readership for the past five years. It now showed the importance of the involvement of women in the anti-imperialist struggle in a significant way. Her article "The Repudiation of War" continued in the February and March 1924 issues where she wrote: "we play with the war spirit in every-day life as children with fire, and some day it will burn us to ashes if we do not grasp the inner meaning of some of our most popular creeds and change some of our most approved social customs."[481]

The April 1924 issue of *The Messenger* saw Randolph making yet another strong pronouncement against U.S. imperialism, this time against the Virgin Islands: "Virgin Islands were purchased by Uncle Sam from Denmark. President Coolidge is now responsible for them. At present they are under the despotism of the Southern white marines, progressively being reduced to the wretched status of peons. They demand a civil government. Agitation alone will secure it."[482] Randolph in this editorial encouraged his readers to agitate against the U.S. occupation of the Virgin Islands by exclaiming: "write your congressmen and senators, who will soon be around beggin for your votes that the American Negroes demand civil rights for your Black brothers in the Virgin Islands."[483] This aspect of agitation was arguably absent from Marcus Garvey's message in *Negro World.* Where Garvey would discourage engagement at the personal level with elected officials in the U.S. government because he assumes an engagement

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[481] Fanny Bixby Spencer,"A Repudiation of War," *The Messenger,* February 1924, p.26.
[482]Randolph, Editorial, *The Messenger,* March 1924, p.69-72.
[483]Randolph, Editorial, *The Messenger,* March 1924, p. 69-72. Editorial. Hubert Harrison warned of the problem of U.S. naval occupation of the Virgin Islands in his 1923 essay "The Virgin Islands: A Colonial Problem" which *The Nation* promised to publish but ultimately did not. Harrison writes that "the present government of the Virgin Islands is that of a naval autocracy responsible not to the Congress of the United States but, in a dim and remote way, to the President alone…Rape, a serious crime hitherto unknown to the islands, began to appear with distressing frequency—the offenders being in every case white…this is only one of the reasons why Virgin Islanders want Congress to abolish the naval rule under which they are suffering…the present distressing poverty and semi-starvation has become a scandal all over the West Indies…Any one who reads intelligently this official record of American rule as administered by the Navy Department (reprinted in *Lightbourne's Annual of the Virgin Islands, 1923*) must be struck at once by the accumulated evidence of a vast disaster that has come upon the islanders "co-incident with the arrival of the Americans…" Jeffrey B. Perry, ed. *A Hubert Harrison Reader,* p.241-250.

with these officials is ultimately worthless, Randolph in fact through *The Messenger* encouraged continued engagement with white supremacist elected officials. Randolph encouraged his readers to become citizen lobbyists in their own right to further the cause of racial justice and reverse the effects of the two-party mainstream. In his editorial of the May 1924 issue, Randolph described another characteristic of the New Negro, and how skin color should not immediately qualify an elected official as worthy of their vote. He remarked: "neither white nor Black office holders are of any startling benefit to the people, white or Black."[484]He warned his readers not to be tricked by the use of race, by the ruling elites, who run both mainstream parties, and who fool the electorate by claiming a candidate's electability because of a candidate's race. In the editorial of Randolph's next July 1924 issue, he writes: "happily, the Negroes have migrated from the South where they were disfranchised both economically and politically; still more fortunate…they were enfranchised, having a political vote, on the one hand, and high wages, or an economic vote, on the other."[485] Randolph also presented a successful example of cooperative economics in this July issue. In a section called "Cooperation is a Way Out," Randolph wrote that the Franklin Co-operative Creamery of Minneapolis, a three year old enterprise, doing a three million dollar business, has "improved the quality of milk, lowered the cost to the consumer, increased the price for the farmer, and raised health standards for the city. In 1923 it saved and returned $90,849 to its members."[486] Randolph endorsed cooperative economic enterprises rather than the large chain franchises that do not encourage economic cooperation between its customers.

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[484]Randolph, Editorial, *The Messenger,* May 1924, p.136-138.
[485]Randolph, Editorial, *The Messenger,* July 1924, p.210.Jervis Anderson writes that A. Philip Randolph was deeply influenced by Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk* and the debate he mentions about whether Negroes should fight for political rights. However in the January 1918 issue Chandler Owen critiqued Du Bois for not emphasizing to Negroes the importance of labor organizing. Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph,* p.52.
[486]Randolph, Editorial, "Cooperation is a Way Out," *The Messenger,* July 1924, p.233.

Randolph printed another article by Clements Kadalie about the labor struggle in South Africa in his next August 1924 issue. Kadalie wrote: "I have tried to show that the defeat of white labor in Africa is inevitable unless the white workers change their attitude toward the aboriginals, and they must also show deeds of true repentance instead of vain phraseology." Like Randolph, Kadalie argued that the class struggle is best advanced when white workers begin to make significant efforts to include Negro workers, who are deliberately hired by the employing class as scabs, into their ranks.

In the September 1924 issue Randolph had an editorial entitled "How the Negro Should Vote." Randolph wrote that Negroes "should vote for their best interests…sell it [your vote] not for beer and whiskey…but sell it for your rights and privileges, for clean streets, equitable opportunities, good schools, equal traveling accomodations, the right to participate in the making of laws by which you are to be governed."[487] Where Garvey eschewed engagement of the American electoral process at this time, Randolph saw such engagement as an opportunity to challenge the corrupt two party mainstream and eventually work to overthrow it. Randolph was more explicitly supportive of this approach in the next October 1924 issue where he wrote in an editorial that "a third party would improve the general political position of the Negro even granting that it were not a liberal party." He said that Negroes voting for the 1924 third party candidate ticket of LaFollette-Weaver would be:

> effective indication to the Republican and Democratic Parties that the Negro is awakening and that he is intelligently bent upon exacting his logical and just share of political, economic, and social responsibility and reward in the government and…that the Negro is beginning to think in terms of economic, political, and social reforms for the benefit of not only himself as a race but for the nation as a whole.[488]

[487]Randolph, Editorial, *The Messenger*, September 1924, p.279.
[488]Randolph, Editorial, *The Messenger*, October 1924, p.312.

Randolph did not give clear policy reasons why readers should support LaFollette other than it threatens the two party mainstream. In accordance with his own criteria about voting, it seemed a policy description of LaFollette's campaign would be in order.

Randolph provided this more clear policy stance of supporting LaFollette in the next November 1924 issue. He wrote that the LaFollette progressives have "been a consistent foe of monopoly" and "are committed to a plan of social legislation which is calculated to meet the problems of unemployment."[489] Randolph's endorsement of LaFollette certainly helped, but probably in the large scheme of things did not result in a victory for him in the presidential election of 1924. Also in this issue Clements Kadalie updated the labor struggles of Black South Africans: "while we are battling manfully on behalf of the masses of the African toilers we find that a portion of our race will side with the white exploiters at the expense of their own, which is of course natural."[490]

In the December 1924 issue, Randolph chalked LaFollette's presidential loss up to his lacking money and organization: "despite this handicap, however, he polled in California on the Socialist ticket 400,000 votes, 200,000 more than Davis [the Democratic candidate]." He later said that the Midwest farmers who supported the LaFollette progressive movement were weakened by the rise in the price of wheat. From this Randolph concluded: "shortage in the production of wheat, together with the constant, and in some instances, increased demand in the states and Europe, sounded the death knell of the expected big LaFollette vote."[491] This recalled Randolph's warning to his readers about voting for the two party systemwhen, at the time of his writing, they have the power to arbitrarily rise the price of food to ultimately serve their interests and put their political opponents, in this case the Midwest farmer, out of business.

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[489]Randolph, Editorial, *The Messenger*, November 1924, p.339.
[490]Clements Kadalie, "Black Trade Unionism in Africa" *The Messenger*, November 1924, p.348.
[491]Randolph, "The Election in Retrospect," *The Messenger*, December 1924, p.369.

Before the end of 1924, Chase wrote to Owen that in order to get their work up to a reasonable standard, accurate summaries of receivables and payables "must be done" so that the exact status of *The Messenger's* finances may be determined, as well as for the information of those who "want to help you financially."[492] Chase wrote a letter to Randolph and Owen saying that *The Messenger's* books being out of balance by $1500 is not a"hypertechnicality."[493]Baldwin wrote to Chase instructing him to "doctor them as long as they need it and bill me," and in a later letter asked Chase to, upon "approving" of *The Messenger's* finances, let Baldwin know so they could "help put *The Messenger* on its feet." This request to Chase by Baldwin came in spite of Randolph's effort to pay his debt back to the AFPS. In spite of Randolph's effort, Baldwin adopted a paternalistic view with regard to *The Messenger*. He assumed that Randolph and Owen would need his help. Regardless of whether Randolph and Owen could repay their debt, Baldwin believed that their finances needed improving, specifically, that they clearly needed to state all their income and expenses. However it is possible that, to protect the safety of their financial donors, Randolph did not disclose all sources of *The Messenger's* income.

Ultimately, *The Messenger's* fundraising did not require the help of the white-run philanthropic AFPS, according to Stuart Chase's second report. Chase concluded that "*The Messenger* held its own during the past year...advertising income increased to $622 while subscription dropped from $625 to $325."[494] Chase also wrote that *The Messenger* ceased to stress its former role of propaganda, which seems a conclusion that Randolph was hoping he would make. Randolph wrote to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn on behalf of the AFPS telling her "we

[492] "Letter dated February 4, 1924, from Roger N. Baldwin to Chandler Owen," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[493] "Letter dated April 1, 1924 from Stuart Chase to Chandler Owen," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 10.
[494] "Letter dated June 19, 1925 from Stuart Chase to the American Fund for Public Service," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 15.

have eliminated all definite socialist propaganda because we found that it alienated the very group we wanted to reach—the Negro workers." However a close reading of the content in the first six months of 1925 will show that socialist propaganda was not eliminated. Randolph, like Hopkins, was able to overcome this barrier of expectations of efficient radicalism in order to stay true to his editorial ideology that endorsed labor organizing. Randolph told Flynn that "Negro business and professional men are radical in action when they seek to do things the white race is doing."[495] However his periodical was much more radical in its stance: it endorsed a militant, uncompromising New Negro even though its language to the AFPS was much more conciliatory.

As of Randolph's January 1925 issue of *The Messenger*, he shows a side as an editor that is practical but also more sophisticated in using different aspects of Negro business and culture to promote his editorial ideology that celebrates an anti-imperialist and uncompromising New Negro. Theodore Kornweibel wrote that as of 1923, *The Messenger's* political focus waned to focus more on successful Negro businesses, however a closer look reveals that the free enterprise being advertised in *The Messenger* opened a door for a unique kind of political organizing that proved invaluable to the Black Freedom movement.[496] R.B. Rutherford, president and treasurer of the National Benefit Life Insurance Company spoke prophetically in this issue: "Your magazine touches a high point in present day Negro cultural life and argues a condition of future growth which in itself presages success. We believe the magazine is indicative with the best

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[495] "Letter dated June 22, 1925 from A. Philip Randolph to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 31. Randolph said in this letter about *The Messenger* that "we eliminated Socialist propaganda because we found that it alienated the very group we wanted to reach—the Negro workers." Randolph's content endorsing socialism was not exactly "eliminated"; Randolph was writing this more to appease to Flynn and the AFPS. His editorial focus at this time was more towards improving the working conditions of Pullman porters via the union he is starting to lead now, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph in this letter also compares himself to other African American editors at this time, like W.E.B. Du Bois, whose periodical, *The Crisis*, he said "rejected matter during the war [World War I], fearing the Department of Justice and the Post Office, which *The Messenger* readily printed."

[496] Kornweibel writes "the original *Messenger* had been aimed at Black and white intellectuals and radical-minded workers. By 1923, it was shifting toward a Talented Tenth and Black bourgeoisie orientation although still retaining a Black worker perspective." Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, p.50.

things which the future holds for our race, and we have not the slightest doubt that this condition is due in no small degree to the force of your own character and integrity."[497]

Rutherford anticipated a strong influential effect of *The Messenger* on Black life. As of the January 1925 issue, *The Messenger* took on sophisticated cultural criticism and connected cultural oppression to political oppression. For the first time it provided specific examples learned cultural habits of African Americans as part of the reason for continued racial oppression faced by African Americans. We saw this most clearly in Randolph's editorial entitled "Do Negroes Want High Class Anything?" He ultimately in this editorial answered this question by saying that

> on the whole, they claim they do, but they don't…as lovers of literature they read the cheap, trashy novels of the variety sold on trains at 15 and 25 cents a piece. Few have heard of and fewer still have read 'The Souls of Black Folk,' 'Darkwater,' 'Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man,' the poems of Georgia Douglas Johnson, 'Veiled Aristocrats,' not to mention the heavier works…the shackles of slavery still bind colored people. Their chains are broken but not off. They would rather, on the whole, duck into a dive, eat at a smoky, greasy, fish joint, get their hair dressing done in a little junky den, than go to some up-to-date, spacious, beautifully decorated cafés, restaurants, beauty parlors and theatres.[498]

Randolph as an editor encouraged his readers to think about how their personal habits affect their political outcomes, as well as trying to motivate his readership on some level to ascribe to upper-class values of the Negro bourgeoisie.

Randolph discussed frankly the limitations of developing Negro business as a front against mainstream two party domination in the March 1925 issue when he discussed the demise of the Negro business, the Standard Life Insurance Company. He critiqued Standard Life for agreeing to being bought by a larger white owned insurance company called Southern Life. Randolph argued that Standard Life should "call for the cash surrender value on their policies

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[497] *The Messenger*, "Commendations from Big Messenger Advertisers," January 1925, p.12
[498] Randolph, Editorial,"Do Negroes Want High Class Anything?" *The Messenger*, January 1925, p.20.

and take out new policies in such thoroughgoing and solvent [other Negro owned life insurance companies] companies as the National Benefit Life Insurance Company, of Washington D.C."[499]This spoke to an earlier point Randolph made in the September 1924 issue about Negro business not needing to be supported just because it is a Negro business. In that editorial, Randolph writes that no amount of agitation will induce patronage of Negro business if such business has poor service, inferior goods or inflated prices.[500] Randolph discussed how racial segregation may limit the market for the Negro business owner, but it should not limit his expectations about his consumers. Randolph by the end of this year began a different long and protracted struggle against a wealthy white owned business: the Pullman Company.

Stuart Chase and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn were under the impression according to Randolph's letters to them that the content of *The Messenger* had less socialist propaganda and more emulation of white race when, in reality, according to the content of *The Messenger* up to June 1925, this impression is absolutely false. *The Messenger* encouraged more socialist ideas in its union organizing and advanced Negro businesses to encourage cooperative economics as opposed to encourage emulation of the white race. It could be argued that Randolph apparently told Chase and Flynn what they wanted to know about *The Messenger* in order to receive AFPS funds. A close read of any issue will reveal that the influence of Randolph's socialist message in *The Messenger* had not tapered since its inception in 1917 as Kornweibel has written.[501] In this same letter to Flynn, he wrote a section called "Kept the Faith" where he writes that "*The Messenger* <u>is the only publication among Negroes which opposes militarism and</u>

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[499] Randolph,"Editorials: the Next Black Step," *The Messenger*, March 1925, p.125.
[500]Randolph, Editorial, *The Messenger*, September 1924, p.279.
[501] Kornweibel writes that *The Messenger* underwent "bourgeois changes" as of 1923 and, "by 1925 had ceased blanket attacks on Black politicians for the practical purpose of winning support for the unionization of the sleeping car porters," but this author contends that Randolph maintained a clear focus on radicalizing his readers by teaching them organization outside the two party mainstream that included direct attacks on Black politicians after 1925 like those that Ashley Totten made in his article in the July 1926 issue. Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, p.51, 241.

imperialism….for over eight years [underlined emphasis added].*The Crisis* rejected matter during the war, fearing the Department of Justice, and the Post Office, which *The Messenger,* readily printed."

Despite this anti-imperialist message, it was important for Randolph to say that he had tapered down some aspect of his editorial vision in order to appease Chase and Baldwin and receive AFPS funds. At the end of this letter, Randolph argued that in light of the work *The Messenger* has done, that the AFPS "cancel the outstanding obligation of *The Messenger*…for $250 and a loan of $500. We would not request it if we did not feel *The Messenger* merited it. We also appeal for a donation of $3500 to help us stabilize the finances of the magazine and to finance two hundred new agents that went to handle the magazine."[502]Baldwin replied denying his $3500 request, and saying that the issue of whether the remaining debt will be cancelled would be addressed at a later AFPS meeting.

Samson wrote that the AFPS gave certain groups loans and others grants. Overwhelmingly most of the money the *The Messenger*received from the AFPS was in the form of loans. By the end of 1925, the AFPS still expected $750 from *The Messenger*. By the time Randolph concluded his regular correspondence with Baldwin in 1925, Baldwin wrote to Charles Garland telling him "it is absurd that although we have appointed large amounts the Fund is larger than…when you turned it over to us."[503] Baldwin's thrifty allocation of funds left them with more money by the end of 1925 than they originally received from Garland. Since his

[502] "Letter dated June 22, 1925 from A. Philip Randolph to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 31.
[503] Samson, *The American Fund,* p. 131.

correspondence with Randolph, Baldwin has ultimately looked at his funding of *The Messenger* with both wonder and dismay.[504]

Randolph was able to pay off much of their debt to the AFPS off through several Black-owned institutions, one of them being the Madame C.J. Walker Manufacturing Company.[505]In an August 1924 letter to F.B. Ransom, the business manager for the Walker Manufacturing Company, Randolph asked Ransom to pay the AFPS $720 instead of paying it himself "for seven pages of advertisements including art and engraving to the amount of $300 [part of the $720] appearing in the August [1924] issue of the…magazine."[506]Randolph was able to secure Ransom's payment and advertising revenue for the Walker Manufacturing Company, possibly as a result of his wife's connection to Madame C.J. Walker. Lucille Green Randolph owned and operated a beauty shop in Harlem for over ten years by 1925 that funded *The Mesenger*, graduated from Howard University and then from the Walker Beauty School, where she learned cosmetology and other skills that would later allow a professional relationship between her husband and the Walker Manufacturing Company.[507] This may explain Randolph's inability to strictly follow Baldwin's criterion of producing financial bookkeeping that was "efficiently radical." He knew he could count on other sources of funding for *The Messenger* in a

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[504] Roger Baldwin told his biographer Peggy Lamson: "if you're intellectually radical, what do you do about it [?] And I never *did* much about it you know. My ideas were never really backed by my performance. I always *acted* like a liberal [emphases in original]. I always stayed right with the liberal and social work profession. And what I did with the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union] would be classified as liberal. But I never joined any radical organization…spending a million or two well is a tough job for anybody and hardest of all for pioneering social causes which may or may not have survival value…I do not feel so satisfied with our record of risks and compromises. We yielded too often to friendship and passing pressures. But wise investment in reform is always chancy: that's their nature." Peggy Lamson, *Roger Baldwin, Founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, A Portrait*, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), p.125, 144.

[505] "Letter dated August 5, 1924, from A. Philip Randolph to F. B. Ransom," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 15.

[506] "Letter dated August 5, 1924, from A. Philip Randolph to F. B. Ransom," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 15.

[507] For more on Lucille Green Randolph, see the second chapter of Tiffany Gill's *Beauty Shop Politics: African American Women's Activism in the Beauty Industry*, (Urbana, University of Illinois, 2010). Also see Melinda Chateauvert, *Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*, (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1998). For a historically-based fictional exploration into the personal and professional lives of Lucille Green Randolph and A. Philip Randolph, see my currently unpublished play, *Negro Principles: A Play in Three Acts*, copywritten in 2010.

clandestine way like the Walker Manufacturing Company who benefited from having their company advertised in a paper that appreciated a steady circulation.

By June of 1925, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn wrote to Chase asking him to discontinue services to *The Messenger*, "because they have apparently swung so far away from their original purpose that it is a question whether they will still come within the scope of the kind of periodicals which this Fund is interested in supporting."[508] She wrote that the AFPS Board of Directors "feels its rather futile to continue furnishing them with expert advice which they do not seem inclined to follow."

The AFPS' critique of the content of *The Messenger* is interesting in light of the fact that June 1925 was the same month that, because of his role as editor of *The Messenger*, Randolph was approached by Ashley Totten, a Pullman porter, to lead a labor union of Pullman porters that would later become the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Totten was motivated to ask Randolph about leading this union only after reading the periodical edited by Randolph and supported in part by the AFPS, evidenced by his correspondence with them.[509] Where Flynn and the AFPS saw Randolph's content of *The Messenger* as threatening, Ashley Totten saw it as inviting and supportive of a labor organization intended only for Pullman porters.

By November of next year, Randolph wrote a letter apologizing to the AFPS for not regularly repaying the loans. He explained that "*the Messenger* is extremely poor and simply hasn't the funds to make regular payments. Each month there is a deficit, and this continues to accumulate." In this letter he asked for a cancellation of the loan in order to develop revenue. He said that if the AFPS would relieve *The Messenger* of the burden of repaying the balance of the loan from the Fund, then it would help what Randolph calls "the only organ which is

[508] "Letter dated June 26, 1925, from Elizabeth Gurley Flynn to Stuart Chase," AFPS Records, Box 22, Reel 31.
[509] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, p.153-154.

committed to a policy of organized labor among Negroes…which is responsible for the organization of the first National Negro Union; namely, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in America."[510] James Weldon Johnson also wrote to AFPS secretary Anna Marnitz recommending that the loan be cancelled. The AFPS agreed to cancel only one half of the altogether $2000 loan and send a February 1927 to *The Messenger* for the balance. Ultimately, according to AFPS records, two loans were granted to *The Messenger:* one $250 loan and another $350 loan. Of that $175 was repaid and $475 of it was cancelled and uncollectible according to AFPS records. *The Messenger* ceased publication after its May/June 1928 issue. Baldwin and the AFPS was ultimately willing to cancel the loan possibly because of Randolph's shared labor activism history with Baldwin, and his compliance on some level with their criterion. But Randolph was also able to radicalize and perhaps protect a significant amount of his readers exactly because he did not comply with the AFPS. His noncompliance with the AFPS allowed him to use *The Messenger* as an effective recruiting tool to increase the membership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

How Randolph Overcame Barriers to His Editorial Ideology

In the July 1925 issue of *The Messenger* he wrote his first editorial exclusively devoted to describing the plight of the Pullman porter. By this time his editorial ideology has gone from

[510] "Letter dated November 2, 1926, from A. Philip Randolph to Morris L. Ernst, Treasurer of the American Fund for Public Service," William Harris writes that Randolph did use members of the Brotherhood to sell *The Messenger*, but it was "in financial difficulty all during the time that it served as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' official organ [1925-1928]. On several occasions the magazine's financial problems compelled Randolph to appeal to the Garland Fund [AFPS] for subsidies and loans to continue publication. Randolph realized little, if any, profit from *The Messenger*, and he could easily have saved himself the necessity of explaining its relationship to the union had he placed the magazine under BSCP ownership." Harris, *Keeping the Faith*, p.62. This author contends that Randolph chose not to place *The Messenger* under ownership of the BSCP because of his duty as an editor in, foremost, informing his readers the importance of analyzing the two party mainstream and encouraging his readers to organize outside of it. Randolph was more interested in maintaining the reputation of *The Messenger* "being the only publication among Negroes which opposes militarism and imperialism…for over eight years."

endorsing the militant New Negro to endorsing labor organizing. He described four aspects of porters' experiences that made their plight uniquely difficult compared to the Pullman conductor: lower wages, longer hours, lower pension, and lack of union representation. The last aspect is one that Randolph will personally manage as the future leader of the union of Pullman porters he was asked to help lead, which is the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Despite having no support from the AFPS, Randolph devoted every issue of *The Messenger* to helping the Pullman remain strong and fight Pullman in this union. While he does not explicitly call on his readers to consider socialism, by example he called on his readers to take labor organizing seriously. He detailed his personal struggles for the Brotherhood to be recognized by the Pullman Company. In the August 1925 issue he wrote that "with organization," the Pullman porters "can dignify their jobs…the wages can be raised so as to insure a decent living. At present they are the *monkeys* of the service [italics in original]. They are expected to sing and cut such capers as are unbecoming a man."[545] Randolph was interested as editor of *The Messenger* in his readership knowing the details of the plight of Pullman porters. He wrote: "the public takes for granted their courtesy, their resourcefulness, their capacity to anticipate the wants and whims of querulous or nervous or bewildered passengers…A mishap that throws a porter against a passenger is likely to subject him to sever reprimand. In literature and on the stage the porter shares the common fate of his race, he provides the comic relief."[546] Randolph's belief in this latter point explained his decision to pen a fictional piece himself on the plight of the Pullman porter discussed later.

In the September 1925 issue of *The Messenger,* Randolph decried the Pullman Company'sresponses to the Brotherhood, first in the "Employee Representation Plan" and the

[545] Randolph, "Pullman Porters Need Own Union," *The Messenger,* August 1925, p.289.
[546] Randolph, "Pullman Porters Need Own Union," *The Messenger,* August 1925, p.289.

Pullman Porters' Benevolent Association as a "pure farce." He writes that these efforts were devised to break up the Brotherhood. Randolph's struggle with the Pullman Company was reflective of his struggle against the two party mainstream, whom Randolph implicates with Pullman. Randolph as editor often characterized Pullman in ways that are similar to that of the Republican and Democratic parties who use their economic power at whim to crush the well-meaning efforts of labor. Later in this issue, he included an editorial titled "Negroes in the Unions" which claims:

> it is generally thought by both Negroes and whites that Negroes are the chief strikebreakers in the United States. This is far from the truth. The Negro workers' part in strikes has been dramatized by virtue of the striking contrast of race which invariably provoked race riots…the task of the future [and the task which Randolph undertook as labor leader of the Brotherhood and editor of *The Messenger*] is to carry forward with greater efficiency and determination the work of bringing the Negroes into the trade union movement.[547]

Randolph's goal was not only to represent Pullman porters in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, his goal as editor of *The Messenger* by the end of 1925 was to advocate membership of all his readers in some trade union as well. In the October-November 1925 issue of *The Messenger*, Perry Howard a Pullman porter spoke on behalf of the Pullman-run Employee Representation Plan (E.R.P.) and alleged that Randolph's Brotherhood was connected with Communism. Randolph declared that his organization is "entirely independent" of Communists, Socialists, Democrats and Republicans. Where Howard defends the E.R.P., Randolph called it a "colossal fraud." Where "white leaders of opinion and business affairs assume that business affairs assume that Negro leaders are purchaseable, that they have their price to betray their race. And in most cases they are right. So few, indeed, have the guts to stand upon principle to maintain a high standard of character."[548] He went on to say that Howard's argument that

[547] Randolph, "Editorial: Negroes in the Unions," *The Messenger*, September 1925, p.325.
[548] Randolph, "Editorial: Reply to Perry Howard," *The Messenger*, October-November 1925, p.350.

Pullman paying their porters a living wage would bankrupt them is entirely false: "the Company's fiscal report belies this statement." He included a letter from a conductor who was probably white, and inspired by his movement: "Dear Mr. Randolph: I am very glad to know of your interest in the welfare of sleeping car employees…I personally organized the conductors in February 1918. We are 90 percent strong. Conductors' earnings have increased 100 percent during that time. The working conditions have improved proportionately…feel free to call upon me at any time. Very truly yours, J.W. Warfield, President, Order of Sleeping Car Conductors."[549] Randolph included this letter to underscore his point in an earlier editorial to his readers about the importance of labor organizing and how effective it is against the specter of capital, symbolized by the two party mainstream of Democrats and Republicans, but symbolized most specifically in this case by Pullman. Warfield for Randolph is an important example of whites untouched by the race prejudice stoked by the ruling class to keep the working class divided. Warfield's letter to Randolph was a positive fulfillment of Randolph's editorial ideology and a testament to his Negro readers about the importance of not blindly following the two party mainstream.

Randolph spent a significant portion of the December 1925 issue defending the Brotherhood against charges by Howard that it should be ignored because it is led by a socialist in Randolph. Randolph's response seems not only a defense of the Brotherhood but a defense of labor unionism and a greater defense of his editorial ideology that wants his readers to seek political independence outside the mainstream two party system. Randolph issued stirring defenses of the Brotherhood in this issue to Howard, editor of the *St. Louis Argus*, editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, among others. This issue provided a closer look into how the Pullman company whittles the rights of porters away. In the December 1925 issue he included an article

[549]Letter to the editor, *The Messenger*, October-November 1925, p.367.

by R.W. Dunn who writes that porters who are accused of being part of the Brotherhood are "discharged." Dunn presented these as evidence that the Pullman company will go to great lengths to "intimidate workers asked by their fellow workers to join the union."[550]Dunn and ultimately Randolph asked their porter readers to join the Brotherhood despite this intimidation and, unlike his subscription list to Roger Baldwin, is apparently indifferent to his membership rolls being known by the federal government. He printed these rolls for the expressed purpose of increasing membership and gaining legitimacy as a labor union.

In the January 1926 issue, Randolph printed a letter to the president of the Pullman Company, E.F. Carry, where he argued that the Pullman Company does not allow its porters a fair day's wage:

> the U.S. Department of Labor sets a minimum yearly income in order to maintain the average family in a decent American living, $2,088.00. You pay the porters of the Pullman Company $810.00 a year or $1278.00 less than a living wage…Does such a miserable wage indicate that the Pullman Company is the friend of the porters? Dear sir, the public doesn't think so; nor does the porter…would you want to work nearly 400 hours a month for $7.50?[551]

Randolph emulated for his readers the kind of agitation that he calls for. He asked for his readers to write to President Coolidge about ending the U.S. Naval occupation of the Virgin Islands and, unlike Garvey, believed in direct citizen lobbying to affect social change. Rather than seeking rights through racial separatism, he practiced exactly what he preached by communicating directly with the powerful person directly in charge of Pullman porters' treatment: the company president. In the editorial section of this issue, Randolph listed Negro presses and businesses who have essentially betrayed his cause of improving working conditions for the Pullman porters. He critiqued "the shameless surrender of the Chicago Negro Press, save the Bee, to

[550] R.W. Dunn, "Company Unions a la Pullman," *The Messenger*, December 1925, p.394.
[551]Randolph, "An Open Letter to Mr. E.F. Carry, President of the Pullman Company," *The Messenger*, January 1926, p.10.

Pullman money…the *Chicago Defender* has thrown its weight on the side of the Pullman Company and against the Pullman porters by giving space to the propaganda of the Company and denying the porters a hearing."[552] He included also letters of support from porters, one of whom says that with Randolph as leader "there are no oppositions that cannot be broken." A letter of support is also printed from Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of *The Nation.*

In the February 1926 issue Randolph included an article on why he was selected to lead the Brotherhood. First, he wrote, because of his "long advocacy of the cause of organized labor;" second, because of the fact that he was not a porter; and third, because he was editor of a magazine, *The Messenger* which could be used to "spread the propaganda or organization." He then devoted the rest of this issue to spreading the propaganda of the causes he is trying to win for the Brotherhood which is higher wage, fewer hours, and more sleep. Historians like Kornweibel have written that for these reasons, Randolph's editorial ideology changed to focus solely on the Brotherhood, but this author contends that Randolph even as a labor leader, was fulfilling more of his stated editorial ideology which is "militant, aggressive, and revolutionary." He was asked by Pullman porter Ashley Totten whom by this issue, we are informed, is fired by the Pullman Company for his involvement in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph celebrated the fearless work of Totten who fulfilled Randolph's call to bring Negroes into labor unions: "the dismissal of Mr. A.L. Totten from the Pullman service as a porter is latest evidence on the part of the Pullman Company to deal unfair with its employees. His sole ambition was to win at least one case for the porters, which would give them faith in the plan."[553] However Chandler Owen in an editorial excoriated other porters like Perry Howard whose betrayal of the Brotherhood indicated their ability to be bought and sold: "the Pullman and the

[552] Randolph, "Editorials: The New Year," *The Messenger*, January 1926, p.16-17.
[553] Chandler Owen, "The Neglected Truth," *The Messenger*, February 1926, p.48.

public utility companies recognize a common interest in keeping their employees from organizing…There is no greater menace among Negroes than that of money-bags wielded by corporation lawyers."[554] Chandler Owen related the Pullman Company to the ruthless profiteering ambitions of the wealthiest families tied to the mainstream two party system. Randolph in a previous editorial of this issue called the willingness of Negroes to aid in discriminating against other Negroes "a hangover of the slave psychology."[555] Randolph as editor encouraged his readers at this time to help support the Brotherhood and *The Messenger* against Pullman's refusal to improve the porters' working conditions.

The March 1926 issue included a more introspective look from Randolph into his role as influential editor and labor leader. In an editorial called "To the Brotherhood Men," he wrote:

> when I enlisted in the cause, I knew that slander would attempt to blacken my character with infamy; I knew that among the wicked, corrupt and unenlightened, my pleadings would be received with disdain and reproach…that I would be branded as a disrober of the peace, as a madman, fanatic, an incendiary, a Communist, Anarchist and whatnot…But brethren, I am undaunted and unafraid. The only reward I seek is that your case secures a full and complete vindication.[556]

His paper and the message it sent to his readerscalled for this vindication to be fulfilled by Pullman improving the Porters' working conditions. However in order for this to happen, the Pullman Company must first recognize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as a legitimate union, and Randolph's struggle to do this proved formidable. He informed his reader that as leader of the Brotherhood he is seeking to sit down with Pullman through the U.S. Railroad Labor Board. In Randolph's own article "The New Pullman Porter," he described the "new Pullman porter" in ways that he describes the "New Negro:" "his creed is independence without insolence…the new porter is not a Communist, but a simple trade unionist, seeking only to

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[554] Chandler Owen, "The Neglected Truth," *The Messenger,* February 1926, p.48.
[555]Randolph, "A Letter to Delegates to Pullman Company's Wage Conference," *The Messenger,* February 1926, p.45.
[556] Randolph, "To The Brotherhood Men," *The Messenger,* March 1926, p.68.

become a better and a more useful citizen by securing a higher standard of living and preserving his manhood."[557]

This description spoke to the theme of independent thinking for the well being of his political future that was not cherry picked by powerful whites. This theme of independent thinking is in line with Hubert Harrison's influential critique of Booker T. Washington'sstatement that progressive Jews or outsiders are more competent than progressive Negroes to appoint or appraise Negro leaders.[558] Harrison and Randolph, as progressive Negroes in their time as editors, were committed to not only appraising Negro leaders, but they were also committed to teaching their readership how to appraise leaders for their own community. Randolph was certainly trying to do this in describing what he called the New Pullman porter. Randolph described this porter as one who would not accept the propaganda of the moneyed interests. In a piece called "The Indictment" Randolph related his struggle to seek recognition from the Pullman company to the struggle for abolition in the antebellum South: "we who have come after these noble souls who suffered and sacrificed and wept and prayed and died that their children might be delivered from the cruel oppression of the Slave power of the South…so that Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman…shall not have died in vain. Yes my brethren let us stand firm."[559]

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[557] Randolph, "The New Pullman Porter" *The Messenger,* April 1926, p.109.

[558] Harrison says specifically that Booker T. Washington wrongfully stated in a London *Morning Post* September 1910 article that the situation in the American South is becoming "more and more reassuring;" that men like William Monroe Trotter were "not helping their cause" and that what was needed was "patience and perseverance" not "impotent lamentations." Harrison says ultimately that "Mr. Washington is a great leader, by the grace of white people who elect colored peoples' leaders for them, as he himself says in the November's *World's Work.*" Harrison rejects the paradigm of Negroes being forced to approve and accept Negro leaders chosen by progressive white Jews or any progressive group outside of progressive Blacks. Randolph in his responses to Perry Howard, seeing him as a tool of Pullman, is following Harrison's editorial tradition and also rejects this paradigm. Hubert Harrison, "Insistence upon its Real Grievances the Only Course for the Race," Letter to the editor, *New York Sun,* December 8, 1910, p.8; Perry, ed. *A Hubert Harrison Reader,* p.164-166.

[559]Randolph, Editorial, "The Indictment," *The Messenger,* April 1926, p.114.

The May 1926 issue included an important article written by the now terminated Pullman porter Ashley Totten who wrote about the injustices of the Pullman run-Employee Representation Plan. Totten said that the idea of the Employee Representation Plan was to "confuse the men so that they vote as they are told but that they do not know what they are really voting for." He described his own hostile exchange with a Pullman official who said "I am sick and tired hearin you talk about justice—justice—justice. If you thinking that you are not getting enough justice in this country, why don't you go back to where you came from? Totten said he replied "my country is a part of your country, and my flag is your flag."[560] Ashley Totten was born in Saint Croix and two years prior to this exchange, the United States bought the Virgin Islands including Saint Croix from Denmark. Totten's response was a critique of U.S. imperialism and how increasingly burdensome it is for wealthy whites like this Pullman official to manage this growing empire without conflict when those exploited by it start demanding more rights. This was a critique also made in Pauline Hopkins' short story "Talma Gordon."

In this issue Randolph the described the relevance of the Railway Labor Act of 1926 to his readers and how as a negotiation strategy with Pullman, he would rely on this law more than appealing to the U.S. Railroad Labor Board, which he said "had not power to enforce its awards." In this issue Randolph had a section called "Pullman Porters and Maids" where he wrote that "every porter and maid should write his Congressman and Senator to back this resolution. You should insist upon it being placed in the Labor Committee where it will be properly and adequately considered."[561] Randolph urged his readers to develop a working relationship with their elected officials as part of his overall call to agitate his readers to be effective citizen lobbyists for their elected officials. Randolph in an article of this issue called

[560]Ashley Totten, "An Expose of the Employee Representation Plan," *The Messenger*, May 1926, p.151.
[561]Randolph, "Pullman Porters and Maids," *The Messenger*, June 1926, p.174.

"The State and Policy of the Brotherhood" described its objectives, one of which contravened his earlier endorsement of Socialism: "we have a fundamental interest in the expansion and development of the Pullman service, in which our welfare as well as that of the public, is involved…We must ever maintain cool, sober, and dispassionate heads…Yes, we are our brother's keeper, whether he be Black or white, Jew or Gentile, foreigner or native."[562]

While Randolph admittedthat he wanted to help the development of the same kind of profit driven capitalist private business he was attacking in the first six years of his periodical, he also admitted that doing so was part of a greater goal of improving working conditions for the Pullman porter.

Jervis Anderson wrote that the Railway Labor Act, passing into law by Coolidge's signature on May 20, 1926, seemed a clear affirmation of the porters' right to "*independent* self-organization." Randolph then offered uncommitted porters and maids a thirty day window to join the Brotherhood at this time and not be required to pay back dues; this window is called a "dispensation." He wrote: "Porters and Maids who join and pay $5.00 in full will not be required to pay back dues, but their dues will begin with June, the month they join. All part paid members who pay up in full during this dispensation will not be required to pay the back dues from last October, but their dues will begin with June."[563] Randolph by now used*The Messenger* exclusively to increase Brotherhood membership. He hoped the Brotherhood, after the Watson-

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[562]Randolph, "The State and Policy of the Brotherhood," *The Messenger*, June 1926, p.185.

[563] Randolph, "Ad: On to the New Railroad Labor Board!" *The Messenger,* June 1926, p.189. William Harris writes that the Chicago leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Milton Webster, objected to Randolph's decision to offer this dispensation because it would be an admission of weakness of the Brotherhood's inability to enroll porters on a legitimate basis. Randolph's dispensation policy apparently caused porters to sign up at a quicker rate by the end of this summer, and prompted him to propose another dispensation in September which, because of Webster's disapproval he did not issue. Harris writes that Webster did not believe that a "paper organization" that Randolph was fighting for could achieve a settlement from Pullman. Harris writes that Webster showed more concern for the need for dedicated members than did Randolph. Their disagreement on dispensation illustrates how Randolph's role as editor included advocacy for improving the conditions of Pullman porters at all costs. Harris, *Keeping the Faith,* p. 77-78.

Parker bill's passage, will be the proven organ of "independent" labor organization for Pullman porters and maids.

Randolph began his next issue discussing the implications that the Brotherhood is already having on the future of Negroes in labor unions in general: "the Negro's next gift to America will be in economic democracy, demonstrating the virtue of the principle of collective bargaining in rational, mutual cooperation around the conference board with a view to effective constructive settlement of disputes between employers and employees." What is most telling was his statement that "Black workers as well as white, have a joint interest with capital in the expansion and development of industry. Their object shall not be to cripple and paralyze industry, but to help it."[564] This was a marked departure from his pronouncements in previous issues against the development of industry that by his logic seemed to suppress the worker at all steps. Randolph seemed to alter his opinions about capital in order to win working conditions for one set of workers in the Pullman porters. This alteration would prove invaluable to the Black Freedom movement, however, because it taught a national Negro readership the importance of labor organizing. In a next editorial Randolph wrote that the Brotherhood's immediate task is to "increase our rank." Chicago Brotherhood leader Milton Webster would eventually object to exactly how Randolph tried to increase the ranks. Randolph ended his editorial by noting that we must demonstrate that "a living wage, shorter hours of work, better conditions under which to work, will constitute a definite asset to the company, in that it will serve to maintain a high quality of Pullman porters and maids in the service." Randolph provided a very inspiring survey of the tour he's made to recruit more Brotherhood members from California with "Mr. J.B. Bass, Editor of the *California Eagle*," from Seattle to New York.

[564] Randolph, "The Negro Faces the Future," *The Messenger*, July 1926, p.201.

Randolph despite his stated support for Pullman's capital to develop, still maintained a vehement critic of U.S. imperialism in Haiti when he called then president of Haiti, Borno "a mere puppet, a *figure head* who neither reigns nor rules."[565] In an important article "The Truth Neglected in the Virgin Islands," Ashley Totten wrote that Virgin Islanders should remove the "chip of conceitedness" against the American Negro off of their shoulders, and "solicit their aid" to expel the U.S. naval occupation. Totten indicted the work of the aristocrats and bourgeoisie of St. Thomas who he said "are not concerned about the proletariat," as being obstacles to removing U.S. occupation.[566]He called on readers of *The Messenger* to obey Randolph's call to lobby as a citizen against the U.S. occupation of the Virgin Islands. More specifically he appealed to readers from the Virgin Islands to also lobby Washington with the help of American Negroes. A letter from Randolph's lawyer Donald Richberg who was designated to negotiate in the Mediation Board said that he suggested the group "proceed with the utilization and interpretation of the new [Railway Labor Act] law, while your Brotherhood prepares a long-time program for the gradual but sure improvement in the conditions of its members."[567] Randolph might have been labor organizing to help keep Pullman's industry stable; he also issued a strong anti-imperialist critique of the United States in ways that unified Black immigrants with American Negroes along racial lines. His editorial ideology was uniquely able to try to preserve capital, practice labor organizing in a militant, aggressive way, and still make forceful critiques against U.S. imperialism in the Virgin Islands.

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[565] Randolph, "Editorial: President Borno of Haiti," *The Messenger*, August 1926, p.240.
[566]Ashley Totten, "The Truth Neglected in the Virgin Islands," *The Messenger*, July 1926, p.204. Totten's description of the aristocrats and bourgeoisie resemble more general arguments about class made about thirty five years later by Martinican Frantz Fanon who wrote originally in French, *Les Damnes de la Terre (The Wretched of the Earth)* about this class, the "national bourgeoisie": "the national bourgeoisie replaces the Former European settlers as doctors, lawyers, tradesmen, agents, dealers, and shipping agents…its vocation is not to transform the nation [like the Virgin Islands according to Totten], but prosaically serve as a conveyor belt for capitalism, forced to camouflage itself behind the mask of neocolonialism." Fanon, translated from French to English by Richard Philcox, *The Wretched of the Earth*, (1960; New York, Grove, 2004), p.100-101.
[567] "A Letter From Donald Richberg," *The Messenger*, August 1926, p.252.

The September 1926 issue was devoted to allowing the officers of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters a space. The secretary-treasurer for the Brotherhood Roy Lancaster wroteabout how, like Ashley Totten, the Pullman Company fired him for his involvement in the Brotherhood: "An Employees' Representation Plan, in the present form, has not and can never have the best interest of the workers at heart. It has been exposed and no intelligent worker pays any attention to it. With full knowledge of this, I tried to uncover its weakness by forcing it to function and lost my job as a Pullman porter."[568]Ashley Totten detailed the flaws in the other Pullman-run union, the Pullman Porters Benefit Association of America, and how they try to outdo the Brotherhood in its advertisements within the Negro press.

In the next October 1926 issue, Randoph wrote that Pullman is similar to Standard Oil in that both companies are able to determine and set the prices at which their service is sold. This price fixing power enabled them, according to Randolph to drive out of the field any competitor which would appear to threaten their monopoly. Randolph critiqued the Pullman company making "a luxury profit" at the expense of the porter receiving "a poverty wage." Randolph cited a statistic from the U.S. Department of Labor setting the yearly budget for the maintenance of the average American family at $2,022, however the yearly wage for the porter is $870. The Pullman's common response to this reality is that their porters are expected to make up the difference in their tips and can earn an unlimited amount of tips. Randolph however disagreed with the necessity of porters to beg for tips: "in the nature of things, tiptakers can seldom develop the spirit of manhood of tip-givers. A tip-taker for a living, is compelled to giggle when his heart is well nigh breaking with sorrow. It is poor reasoning to claim that because one does not think

[568]Roy Lancaster, "An Open Letter to My Late Fellow Workers of the Pennsylvania District," *The Messenger*, September 1926, p.260.

that his action is demoralizing or degrading it is not demoralizing or degrading."[569] Randolph compared this unique need to tip for the porter to the condition of other Pullman employees like the conductor, engineer, firemen and trainmen: "isn't it strange that the porters…should be caught in such straits as to need financial assistance from the Company to help tide the family over?"[570] Randolph concluded that the financial straits of the porters are the direct result of low income. William Harris writes that by 1926, the Brotherhood asked the Garland Fund for money to finance a survey of porters' working conditions as suggested by their lawyer Richberg. During September, the results of the survey were made public and published the data outside of *The Messenger* in a pamphlet called *The Pullman Porter* which received wide attention, and helped give the Brotherhood an image of responsibility and professionalism.[571]

In "Notes on the Brotherhood," of the December 1926 issue, Randolph wrote that Pullman's response to appoint more Negro Pullman porters not affiliated with the Brotherhood to higher positions of power will not dissuade or weaken the Brotherhood: "it won't be long before the Company will see that their Negro officials are a liability and not an asset; then it is good-bye to the Negro Pullman official, since it is a matter of common knowledge that the Company does not love them any more than it loves the porters."[572] Randolph included the text of a speech by their lawyer Donald Richberg who said: "I hope that as this organization [the Mediation Board] goes forward it will not make the mistake of thinking that time and money is wasted by getting facts." Richberg spoke to the Mediation Board's claim that it needed to collect facts after seeing the Brotherhood's demand to collectively bargain with the Pullman Company by the end of this year. Randolph increased content about the Brotherhood in *The Messenger* in order to not only

[569]Randolph, "A Reply to Pullman Propaganda," *The Messenger*, October 1926, p.292.
[570]Randolph, "A Reply to Pullman Propaganda," *The Messenger*, October 1926, p.292.
[571]Harris, *Keeping the Faith*, p.72.
[572] Randolph, "Notes on the Brotherhood," *The Messenger*, December 1926, p.370.

inform his readers but also to provide the Mediation Board with the facts it needed before deciding whether to begin bargaining between the Brotherhood and the Pullman Company. The Pullman Company, on the other hand was planning to have its Employee Representation Plan and its Pullman Porters Benevolent Association serve as the "legitimate" unions in the eyes of the Mediation Board. So 1926 ended with the questionstill open of whether the Mediation Board would help the Brotherhood collectively bargain with the Pullman Company. Meanwhile Randolph was still trying to build more members in the Brotherhood and was warning porters not to become the title of his article in this issue, "the slacker porter." Finally he described the poise of the Brotherhood in terms that he described his own editorial ideology to the AFPS: "we must ever maintain cool, sober, and dispassionate heads." He described his editing as one "with calm dispassionate poise."[573] Randolph is hoping the delay by the Mediation Board in being able to collectively bargain between the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood will not mean their denial to do so.

In the January 1927 issue George Schuyler penned an important article called "Negro Labor and Utilities" that basically underscored Randolph's earlier point as editor that even though a vast majority of the public utilities enjoy a monopoly, their revenue is derived from Negroes who are subjected to racial discrimination. Schuyler wrote that *The Messenger* inquired from each of these companies the extent to which the Negro worker is subjected to industrial discrimination. The piece seemed to underscore Randolph's point about the importance of labor organizing: if Negroes could organize in a labor union, they could make some headway in ending racial discrimination in ways that Randolph is currently doing through the Brotherhood against the Pullman Company.

[573] Randolph, "Answering Heebie-Jeebies," *The Messenger*, December 1926, p.357.

T.P. Sylvan, then vice president of the New York Telephone Company wrote back to *The Messenger* in a response which they printed: "the position which we have taken with reference to their [Negroes] employment has been a proper and necessary one." Schuyler clarified that this "position" is one that employs Negroes in lounges and restaurants as menial workers. A Mr.Brundage of the Consolidated Gas Company replied to *The Messenger* stating that "Negroes employed by us render 'common labor, maid service, janitorial service and the like. We do not assign Negroes as stenographers, clerks or inspectors." W. Greely Hoyt of the Standard Gas Light Company wrote "Our employees in this respect [Negro employees] cover laborer, coal handlers and porters."

Schuyler concluded from this study: "we believe our readers have gathered from the foregoing survey just how the Negro workers stand with the public utilities doing business in the world's greatest city."[574] With this article, Schuyler fulfilled Randolph's editorial ideology endorsing his readers to lobby not only elected officials but also lobby powerful businessmen like the owners of these public utilities. Perhaps the strongest suggestion this article makes is the need for labor organizing by those within these public utilities for greater upward mobility for Negro workers. This issue later lauds Pullman porter E. J. Bradley for his outstanding work in recruiting new porters to the Brotherhood. The blurb on him announced that he would give up working for Pullman in order to recruit new Brotherhood members on a full time basis. Another Pullman porter Paul Caldwell also wrote an article in this month's issue called "Our Local Struggle to Organize St. Paul, Minnesota" about how Pullman spies would intimidate porters

[574]George Schuyler, "Negro Labor and Utilities," *The Messenger*, January 1927, p.4. Schuyler also included responses from the American Railway Express Company, who replied stating: "In New York City Negroes are employed as elevator operators, cleaners, janitors, and doormen." The New York City Edison Company stated that they did not know what positions Negroes held in their company. The then Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation [now consolidated into the Metropolitan Transportation Authority] wrote back saying "our companies employ comparatively few Negroes in our general office, and we employ none as motormen or conductors."

from attending Brotherhood meetings. Randolph wrote an article in the February 1927 issue called "The State of the Brotherhood" where he described the unique economic oppression of the Pullman Company: "it was difficult to find a Negro paper which wrote a positive editorial in favor of the Brotherhood. Practically all the Negro editorials were either uncertain and doubtful about the wisdom of the move or they were definitely opposed because of money reasons or ignorance."[575]

In an article called "The U.S. Mediation Board: The Employee Representation Plan and the Porters," Randolph presented select questions from the survey he gave to Pullman porters asking them about the Employee Representation Plan:

> Q. Describe structure and function of Plan. A. The Plan was constructed by the Pullman Company without the knowledge of the Pullman porters at all, and has functioned as was intended. It is a Company Plan organized by the Company for the best interest of the Company, and not for the benefit of the porter. Q. Are you in favor of the plan? A. No. it is a company plan, and from my practical experience as chairman of the Local Committeemen "C," for two years, it was proved to me by the Company, that it was not to do the things for the porters that they were told it would do when it was first presented to them, or forced upon them by the Management.[576]

Though Randolph chose exactly which survey answers he wanted to print in *The Messenger,* these questions show for Randolph's reader the criteria of what makes effective labor organizing. Effective labor organizing does not include labor organizing where management can pick and choose whom they want representing the union: it included the characteristics that describe the "New Negro."

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[575]Randolph, "The State of the Brotherhood," *The Messenger,* February 1927, p.55. Randolph writes later in this article, "of all the champions of the Brotherhood," *Pittsburgh Courier* has been the most militant and uncompromising, giving unlimited space to the presentation of the porters' cause." Within the next year, however, Pullman's economic power would change this and the *Courier* edited by Robert Vann would join the bandwagon of criticism against Randolph and the Brotherhood.

[576] Randolph, "The U.S. Mediation Board: The Employee Representation Plan and the Porters," *The Messenger,* May 1927, p.161.

Significant in his May 1927 issue is a second letter to Pullman president E.F. Carry. Randolph took issue with Carry's claim that porters who organize can destroy their discipline. He wrote that "no legitimate objection can be raised against the organization of porters on the grounds that it will destroy discipline, for in the first place, a bona fide functioning organization of porters and maids has never existed, hence no grounds of fact upon which to base such an assumption."[577]

While the historical record does not seem to explain why there was no July 1927 issue of *The Messenger*, according to Jervis Anderson, the "tactical blunder" of Randolph in writing to the Pullman Company in June of 1927 may have had something to do with it. Anderson writes this choice to write to Pullman confirmed their suspicions about the Brotherhood not being a legitimate union. Randolph's letter to Pullman, regardless of the actual content in it, seemed to spread more doubt than faith in the beliefs about the Brotherhood being a legitimate union. Anderson writes that after receiving Randolph's letter, Pullman wrote to the Mediation Board saying "no dispute, and therefore no situation requiring mediation exists between the Pullman Company and its employees…in these circumstances, and because of the existence of the agreement…the Company cannot properly confer [with the Brotherhood.]" The Mediation Board's meeting over the matter between the Brotherhood and Pullman was to take place in July, and Harris writes that Pullman "knew something that Randolph and the Brotherhood either did not know or had forgotten: though arbitration was provided for under the Railway Labor Act, it was not mandatory."[578]Randolph corresponded mainly with Mediation Board member Edwin

[577]Randolph, "Open Letter to the Pullman Company," *The Messenger*, July 1927, p.237. Jervis Anderson calls this letter "a tactical blunder from which it would take him years to recover." Anderson quotes one of Pullman's lawyers saying that no reply to Pullman was necessary because the letter indicates that Randolph lost some confidence in the organization's ability to force through the program in the way he previously announced he would do. Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, p.193.
[578]Harris, *Keeping the Faith*, p.191-193.

Morrow. Morrow had no power to order Pullman's compliance, and probably by the end of July, Randolph was informed that the Mediation Board could not do anything further to force collective bargaining talks with Pullman.

Randolph took at least one month to regroup in light of this news, and printed a September 1927 issue of *The Messenger*.In it was an article called "Status of Pullman Porters' Case," where he wrote that the Brotherhood presented "1000 affidavits, from porters showing that they voted under coercion, intimidation, and interference of the Company." He did not mention the provision of the Railway Labor Act which legitimated Pullman not having to attend or follow any orders from the Mediation Board. Instead Randolph chose not to question the Mediation Board's authority by stating: "in February, the Board decided to further investigate the case."[579]

Randolph most rigorously engaged a defense of his and the Brotherhood's actions in an October 1927 editorial responding to a *Chicago Defender* editorial arguing there was nothing for the Mediation Board to do but drop the matter after it found that "no dispute existed between the Pullman Company and its employees." Randolph in his editorial said that that is not true, because the Board can act "even if only one party to a dispute submits its case." The question for him is, by the Railway Labor Act, however, could Pullman have been forced to collectively bargain with the Brotherhood and the answer seems no. He continues:

> You say 'let the Pullman Company be fair and let all of its employees advance according to their ability. Your gullibility would be refreshing were not so tragic. Such is the reason for the Negroes' weakness today. Some of their leaders will believe anything a white man tells them. Who in the name of commonsense believes the Pullman Company will advance a porter according to his ability?...Poor old Abbott, pitiful Pullman puppet!

[579]Randolph, "Status of the Pullman Porters' Case," *The Messenger*, September 1927, p.284.

He described the weaknesses of Abbott's argument in terms that describe how a New Negro should not be: one who believes "anything a white man tells them." Ultimately, Pullman declined to attend the Mediation Board's meeting or listen to the Mediation Board because according to Randolph they recognize "nothing but power and that's what the porters have when they are organized. This means a fight to the finish, regardless of cost or consequences. We are winners not quitters, Brother Abbott. Respectfully yours, A. Philip Randolph. (Brotherhood men, pay your dues and assessments today, don't delay)."[580]

No part of Randolph's November 1927 issue of *The Messenger* seemed to summarize his genuine sentiment on the matter better than his reprint of a *Pittsburgh Courier* editorial: "the refusal of the Pullman Company to carry the dispute with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to the Arbitration board as specified by the New Railway Labor Act, is admission on its part that it considers itself above the laws of this country."[581] Randolph had already written for almost a decade by now that the problem with the two party mainstream is that it does not represent the working voter and that it does what it wants because it considers itself above the laws of this country. He included an article called "The Slave in the Pullman" on how the antebellum slave, like the Pullman porter, received no wage, but "as a rule, he was provided with enough food to keep him alive and in fit condition." The Pullman porter, according to Randolph managed to extort a money wage, "not a living wage." The article argued that their tips are a fixed charge on the public in excess of the rates allowed and thus constitute a violation of the Federal Law, and should be abolished.[582]

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[580]Randolph, "Randolph Replies to Chicago 'Surrender' Misnamed Defender," *The Messenger*, October 1927, p.304.
[581] Editorial, "Press Opinion on the Porters' Case," *The Messenger*, November 1927.
[582]Editorial,"Press Opinion on the Porters' Case," The Slave in the Pullman," *The Messenger*, November 1927, p.338. This was reprinted from *America: A Catholic Review of the Week*, October 1, 1927.

In the December 1927 issue, Randolph in "New Negro" fashion responded directly to the strategic blow dealt in July by Pullman's refusing to heed the Mediation Board. This blow was a blow not only to the Brotherhood but, most importantly, to *The Messenger,* and what was seen as Randolph's sacred mission as an editor. As an editor, Randolph convinced his readers that the principles he wrote of, in support of "militant" and "aggressive" labor organizing can in fact be effective and can win better working conditions for Negroes in ways that practical Socialism could not. Pullman's no show before the Mediation Board dealt a severe blow to Randolph's editorial ideology to improve working conditions for the Brotherhood and prove to his readers the utility of labor organizing. What attested to the latter most clearly were the aricles Randolph printed, primarily from Totten and E.J. Bradley about the numbers of porters who join Brotherhood ranks especially in light of intimidation from Pullman. In the previous issue, Randolph printed from E. J. Bradley: "Brotherhood…has witnessed a very unusual change in conditions relative to the spirit and general attitude of the citizens as well as the porters of the St. Louis division. Men are joining daily; six joined one day…[Bradley said] he is averaging two new men a day."[583] But Randolph ended the year with a strong defense against Pullman's refusal to recognize the Brotherhood in an article called "The Brotherhood Moves to Victory:"

> We have organized, yes, we have organized over 7,000 strong…The Company…felt that if it refused to arbitrate such action would demoralize the Union and shoot it to pieces, that the porters would throw up their hands in despair and refuse to go further. But of course, the Company was wrong…the company's very denial that there is a dispute is a clear admission that there is a dispute, for there is no occasion for the Company to deny that which has been affirmed by the Brotherhood unless there is a dispute…No wonder the Company refused arbitration, because it knew that it would not play ventriloquist on the Brotherhood and impersonate the Plan and the Company at the same time.[584]

[583]"The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Activities of the Month: New York District," *The Messenger,* November 1927, p.334.
[584] Randolph, "Editorial: The Brotherhood Moves to Victory," *The Messenger,* December 1927, p.356.

Randolph informed his readers that the Brotherhood had taken its case earlier in the year to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and was hoping for a favorable ruling by next year. Bradley in this issue reported that "St. Louis office of the Pullman Company has become so desperate in their effort to kill the Brotherhood that they have pulled off two men about the union who do not belong to the Brotherhood, and whom the Brotherhood knows nothing of at all!"[585] The Brotherhood is obviously able to remain strong not only because of Randolph's editing but because of the support from organizers across the country in St. Louis who devoted their life to labor organizing as a result of Randolph's editorial ideology.

The Messenger beganits final year returning to their original anti-imperialist tone, this time critiquing the U.S. Marines' occupation of Nicaragua: "the Marines proceeded to make Nicaragua safe for Wall Street, as they help to make them safe for it ten years ago. Thousands of soldiers of the sea were piled into the country to 'protect' the handful of Americans there." The piece plays on Wilson's phrase of "making the world safe for democracy" in order to show how trivially American bankers treat the sovereign rights of the Nicaraguan people. By quoting the word 'protect,' Randolph is suggesting that they are more concerned with protecting their economic interests than they are protecting Nicaraguan people.

This issue discussed a Negro Labor Conference held in December where resolutions were adopted condemning the attitude of New York City's Interborough Rapid Transit (IRT) company in trying to prevent its employees from organizing a bona fide union.[586] This resolution came within year after Schuyler's article "Negro Labor and the Utilities" criticizing the IRT's admission that they mainly hire Negroes in menial positions. This resolution is a testament to the editorial ideology of Randolph who continually encouraged labor organizing in his readers as

[585]"The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Activities of the Month: The Big Chicago Rally," *The Messenger*, December 1927, p.358.
[586] Editorials, "Annexing Another Colony," "Negro Labor Conference," *The Messenger*, January 1928, p.9,13.

a method to combat the daily racial discrimination in his urban readers' lives. In a piece later on the Brotherhood, Randolph wrote that it is noticeable that "more maids are joining now than ever." This might be true, however organizing maids in this periodical for Randolph took a proverbial back seat to organizing male porters. Randolph wrote that the Interstate Commerce Commission set January 11th as the date when the Pullman Company must face the Brotherhood and argue the question of jurisdiction of the Commission over the petition. Randolph wrote that the Commission turned down Pullman's motion to set the Brotherhood's petition aside which by now probably included over five thousand signatures. Randolph called this a signal victory which shows that the Company with all its millions "does not control and own everything. It must answer to the call of the Commission because the Commission has mandatory powers over the Company."By the end of this month, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) would require Pullman to present their argument to the Commission as to why the Brotherhood should not be recognized. Randolph had confidence that the ICC would vote in favor of the Brotherhood; he wrote that "the Brotherhood shall never stop short of recognition, decent wages and the two hundred and forty hour work month, and the Company will grant it."[587] He lauded what he called "the most significant change ever made in American journalism" which was the November 19th editorial of the *Chicago Defender* repudiating its former policy and allying itself on the side of the Pullman porters' fight for the right to organize. Brailsford Brazeal wrote that Randolph visited President Calvin Coolidge on January 10, 1928 to acquaint him with the aims of the Brotherhood.[588] While this was not mentioned promptly in *The Messenger*, this meeting illustrates how seriously Randolph took his role as a citizen lobbyist who believed they had enough clout to meet with powerful men, including the president. True to his editorial ideology

[587] Randolph, "The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Activities of the Month," "Brotherhood Men," *The Messenger*, January 1928, p.15.
[588] Brailsford Brazeal, *The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*, (London, Harper and Brothers, 1942), p.77.

to get Negroes in efficient labor unions, Randolph called on his readers to aid the striking coal miners in Western Pennsylvania: "They need clothes and food, especially their children…Brave and determined women and men are holding high their challenge, through solidarity and a purifying sacrifice, not only for a living wage, but also for the inalienable right to live the life of human beings." Randolph saw this strike and his struggle with Pullman as part of a growing crackdown on unions: "powerful interests are watchfully waiting for the opportunity to corner the 'power' resources of the country."[589]

Randolph provided a very important summary of his battles with Pullman through the Mediation Board and the ICC in a speech he delivers, printed in the next April 1928 issue. He said that by the end of the month, the ICC should hand down its decision on the question. He said if they rule favorably for the Porters, then an investigation of Pullman will begin, but if the ruling isn't favorable, the Brotherhood planned to "create an emergency so that the United States Mediation Board may recommend that the President appoint an Emergency board to inquire into the whole dispute, according to the provision of the Railway Labor Act, and hand down a decision…settling the dispute constructively and permanently."[590] Randolph at this time imputed very good faith in the potential of the federal government to improve the working conditions of Pullman porters despite its role in creating institutionalized racism. It seemed that any decision the ICC made depended on some due deliberation by some government investigation which, according to Randolph's editorialism, was like the proverbial fox guarding the hen house, since powerful private companies like Pullman have very significant economic power in Washington that worked exclusively in their favor. After "due deliberation" the Interstate Commerce Commission on March 5, 1928, decided by a 4-to-3 vote that it did not have

[589]Randolph, "Editorials," *The Messenger*, February 1928, p.37.
[590]Randolph, "Speech Delivered Over Radio Station WCFL: Pullman Porters and Tips," *The Messenger*, March 1928, p.66.

jurisdiction over the Brotherhood—Pullman dispute.[591] Now for a second time, Pullman was able to avoid recognition of the Brotherhood which totally disqualified them from having to improve the Porters' working conditions.

Within ten days, writes William Harris, the "beleaguered" union leader announced that the Brotherhood would request the membership to authorize a strike against the Pullman company.[592] Given the platform he had as an editor, Randolph was able to galvanize support for this pending strike very quickly.

In the April 1928 issue Randolph explained his situation to his readers in an article called "Our Next Step," about how the Brotherhood has decided to create an emergency in accordance with the Railway Labor Act in order to have federal intervention. He wrote:

> The first step in creating the emergency is the taking of a strike vote. By a strike vote is meant the indication on a strike ballot that Pullman porters are determined to strike if need be to secure their rights and win their demands. A strike vote IS NOT A STRIKE. It is a sign of the iron resolution of the men to fight to the finish for their rights. It does not follow that Pullman porters will strike because they take a strike vote. The Telegraphers' Union on the Burlington Railroad took a strike vote but did not strike.[593]

Many historians have interpreted that Randolph's stressing in this article that "a strike vote is not a strike" was a tactical blunder on his part because this was used to make the Brotherhood not completely committed to striking, even though Randolph conferred with Webster about the specific terms of whether the Brotherhood would strike. Harris wrote that Randolph would only support a strike if at least than ninety percent of Brotherhood members voted to strike.

In the very last May-June 1928 issue of *The Messenger,* Randolph returned to his editorial ideology of encouraging labor organizing by dispelling the myth of the Negro scab. In an article he printed by A.W. Johnson about the coal miners strike in Appalachia: "Reports show

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[591]Brazeal, *The Brotherhood,* p.73.
[592]Harris, *Keeping the Faith,* p.107.
[593] Randolph, "Our Next Step," *The Messenger,* April 1928, p.90.

that the Negro miner who is usually imported from the southern cotton fields and who in many cases know nothing about a strike being on refuses to stay in the scab mine for any length of time, and does not so easily submit to the miserable conditions existing in the scab mines."[594] In this final issue Randolph resumed his critique of capitalism when he relates his own battles with Pullman to the practice of wealthy capitalists who expect their economic power to prevail: "capitalists know that if they can get rid of the union leaders who are familiar with the facts and cognizant of all the sharp practices and artifices of the capitalists, it will be much easier to destroy the union." Randolph attacked the argument that he is an outsider because he is a labor leader or perceived to be a socialist. Instead he inverts that argument, saying Pullman management and other heads of capitalist organizations are the real outsiders that workers have to contend with. He finally beseeches his readers to "investigate the merits and methods of consumer cooperation. The Co-Operative League of America, 167 West 12th Street, New York City, will gladly furnish information." On the issue of the strike, Randolph talked with Edwin Morrow on June 4th about the Emergency Board, and according to Harris, Morrow informed him that the union must first set a date for the strike. According to Harris: "it was then that Randolph, frustrated and angered at the apparent run-around on the part of the board, impulsively and unilaterally decided to announce that the union would strike Pullman at noon on June 8."[595] After receiving a telegram from William Green, the president of the American Federation of Labor, that disapproved of striking, on the morning of June 8th, Randolph decided to call off the strike.[596] Randolph wrote to the Mediation board by the end of this month: "may I say that your decision is not calculated to increase the respect of Negro American citizens for the spirit of fair

[594] A.W. Johnson, "The Coal Miners At Bay," *The Messenger*, May-June 1928, p.99.
[595]Harris, *Keeping the Faith*, p.110.
[596]Harris, *Keeping the Faith*, p.110.

play of Government agencies where their interests are involved."[597] However some had critiqued Randolph's own decision in not being more forceful in sticking to a strike date, and admitting some level of a lack of support for a strike in the Brotherhood.

Randolph ended his final issue with a critique of both candidates of mainstream parties in typical Randolph fashion:

> Neither one [Hoover and Smith] can do much of anything to alter the status of the Negro, if elected. If Hoover gets in it will not make a particle of difference to the eight million Negroes in the South, even if he is a Republican. The Grand Old Party in its eight years of rule has done nothing toward enforcing the 14th and 15th Amendments to say nothing of the 1st, and there is no reason for believing that the Democrats will do otherwise if they get into office.[598]

Randolph ended his editorship of *The Messenger* critiquing the two party mainstream and also Robert Vann editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier* for his article "Is Randolph to Resign," that was meant to discredit Randolph's leadership. Randolph engaged each of Vann's critiques and concluded that he is disqualified from being an adviser to the porters because of his "latecoming, misguided" attacks. Vann's biographer Andrew Buni writes that Vann was compensated some way by Pullman to slander Randolph at this time.[599] This speaks to Randolph's extraordinary editorial ideologyat his time that saw him inspiring his readers to become more critical thinkers, citizen lobbyists, anti-imperialists, and labor organizers. He also expressed this vision for a more anti-racist world in the fiction he wrote. The argument that *The Messenger* became less militant throughout its tenure gained credence considering that Randolph followed William Green's advice to call off the strike even though his paper critiqued the American Federation of Labor in the October 1921 issue for adopting resolutions that do nothing. His leadership of the

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[597] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, p.203.
[598] Randolph, "Editorials," *The Messenger*, May-June 1928, p.108.
[599] Andrew Buni, *Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier: Politics of Black Journalism* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 1974), p.170.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters required that he appeal to the American Federation of Labor on some level.

The Messenger proved a very important start for a lot of fictional storytellers' first works.[600] As editor of *The Messenger*, Randolph's own fictional storytelling had a goal that fulfilled his editorial ideology. Like Hopkins' fiction, Randolph's fiction imagined a non-racist world more than it imagined a non-sexist world. Unlike Hopkins' fiction, it was not published in single book form, but it speaks to the significant use of the literary imagination to endorse reform and revolution. Randolph's fiction tied the success of the Brotherhood to the individual success of each and every Pullman porter such that it was assumed that if the Negro man fulfills his manhood by improving his working conditions as a Pullman porter, then the Negro woman fulfills her womanhood as well. His most significant pieces of fiction are in the March 1927 and April 1927 issues of *The Messenger*. They are both dialogues between an old Pullman porter and a new Pullman porter intended to inspire his *Messenger* readership to adopt the ways of the new Pullman porter and help the Brotherhood improve working conditions of all porters. In the March 1927 issue, Randolph's fictional piece is "Dialogue of the Old and New" and opens with an "Uncle Tom Porter" who is abbreviated "U.T.P." talking with a "New Porter" abbreviated "N.P." The dialogue begins with the Uncle Tom Porter asking the New Porter about the Brotherhood, and the New Porter responding with suspicion that upon responding favorably about the Brotherhood, the Uncle Tom Porter would report him to management. The Uncle Tom Porter denies being a "stool pigeon" and asks the New Porter directly what he thinks about "dis

[600] Zora Neale Hurston, Langston Hughes, and George Schuyler would later become professional writers whose fictional art or literary criticism that was initially published in *The Messenger*, became important primers for their professional careers. Valerie Boyd wrote that Hurston published a series called "The Eatonville Anthology" in the September, October, and November 1926 issues of *The Messenger*. The anthology of tales is an engaging amalgam of folklore, fiction and Eatonville history. Several of the tales' characters including Joe Clarke would later appear in Hurston's novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* as Joe Starkes. Valerie Boyd, *Wrapped in Rainbows: The Life of Zora Neale Hurston*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2003), p.139.

Union business." Randolph is creating this dialogue in order to suggest not only among his readers but specifically among Pullman porters that this sort dialogue about "union business" should in fact be taking place. Randolph is obviously interested in sparking dialogue among porters about their working conditions and expanding the already growing popularity of the Brotherhood within Pullman ranks.

The New porter answers the Uncle Tom porter question saying that the union business is "the best thing that could ever happen." The Uncle Tom porter asks the New Porter what if Randolph would run away "wid de money? I done heah dat he went to Russia or was gwine to." Randolph has the Uncle Tom porter look less than intelligent by writing him in dialect, however he also raises the common misperceptions about Randolph promoted by the Pullman company, namely that Randolph is a communist and that he only wanted money. The New porter replies that if Randolph "only wanted money," he could have easily gotten some already by cooperating with Pullman who want to stop the Union. Several historians including William Harris and Andrew Buni documented how extensively the Pullman Company paid people and newspapers to slander Randolph and the Brotherhood.

Randolph has set this dialogue up where the Uncle Tom porter asks a series of questions to the New porter that are intended to dispel the myths about Randolph's leadership. The Uncle Tom porter asks the New porter whether he thinks Randolph and the Brotherhood could "win agin des white folks." The New porter dispels racism and imagines a non-racist future when he says that "white folks are no different any other kinds of folks, pop. It all depends on how much power you have and you can't have power unless you're organized." This speaks to Randolph's changing editorial ideology that went from focusing on promoting Socialism up to 1925 to promoting labor organizing following 1925. The New porter says in order to stay organized,

Negro folk should learn how to "stick together; be all for each and each for all." The Uncle Tom porter's next question is basically the same as the last, asking what if white people "hot foot," or forcibly remove porters off the train.The New porter replies that that's just "moonshine" or propaganda put out by porters who did not learn how to stick together and all for each and each for all. These were porters who "sold out to the Pullman company." Randolph's dialogue is intended to disparage this activity and celebrate the racial unity by fighting Pullman for improved working conditions. The Uncle Tom porter couches another popular threat of Pullman in a question when asks if Pullman already "put some of dem Filipinos" on club cars as a threat to porters who would be replaced by Filipinos should they join the Brotherhood. The New porter replies that he is not going to lose any sleep over losing a job because he joins a union as white men do, to get a living wage. The Uncle Tom porter then said that in his old age he would not "fool around wid no Union dis late date, 'cause I mightn't get no pension." The New porter cites examples of Pullman porters who are members of the Brotherhood and still have their pension; like Randolph, the New porter upholds labor organizing when he asks the Uncle Tom porter the first question in this piece: "Don't you know that if porters get more wages, you'll get more pension?" The Uncle Tom porter relents a bit now with questions and admits to the New porter "you sho is telling the truth." When the New porter mentions how Uncle Toms and stool pigeons are putting out nonsense, the Uncle Tom porter says that he is "none of dem things;" he is "a man." Randolph definitely as an editor and a fiction storyteller here defines being a man as one who will not be an Uncle Tom or a stool pigeon. He ties being a man here to one who will fight for racial justice which means fighting for a living wage and working for a non-racist future where every person earns a day's work regardless of their perceived race.

The New porter says that the only way the Uncle Tom porter can prove he's for the Brotherhood is by laying "cold hard cash on the wood…The Brotherhood can't print booklets, leaflets circulars, pay organizers, railroad and Pullman fares, stenographic services, expenses…on air pudding and wind sauce." When the Uncle Tom porter asks what if white folks ask him whether he's a member, the New porter tells him that he doesn't have to tell them he's a member: "they lied to you for over 50 years." When the New porter says "you," he could be referring to the Uncle Tom porter's tenure as a porter or he could be allegorically referring to all porters throughout the history of the Pullman Company who have been lied to about fair treatment of Pullman. Randolph is definitely casting Brotherhood membership as a dramatic and necessary shift in how Pullman porters can and should see themselves.

When the Uncle Tom porter says he's "too radical," the New porter describes the New Negro in ways that resemble Randolph's characterization in the pages of *The Messenger:*

> The New Negro does not propose to permit white folks to flim flam any longer, job or no job, Filipino or no Filipino. Organization certainly can't make things any worse. And you've got to take a chance just as white workers have done. Nothing ventured, nothing gained. Of course today you're not taking any chance. Success is a sure thing with organization. You can't fail.

Not only is the New Negro one who takes voting for elected officials seriously, he takes labor organizing seriously. In Randolph's dialogue, the Uncle Tom porter has been convinced and reveals his identity in his very last words to the New porter: "I'm bluffing these white folks to death. They think I'm the worst enemy of the Union in the service. Good night, lower 8 [referring to a Pullman customer] is ringing me again. We got to hit the ball again, you know, and give 'em service jam-up, 'cause we are loyal Brotherhood men. If we do our work right, pay our dues, pay our assessment and get the slackers to join, we can't lose." The Uncle Tom Porter reveals that he is in fact a Brotherhood member and serves to motivate the reader to support the

Brotherhood. Randolph raises a key point in this dialogue. By having the Uncle Tom porter ask the questions while concealing his identity as a Brotherhood member, he was essentially causing the New porter and other new or potential Brotherhood members to be more aware of exactly why they should join the Brotherhood. Randolph in this dialogue spells out exactly why Pullman porters should be in the Brotherhood.[601]

The next dialogue Randolph writes is in the April 1927 issue also between two porters; this time between a New porter and an "Old Time porter" abbreviated O.T.P. We learn early in this dialogue, unlike the last, that these two porters are friends and the Old Time porter discovered that the New porter is a Brotherhood member and surprised that his friend "jined that crazy bunch." The Old Time porter tells the New porter promptly: "I jest don' want no talk in my car 'bout no Brotherhood, dat settles dat." He also tells him that he is going to vote the Pullman-run Employee Representation Plan. The New porter replies that that Plan is "nothing but pure slavery" and that no person will give you anything for free. The Old Time porter agrees however believes that because Pullman has employed him and other porters that Pullman is his friend. The New porter counters by saying that the Pullman company would not keep him one minute if he didn't "make profits" for them and that the Pullman company could not be the friend of the porter since it let conductors form a union, but not porters: "It's foolish to contend that any one is your friend who tries to hold your wages down and keep your hours of work up." Then the Old Time porter concedes that the New porter has a point, then reveals that after hearing a Mr. Simmons, from Pullman management, call Randolph "everything but a chile of God," he concluded that "Randolph…sho is got des white folks scared to death." Randolph is also portraying himself in this light to his readers in order to appeal to them on a basis of racial unity. The New porter affirms this and says how it's a signal for how "times have changed."

[601] Randolph, "Dialogue of the Old and the New" *The Messenger*, March 1927, p.94.

The New porter said that whites "will be compelled to respect you when they realize that you have the guts to stick together, take it from your Uncle Dudley who knows his onions." The New porter stresses how if the Plan is accepted by porters, that they will give up their "liberty," "manhood," and "independence." It is important, the New porter says, that the Brotherhood be ready to "suffer and sacrifice" to reject the Plan and fight for Brotherhood recognition. Randolph ties "liberty," "manhood," and "independence" to the survival of the Brotherhood. In order for Pullman porters to realize these values, they have to fight to get the Brotherhood recognized.

Randolph touches on the intraracial issues Negroes at this time faced between each other when he has the Old Time porter warn the New porter of another approaching "stool pigeon" porter who is on the side of Pullman and who is suspected of reporting to Pullman whatever he learns from the work of the Brotherhood. The Old Time porter describes the "stool pigeon": "I done lied so much they can't look you straight in the eyes." The New porter comments on the tragedy of a porter having to sneak around to get news on a porter, just because porters are doing what Pullman conductors and other railroad workers have done which is "organize." The Old Time porter added that "a stool pigeon represents the lowest dregs of human beings. Any man who will try to cause another man to lose his job cause that man tries to better his condition ain't fit to associate with a dog." The New porter reaffirms the right for the Pullman porter to earn a living wage. Then the Old Time porter warns the New porter again of an approaching employee, this time, a conductor. The New porter has an ironic response: "oh, you needn't lose your nerves on account of him. The train conductors are all with you because they are organized themselves. They want to see every train 100 per cent. Union. Furthermore, no white man has said a word against this union."

Randolph here shows what Hopkins shows in her fiction, the importance of interracial unity when fighting for change in society. The New porter does racially exclude the conductor from the Brotherhood's efforts, but instead recognizes the racial divisions fostered by the ruling class which Pullman management represents, and works to break down these divisions through labor organizing. Randolph's inclusion of this fictional white conductor was an important opportunity to illustrate the importance of interracial coalition that work toward a non-racist future. A coalition not based on racial classification but based on having a race consciousness that aims to end institutionalized racism. The New porter this time recognizes an approaching employee and tells the old Time porter to "look out." Randolph after this line writes in parentheses: "(Spoken in loud voice to throw the snitch off.")" Both porters remark how they wish some calamity would befall this approaching employee, probably so as to prevent him from snitching to Pullman. Randolph presents a sub culture to his readers that is necessary to keep labor organizing strong. Eventually, like the Uncle Tom porter, the Old Time porter says that he is "wid" the New porter, but the New porter replies "you ain't with me unless you're in the Union." The New porter volunteers to pay the dollar application fee and the Old Time porter promises to pay him back the next day and says, in Randolph's final line of this dialogue: "I'm all de way wid you, Son, and if we fight on and faint not, we will reap our reward in due season."[602] Through the character of the New porter in both dialogues, Randolph shows the potential for Brotherhood members to teach uncommitted Pullman porters how to become committed Brotherhood members. He is showing one generation of Negroes how to communicate and work with older generations of Negroes how to combat racism. His dialogues imagined a world where labor and capital can have a mutually respectful relationship untainted by institutional racism. Randolph was able to push his editorial ideology without the help of the

[602] Randolph, "The Old and the New Porter: They Discuss the Plan," *The Messenger*, April 1927, p.131-132.

paternalistic AFPS and build membership of the Brotherhoodof Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph's fiction contributed to the alleviation of racism by encouraging a kind of worker solidarity that could abolish tipping in order to challenge ideas of white superiority.

CHAPTER 4: PAUL ROBESON & FREEDOM

Introduction

This chapter will first provide a biographical sketch of Paul Robeson and illustratehow his popular singing and acting career led to his very influential paper *Freedom,* on which he served as chair of the editorial board. In a second section following this introduction, this chapter will provide a biographical sketch of Paul Robeson that includes a review of the biographical literature on Robeson by Lawrence Lamphere, Martin Duberman, and Paul Robeson Junior. In the third section, this chapter will then introduce the editorial ideology of Paul Robeson which he defines from his very first November 1950 issue of *Freedom.* The fourth section of this chapter provides a detailed history of the barriers to Robeson's editorial ideology that derived primarily from McCarthyism. Finally, the fifth and last section of this chapterwill describe the ways that Robeson's editorial ideology in *Freedom* overcame these obstacles that McCarthyism erected. These ways included but were not limited to the Freedom Fund tour and the Peace Arch park concerts Robeson gave. They also included the performance ofprogressive plays of *Freedom'*swriters-turned-playwrights, Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry. The works most influenced by their writing for *Freedom* will be discussed, along with how their works raise questions about the role of the individual in supporting fascism. Finally each play will be examined in terms of how it imagines a non-racist or non-sexist world.[603]

Biographical Sketch of Paul Robeson

[603] Please note the terms African American, Negro, and Black are used interchangeably in this chapter to describe people of African descent.

Paul Leroy Robeson was born the youngest of fivechildren to the Reverend William Leroy Robeson on April 9, 1898, in Princeton, New Jersey. His mother Louisa Bustill Robeson descended from a rich abolitionist heritage. She was granddaughter to Cyrus Bustill, who aided American troops during the Revolutionary war and helped found the Free African Society, aprominent mutual aid society for African Americans in Philadelphia. She was niece to Joseph Bustill who helped organize the Underground Railroad terminal in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and helped found the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League. Although Robeson's mother died tragically in a house fire by the time he turned six, his sense of being in life was profoundly shaped by the influence of his father, three older brothers and sister: William Jr., Reeve, Benjamin, and Marian. He wrote that he "got plenty of mothering not only from Pop and my brothers and sister but from the whole of our close-knit community."[604] By age eleven, his family moved within the state to Somerville, which was a more racially integrated community than Princeton. He had supportive teachers, namely Ms. Vosseller and Ms. Miller who, like his family, helped lay the foundation for hisdecades long career as singer and actor.[605] His biographer Martin Duberman saidthat Robeson would later tell a reporter that his impressionable years which had been spent in friendly intelligent white society kept him from distrusting the white race "as most Negroes do, and from having a feeling of forced inferiority."[606] He won anundergraduate scholarship to Rutgers after completing a statewide written exam, and became one of four undergraduates there to be inducted into Phi Beta Kappa by the end of his junior year, which is the same time that his father passes. He graduated Rutgers College in 1919 as

[604] Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand* (1958; Boston, Beacon, 1988), p.15; Cyrus Bustill's school he founded for Black children is indicated by a historical landmark sign erected by the Pennsylvania Historical Society at 212 Arch Street in Philadelphia. The Paul Robeson House, which Robeson's sister Marian Forstyth owned and where Robeson transitioned in 1976 is also indicated by a historical landmark sign by the Pennsylvania Historical Society at 4951 Walnut Street in Philadelphia. Accessed14 August 2012, see: http://paulrobesonhouse.org.
[605]Robeson, *Here I Stand*, p.19.
[606]"King of Harlem: Profile of Paul Robeson" *The New Yorker*, September 24, 1928; Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.18.

class valedictorian and delivered a speech that would include one key element of what would become his editorial ideology in the *Freedom* periodical. Reminiscent of Booker T. Washington's speech at the 1898 Atlanta Exposition, Robeson in his 1919 valedictory speech called on his white audience, "you of the favored race," to essentially "catch a new vision" and "act according to a new spirit of compassion in relieving the manifest distress of war fellows."[607]His use of "war" invoked his patriotic call to white men, now returning from the first World War, to not be blinded by race prejudice promulgated by then AFL president Samuel Gompers on the eve of the Red Summer of 1919, and see his fellow Negro worker as a brother and not competitor.[608]

Almost thirty years later, Robeson would become the galvanizing and fundraising figure of a periodical *Freedom* that ran from 1950 to 1955 with an editorial ideology that would call on whites to do the same thing: "act according to…compassion," during this timeof repressive McCarthyism. His Rutgers senior thesis, like his later editorial ideologyin *Freedom* would rely on the importance of the U.S. Constitution in securing the civil rights of "persons of every race, rank and grade." He said "so long as the Constitution is observed as the political creed, the embodiment of the conscience of the nation, we are safe." He later wrote "state constitutions are being continually changed to meet the expediency, the prejudice, the passions of the

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[607] Paul Robeson, "The New Idealism," *Targum* (student newspaper of Rutgers University), June 1919, p. 570-571; Philip S. Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918-1974* (New York, Citadel, 1978), p.64. Martin Duberman writes that Sterling Stuckey's characterization of Robeson's valedictory speech as "an essentially nationalist" stand is "way off" and I concur, in finding it more conciliatory in its appeal to whites to "catch the new vision," of cooperation with Negroes. Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.575. Robeson would speak out against race riots and lynchings in the forties like his father William did in a *Princeton Press* article: "let no act such as mob violence or lynch law blot anew the escutcheon of our noble land," Lloyd Brown, *The Young Paul Robeson: On My Journey Now*, (Boulder, Vestview, 1997), p.23.

[608]Hubert Harrison, "As Harrison Sees It," *Amsterdam News*, October 6, 1926, p.11; Perry, ed., *A Hubert Harrison Reader*, p.79. Harrison writes that Gompers in a speech at Carnegie Hall took full responsibility for the race riots in East Saint Louis of 1917 on the ground of "alleged necessity for the white unionists to defend their jobs by murder against the Negro workers whom they had shut out of their unions." This riot was one of many that led to the Red Summer of 1919.

hour."[609]Robeson's 1919 senior thesis would anticipate the 1955 changes made to state constitutionsby Southern lawmakers to defy the 1954 *Brown v. Board* Supreme Court ruling and uphold racial segregation in public schools. His paper *Freedom* would cover these changes in order to inspire organized collective action by interested Blacks and whites against it.

He graduated Rutgers, entered Columbia Law schooland married Eslanda Goode who would become his manager and play an influential role in his growing acting career. Eslanda would writein her book published in 1930, *Paul Robeson, Negro,* that when a white secretary told Robeson "she doesn't take dictation from nigger," he is sobered about what his future as a lawyer would look like. He is instead encouraged by her to find work as an actor.[610]One day in 1922 he runs into Harold Browning who said that his ensemble in the musical in rehearsal *Shuffle Along* is in need of a bass singer; Robeson tries andsoon joins this cast. His experience in this musical led him to take the opportunity of performing the role of a wandering minstrel in the play *Taboo*by Mary Hoyt Wiborg when it toured in London. While in London he meets pianist Lawrence Brown who would play an influential role in his singing career. Robeson's career unfolded after he wrote to Otto Kahn, a trustee of Rutgers, asking for the attention of "any theatrical managers and playwrights, especially those who may possibly have Negro roles."[611] He also wrote to Augustin Duncan who directed him in *Taboo* to approach Eugene O'Neill on his behalf. Because of these initiatives, Robeson was eventually cast as lead in O'Neill's *All God's Chillun Got Wings*and *The Emperor Jones.* By the end of 1924, he starred in Oscar Micheaux's film debut *Body and Soul*about a corrupt pastor. Lawrence Brown drafted a

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[609] Paul Robeson, "The Fourteenth Amendment: 'The Sleeping Giant of the Constitution,'" Rutgers College senior thesis, May 29, 1919; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks*, p.55, 61-62.

[610]Eslanda Goode Robeson, *Paul Robeson, Negro* (London, Harper and Brothers, 1930), p.72. Anthony Monteiro writes that Duberman in his biography heavily underestimated the profound political influence that Eslanda Goode Robeson and her family had on Paul Robeson. See http://africanamericanfutures.com/2010/08/25/paul-robeson-a-heroic-figure-and-martin-dubermans-failed-biography/ Accessed 6 August 2012.

[611] Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.53; Duberman's primary research of this detail comes from Otto Kahn Papers at Princeton University.

program of Negro spirituals to be sung at a recital on April 19, 1925, and with much publicity from Walter White and Carl Van Vechten, Robeson gained tremendous popularity as a concert singer after this recital.

Prompted by Carl Van Vechten, Eslanda also wrote to Kahn asking him to be Paul's patron during the summer of 1925 in London. Before the close of 1925, Robeson's very first recordings sold 55,000 copies within four months. Robeson and Brown helped popularize Negro spirituals as a legitimate genre of music to be appreciated. Duberman writes that his double success as an actor and singer "propelled him to the tiny front rank of Afro American artists, more universally applauded by white intellectuals than by Blacks but recognized even by dissenting Blacks as superbly gifted." His career took off after he sings at Carnegie Hall by the end of 1929 and plays *Othello* in London by 1930. Through the thirties, Robeson would come to live mainly in London. By this time he believed that individual cultural achievement—not organized collective action, was the best channel for the advance of the Black race.[612]He believed this in spite of the fact that the plays and films up to the thirties that he acted in were written mainly by white writers and would encourage stereotypes of African Americans as lazy or happy to be subservient. His paper *Freedom* that began in the fifties would support and later inspire plays and films that deconstruct these stereotypes. His belief about the role his individual artistic achievements would play in Blacks' struggle against racial injustice, however, would change drastically by the end of the next decade, as a result of the new relationships he formed fundamentally because of his popularity as an actor and singer.

Robeson's popularity as an artist produced a range of articles and interviews about his opinion of the role of art in the greater society. From this range a trajectory can be seen from

[612] Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.79, 84, 98, 67, 72. St. Clair Bourne's 1999 documentary on Paul Robeson*Here I Stand* includes a lot of criticism on the stereotypical roles Robeson voluntarily performed in order to make a living as a career actor in the twenties.

1930 to 1950 towards Paul Robeson's growing belief in the power of collective organized action overindividual artistic achievement as the best way to advance the Black race. As he studied Asian and African languages at the London School of Oriental Studies as of the fall of 1929, he expresses some lament at the inability of African Americans in the United States to have as strong a cultural connection with their past as the Asian and African cultures he read about did. In a book edited by E.G. Cousinscalled *What I Want From Life* published 1934 in London,where Robeson by now lives an urbane, cosmopolitan life as a concert artist, he writes:

> the American Negro in general suffers from an acute inferiority complex; it has been drummed into him that the white man is the Salt of the Earth and Lord of Creation, and as a perfectly natural result his ambition is to become as nearly like a white man as possible…the dances, the songs, and the worship perpetuated by the Negro in America are identical with those of his cousins hundreds of years removed in the depths of Africa whom he has never seen, of whose very existence he is only dimly aware…the Christianity of the revival meeting are patently survivals of the earliest African religions; *and he does not recognize them as such*…I am learning Swahili, Tiv, and other African dialects—which come easily to me *because their rhythm is the same as that employed by the American Negro in speaking English;* and when the time is ripe I propose to investigate, on the spot, the possibilities of such a regeneration as I have outlined.[613]

Robeson does regenerate the African American with the African in *Freedom* and inspires art that also seeks to regenerate the American Negro with the African. Robeson by now seeks to use his artistic ability to play less stereotypical roles. He told a reporter for the Manchester *Guardian* that he wants to find "theatrical vehicles that would allow him to play famous Blacks like Pushkin, Dumas, Hannibal, Menelik, Chaka, and Toussaint."[614] In seeking these revolutionary figures, Robeson came across Europeans with similar revolutionary interests in his concert tours. His interest in playing revolutionary figures led him to develop a relationship with the Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein who began talks with him about a film on the Haitian revolution called *Black Majesty* which, ultimately, never materialized. Eisensteininvited Robeson to the

[613]Foner, ed. *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.90-91.
[614] Manchester *Guardian*, November 14, 1932; Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.166

Soviet Union in 1934 where he meets African American William Patterson who told him about the trial of the Scottsboro Boys and encouraged him to return home to do more against Jim Crow.[615]This visit to Russia had a tremendous impact on Robeson because it showed how cultural minorities, who also had phenotypical differences from the white mainstream were not as discriminated against as African Americans: "I saw how the Yakuts and the Uzbeks and all the other formerly oppressed nations were leaping ahead from tribalism to modern industrial economy, from illiteracy to the heights of knowledge."[616]He said the next year that he feels more kinship to the Russian people under their new society following the 1917 Bolshevik revolution than he ever felt anywhere else.[617]By the end of this year he traveled to the United States to perform in a more socially conscious play called *Stevedore* written by Paul Peters and George Sklar, and supported by scholars George Padmore and Amy Jacques Garvey. The play is about black workers who organize against their white bosses and end up facing down a lynch mob.[618]Robeson is later offered a mainstream role in the film *Show Boat* which he originally declined but, after Eslanda's negotiations with the production team,he signed a contract to appear and in this created his widely celebrated performance of "Ol' Man River."[619]

In an interview the next year with Ben Davis Jr. for the *Sunday Worker*, Robeson is excoriated by Davis for playing in Edgar Wallace's 1934 film *Sanders of the River:* "you became a tool of British imperialism and must be attacked and exposed whenever you act in such pictures and plays." Robeson said that Davis was right and is vocally penitent for his role.

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[615] "Robeson Going to Russia: Will Be Guest of Eisenstein," *New York Times*, December 20, 1934; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks*, p.31; Lenwood G. Davis, ed., *A Paul Robeson Research Guide: A Selected Annotated Bibliography*, (Westport, Greenwood Press, 1982), p.383.
[616]Robeson, *Here I Stand*, p.36.
[617] "Interview with Vern Smith," *Daily Worker*, January 15, 1935; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks*, p.95
[618] Paul Robeson Jr., *The Undiscovered Paul Robeson: An Artist's Journey, 1898-1939* (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 2001), p.226.
[619] Robeson Jr. says in the 1999 documentary *Here I Stand* that Robeson originally demanded a price to perform in this film that was so high, he would be sure the production team of *Show Boat* would decline. But after Eslanda Goode Robeson's negotiations, they agreed to pay the original demand and he performed the role of Tom in it.

Hesaid that he did not mean to endorse British imperialism. He meant to show that Africans "have a culture all their own and that they have as much intelligence as any other people."Robeson had come to deeply respect Harvard graduate Ben Davis Jr., whom he met in the early twenties in Harlem and wrote to from London, congratulating him on his legal defense of Angelo Herndon who in 1932 was arrested for organizing the unemployed in a demonstration for relief, and sentenced by a Jim Crow judge to at least eighteen years on a chain gang.[620]Robeson wrote to Davis: "Your courageous example in the Herndon case was one of the most important influences in my life."[621]

As if to prove his regret to Davis, Robeson said that the Communist Party, that he knew Davis belonged to, was the only effective means of fighting fascism and that he is "in whole-hearted agreement with the united front based on working class leadership."[622]This marked a first significant departure from his belief that individual artistic achievement is the best way to advance the race. By the end of this year he enrolls his son, Paul Jr., now ten years old in school in Russia.[623] By the end of the next year he founds the Council on African Affairs (CAA) with a group of artists, activists and philanthropists including Alphaeus Hunton and Max Yergan. Penny Von Eschen writes that Robeson served as a major donor, fundraiser and chief policy maker in the Council.[624]Much of his ability to be a fundraiser was a result of his popular yet controversial career as an actor and singer. The Council on African Affairs and the *Freedom*

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[620]Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.230; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.513.Herndon's sentence was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1937; Davis' effort on behalf of Herndon and long wait for the Supreme Court ruling probably made his ethical judgments most valuable to Robeson who was already sensitive about how to advance the cause of the race.

[621] Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.230, 644; Duberman's note on p.644 reads: "Paul Robeson to Ben Davis, courtesy of Nina Goodman (Mrs. Ben Davis)"

[622]"Interview with Paul Robeson by Ben Davis, Jr.," *Sunday Worker,* May 10, 1936; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.107-8.

[623]"Robeson Puts Son in a Soviet School," *New York Times,* December 21 (or 31), 1936; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.30; Davis, ed., *A Paul Robeson Guide,* p.384.

[624] Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957,* (Ithaca, Cornell University, 1997), p.18.

periodical would later develop a strong symbiotic relationship such that when one ended, so did the other. The executive secretary of the CAA and a Howard professor, Alphaeus Hunton, would develop a strong working relationship with Robeson and come to write many articles about the independence struggle for African nations, especially South Africa, that would be printed in *Freedom.* Still living in London, by the end of 1937 Robeson chosenot to work at the "decadent" West End theaterthere but to work in the workers-run Unity Theater.[625]The fascism Robeson mentioned to Davis would come to fruition when by the next year a civil war in Spain ensues, and he would sing and speak out in support of Spain's Loyalist Republicans fighting against Francisco Franco's fascist army run by Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany. His London agent warned him to curtail his political outspokenness or face the potential loss of his concert bookings. By the end of 1938, he appears in the very influential film *Plant in the Sun* about the success that follows after a sit down strikeof Black and white workers.[626]

He performs in a June 1939 play production of Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* at the Ridgeway Theater in White Plains, New York. By the time Robeson returns from London to play the lead role of Brutus Jones at least twice, he would have performed it with a young man turned labor leader who is playing another role not on stage but in an influential organization with other young leadersthat would later help produce *Freedom* magazine: Thomas Richardson.[627]The organization that Richardson belonged to was the Southern Negro Youth

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[625] Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.213.
[626]Robeson Jr., *An Artist's Journey,* p.295; Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.223.
[627] Augusta Strong, "Southern Youth's Proud Heritage," *Freedomways,* vol. 4, no. 1, (1964), p.43. The profile in *Freedomways* of Strong also on this page says "she was associated with the Southern Negro Youth Congress from its inception in 1937. She was editor of *Cavalcade,* the Congress newspaper, and held other important posts in the organization. Strong writes that Richardson performed with Robeson in *The Emperor Jones* "before he came to the SNYC," and lists him as a key part of the Congress' 1939 Birmingham Conference which took place in April 1939 according to Erik Gellman, author of *Death Blow to Jim Crow: The National Negro Congress and the Rise of Militant Civil Rights,* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 2012), p.187. According to the June 3, 1939 *Chicago Defender,* cited in Davis, ed., *A Paul Robeson Research Guide,* p.382, Robeson performed *The Emperor Jones* in White Plains in early June 1939. If Strong writes that Richardson performed *The Emperor Jones* with

Congress (SNYC) which held theirvery first organizing conference only two years prior in Richmond, Virginia. Before the end of June, Angelo Herndon writes Robeson a letter and with it sends a news clipping from the Birmingham *World* describing the activities of the SNYC. One of their activities was a drive to place five hundred new black voters on the county list in Birmingham.[628]This attempt at organized collective action by African American youth certainly made a lasting impression on Robeson.

After Robeson finished shooting a film about the struggle of Welsh miners called *The Proud Valley* which was the same day that Hitler's army invaded Poland, September 1, 1939, he records his very influential "Ballad for Americans" that would cement his image by this time as an American icon. Within the next three years, Robeson would rejoin this radical cadre of young people at the SNYC's 1942 organizing conference (their fourth overall) at Tuskegee Institute, where he sang and spoke. Esther Cooper Jackson said that the SNYC convinced Robeson to come to this organizing conference by telling him that they would have an integrated audience, since Robeson refused to sing before racially segregated audiences.[629]President Franklin Delano Roosevelt sent a letter of greeting to SNYC at this conference, noting that he endorses SNYC's purpose to "dream, organize and build for freedom, equality, [and] opportunity."[630] SNYC members Augusta Strong andEsther Cooper Jackson say that this was the first integrated audience in the South that Paul Robeson ever sung to.[631] Paul Robeson Jr. said that his father at this meeting called "for solidarity with the people of the Soviet Union, China, and Africa and

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Robeson before April 1939, then Richardson performed with Robeson in the 1933 film version of *The Emperor Jones* which is less likely given his age then, or Strong wrote that Richardson performed with Robeson "before" coming to the SNYC in error.

[628] Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.230.

[629] Personal Interview with Esther Cooper Jackson, February 29, 2012. Special thanks to Ian Rocksborough-Smith and Erik McDuffie for making this interview possible. She said this was Robeson's first concert in the South because until then, he would not perform before segregated audiences. SNYC made sure his audience at Tuskegee was not segregated.

[630]Robeson Jr., *A Quest for Freedom*, p.42; *Daily Worker*, April 22, 1942.

[631]Personal Interview with Esther Cooper Jackson, February 29, 2012; Strong, "Southern Youth" p.46.

predicted full freedom for the colonial peoples and black Americans."[632]His editorial ideology would come to endorse exactly these values.

Among this radical cadre which included Ed Strong, Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, Robeson wouldmeet one organizer, Louis Burnham, who would become the chief editor of *Freedom.* Paul Robeson was editor of *Freedom* in the sense that he was the only writer who wrote an editorial opinion with his name and face on every issue with the exception of one.[633]Technically, Robeson was actually chair of the editorial board of *Freedom*, having final say about what goes in the paper.However Louis Burnham was the chief editor of *Freedom*,responsible for much more, which was everything required to run the paper. He was born of Barbadian immigrants in Manhattan in 1915, raised in Harlem on 139th Street, and was a student at City College.[634]At City, he organized the Frederick Douglass Society,which was the first forum at the college for the serious consideration of racial concerns. He was a leader of the American Student Union and the American Youth Congress where he met his wife Dorothy.[635] He later ran for public office on a pro labor platform before leaving New York to join SNYC.[636] Burnham was familiar with Robeson's work growing up and saw his growing race and class consciousness that came aboutbecause of his relationships with William Patterson, Ben Davis, and Angelo Herndon. He used Robeson's now heightened consciousness as an opportunity to raise the race and consciousness of others through *Freedom.* Burnham must also have noticed

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[632] Robeson Jr., *The Quest for Freedom*, p.42; Missing in Philip S. Foner's chronology of *Paul Robeson Speaks* is this very influential 1942 meeting for Robeson at Tuskegee.
[633] Robeson authored his editorial "Here's My Story," in every issue of *Freedom* except its April 1952 issue when he on tour to raise money for the National Negro Labor Council and its September 1953 issue when Robeson goes on a national tour. Eslanda Goode Robeson writes his editorial in these issues.
[634] Personal Interview with Dorothy Burnham, April 4, 2012. Special thanks to Esther Cooper Jackson for making this interview possible. Special thanks also to Kathy Shoemaker of the Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Book Library of Emory University for providing papers from the Louis Burnham Collection there. For the finding aid of this collection, see: http://findingaids.library.emory.edu/documents/burnham1164/printable/ (accessed 4 April 2012)
[635] Personal Interview with Dorothy Burnham, April 4, 2012.
[636]Strong, "Southern Youth," p.45; Gellman, *Death Blow to Jim Crow*, p.71.

his incredibly popular career, which brought him an unprecedented amount of financial support for a Negro man. He saw that Jim Crow would not be overcome by a few individuals with a strong ambition to eliminate it without a source of wealth to support that ambition. He probably also noticed that those with the personal wealth were generally those who profited from Jim Crow for generations and would not have the ambition to want to end it. Robeson's career as a Negro in a rare way blended both personal wealth and strong ambition to end Jim Crow, and Burnham saw the opportunity to work with both irresistible. However the working relationship between Burnham and Robeson would not have been possible without the relationship Robeson that grew in the 1940s with the SNYC. Erik McDuffie writes that the SNYC fostered a Black left feminist stance that encouraged the group's Black Communist couples—Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, Ed Strong and Augusta (Jackson) Strong, Dorothy and Louis Burnham—to think critically about the politicized nature of personal life in ways that anticipated the "personal is political" slogan of second wave feminism led by white women.[637]

After having his passport seized by the State Department in 1950, Burnham would capitalize the opportunity to make what was personal for Robesonpolitical, and run a periodical *Freedom*, that would use Robeson's celebrity to not only try to retrieve his passport, but to free the Smith Act victims, and in the meantime raise the race and class consciousnessof all those involved. Burnham was aware of the strong way that Robeson celebrated and supported the radical organizing work of especially Black youth, evidenced by his strong support of Angelo Herndon and his strong support of SNYCleaders who were around twenty years younger than him. Burnham utilized Robeson's interest in the work of SNYC members and his celebrity to soon produce *Freedom.*

[637] Erik McDuffie, "The March of Young Southern Black Women: Esther Cooper Jackson, Black Left Feminism, and the Personal and Political Costs of Cold War Repression," in *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement*, Robbie Lieberman and Clarence Lang, eds., (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.87.

But the influence was not only one way. At this conference, Robeson's activism went to a new level. This 1942 conference was where hearings were planned for Birmingham residents seeking jobs. SNYC sought to make sure that enforcement of the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), which was passed into law by President Roosevelt one year prior, would actually do its job in ensuring that Birmingham companies were not discriminating against Negroes in their hiring.[638]This conference familiarized Robeson with the aspects of Jim Crow life in ways that he never saw before, having lived most of his life in the North or in Europe. SNYC was a fulfillment of William Patterson's exhortation to him to fight Jim Crow.Following this conference, he completed his one hundred eighty degree-trajectory of believing that only individual artistic achievement would be the best way to advance the race. He now believed that collective organizedaction was the best way to this. He wrote FDR two years after the SNYC conference asking that he make self-government and self-determination a priority for African nations by placing all colonial possessions under what the then newly formed United Nations called a United Nations Trusteeship. Robeson hoped this trusteeship would be a guaranteed route of independence for African nations. However within the next year FDR died in office without addressing this issue and was replaced by Harry S Truman who placed absolutely no priority on helping self-determination of African nations. Truman's lack of action in combating the growth of Nazi forces in Germany deeply disturbed Robeson as he witnessed the brutal treatment of Jews in concentration camps. He came to see the unwillingness of American authorities to proceed with de-Nazification as a deliberate strategy for restoring German power as rapidly as possible to counter the influence of the Soviet Union, thus beginning the Cold War. Robeson saw this increasingly militaristic policy a result of Truman's heeding the so called advice of his Secretary of State James Byrnes and especially of Edward Stettinius, chairman of

[638] Strong, "Southern Youth," p.45.

U.S. Steel. He wrote a letter to Truman saying that Black Americans refuse to consent to a policy supporting imperialism.[639]

By the end of 1945 he met Revels Cayton, leader of the National Negro Congress and grandson of former U.S. Senator Hiram Revels, who teaches him that the African American working class must have central agency in the struggle for Black rights. He would come to endorse this movement and produce an editorial ideology that would promote this same belief. In 1946, he attended the next SNYC conference in Columbia, South Carolina, with Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois where almost a thousand young people attended calling for "the enactment of an FEPC law" which would more strongly enforce the prohibition of racial discrimination in hiring. They also called for "an end to white supremacy customs and practices" in all forms. Augusta Strong would call this the "most significant of the conferences, the most spectacular."[640]

This meeting played some role in Robeson's decision to join a strike within months in Saint Louis outside the American theater, led by the Civil Rights Congress, protesting the theater's policy of racially segregated seating. At this protest, he announces publicly that at the end of his tour with Lawrence Brown in April of 1947, he will abandon the theater and concert stage for two years in order to "talk up and down the nation against race hatred and prejudice" after attending two SNYC conferences and noticing the opportunities of American life that the Negroes in the South are denied.[641] Robeson Jr. writes that the danger of this stance materialized after his Saint Louis concert: "Riding in a right front car seat on a Missouri highway, he narrowly escaped death when the left front wheel came off the car. Fortunately no one was injured. I subsequently learned that [at that time] Hoover's FBI had both Paul and the driver

[639]Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.35; Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.298, 304.
[640] Strong, "Southern Youth," p.47.
[641]"Sing What I Please," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* March 19, 1947; Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.316-317, 678.

under surveillance."[642]Following this the mayor of Peoria, Illinois, Carl O. Triebel cancelled an appearance of Robeson at a City Hall event; Mayor Erastus Corning of Albany, New York, denied Philip Livingston Junior High the permission to host a concert of Paul Robeson. Lenwood Davis cites in total about twenty articles in 1947 concerning struggles in Peoria, Illinois, and Albany, New York with city officials trying to legally prohibit Robeson from singing.[643]A 1947 FBI file would prove their role in preventing Robeson from speaking in Peoria. An FBI agent whose name is redacted in a file dated April 18, 1947, would write:

> I have contacted various persons connected with the work against subversive activities, and have been told that some of them are going to take the matter up, to see what can be done to prevent Mayor Carl Triebel from allowing this man Paul Robeson the use of the room in City Hall, for his appearance…Every effort should be used to prevent Mayor Carl Triebel and the City Alderman from allowing Paul Robeson the use of the City Hall room for his appearance. The American Legion and other groups on un-American activities have been consulted on this matter.[644]

This file would not only prove surveillance but it would begin a decade long campaign of government sanctioned harassment and intimidation of Paul Robeson. This does not stop his work that would to lead the life of *Freedom*, however. Before the end of 1947, he gave four concerts in Panama for the United Public Workers of America and for Local 22 in Winston Salem; by the end of the year, as a rejection of U.S. imperialism, he would endorse the Progressive Party candidate Henry Wallace for U.S. President.[645] In the next three years the government pressure against Paul Robeson's anti-racistand anti-imperialist rhetoric would intensify and become a formidable barrier to Robeson's editorial ideology.

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[642]Robeson Jr.*The Quest for Freedom,* p.121.
[643]Davis, ed., *A Paul Robeson Guide,* p.471-477.
[644]FBI File on Paul Robeson, File #100-13204-62, Microform Reel 1, Section 2, Frame #0240.Also in this file is a letter that J. Edgar Hoover received from a concerned unidentified citizen who wrote to their Congressmen Everett Dirksen saying that "on Monday, April 14th, Mr. Gomer Bath began a campaign in the Peoria *Star* to arouse public sentiment against Mr. Robeson, and that they doubt the legality of Mayor Carl O. Triebel's branding of Robeson being a Communist and the closing of all public buildings to his appearances." This citizen wrote that such treatment "is an abuse of the Civil Liberties law together with the destruction of the Constitution of the United States," FBI File on Paul Robeson, File #100-13204-67, Microform Reel 1, Section 2, Frame #0249.
[645]Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.36.

By the end of the year Wallace's resignation from the 1948 presidential race would indicate the toll of divisiveness that repressive anticommunist policies by the government created: "I resigned from the Progressive Party because I felt the party should support the United States and the United Nations in the Korean War."[646]Robeson in this very strong anticommunist climate would remain an outspoken critic against the U.S. invasion of Korea but faced many other direct attacks. Max Yergan who helped found the Council on African Affairs with Robeson accused him of having swung the organization in support of Wallace. Robesonwith the cooperation of Alphaeus Hunton and W.E.B. Du Bois would later oust Yergan from the CAA and as describe him as a foe of South African independence in a 1952 issue of *Freedom*, but before then Robeson had to appear before the House Un American ActivitiesCommittee explaining his speeches and alleged Communist activities after Yergan publicly criticized him for being influenced by Communists. In April of 1949, an Associated Press dispatch would misquote his speech before the World Congress of Partisans of Peace in a manner that would lead to his being publicly excoriated in the mainstream American press, especially the Negro press.[647]Robeson's publicized comments were:

> We colonial peoples have contributed to the building of the United States and are determined to share in its wealth. We denounce the policy of the United States government, which is similar to that of Hitler and Goebbels…It is unthinkable that American Negroes will go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for

[646] Karl M. Schmidt, *Henry Wallace: Quixotic Crusade, 1948,* (Syracuse, Syracuse University, 1960), p.307.
[647] Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.342. The NAACP in a *New York Times* article that month adopted a resolution stating that Robeson in Paris "did not express the opinion and viewpoint of the loyal majority of Negroes of this country when he declared at the Paris conference that American Negroes would not find against Soviet Russia." "Negroes Hail Fraternity," *New York Times,* April 25, 1949; Davis, ed. *A Paul Robeson Guide,* p.421; An April 30, 1949 editorial in the *Pittsburgh Courier* would call Robeson's statement "pathetic." Another article in this *Pittsburgh Courier* would have a headline reading "Robeson, Du Bois Cause Uproar at Paris Meet." J.A. Rogers would say in this paper's editorial the next month that Robeson may be wrong but he gave us food for thought. *The Crisis* in its then forthcoming May 1949 issue would write that Robeson was speaking for himself and that he is "closer to the National Council of Soviet Friendship than he is to Fisk University, or the Dallas Chamber of Commerce or the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters," Davis, ed. *A Paul Robeson Guide,* p.421-423.

generationsagainst a country [the Soviet Union] which in one generation has raised our people to full human dignity of mankind.[648]

What made his comments so controversial was that he was made to look like he was declaring that American Negroes would not fight for the U.S. in a war against the Soviet Union. Thecomments publicized by the Associated Press missed Robeson's intended message, which was that the U.S. should end Jim Crow lynching, voter suppression and race discrimination in the United States before it sends Negro troops to fight overseas. A letter to the editor from a Louisiana sharecropper in the January 1952 issue of *Freedom*would illustrate Robeson's intended message in 1949 best. She wrote that her son was told he had to fight in Korea but that they were not allowed to vote. Robeson like this sharecropper raised the question of why Negroes would fight abroad when they faced lynching, discrimination and racist harassment at home.[649]This was a question that of course was ignored by the mainstream press and the Truman administration who instead accused Robeson of creating race antagonism. His life and his supporters' lives would be threatened as a violent mob protesting his appearance at an outdoor concert in Peekskill on September 9, 1949.[650]Robeson still stood by what he said and what he

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[648]Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.342; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks*, p.37.

[650] Harry Belafonte attended this outdoor concert in Peekskill and in his memoir *My Song* writes that "I was one of roughly twenty thousand people who came to hear Robeson perform, along with Pete Seeger and Woody Guthrie. The labor unions had organized a tight cordon of security around the crowd, and the angry locals were kept at bay. But as the concertgoers left, they had to drive through a miles-long gauntlet of counterprotestors shouting "Go back to Russia, you niggers," and spewing their venom just harshly at the "white niggers" who'd attended…I would suffer no consequences for appearing at that Peekskill rally, but Robeson would soon be forced to surrender his passport under the McCarran Act, and spend most of the 1950s hounded by the FBI." Belafonte, *My Song*, (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), p.83-84. Canada Lee, a prominent African American actor at this time, suffered being Blacklisted as a Communist for not denouncing Robeson. Lee said that two men claiming to represent the FBI came to him "and made the actor an offer they were certain he couldn't refuse: 'Come out against Robeson, and your name will be in the clear.' Lee immediately assumed this was a shrewd and despicable strategy designed to split the Black community into factions and weaken the civil rights movement. 'I'm not going to divide my people,' Canada replied, 'We are the two biggest Negro names in New York. I may not agree with everything that Robeson says, but I'll be damned if you're going to get me to fight another great American Negro.'…'Get the hell out of here,'…The men left in a hurry…The stress imposed on his life by the Blacklist would surely have aggravated his condition [of hypertension], and many who admired the man and his work, and those who loved him, were convinced that the Blacklist contributed to his illness and death. 'Canada Lee,' Ossie Davis has written, 'couldn't

believed about prioritizing the rights of Negro citizens in the South instead of fighting military wars. By the end of the year, Columbia Artists' Management, who recorded and distributed his musiccancelled all of his bookings. Sterling Stuckey writes that as pressures on Robeson mounted following this event, the failure of the Black bourgeoisie to support him fueled the campaign against him.[651]

The repressive state run anti Communist environment does not deter Robeson from his original ambition of fighting American fascism however; he still continues to denounce the U.S. invasion of Korea and delves more into his work with the Council on African Affairs now that the organization has successfully voted to oust Max Yergan. He appears at a trial of twelve Communist leaders, arrested in 1949 for allegedlyviolating the Smith Act which to show his support for them.[652]One of them is James Jackson, a founding member of the same SNYC that

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find a job anywhere and died of a broken heart.'" Mona Z. Smith, *Becoming Something: The Story of Canada Lee,* (New York, Faber and Faber, 2004), p.295, 351.

[651]Sterling Stuckey, Introduction to *Here I Stand* by Paul Robeson,(1958; Boston, Beacon, 1988), p.xviii.

[652]Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.537. Foner writes that "twelve members of the National Board of the Communist Party were arrested and indicted for violation of the Alien Registration law of 1940, the Smith Act." A Federal Grand Jury charged them with intent "to organize…persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence, which said acts are prohibited by…the Smith Act." The trial took place in the Foley Square Federal Courthouse in New York, began on January 17, 1949 and lasted until October 14, 1949, making it the longest criminal trial in American history. The chief prosecutor was John F.X. McGohey and the attorneys for the defense were George W. Crockett, an African American attorney from Michigan; Abraham J. Isserman of New York; Louis McCabe of Pennsylvania; Richard Gladstein of California; and Harry Sacher of New York. Temple University Professor of Journalism Linn Washington authored a book, *Black Judges on Justice* (New York, New Press, 1994),where he interviews fourteen judges, one of whom is George W. Crockett, who defended the Smith Act victims as an attorney. Crockett said "this is the case that landed me in prison. The judge [Medina] picked out six instances of contempt against me in prison…in addition to the overall charge of conspiracy that he leveled against all of the defense attorneys….The judge found us all guilty of contempt for not controlling the conduct of our clients. So therefore I was convicted of contempt because my client stood up and I was unable to get my client to sit down…I went to prison for four months…Obviously it was out of the ordinary for lawyers to be in prison. One interesting thing was that this case had attracted nationwide attention and the inmates at Ashland [Kentucky] knew about the case. The inmates treated us with deference…Perhaps the worst thing I suffered from that contempt conviction was the disbarment proceeding that was initiated against me in Michigan, based on the fact that I had been convicted of contempt of court in New York. I had to fight the disbarment. It was finally settled with the understanding that if I went back to New York and apologized on the record to the judge for my conduct, then the Michigan Bar Association would recommend to the court authorities that I get no more than a private reprimand…I went back and apologized. I was not disbarred but…I received a public reprimand, not a private one, as promised…That's what happened in my case. I was lucky. Two of the other defense lawyers were disbarred." Washington, ed. *Black Judges on Justice,* p.145-156. Their case was appealed to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in 1955 where Judge William Hastie wrote a majority opinion stating no

demonstrated for Robeson the importance of collective organized action over individual artistic achievement. Robeson continued to speak out against Korea. Michael Seth writes that a key factor to the buildup of the U.S. invasion of Korea was the attempt by the North to unify with the South. However domestic support for the 1950 Korean invasion was won by excoriating Paul Robeson and other accused Communists, and portraying Communism as an evil, indicated by Wallace's defection from the Progressive Party and imprisoning twelve so called Communist leaders who were actively fighting Jim Crow. Support was certainly not won by evaluating the merits of the divided Korean nation's effort to reunify with their Southern relatives.[653] In fact David Swanson writes that the United States persuaded the then young United Nations that the North had invaded the South and bullied its way to continue the Korean war. The United States lied to the United Nations by claiming that South Korea had captured tanks manned by Russians.[654] The United States was hoping their military invasion and occupation of Korea would weaken the so called threat of Soviet communism. Propaganda supported this occupation which also attacked Robeson.

By June, the State Department, fearful of their own propaganda about Robeson's vehement critique of imperialism and fascism, demanded that Robeson give them his passport. They allowed him to keep it only if he would sign an affidavitsaying he will not make any speeches while abroad. He refuses, and the Secretary of State Dean Acheson cancels Paul Robeson's passport. Robeson hired an attorney and immediately sues. Louis Burnham's role in Robeson's life thus begins as the editor of a periodical that will assume the need of collective

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evidence exists to confirm their planned "overthrow" of the government. Eight of the twelve convicted were released. His decision was printed in the very last July-August 1955 issue of *Freedom.* Hastie's decision was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1957 who overturned the grand jury convictions and ruled the Smith Act "unconstitutional."

[653] Michael J. Seth, *A History of Korea: From Antiquity to Present,* (Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield, 2011),p.322.

[654]David Swanson, *War Is A Lie,* (Charlottesville (VA), David Swanson, 2010), p. 75-76; John Quigley, *The Ruses For War: American Interventionism Since World War II* (Amherst (NY), Prometheus, 1992), p.56. See WarIsALie.org.

organizing action not only to advance the race, but to retrieve his passport and help advocate the release of those eleven radicals detained under the Smith Act. Dorothy Burnham said that her husband Louis Burnham's purpose in starting *Freedom* was "getting out the story of the people who were active in the movement and who were being persecuted during the McCarthy period." This would include not only Smith Act victims but activists in the South who were accused of being communists for their activism; Burnham said: "Louis wanted to give Paul a chance to let the public know about what was happening."[655]*Freedom*will also inspire the writing and the production of plays that imagine an anti-racist and anti-sexist future.

In Martin Duberman's biography of Paul Robeson, he does not discuss the life of Paul Robeson as editor of *Freedom* in any great detail. To date the two most important works that discuss Robeson's role as an editor is first, Lawrence Lamphere's 2003 Boston College dissertation entitled *Paul Robeson, Freedom Newspaper, and the Black Press,* and second, Paul Robeson Junior's biography of his father entitled *The Undiscovered Paul Robeson, Quest for Freedom, 1939-1976.*

In Lamphere's dissertation we are able to see more of Robeson's staunch politically independent editorial ideology, the barriers his *Freedom* paper faced, and most significantly, the progressive art that his paper inspired, particularly in the works of Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry. Lamphere writes the following about Robeson's *Freedom:*

> By reflecting Robeson's radical views *Freedom* set itself apart from nearly all American newspapers. *Freedom,* like Robeson, consistently opposed American involvement in the Korean War. The paper offered more coverage of the labor movement than nearly any other publication, particularly of the left-led unions that were expelled from the CIO in the late 1940s. *Freedom* was one of the few newspapers to regularly cover the activities of the National Negro Labor Council, an important radical black organization of the 1950s and a vehicle for Paul Robeson's political activism. Finally, the paper encouraged its African American readership to identify its struggles with anti-colonial movements in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. *Freedom* gave extensive publicity to the Council on

[655] Personal Interview with Dorothy Burnham, April 4, 2012.

> African Affairs, a pioneering organization in the struggle against apartheid, co-founded by Paul Robeson in the late 1930s.[656]

Lamphere's dissertation examines the years 1945 to 1955, what he calls the "most controversial period in Robeson's life."[657] He begins his discussion of Robeson's political independence with his involvement in the Council on African Affairs that was part of his larger overall anti-colonial stance. Lamphere writes that *Freedom* attempted to appeal to Black readers by emphasizing the contradiction between the federal government's aggressiveness against Communist countries and its relative lack of action on civil rights at home. Robeson called on African Americans to learn from the South African experience by putting aside their differences over communism and uniting in struggle against segregation. Lamphere presents Robeson's editorial ideology at its boldest when he writes of his political endorsements of the fifties: "the March 1952 issue of *Freedom* carried an editorial that reflected Robeson's increasing antipathy towards mainstream black leaders…one of the major themes that Robeson emphasized in 1952 was the importance of supporting the Progressive Party ticket in the Presidential election."[658]

In terms of barriers that *Freedom* faced, Lamphere writes that, according to *Freedom's* records, the "paper's production and distribution costs were one and a half times the sales revenues; the balance was made up by donations."[659] By the end of 1955, *Freedom* ended due to lack of funds; Lamphere writes that it remains unclear why *Freedom* was unable to survive when other radical publications were able to do, including the *National Guardian* and the Communists' *Political Affairs.* In terms of progressive art, *Freedom,* like *The Messenger,* included political cartoons with innovative messages that supported ideas not endorsed by the political mainstream.

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[656]Lawrence Lamphere, "Paul Robeson, *Freedom* newspaper, and the Black Press" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston College, 2003), p.3.
[657]Lamphere, "Paul Robeson," p.1.
[658]Lamphere, "Paul Robeson," p.169, 190, 192-3.
[659]Lamphere, "Paul Robeson," p.236.

One of the political cartoons featured tombstones in a graveyard, one of which reads: "1951, Pvt. [blank] Died in MacArthur's war to keep colored peoples of Asia in their place."[660] Here Lamphere shows how Robeson's *Freedom* challenged the reasons that one would fight for a country abroad that could not protect their civil rights at home. Lamphere shows how *Freedom* in the face of persistent Jim Crow discrimination was an important platform for the expression of Robeson's editorial ideology; his explanations of the fundraising challenges that led to *Freedom's* downfall also provide an important lesson about the cost of expressing one's constitutional right in a society whose function and wealth is based on enslavement and racial discrimination.

Robeson Junior in his biography discusses how his father used his concert singing fees to raise funds for *Freedom.*[661]Robeson Junior is more able than Lamphere to give tremendous detail about the degree of his father's political independence. He writes how during most of the Truman administration, Robeson vehemently critiqued U.S. imperialism and paid a dear cost for it.[662] Through his son we see how Robeson articulated outright rejection of the Democratic and Republican parties: Robeson with Progressive Party candidate Henry Wallace helped avoid a split in the Progressive Party by crafting a unity resolution. When Wallace chose to join an increasingly popular trend to denounce North Korea, requesting that his fellow Progressive Party members join him, Robeson refused and restated his controversial 1949 position that Negroes should not fight for freedom in a country that would racially discriminate against them.[663] Robeson Junior shows how Robeson's fidelity to this one politically independent position not

[660]Lamphere, "Paul Robeson," p.141.
[661] Paul Robeson Jr., *The Undiscovered Paul Robeson: Quest For Freedom, 1939-1976,* (Hoboken (NJ), John Wiley & Sons, 2010), p.221.
[662]Robeson Jr., *The Undiscovered Paul Robeson,* p.212.
[663]Robeson Jr., *The Undiscovered Paul Robeson,* p.211.

only led to personal costs such as the State Department denying him his passport for travel, it also led to the creation of *Freedom*.

While Duberman's biography is the most popularpublished biography of Paul Robeson, it does not describe his more interesting life as editorial chair of *Freedom* that this chapter hopes to expose in his having his passport seized for expressing his constitutional rights. While Lawrence Lamphere addresses Robeson's life as an editor more comprehensively, he does not adequately apply culturally based literary criticism to the cultural works that *Freedom* produced. He describes a fictional piece by Alice Childress that is a conversation between two domestics as "heavy handed and didactic."[664] The fictional piece by Childress includes two domestics that talk about how they will not allow their employer to exploit their labor in various ways. Childress is not only challenging exploitation; she is challenging the menial roles assigned to African Americans. Lamphere's epithet of Childress's art as being "heavy handed and didactic" downplays the functional role of her art, that this chapter along with the art of Lorraine Hansberry will expose.

While Robeson Jr. details the ideology of his father, he does not discuss in any great detail his role as editorial chair of *Freedom,* especially since at least every issue of this paper listed Robeson as the editor. He discusses *Freedom* in the context of its financial and political support of Paul Robeson, but does not discuss in detail how Robeson's edited monthly *Freedom* survived. While he mentioned that some amount of his speaking fees did fund *Freedom,* like Duberman he does not discuss the content of the paper in any great detail, which this chapter plans to do. During the period of the life of *Freedom,* Robeson Jr. mentions "local committees made up mostly of black members of left-wing unions and black church people supported by

[664]Lamphere, "Paul Robeson," p.134.

local white communists and progressives" that also presumably supported *Freedom.*[665]However Robeson Jr. does not interrogate the possible role that *Freedom* played in this interracial group's unity and cohesion by conducting a historical analysis of *Freedom.* This chapter plans to conduct the like and an interview with a former *Freedom* staff writer Thelma Dale Perkins, who currently lives in North Carolina. More than Robeson Junior, this dissertation also plans to examine the role that writing for *Freedom* had on the influential literary art of its writers Lorraine Hansberry (writer of *Les Blancs*and *A Raisin in the Sun),* Alice Childress (writer of *Trouble in Mind).* It also hopes to show the role these writers' plays had on the greater society in which they lived in order to gleam lessons for today about the importance of institutions like independent newspapers that promote political independence and politically independent art.

Editorial Ideology of Paul Robeson

Freedom defined itself as being a politically independent mainstream periodical that defied the two party mainstream since its inaugural November 1950 issue. Its headlines, articles, editorials, advertisements, cartoons all assumed the importance of seeking political representation outside the imperialist two party system. In every issue from November 1950 to July-August 1955 Paul Robeson wrote an editorial column called "Here's My Story," with the help of his collaborator Lloyd Brown, that interpreted the world through his editorial ideology. He clearly articulated what this editorial ideology is from his inaugural issue. In it he begins a casual discussion about a well wisher in Harlem who came up to him to ask if he was born in Russia. He responded:

[665]Robeson Jr., *The Undiscovered Paul Robeson,* p.224.

> the masters of press and radio had convinced at least this friend that a person who fights for peace, for the admission of the People's China to the UN, for friendship with the Soviet Union, for labor's rights and for full equality for Negroes **now** cannot be a 'real' American, must have been 'born in Russia.'[670]

These are the objectives that he says he will be fighting for some time to come, and objectives to which his "Here's My Story" column is dedicated. The objectives make up an editorial ideology that consists of four key issues: one, fighting for the peace; two, for friendship with the Soviet Union; three, for full labor rights evidenced by the hundreds of thousands of lines in *Freedom* devoted to labor unions; four and most broadly, for full equality for Negroes now. Robeson specified that by fighting for full equality, he means he fights "for the right of the Negro people and other oppressed labor-driven Americans to have decent homes, decent jobs, and the dignity that belongs to every human being." This section will look at these four issues within the context of this study's focus, which is politically independent organizing outside the two party mainstream. It will discuss the assumptions that challenge the mainstream in *Freedom* articles and how politically independent organizations,like the Committee for Negro in the Arts, were built based on those challenged assumptions.

The thrust of Robeson's editorial *Freedom* was that it not only critiqued the two party mainstream but that it provided a way to combat it by suggesting for all its readers collective organized action. This section will discuss how *Freedom* endorsed independent political organizing as a way to address issues of Robeson's editorial ideology, fundamentally the issue of "full equality for Negroes now." Particular attention is given to the articles of Lorraine Hansberry and Alice Childress because of their rich popular artistic legacy that this study shows a result in part of Robeson's editorial ideology. Their works most heavily influenced by Robeson's editorial ideology of *Freedom* will be discussed in the next section.

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[670] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story," *Freedom*, November 1950, Front page.

In its introductory issue *Freedom* in a headline article listed organizations in support of Leon Gilbert, then a 31 year old Army lieutenant who was condemned to death in a August 1950 by a court martial for allegedly refusing to obey an order on the fighting from during the Korean War.[671]*Freedom's* coverage of Gilbert's case was symbolic of the larger protest it was making against the Korean invasion which they saw as an unnecessary imperialist excursion simply to assert an upper hand over the Soviet Union, and less important than the failure to address the Jim Crow discrimination in the South. They mention in it various organizations in support of Gilbert such as the Columbia University students and the Harlem Trade Union Council that led a delegation to the United Nations and to army officialdom in the Capitol.[672]In a front cover editorial, *Freedom* endorsed W.E.B. Du Bois for the U.S. Senate in the 1950 Congressional election. If he wins, this article tells us, Du Bois would become the third Negro (after Hiram Revels and Blanche Bruce) to sit in the U.S. Senate and writes that "only those who are slavishly bound to the old parties (which have never offered Negroes a state-wide place on their tickets in "liberal" New York) can fail to vote for Du Bois."[673] The editorial noted that every vote for Du Bois strengthens the challenge to the policy of giving Negroes a lot of promises, which is what Robeson personally witnessed when his campaign to end lynching in the forties was all but ignored by President Truman. These two issues of Gilbert and Du Bois for U.S. Senate speak to

[671]Foner, ed. *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.553. Foner also writes on this page that Gilbert's platoon had been in action "without relief for thirteen days and he himself had gone without sleep for six days and was ill with dysentery. He claimed that to have obeyed the order would have taken his men into certain death. Gilbert was tried without being allowed to present Negro soldiers to testify on his behalf. He was sentenced to death, but owing to widespread protests from many groups across the country, including ones from *Freedom,* his sentence was later commuted to twenty years at hard labor." Gilbert's refusal to fight speaks to a point made by the narrator in Toni Morrison's fictional novel *Home* that for Black war veterans who ranked battles and wars according to loss numbers: "the more killed, the braver the warriors, not the stupider the commanders," Morrison, *Home* (New York, Knopf, 2012), p.136. Morrison raises the possibility that war casualties are not a measure of bravery more than they are a reflection of the stupidity as a result of the white racism of white commanders who disproportionately put Black soldiers in more lethal front line positions, as in the case of Leon Gilbert.
[672]"Nation Rallies to Save Lt. Gilbert," *Freedom,* November 1950, Front page.
[673]Editorial, "A Challenge to New York Voters," *Freedom,* November 1950, Front page.

the full equality issue that Robeson's editorial ideology showed collective organized action around.

On the second page of this ideal candidate, in the tradition of Randolph's New Negro who will not look to the same two party system for the unfulfilled promises, *Freedom* endorsed Vito Marcantonio for U.S. Representative from New York. They supported him on the grounds that he supported full equality when he was the only Congressman to defend Civil Rights Congress executive director William Patterson when he was cited for contempt regarding the lynching of Black men in Georgia. *Freedom* also endorsed Marcantonio because he "asked the members of Congress to vote for the civil rights bills" that have come before them.[674]By endorsing Du Bois and Marcantonio, *Freedom* held leadership of Negro people to a uniquely high standard and expected its readers to do the same. They applied this high standard of leadership to their critique of Mrs. Edith Sampson, a Chicago attorney who was appointed by President Truman to be an alternate member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. General Assembly and her reaction to a petition by the National Negro Labor Council asking for indpendence in African nations. The National Negro Labor Council (NNLC) is a coalition of the Black caucuses in the CIO and independent unions that formed around the time *Freedom* began.[675] It would get extensive coverage in *Freedom* and was an independent political organization that represented all issues of Robeson's editorial ideology like no other organization.

Freedom critiqued her response to the National Negro Labor Council's petition saying: "we must be careful that they [Africans] are not liberated 'too soon' lest they find themselves unprepared to use it (freedom) in their own interests!!" *Freedom* critiqued Sampson for

[674] "Marcantonio is the Man," *Freedom*, November 1950, p.2.
[675] Robeson Jr., *The Quest For Freedom*, p.213.

supporting Truman's paternalistic policy towards Africa. They said that Harriet Tubman will not have to move over in the Negro's hall of fame to make room for Sampson and that her weakened response is a reflection of her being a protégé and political crony of Congressman William Dawson, main proponent of the "talk soft" school of politics that threatens "nobody but a man named 'Uncle,'—and we don't mean Sam or Joe."[676]*Freedom's* disappointment in Sampson is a reflection of Robeson's larger disappointment of the president who appointed her, Truman, who ignored Robeson's plea for African nations to enter a United Nations Trusteeship as a pathway to independence. On the sixth page of this issue, Alphaeus Hunton would pen an article called "Status of Colonials Key to World Peace" where he wrote that the role of concerned Americans would play a key role in the success of revolutions of African countries.[677] This is part of Robeson's editorial ideology that endorses the fight for peace.

Vicki Garvin, member of *Freedom's* editorial board writes an article this issue entitled "Union Leader Challenges Progressive America," about the greater role that Negro women should take in job market and in progressive trade unions. She wrote that five responsibilities of progressive trade unions is to: maintain Negro women in industry; provide opportunities for training, up-grading, and employment in all categories of work; eliminate wage differentials; extend coverage of social welfare legislation to industries and occupations now excluded; and promote Negro women leadership at all levels of trade union activity.[678] Wage difference for women is an issue that *Freedom* addressed in its first issue and is still an issue in many private companies today. Garvin's expectations for women in the job market are a part of Robeson's editorial ideology of fighting for labor rights. They speak to many issues women still face in today's job market.

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[676] George Murphy, "First Negro Sits As U.N. Delegate," *Freedom*, November 1950, p.3.
[677] Alphaeus Hunton, "Status of Colonials Key to World Peace," *Freedom*, November 1950, p.6.
[678] "Union Leader Challenges Progressive America," *Freedom*, November 1950, p.3.

On the sixth page of this issue is a small blurb about the work that the independent organization, Council on African Affairs (CAA) is doing. The blurb reads that Du Bois and Robeson are working on a full time basis to expose and oppose the continued and intensified enslavement of Africa, the 'last reserve,' of Rockefeller & Co. It familiarized the first reader of *Freedom* with the CAA by initially asking the reader basic trivia questions about Africa like "1. Is it true that Europeans brought civilization to Africa?" and "2. Over what strategic war material of which Africa is the world's major source, does the U.S. have a virtual monopoly?" These questions would be answered at the end of this issue and they gave readers an opportunity to know about Africa but also to see the importance of organized collective action to address their political situation. The answers they listed at the end are "1. Absolutely false. Civilization in Africa pre-dated that in Europe, having flourished along the lower Nile River more than 6,000 years ago…and 2. Uranium, produced in the Belgian Congo, goes in the making of America's stockpile of atom bombs."[679]

Freedom wanted its readers to know that they should fight for peace not only according to Robeson's editorial ideology, but they should fight for peace because on principle because the American empire is ravaging African lives and the land of African people while they are extracting a mineral ultimately used to destroy another group of people.

On the eighth page of this issue is an article by *Freedom's* consummate editor Louis Burnham who described a casual conversation with a "fellow" about the McCarran law, misnamed the "Internal Security Act," which then was being used to prevent immigrants from the Caribbean like himself, from coming to the United States:

> He said he hadn't read much about its provisions because "the papers lie so much I just read the comics and the sports pages and forget about the rest of that mess." But as I described the provisions of the law to him, his interest picked up and suddenly he said,

[679] "What do you know about Africa," *Freedom*, November 1950, p.8.

> 'Why, they're just trying to do to white folks what they've been doing to Negroes for more than 300 years!'[680]

Burnham later made a connection between the law and the powerful interests, shielded by elected officials, who determine the law. He wrote that the "they" his fellow mentioned"are the trusts, big bankers, and international cartel interests who buy out the legislators and were the main backers of the bill." Finally he said the white folks who are intended as victims of the law are not all "white folks" but any American "who is courageous enough to open their mouths, join an organization, sign a petition, or participate in a delegation or attend a meeting to fight for peace in the world, good jobs, decent wages at home, and full equality for Negroes. They are American progressives."[681] Robeson's editorial ideology included celebrating progressive Black candidates like W.E.B. Du Bois. It also included celebrating white progressives like Vito Marcantonio. What Burnham's article highlighted is the important role that white progressives play to fight for "peace in the world, good jobs at decent wages at home, and full equality for Negroes." Burnham mentioned three of the four key issues of Robeson's editorial ideology: fighting for peace, for labor rights and for full equality. The same month that *Freedom* began publication, Robeson's lawyers would protest the State Department's July 1950 seizure of his passport claiming that it deprived him of his constitutionally guaranteed rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition, association and travel. They also argued that the State Department's seizure of his passport would prevent him from earning a living.[682] The content of *Freedom* would prove this, however despite this hostile climate of anticommunism, Paul Robeson would remain true to his editorial ideology.

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[680] Louis E. Burnham, "Freedom's Main Line," *Freedom,* November 1950, p.8.
[681] Louis E. Burnham, "Freedom's Main Line," *Freedom,* November 1950, p.8.
[682]Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.395; Robeson Archives, Howard University.

On the front cover of the January 1951 issue of *Freedom* is a photo of a Black toddler with the headline above him reading: "Will he be a frameup victim?" By "frameup" *Freedom* meant the system that charges and seeks to brand Negroes as criminals, place them outside the law's protection and terrorize them "into submission to jimcrow," the way that William Patterson was cited for contempt of committee for telling the truth about lynching; the way Lieutenant Leon Gilbert was sentenced to death for refusing to fight in Korea; the way Angelo Herndon was sentenced to a chain gangfor organizing worker protests. *Freedom* wanted its readers to think critically about how the social construction of race has proscribed certain people and the importance of engaging organized collective action to fight for full equality.[683]

In his editorial of this issue, Robeson clarified his editorial ideology that he says is intended to address issues of all those in the working class and not just a bourgeoisie or an elite. He described how his time in Wales shooting *The Proud Valley* taught him the similarities of working people across the world and how they are connected in their struggle for liberation and for working rights. In accordance with his vision, he told his readers that if they want to enjoy this earth, they have to fight for peace: "we can struggle for emancipation only through peace which will allow our colonial brothers to build and grow strong. Their strength is our strength."[684] In regards to their front page article asking their readers if young Negro men will be a victim of a frameup, Richard Boyer wrote an article detailing why Patterson was cited for contempt by Congressman Henderson Lanham:

> Patterson spoke calmly of lynchings in Georgia. There have been ten lynchings in that state since 1940. Henderson Lovelace Lanham couldn't take it any longer. He jumped up. "Georgia is a lyncher state," Patterson repeated firmly. "It has had many lynchings as any state in the Union. A Negro has no rights in Georgia that a white man is bound to respect…''You're a g—damned liar!" Congressman Lanham shouted. "If there is any liar around here, its you" Patterson replied. "You g—d----d black son of a b-----!" the

[684] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story," *Freedom*, January 1951, Front page and p.5.

> aristocrat of the South shrieked as he fought his way toward Patterson…the formal charge against Patterson in the contempt indictment is that he refused to hand over to the committee names of contributors to the Civil Rights Congress…friends of civil rights and fair play are called upon to write President Truman and Attorney General McGrath in Washington, D.C., asking that the indictment against Patterson be dismissed.[685]

Freedom was interested in teaching its readers the importance of being a steadfast citizen lobbyist of Washington in support of other African Americans. Robeson developed a strong connection to Patterson having met him in 1935 in Russia, Patterson encouraged Robeson to return home to fight Jim Crow and he eventually did. Patterson's fight for full equality in accordance with Robeson's editorial ideology is meant to serve as an example to readers to stand up on a personal level against white supremacy. They not only show an example of what fighting for full equality means, they ask readers to demonstrate their support in action by writing Washington. This standard for strong leadership by *Freedom* is also applied to A. Philip Randolph who has been going to the White House quite frequently but not coming out with enough, according to a *Freedom* editorial that calls the Korean war a "racist war" and the campaign against the Korean people "a campaign of American industrial and military plunderers."[686]This issue presented one example and one counterexample about how to lobby the White House: forcefully. Not as conciliatory as Booker T. Washington or A. Philip Randolph was, but as forceful and as direct as William Patterson was. *Freedom* suggested that political organization should occur around this kind of more forceful leaders than the latter. The paper also took a look at the recently seated eighty second U.S. Congress and asked: "can we depend on the Southern dominated Democratic party or the big business dominated Republican party for an honest, consistent fight for civil rights?" It suggested that readers stay abreast of how the U.S. Congress was addressing their issues. *Freedom* assumed the importance of the United Nations

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[685] Richard Boyer, "Patterson Case Seen As Threat to Negro People," *Freedom*, January 1951, p.3.
[686]"Editorial: Freedom—Or a Handout," *Freedom*, January 1951, p.4.

as a forum to air issues of colonial domination and attempts at independence from colonial rule as *Freedom's* inaugural issue shows. It mentioned how at the last U.N. General Assembly questions were brought up that embarrassed America, Britain, Australian and Western European countries. They write in this unattributed article that racial oppression "pays juicy dividends to the families such as the American Rockefellers, Morgans, and Duponts." It quoted Indian delegate Madame Pandit speaking on behalf of 300,000 people of Indian descent who suffer from discrimination in South Africa: "Indians in South Africa are merely the symbol in a matter involving the dignity and rights of more than half the human race."[687]*Freedom* also supported the independence movement in Puerto Rico in an article entitled "Puerto Ricans Fight Oppression; Love Their Beautiful Country" by Claude Blanchette. The article discussed popular resistance against the attempt to "Americanize" the country in politics, language, economic policies and, the biggest indictment the article points out, also in "jim-crow social practices." This article spoke to the peace fighting-issue of Robeson's editorial ideology, and presented an example for *Freedom* readers about how it is done and how also African Americans are essentially a colonized people. The article endedstating that "the Negro people's struggle for freedom in the United States and Puerto Rican people's struggle for freedom from the United States have everything in common and the two must and will come to understand each other far better than they presently do."[688]

Lorraine Hansberry's first article in *Freedom* is her review of the play *Nat Turner* by Paul Peters. She celebrated the actual story of Nat Turner as much as its dramatic production:

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[687]"U.N. to Probe South Africa Discrimination Policies," *Freedom,* January 1951, p.6.

[688] Claude Blanchette, "Puerto Ricans Fight Oppression; Love Their Beautiful Country," *Freedom,* February 1951, p.6.; Amiri Baraka's short story "Mondongo" deals with his experience in the U.S. Air Force stationed in the U.S. base Aguadilla in Puerto Rico. He describes the competition white soldiers engaged with Black soldiers for Puerto Rican women. See Amiri Baraka, "Mondongo," in *Tales of the Out & the Gone,* (New York, Akashic, 2007), p.75-103.

"aside from being a respectful tribute, it is highly engrossing theatre."[689]On some level Hansberry was interested in presenting a dramatic form that showed the challenge and appeal of a revolt on the level of Nat Turner's. She celebrated the dignity given to the Black male characters: "Black men who had been treated as nothing; by their courage and defiance became their own proud liberators." This observation fits in the theme of this issue which is asking readers to consider if the young Negro men they know will possibly be framed up. Instead of framing Black men, Hansberry, sensitive to their treatment, having lost her father at fifteen to what she calls "American racism," appreciated the dignified way that in this play they were presented: "they had made themselves free."[690]Burnham spoke for the first time to the issue of friendship with the Soviet Union in his article "Wu Voices Support of the Negro Struggle." Wu Hsiu-Chiuan is head of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations. Burnham personally asked him about the attitude of the Chinese people toward the struggles of the American Negro people for full citizenship. Following the Chinese revolution of Mao Tse-Tung against Chiang Kai Shek, Hsiu-Chiuan said that: "we are in complete sympathy with the fight of the Negro people in this country for full equality and will support such a struggle in any way possible."[691]The U.S. did not support the Chinese revolution as its troop presence in Korea indicated however, true to Robeson's editorial ideology, Burnham showed the *Freedom* readership the merit of politically organizing around the ambition to have more diplomatic and friendly relationship with even those countries that are assumed to come under Soviet influence like China.

The February 1951 issue of *Freedom* would carry a very strong theme of fighting for peace. In his editorial Robeson celebrated the work of Negro trade union leaders. His strong

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[689]Lorraine Hansberry, "N.Y. Stage Revives 'Nat Turner'" *Freedom,* January 1951, p.7.
[690] Lorraine Hansberry, *To Be Young Gifted and Black: Lorraine Hansberry in Her Own Words,* Adapted with an Introduction by Robert Nemiroff, (1969; New York: Vintage, 1995), p.213, 239; Hansberry, "Nat Turner," *Freedom,* January 1951, p.7.
[691] Louis Burnham, "Wu Voices Support of Negro People," *Freedom,* January 1951, p.7.

working relationship with Alphaeus Hunton allows such an awareness of the trade union struggles in South Africa. Both A. Philip Randolph and Pauline Hopkins would also have continental African trade unionists write columns in Clements Kadalie and S.E.F.C.C. Hamedoe, respectively. He continued in his editorial ideology the importance of maintaining political connections with Africa like the previous editors mentioned. During this month the Martinsville Seven, who were seven men, like the Scottsboro Boys, were on trial for raping a white woman in January 1949. The trials were rushed through in six days. The Court of Appeals in Virginia and the Supreme Court declined to hear their appeal. They were all executed by February 5, 1951.[692]In this issue of *Freedom*, an editorial "The Men of Martinsville" argues that their execution "warns us that the blood letting in Korea has driven our rulers mad…Let all who love liberty discharge a sacred debt to the dead Men of Martinsville: build a people's movement to stop the murder of innocents; win security and equality for Americans and peace for the peoples of the world."[693]The editorial, like Robeson's editorial ideology, called on its readers in light of the execution of the Martinsville Seven, to demand full equality and to channel that demand into collective organized action.

Freedom also dedicated an article to the progressive organizing done by Black clergy in a way to suggest that any work for the church is work among the working class and a fight against imperialism. This article "Baptist Pastor Says: Asians Fights Slavery" discussed the antiwar rhetoric of Black clergy. "24 bishops of the largest Negro church denominations met in Cleveland to form the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S. The bishops joined in denunciation of the A-bomb and 'get tough' policy."[694]This was along the editorial ideology of Robeson to show the politically independent organization around the cause of fighting for peace.

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[692]Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks*, p.541.
[693]"Editorial: The Men of Martinsville," *Freedom*, February 1952, Front page.
[694]"Baptist Pastor Says: Asians Fights Slavery,"*Freedom*, February 1951, p.2.

Along this theme is a blurb on the third page of this issue with the header, "What Are You Doing For Peace?" Under this header *Freedom* says they are beginning and intensive coverage of the demands of PEACE AND FREEDOM which are growing in every Negro community [caps in original]."[695]A big theme through this issue was to call for the end of hostilities toward Korea. On the sixth page of this issue is an article entitled "Korean Women Accuse 'Aerial Pirates'" which provides a first hand look on the ground of what the U.S. military is doing:

> The American intervention has caused our people unheard-of sufferings. The carefully tilled fields lie unharvested. Our houses and villages where once we led a free and happy life, have been transformed into ruins. But it is not only the towns and villages that have been destroyed; the barbarians drop their incendiary bombs and flaiming liquid even in sparsely populated places…hardly a human shadow can be found in the streets…the morality of the American imperialists is not the morality of human beings. Rate what is honest; steal what isprevious; trample upon what is beautiful; crush wat is just; demolish what is defenseless: these are the ideals of American imperialism. These are its tasks.[696]

*Freedom*not only argued for peace from those who are in the aggressor country; it argued for peace from the side being targeted by the aggressor. The next issue discussed political independence most clearly through the work of the tobacco unions in the article "They Planted a Union—With Their Sweat—In Carolina's Boss Ridden Tobacco Empire." Written by Louis Burnham, this article described the efforts of tobacco workers union in the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company to earn higher wages and better working conditions. He discussed the tactics of management to break unions, such as firing workers en masse or firing militant union members. He concluded that Local 22 deserves the support of the white labor movement and the entire Negro community in the struggle which lies ahead.[697] In this issue was a reprint from *New*

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[695] "What Are You Doing For Peace?" *Freedom,* February 1951, p.3.
[696]"Korean Women Accuse 'Aerial Pirates," *Freedom,* February 1951, p.6.
[697] Louis Burnham, "They Planted a Union—With Their Sweat—In Carolina's Boss Ridden Tobacco Empire," *Freedom,* March 1951, p.3; Erik Gellman discusses the history of organizing tobacco stemming unions in North Carolina, some efforts of which were led by James Jackson. See Gellman, *Death Blow to Jim Crow,* chapter 2.

Africa, the newsletter of the CAA that indicts American private corporations for their role in exploiting the African continent in an effort to inspire readers to fight for full equality:

> Morgan and Rockefeller interests have been entrenched there for a long time. Ford was established there over 25 years ago…Also operating in South Africa are Firestone, Goodyear, General Electric, and a long list of other American corporations too numerous to mention. Their number and the total investment of American capital in the country have increased sharply since 1945. It is no longer to England but in America that the rulers of South Africa now look for the bulk of foreign investment capital.[698]

1945 is the year that FDR died and when Truman assumed the U.S. presidency. Lorraine Hansberry's play *Les Blancs* deals with the American interaction with British colonization and will be discussed in the next section. In light of this imperialism, *Freedom* mentioned an assassination attempt on the life of President Truman by Puerto Rican nationalists. While it does not advocate its readers to assassinate leaders of countries, it shows the lengths to which people fighting for self-determination are willing to go to achieve that self-determination. The next April 1951 issue of *Freedom* asked an incredibly important question never asked heretofore by another press that challenges key assumptions about how to help working people across the world: "When the Negroes are encouraged to accept or to fight for defense jobs—what are we defending?...The talk today is about the American Way of Life. Do we American Negroes, want to save Jim Crow, lynching and segregation and are we satisfied with this American Way of Life? What is the war preparation for?" These are important questions that *Freedom*'s fight to end job discrimination had to ask because many of the jobs that were open to Negroes were jobs that were part of the war industry (for instance Boeing) that helped to kill and maim other peoples of color under American imperialism.

[698] Alphaeus Hunton, "American Trusts Bolster South African Racists," *Freedom*, March 1951, p.6.

The author, possibly Louis Burnham, suggested that we "make a contribution by boycotting the war preparation against freedom."[699]Burnham included a discussion of colonization at the level of the Caribbean colony: "Jamaica's poverty can't be eradicated as long as it remains a colony dependent upon one principal export, sugar. The cane field plantation workers who get only $1.10 to $1.50 a day for four to six months a year!"[700]This articlewas meant to build solidarity across peoples of color across the world in order to help do what Paul Robeson has tried since Truman took office in 1945.

In this April 1951 issue came the first unique fundraising opportunity *Freedom* provided to promote Robeson's editorial ideology: a chance to buy a novel. Burnham was very particular about the kind of novel he would promote in *Freedom.* Lloyd Brown,who worked as a critic for the periodical *Masses & Mainstream,* was the first novelist that Burnham would promote in the pages of *Freedom:* "FREEDOM offers its readers a chance to read 'Iron City' before the June 15 publication date; and at special rates: $1.50 paper-bound; $3.00 cloth-bound. And we get a liberal commission through arrangements with publishers."[701]The fictional story of Brown's *Iron City* dealt with the electrocution in 1941 of a Pennsylvania Black man named Willie Jones. Lawrence Jackson writes that Brown had written the first prison drama, now popularized in recent American television series like *Oz* and *Prison Break.* Brown's novel was part social documentary but at the end, it would give its reader the opportunity for a qualified but realistic hope. The protagonist Lonnie James is still incarcerated but on the cusp of a retrial and through this Brown suggests the possibility for interracial solidarity and the importance of being a citizen

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[699]"Trade Unionist Poses A Question: Shall We Campaign For Defense Jobs?,"*Freedom,* April 1951, p.3.
[700]"News of Colored Peoples in Other Lands: Jamaica," *Freedom,* April 1951, p.6.
[701] "Iron City," *Freedom,* April 1951, p.8; Most issues of *Freedom* were read at Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, in their General Reference Division, on their microfilm machine using microfilm call number: Sc Micro RS-889, Reel 1. Special thanks to librarian Genette McLaurin at the Schomburg Center for helping me locate issues of *Freedom* that were not on microfilm. Remaining issues of *Freedom* were read on microfilm at Temple University via an interlibrary loan of this microfilm from Cornell University. Special thanks to Cornell University and Justin Hill of Temple's Interlibrary Loan staff for help in retrieving these issues.

lobbyist.[702] Certainly Burnham was familiar with the suggestions of this story and expected that readers would relate the experience of many Black men to it in ways that they couldn't with material from other presses.

Another strategy that *Freedom* employed to raise funds to develop a faithful readership was to celebrate the work of its readers that it affectionately called the "Freedom Family." In many issues but not all, *Freedom* would recognize the hard work of its subscribers in gaining readers and selling papers in a section called "In the Freedom Family."On the last page in its April 1951 issuethis section recognized the work of Mary Ann Johnson for selling two hundred papers at "Beantown churches." The section listed not only her work but her reward: "*Freedom* is sending her to New York to attend the birthday celebration for Paul Robeson."[703]Burnham assumed a high level of respect and admiration readers had for Paul Robeson, and sought to promote his editorial ideology by encouraging other readers to seek more subscriptions for *Freedom.* This section celebrated the work of Nat Bond, who was the founding president of the North Carolina NAACP Youth Conference. Bond"organized a Freedom Youth Club in Durham" and composed a song to the tune of "Oh Christmas Pine."[704]

In June the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of the Smith Act victims and Robeson spoke out forcefully against the Smith Act strongly continuing his editorial ideology in support of the fight for peace, regardless of the threat of the anticommunist label. He would pay for this endorsement with further characterization by the FBI as a communist.

In the May 1951 issue *Freedom* celebrated those African Americans or Negroes whose names have been added to those suspected, by the House Un American Activities Committee, of

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[702] Lawrence P. Jackson, *The Indignant Generation: A Narrative History of African American Writers and Critics, 1934-1960,* (Princeton, Princeton University, 2010), p.347-348.
[703] Louis Burnham, *Freedom,* April 1951, p.8.
[704] "In the Freedom Family," *Freedom,* April 1951, p.8.

being a Communist: Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Bishop W.J. Walls of the A.M.E.Zion Church.They are described by *Freedom* as "distinguished Negro citizens" and, like William Patterson, exhibit fearless defense in fighting Jim Crow. *Freedom* writes that their work exposes the "BIG LIE" that "the United States is threatened by Communists or communism from within our without."[705]

The next example that *Freedom* provided of independent political organizing is seen in the June 1951 issue, in the work of Negro students:

> fed up with their long outmoded, poorly equipped and greatly overcrowded—contrasting sharply with the modern high school buildings serving a much smaller population—the 455 students at the Moten School left their classes on April 23, demanding that the all white schools board set definite date by which construction would begin on the new high school buildingpromised the Negro community for the past five years. The striking students set up headquarters in the basement of a local church; conducted picket lines around the school; seat a delegation to present their demands to the superintendent of schools…They were backed by Negro citizens of the community more than 1,000 of whom met on April 26 and voted unanimously to ask the NAACP to take steps to eliminate the segregated school system which now prevails…It is not accident that both of these basic challenges to public school segregation arose in agricultural communities in the Black Belt…It is clear that a new stage has been reached in the struggle of the Negro people for free and democratic schools…They will continue to learn the inadequacy of limited demands within the overall structure of the Jim Crow oppression maintained by the Bourbon lackeys of the imperialist rulers of the South.[706]

Freedom celebrated the politically independent organizing that these Negro students. An article in the previous issue discusses a Negro youth on how pleased he will be to serve in Korea for the simple fact that he would have better sleeping accommodations and would not have to sleep on wood anymore:

> A draft board in the bulging slums of Harlem recently enlisted a young volunteer who said he looked forward to Army life because he was "tired of sleeping on an ironing board." He lived with his mother and five other children in a single six-by-twelve foot room.This youngster may soon be in Korea, forced to participate in the terrible slaughter of colored men, women and children who are fighting for their freedom. But just one of the battleships that are leveling defenseless Korean cities costs over $100 million to

[705]"Editorial: The List Grows," *Freedom,* April 1951, p.4.
[706] "The Virginia Case," *Freedom,* June 1951, p.3.

> build. That money could have built more than 10,000 new houses or apartments for this young soldier's family and for thousands of others living in the same desperate fashion in Harlem…Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas have the poorest housing in the country.[707]

Freedom lamented this young man for preferring to be in Army in part because he would not have to sleep on an iron board. For *Freedom,* one of the ways "imperialists" have a ready supply of soldiers to carry out wars,is to help create an environment where youth of a "proscribed" group have no other alternative than to crave opportunities like military service to enrich the wealthiest. The difference in this case in June 1951 is that the youth engaged in organized collective action and rejected their inferior environment and protested. This Virginia case would be one of the cases that lead up to the pivotal *Brown v. Board* decision. The group in Virginia also had the support of citizens who support their ambition to improve their educational facilities, where as the young man described by Charlotte Dorsey did not seem surrounded by youth who could teach him about the implications of joining the U.S. military. However there are mothers who are critical of the role the U.S. military at this time in drafting their sons to fight in Korea without addressing the root problems of poverty, as seen in a letter to the editor by a Louisiana sharecropper discussed later. Eslanda Goode Robeson wrote an article in this issue celebrating the Chinese Revolution: "Nobody gave China back to the Chinese people. They had to fight to get it back."[708]

Lorraine Hansberry, seeking more positive images in the American media wrote an article in this issue entitled "Negroes Cast in Same Old Roles in TV Shows." She talked about the effect that seeing degrading stereotypes of Negroes had on U.S. military and in accordance with Robeson's editorial ideology, appealed to progressives to organize and fight for full equality in terms of ending these degrading images: "the hundreds of thousands of Negro and progressive

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[707] Charlotte Dorsey, "Housing Crisis Deepens As War Spending Rises," *Freedom,* May 1951, p.4.
[708] Eslanda Goode Robeson, "China Boy is Now China Man; Millions Free of Foreign Rule," *Freedom,* June 1951, p.5.

TV owners who spend their evening turning the coaxial dial ought to begin flooding the TV offices with demands for dignified, realistic treatment of Negro life, and for jobs for the hundreds of competent Negro artists whose talent is being ignored or wasted."[709] Before the end of *Freedom's* tenure, the Committee for the Negro in the Arts would be formed and this article may have started the ball rolling on this organization that demanded dignified realistic treatment of Negro life. Hansberry herself would provide one of the greatest contributions to this treatment with her play *A Raisin in the Sun,* which will be discussed in the fifth section of this chapter.

Freedom writer George B. Murphy also mentioned the work of the "Freedom Family," in the June 1951 issue in a way that was meant to motivate their readers to grow the family:

> John Flowers, who is out to match his 1,000 Signature Stockholm Peace Appeal record with 1,000 subs for *Freedom.*…there are many cousins, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, all members of the *Freedom* family, with whom we enjoyed many hours of work and pleasure. Our family is growing by leaps and bounds, and the paper is growing too. We've beenreceiving a lot of enthusiastic mail about the powerful editorial drawings which appear in each issue of *Freedom.* Thought you'd want to know the man responsible for them, so meet Oliver Harrington. 'Ollie' is our art editor and we think the finest political cartoonist in the country. Of course, we're prejudiced but we're not alone in our estimate of his talents. Ollie was educated in the New York City Public Schools, received his BA at Yale and his MFA at the Yale School of Fine Arts. He was art editor for the *People's Voice,* World War II overseas correspondent for the *Pittsburgh Courier* and public relations director of the NAACP.[710]

For an example of Harrington's work, see Figure 3 below. In this figure, Harrington endorses the full equality aspect of Robeson's editorial ideology by personifying white supremacy.

[709]Lorraine Hansberry, "Negroes Cast in Same Old Roles in TV Shows," *Freedom,* June 1951, p.7.
[710] George Murphy, "In the Freedom Family," *Freedom,* June 1951, p.5.

Figure 3: "Tide's Rising, Charlie," by Ollie Harrington, *Freedom*, February 1952, p.6.

Burnham, familiar with the talent of Harrington made sure his cartoons were included, but Murphy also made sure to tell readers his credentials so as to let them know that *Freedom* is worth every one of the ten cents that they buy for it. In the July 1952 issue, *Freedom* provided an update on Mary Ann Johnson who "with her tremendous energy and vitality," "kept all of us on our toes. Together with Mrs. Charlotta Bass [who would be the vice presidential candidate for U.S. President on the Progressive Party ticket the next year], she was *Freedom's* guest at one of the most magnificent cultural festivals ever held in New York, put on by American Women for Peace at Manhattan Center before some 2,500 people from every walk of life."[711] Also in this issue is a letter to the editor, Burnham, from the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards who wrote that "Enclosed are 31 subscriptions to *Freedom* from rank-and-file members of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards. We are happy and more than proud to support a paper such as yours which courageously fights for freedom of all peoples…Here's hoping to see *Freedom* grow daily until it becomes a bi-monthly, then a weekly, even daily weapon of the people."[712]

As of the July 1951 issue, *Freedom* presented examples of how African Americans engaged politically independent organizing to advance the cause of racial justice. Herbert Aptheker's article in this issue discussed the historic anti-imperialist protests of African Americans: "In April 1898, the United States precipitated war with Spain, defeated that nation, and then seized Puerto Rico, the Cuba, the Philippines and Guam. Wars raged against Spain and the people of these islands from 1898 through 1902. The Negro people opposed these wars and openly sided with the raped island peoples."[713] Aptheker provided examples of African Americans opposing imperialismthroughout American history in order to ultimately encourage

[711] "In the Freedom Family," *Freedom*, July 1951,p.2.
[712]Letter to the editor, *Freedom*, July 1951, p.3.
[713]"Robber Wars Abroad and Jim Crow at Home," *Freedom*, July 1951, p.4-5.

political organization for full equality. In the next issue, *Freedom* celebrated the political organizing work of Hilliard Ellis who, according Robeson's editorial ideology in *Freedom*, fought to prevent the automobile industry in Cicero from hiring only whites: "if we can spread this truth far and wide we can insure ourselves against more Ciceros and Peekskills; we can guarantee a world of culture, friendship and peace instead of barbarism, race hate and war."[714]This situation described here is a reminder to Robeson about what he said Revels Cayton taught him: that only Black workers can lead the struggle for racial equality. *Freedom* celebrated cases however isolated of Black union leaders who take initiative to improve working conditions or discrimination. Lorraine Hansberry does the same in celebrating the work of then 22 year oldRoosevelt Ward who is "administrative secretary of the New York Youth League." She wrote that on May 31, 1951, two agents of the FBI walked into his office, arrested himand charged him with draft evasion. She wrote that as he worked more and more for peace, "anti-Negro forces had thought up punishment for fighting back—the frameup."

Hansberry recalled the January 1951 issue about Black men being commonly being victims of a frameup. She suggests that Black men like Roosevelt Ward who are seeking to politically organize, especially regarding labor organizing are more likely to be locked up.[715] This issue deals seriously with the theme of frameup of Black men. Around the time this issue

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[714] "Two Worlds—Two Welcomes: An Editorial," *Freedom*, August 1951, Front page.

[715] Lorraine Hansberry, "Why the Drum Beaters Fear Roosevelt Ward," *Freedom*, August 1951, p.2; Robeson shared a respectful correspondence with Angelo Herndon, another African American man who suffered a frameup for trying to organize residents in Georgia to fight discrimination.Morrison's 2012 novel *Home*, set in the 1950s, also speaks to the issue of Black men being framed up. Her fictional character Frank Money is so framed up by racial trauma in America that he glorifies militarism. In his direct passages to the reader, he shows resentment at the menial work his parents were forced to do to make a living, and he resents the continual displacement him and his family faced, caused by racist trauma saying "having been run out of one town, any other that offered safety and peace of sleeping through the night and not waking up with a rifle in your face was more than enough. But it was much less than enough for me. You never lived there so you don't know what it was like…Mike, Stuff, and me couldn't wait to get out and away, far away. Thank the Lord for the Army." Morrison, *Home*, p.84. Robeson's editorial ideology in *Freedom* actively fought against this frameup of Black men in order to encourage their protestof the symptoms ofa Jim Crow deindustrialized economy, andprotest military servicefor the U.S. imperialist army as a viable option. *Freedom* celebrated the work of an actual Roosevelt Ward rather than the fictional Frank Money.

went to print, Alphaeus Hunton of the CAA is arrested for refusing to divulge the names of the contributors of the Civil Rights Congress bail fund: "Hunton's refusal to squeal has resulted in a six-month jail term for 'contempt.'…Letters to the editors of newspapers and to President Truman should demand that he be freed."[716]*Freedom* called for organized political action around the case of Hunton who has worked in accordance with Robeson's editorial ideology of fighting for peace and full equality of African peoples. Ewart Guinier, secretary treasurer of the United Public Workers of America wrote about the successes he's had in politically organizing fellow workers to end racial discrmination at the Bureau of Engraving of the federal government.[717] This issue also presented excerpts of the testimony of Thomas Coleman, a labor leader from the United Public Workers who was fingered by city officials for his militant leadership of garbage collectors in their fight against a lockout. The workers he organized won a ten cent pay hike but Coleman was brought for Detroit's loyalty board. Both Guinier and Thomas are important examples of how Robeson's editorial ideology sought to organize politically for particular issues in this case labor rights. On the fifth page of this issue, *Freedom* celebrated the work of the Local 600 which, according to this article, "has survived 10 years of attacks from the company and internal splits. Today it stands out as a more militant and more consistent fighter for workers' rights than its parent body, the International Auto Workers." It is a labor union that consists of whites with an increasing awareness of the their problems and how their problems are connected and related to the problems of Black workers.[718] At the end of this issue is an article

[716]"A Trustee True to His Trust," *Freedom,* August 1951, p.2. This article also says about Hunton: "W. Alphaeus Hunton, secretary of the Council on African Affairs, member of the editorial board of FREEDOM, has added glory to a name long established as one of the most distinguished families in Negro life…Dr. Hunton, himself, left the security and satisfaction of a faculty position at Howard University and plunged into the work of informing American opinion about the current rape of Africa by American big business, and arousing support for the genuine indpendence sturggles of the African peoples. Three weeks ago, as one of the trustees of the Civil Rights Congress bail fund, Alphaeus Hunton stood 'firm before a hostile judge and an ambitious prosecutor.'"
[717] Ewart Guinier, "U.S. Is the Biggest Jim Crow Boss," *Freedom,* August 1951, p.4.
[718]"Unity Forged in Local 600; Now It Leads Auto Industry,"*Freedom,* August 1951, p.5.

about the efforts of Walter Reuther to undermine the efforts of a petition by the Detroit Negro Labor Council to strengthen the work of the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC): "workers who indignantly refused to withdraw their names from the Negro Labor Council's petition were all white."[719]*Freedom* celebrated the work of white progressives who worked for the cause of union solidarity as they do the white workers who refused to join Walter Reuther in weakening the demands of the Detroit Negro Labor Council.

Also in this August 1951 issue of *Freedom,* the "In the Freedom Family" section reported that their paper sent staff to Chicago to attend Robeson's speech before the American Peoples Congress for Peace.The *Freedom* salesmen reported that "*Freedom* went like the proverbial hot cakes—fast…Typical of the affairs being held in Detroit, designed to win new friends and subscribers to *Freedom* was the recent party given by the Motor City's Committee."[720] At this speech, Robeson said that war is "the major evil" of our time and that "the hopped-up war economy is hastening this nation throughthe preventable cycle of boom and bust!"[721]Robeson's speech had some effect on the selling of *Freedom* like "hotcakes," if they appreciated his message and in similar ways through its brief life Burnham sought to sell *Freedom.*

The September 1951 issue was focused on full equality and was intending to show readers how much support there was internationally for Robeson to receive his passport. *Freedom* frames this issue in a way that centralized Paul Robeson's fight for his passport as a fight symbolic of Negro people fighting for full equality. And the following motto that appears

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[719]"Reuther, 7 White Officials Try to Halt FEPC Petition,"*Freedom,* August, 1951, p.8. Bill Fletcher Jr. and Fernando Gapasin write that Walter Reuther "changed from a social visionary who advocated the redistribution of wealth through collective bargaining to a pragmatist who crushed the ideological core of militancy in the union movement and created a model for the modern bureaucratization of union activism. Reuther's model for unions set in motion the trend toward narrow service unionism and contributed to the current decline of the U.S. union movement." Bill Fletcher Jr. and Fernando Gapasin, *Solidarity Divided: The Crisis in Organized Labor And A New Path Toward Social Justice,* (Berkeley, University of California, 2005), p.30-31.
[720] Louis Burnham, "In the Freedom Family," *Freedom,* August 1951, p.2.
[721]Paul Robeson, "Unity for Peace," *Masses & Mainstream,* August 1951, p.21-24; Foner, ed. *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.279.

under the *Freedom* icon underscores this message: "where one is enslaved, all are in chains." Lorraine Hansberry's article in this issue was written with Stan Steiner and is titled "Cry For Colonial Freedom Jolts Phony Youth Meet." It is about the World Assembly of Youth. They critique how the assembly completely ignored the question of freedom for the colonial peoples of the world and a statement made that national independence is "an outdated idea!"[722] This marks the beginning of a series of articles by Hansberry that is mainly concerned with how imperialism affects younger generations. Her attitudes and ideas in her articles reflected a very deep concern of the need to teach anti-racism to a younger generation.

Alex Washington in an article entitled "Harlem is Stepchild in City Government," wrote that Guinier as chairman of the Greater New York Labor Council lauded a Harlem coalition "aiming for a Negro judge for the State Supreme Court, but stressed the need for an overall program for demanding equal rights rather than asking for favors."[723]

Freedom writes that Robeson filed an action is the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington in order to restore his right to travel abroad.[724]In a very important article called "Crime Against Mankind," *Freedom* provided a history of the petitions to the United Nations for a redress of the grievances of Jim Crow oppression. The first two, by the National Negro Congress in 1945 and the NAACP in 1947 were the sponsors to the appeals of world opinion. The third and "most impressive" petition was prepared by the Civil Rights Congress and was to be delivered to the U.N. General Assembly. It charged the United States government with "acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnicals, racial or religious group as such."[725]This was an important example of politically independent organizing around

[722] "Cry For Colonial Freedom Jolts Phony Youth Meet," *Freedom,* September 1951, p.5.
[723] Alex Washington, "Harlem is Stepchild in City Government," *Freedom,* September 1951, p.6.
[724] "Appeal Filed For Robeson Passport As Groups Abroad Press For Action," *Freedom,* September 1951, p.2.
[725] "Crime Against Mankind" *Freedom,* September 1951, p.4.

the issue of full equality for Negro citizens that is in accordance with Robeson's editorial ideology. Later in this article *Freedom* challenged assumptions of the United Auto Workers' (UAW) willingness to cooperate with militant labor leaders when its article "All White Auto Union Jury Ousts 13 Detroit Leaders" described how thirteen plant leaders—12 of them Negro were expelled or suspended from the union "while a white administratorship…still sits on the 90 per cent Negro plant…Reuther people began to cuddle up to this Dixiecrat management of the Allen Industries Leland plant."

In the September 1951 issue they introduced to their readers a Harlem drive with a slogan "four in four," meaning "4,000 subs from September through December." They also reported being able to take complaints quickly mainly because of the name of a new writer who's joined their staff named Lorraine Hansberry:

> Lorraine Hansberry triples in brass in our office and subscription clerk, receptionist, typist, and editorial assistance. And in between she finds time to write fine poetry and an occasional article, like the one on the WAY [World Assembly of Youth] conference on page 6 of this issue. (That's another reason for the sub drive. We need money to hire another office worker. In order words, the more work you give us in handling subs, the less the change she takes in handling them.) Miss Hansberry is a native of Chicago, studied journalism and art at the University of Guadalajara and the University of Wisconsin, and she has lived in New York, and has lived in New York for a little more than a year. She manages, with all the things mentioned above, to sing in the Harlem Youth Chorus and takes a leading part in the progressive activities of young people in the world's largest Negro community.[726]

They were appealing to each reader to join the "four in four" and appealing to their emotion, to reduce their staff workload. A reader's contribution to *Freedom,* this blurb suggests, would benefit the reader on a larger scale because of its advocacy for strong labor organizing and strong unions that called for manyreaders' employers to improve overall working conditions. *Freedom's* staff messages carried this suggestion, that a contribution to *Freedom* feasibly meant a contribution to the quality of their own life. This particular section of "In the Freedom Family"

[726] "In the Freedom Family," *Freedom*, September 1951, p.2.

appealed to their readers' sensibilities about the need for women working as writers that Hansberry represents. *Freedom* was hoping that, for these reasons readers would buy or subscribe, or talk to others about buying and subscribing.

In the October 1951 issue Robeson celebrated the work of Roosevelt Ward for refusing the draft to Korea, saying that "he comes from our great traditions."[727] Most significant regarding independent political organizingis the coverage in *Freedom* of a group of women called Sojourn for Truth and Justice who went to Washington to talk to their elected officials about the issues that rural Negro and urban Negro women face regarding Jim Crow. This work is the embodiment of Robeson's editorial ideology of fighting for full equality. Erik McDuffie writes that this group's objective was "to unite all women" in the United States "for the protection of their lives and liberties." It also pledged "to wage a ceaseless war against the persecution of Negro women, such as the case of Rosa Lee Ingram." Ingram was an African American sharecropper from Ellaville, Georgia who along with her two sons were sentenced to life for the beating death of a white man when he initially attacked Ingram, accusing her of letting her farm animals stray into his yard.

The Sojourn for Truth and Justice saw that the Ingram case was symbolic of how wanton physical abuse of Black women went unpunished. Lorraine Hansberry wrote an article about their visit, of about one hundred women: "with less than two weeks notice, these women had come to Washington from 15 states, 132 strong, as the call said: 'to demand a redress of grievances.'" They had an appointment with Mr. Hubbard in the Civil Rights section of the United States Justice Department—and they meant to see him…He must have known that the women who came to Washington for the Sojourn for Truth and Justice are in no mood to be

[727] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story," *Freedom*, October 1951, Front page and p.7.

denied."[728]*Freedom* included a very interesting article by a white reader, very much similar to a letter to Randolph by an"Amiel Bolek." To *Freedom*, a "J.T." writes that "too little is said of what's happening to the so-called white people under this system. The result isthat too few white people understand why they must fight to do away with this horrible monster…To the Negro people and other minority people I say, please keep fighting and let me, and my people cooperate with you. For we all have so much to gain in this fight. To Freedom!"[729]William Hood brought the point of J.T. home when he says to our white brothers and sisters that "it is in their interest to fight uncompromisingly for the complete freedom of Black America if they are to be free themselves…The great struggle for Negro liberation is also tied with the struggles of colonial peoples of the world in their effort to throw off the shackles of foreign domination."[730]

The theme of the November 1951 issue of *Freedom* dealt with fighting unjust laws from those in the Fur and Leather Workers Union that are forced to process all parts of the fish without adequate pay, to the fictional character of Mrs. Jackson in a play by William Branch that was reviewed by Hansberry, to the choice of Charles Henry Langston who fights unjust laws that uphold slavery, to Henry Box Brown discussed in the Children's corner of *Freedom* who traveled to the North in a box to escape slavery. The theme of this entire issue encouraged collective organized action against unjust slavery law and Jim Crow law. An article by Dick Jefferson called "Mister Jim Crow Clears the Slums" discussed the efforts for collective organized action of "a number of community organizations…including the West Side Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, the Booker T. Washington Tenants Council, and the

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[728] Editorial, "Speaking Bitterness," *Freedom,* October 1951, p.2; Hansberry, "Women Voice Demands in Capital Sojourn," *Freedom,* October 1951, p.6; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.538-539; Esther Cooper Jackson was one of the women part of this Sojourn. McDuffie would later write that the work of Sojourn for Truth and Justice would end in part due to McCarthyism and be erased from our historical memory. Erik McDuffie, "A New Freedom Movement of Negro Women"*Radical History Review* 101 (Spring 2008), p.81.
[729] "Editorial: I Lose Too, Says White Reader," *Freedom,* October 1951, p.2
[730]William R. Hood, "Labor Will Lead Our People to First Class Citizenship,"*Freedom,* October 1951, p.4.

American Labor Party" to prevent wealthy real estate and broker interests from gentrifying their neighborhood and to "obtain a real low rent development."[731] At a National Negro Labor Council Convention, a resolution was passed on civil liberties, housing, colonalism, agriculture and youth. The housing resolution demanded abolition of discrimination and segregation in public and private housing and called for immediate expansion of the National Public Housing program from the inadequate 50,000 units to a minimum of 250,000 low-rent housing units per year."[732] Hansberry in this issue recommended that her readers see the play *A Medal for Willie* by William Branch which tells a story of a Southern Negro GI who is awarded posthumous a high military medal through his mother. The town's excitement builds when the mother accepts the medal on her son's behalf and upsets the whole award ceremony by saying "They say Willie is a hero because of all the killing…I think maybe Willie should have had that machine gun right here at home, where it might have done some good."[733] Both Branch and Hansberry reject the ways in which Black men are framed up by the U.S. government not to organize like Roosevelt Ward, but to fight overseas like the Louisiana sharecropper's son in her letter to the editor. Their endorsement of these plays like thischallenges imperialism and supported organized collective action for full equality and for peace. This is part of Robeson's editorial ideology.

In this holiday season-themed December 1951 issue, Robeson recognizes Du Bois as a galvanizing figure who inspires independent organization around the world. This issue celebrated the independence of Ghana originally, established by Great Britain, in an article by Lorraine Hansberry. It recognized the work of the Harlem Tenants Council in fighting for better quality food in Harlem supermarkets, and discusses a significant attempt by the National Negro

[731] Dick Jefferson, "Mister Jim Crow Clears the Slums," *Freedom*, November 1951, p.1,3.; Alice Childress' unpublished 1984 play *Gullah* deals with this issue of gentrification of African American communities.
[732]"Negro Labor Council Charts Road to Freedom,"*Freedom*, November 1951, p.4.
[733] Lorraine Hansberry, "'Medal For Willie' Deserves A Medal," *Freedom*, November 1951, p.7.; The story of this play is one of three that Alice Childress bases *Trouble in Mind* from, which will be discussed in the next section.

Congress to build a strong coalition that will withstand the efforts by management and management-influenced unions like the UAW in previous issues to ignore or weaken strong independent labor unions and union leaders.

Hansberry's article in this issue "Gold Coast's Rulers Go, Ghana Moves to Freedom," discussed a key example of what Negro or Black sovereignty looks like in a white supremacist world. She wrote:

> Progress in the spirit of liberation goes on in the plans of Kwame Nkrumah to advance his country, including a $211,000,000 plan for improving the country's economic and productive services, social services, communications and general administration services. Major among all plans in the $31,000,000five year education plan which has met some opposition in the legislature from reactionary forces. The first leg of this plan would introduce free primary education beginning next January. In a visit to the United States this June, the prime minister made offers to Negro technicians to come and help in the new education-development program of his country. But this leader, who has seen the work for imperialist powers operate in stripping his country of its natural wealth, wants no part of Marshall-plan hypocrisy and political enslavement…American Negroes watch this rich and powerful land, where the Ghanaian draped robe and sandal has replaced the European business suit in the legislatures; where the cocoa farmers, who produce more than half the world's cocoa, now sellto the open international market in stead of the British middleman. And very important, the name imposed on the country by the foreign exploiters is being officially changed back [from the "Gold Coast"] to the soft, ancient two-syllable word: Ghana.[734]

In all its celebration, this piece did not discuss the limits on Ghana's economic growth, being a former British colony for at least five decades. As Walter Rodney would later write, "securing the attributes of sovereignty is but one stage in the process of regaining African independence."[735]Hansberry celebrated African independence in the form of Ghana but would

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[734] Lorraine Hansberry, "Gold Coast's Rulers Go, Ghana Moves to Freedom," *Freedom,* December 1951, p.2.
[735]Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,* (1972; Washington, D.C., Howard University, 1982), p.279. History is showing us how the independence of one African nation translates to freedoms for Africans across the globe. For Ghanaians it is an important first step to determine the structure of their society as Hansberrry writes, however for the Western powers, who know the vast numbers of African leaders who on some level who would crave personal benefits from foreign investment, it could be considered a drop in the bucket. Hansberry realizes this concern through her fictional character in *A Raisin in the Sun,* Beneatha Younger, whom Hansberry says is based on herself. She asks her African suitor Joseph Asagai after the play's climax, "Independence and then what? What about all the crooks and the thieves and just plain idiots who will come into power and steal and plunder the same as before…?" Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun* with an introduction by Robert Nemiroff, (1959;New York, Vintage,

come to critique it in her produced play within the next decade. Joseph Reynolds, whom *Freedom* called a "veteran Southern labor organizer," asked readers in an article to "organize the unorganized. By this I mean to a great degree the Negro masses. In my opinion building the Negro Labor Councils in the South is more vital today to the whole nation than the birth of the CIO was in 1935-38."[736] Russell Meek's article about rotten food in Harlem stores ended with his saying "vigilance by every shopper and organized resistance to high prices and inferior products can help lick the food racket in Harlem."[737]

Freedom promoted Robeson's editorial ideology by using concerts of Paul Robeson as fundraisers. In the October 1951 issue is an advertisement for a "Freedom Festival" at Harlem's Rockland Palace. The cost of admission to this concert was a one year subscription to *Freedom* plus twenty cents which cost $1.20. At this concert, as George Murphy would write in the December 1951 section of "In the Freedom Family," Hansberry presented a history of the Negro newspaper "from 1827 [with John Russwurm and Samuel Cornish's *Freedom's Journal*] to the birth of *Freedom."* Hansberry found presses like *Freedom's Journal* important to celebrate because, like the presses of Pauline Hopkins and A. Philip Randolph, it was not pulled by the strings of any corporation. These papers that Hansberry celebrated were independent and uniquely concerned with the interests of the African American community. Murphy called this work "an original script" and used it as evidence to say that "things are moving." At the end of this section, based on his explaining how things are moving, he asks the reader: "think what you can do about giving yourself a dearly needed Christmas gift. What is the gift every American

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1994), p.133-134. For more on Rodney, see Clayton Goodwin, "Remembering Walter Rodney," *New Africa* (June 2010), p.84-86.

[736]"Southern Worker Calls For Labor Council Drive,"*Freedom*, December 1951, p.2.

[737] Russell Meek, "Harlem Food Racket Makes Eating Risky," *Freedom*, December 1951, p.8.

needs dearly this Christmas?"[738]In this issue they received a letter from the editor that says: "I like *Freedom* very much. Its like an extension of Paul Robeson's personality; and anything to do with Paul Robeson's personality is second to none in the world of my estimation."[739]This letter indicated the degree to which Burnham relied on the "Paul Robeson's personality" to keep *Freedom* running. However the FBI also kept its watchful eye since its inception. By the end of this year, the FBI identified the *Freedom* paper and staff as Communist according to a file dated November 17, 1951:

> On 11-17-51, of known reliability special agent [BLANK, indicating a redacted name] of this office, that had told the informant of a recent conversation she had with PAUL ROBESON. BLANK whom the informant described as a Communist Party member, indicated their conversation had concerned a proposed New Year's party in Washington, D.C. for the FREEDOM committee. According to [BLANK], Robeson directed her to organize the committee as well as the New Year's Party. He further told [BLANK] that he would come personally to see that the party and the committee are a success. He explained that they must establish a "liberation paper" for it is not known when the "Worker" will be prohibited and the "Freedom" will have to carry on.[740]

It is likely that the FBI was planning to use this file to confirm the work of *Freedom's* staff especially Paul Robeson as Communists and charge them under the Smith Act. But unlike those already prosecuted by law like James Jackson, the FBI had no solid evidence that *Freedom* staff were actually doing what the twelve Communists arrested in 1949 were accused of, which was organizing to advocate the "overthrow and the destruction of the government." Based on its now one year life the most that *Freedom* has provided is an analysis of the U.S. government; not a means to overthrow and destroy it but to critically analyze it.

The more *Freedom* continued, the more it relied on letters from its readers as a way to raise funds to run it. The January 1952 issue features a letter from an African American woman

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[738] "In the Freedom Family," *Freedom,* December 1951, p.4.
[739] "Letter Column: Get It Off Your Chest," *Freedom,* December 1951, p.6.
[740] FBI File on Paul Robeson, Microfilm Reel 1, Section 6, Frame #0823, File #100-12304-242.

sharecropper from Louisiana who said that army officers told her son that he is going to Korea. But that:

> last month when a group of us went to New Roads to register to vote, we were told NO. But one of the group was an 18 year old young man who had to register for the draft that same day. We've been holding church meetings to take up money, for we plan to sue the state for our voting rights. The FBI is slipping around asking questions about "Communists" and have been doing so every since the peace meeting in Chicago. Sure we want the war stopped. We need our sons at home to help us fight for our rights. We are with you. Keep the voice of FREEDOM.[741]

Murphy here wrote that this letter from one of the members of the "Freedom Family" and it emphasized what Robeson said in his Christmas message: "There are tens of thousands, no, millions of workers and farmers in the heart of the deep South who will respond to the message of *Freedom* but we must have the apparatus to get our paper to them." They announced a major Southern subscription drive, probably as a result of this letter, in order to help bring *Freedom* to thousands of Southern workers and farmers. Burnham and Murphy definitely used this letter from this Louisiana sharecropper to tell their readers that in order to reach Southern sharecroppers, they have to support *Freedom* financially or encourage friends to do so.

In the February 1952 issue another letter arrived thanking *Freedom* for its monthly columns written by Alice Childress called "Conversations From Life." In it was a fictionalized story of a domestic worker Mildred who would have witty exchanges with her friend and fellow domestic Marge about a range of topics from nuclear warfare to how to deal with your employer. In every issue hereafter she had a column called "Conversations FromLife" perhaps as a result of this letter. In the March 1952 issue *Freedom* printed a letter to the editor from a Ralph Simmons of New York City who attests to the ease of gaining *Freedom* subscribers: "I went back to my

[741] George B. Murphy, "We Are With You…Keep *Freedom's* Voice Strong!," *Freedom*, January 1952, p.8. Alice Childress' play *Trouble in Mind* which will be discussed in the next two sections will be based in part on events in this letter.

shop (Local 430, United Electrical Workers) and got 25 subs right away. I turned those in and kept at it and now I have gotten a total of 42. Workers will buy FREEDOM if you just explain that it is Paul Robeson's paper and only costs a dollar. Let's try it in all shops where there are large numbers of Negro workers."[742] Simmons was able to get many subscriptions and believed he would get more because of the reputation of Paul Robeson. Burnham anticipated this kind of support as editor of *Freedom* from those in labor unions and used it to make *Freedom* last as long as it could.

Another key article that galvanized tremendous support was an unattributed article entitled "Connor Jails Freedom Man," which describes how a Southern representative of *Freedom* named Earli Chapman "was picked up in his room in Birmingham, Ala. and held for three days on a trumped charge of 'vagrancy.' The arrest took place soon after Chapman had attended an impeachment hearing against Birmingham police chiefEugene "Bull" Connor in order to prepare a story for Freedom."[743]George Murphy wrote in an article on the last page of this issue that after one year of "sweating and struggling to publish FREEDOM," he's learned that "the Negro people want this paper." He launched a subscription drive through April, May and June in order to get 20,000 new subscribers. Murphy admitted the challenge behind this drive given the fact that *Freedom* has no income from ads, but Murphy writes that this was an opportunity to try to come out "more than once a month." They propose three strategies for readers to get subscriptions: "take this issue of FREEDOM to every tenant in your house and convince them to subscribe'; "arrange to have lunch with every shopmate during this month, and sign them up";"give a gift of subscription to FREEDOM and get friends to do likewise"; and

[742] "Letter Column: He Got 42 Subs," *Freedom*, March 1952, p.6.
[743] "Connor Jails Freedom Man," *Freedom*, April 1952, Front page. Connor would become the symbol of Jim Crow segregation during Martin Luther King's Project C campaign to desegregate businesses in downtown Birmingham in 1963.

"discussFREEDOM at the next meeting of your church group."[744]In the next issue, Alice Childress' series "Conversations From Life" featured a story of Mildred telling her friend Marge: "Mr. Burnham said that if every reader would sell one sub and send one dollar, FREEDOM would be able to pay up all the back bills and face the future with a clean slate…No ma'am! You will not give me no dollar next week! You will do it now this minute…Thank you, Marge. I know you will like the paper."[745]Burnham wrote an impassioned appeal to his readers that cast *Freedom,* as a sort of hope for the end of Jim Crow. In the May 1952 issue he wrote in direct reference to Bull Connor's arrest of Earli Chapman:

> Things have changed since 43 [after the inaugural SNYC conference]. Negroes all over the South were deciding just about then that their sacred rights of citizenship could no longer be left to the mercy and the whim of "white supremacy" bigots, but had to be won by organized and courageous struggle. And this decision is bringing about the most important political revolution of this generation in the United States…Will this movement for the suffrage and for representation reach its historic goal? Or will it be cut down by an orgy of Klan violence as was the democratic advance of the Southern people during Reconstruction? If the answer depended on the determination of the Negro…there would be no question.[746]

What Burnham meant by its historic goal is the editorial ideology of achieving full equality. This appeal does many things including appeal to readers for more financial support. Burnham argued here that by helping *Freedom,* readers help the cause for full equality. The staff by now at *Freedom* set up a Freedom Fund tour for Robeson intended to raise money not only for *Freedom* but also for the Council on African Affairs, the National Negro Labor Council (NNLC) and the new Committee for the Negro in the Arts.

Barriers to Robeson's Editorial Ideology

[744] "Freedom Opens Drive For 20,000 New Subs," *Freedom,* April 1952, p.8.
[745] "Conversations From Life," *Freedom,* May 1952, p.2.
[746] Louis Burnham, "Negro Suffrage Movement—New Southern Revolt," *Freedom,* May 1952, p.1,3.

Paul Robeson encountered many difficulties along the way, apparently due to FBI or CIA intimidation of people in charge of places in which he would sing.[747]These difficulties that prevented him from singing due to his being blacklisted also threatened his editorial ideology. Lenwood Davis cites thirteen periodical articles detailing how Robeson's engagements in Chicago, San Francisco, Oakland and Hartford were either cancelled or highly controversial because of his reputation.[748]One article from the *London Times* summarized by Lenwood Davis said that Robeson was refused permission to sing at the San Francisco War Memorial Opera House because "he was considered a pro-Communist, unfit to appear within a memorial to war dead."[749]

The Freedom Fund also faced difficulties in scheduling Robeson to speak in different cities. Duberman described a stop in this tour in Seattle where Terry Pettus, editor of *People's World* based in Seattle called the *Freedom* staff in New York to tell them that city authorities had abruptly canceled their agreement to lease the civic auditorium for Robeson's concert on the ground that it would "tend to cause antagonism to the Negro race." In response, they engaged in a large campaign targeted to Black clubs, churches and political organizations in Seattle to write to city authorities for the right to have Robeson perform there. Eventually Robeson performed and a court case developed with a ruling that the city had failed to prove that Robeson's appearance would cause racial antagonism. The Freedom Fund earned $250 from this engagement.[750]The highlight of this tour was a concert at the Peace Arch Park in Washington

[747] Robeson Jr., *The Quest For Freedom,* p.224.
[748]Davis, ed., *A Paul Robeson Research Guide,* p.587-591.
[749] Davis, ed. *A Paul Robeson Research Guide,* p.587.
[750]Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.401-402.

state near the Vancouver border which Robeson Jr. called a modest success. According to Robeson Jr., his concert fees added up to $12,000 of which he contributed $8,000 to *Freedom.*[751]

Freedom would face more barriers after this Freedom Fund tour that sought to combat his virtual national blacklist following the State Department's seizure of his passport. However these barriers would not prevent the important editorial ideology of Robeson presented in *Freedom*since November 1950.

On the front cover of the January 1952 issue is a photo of Harry T. Moore under the headline, "Act Together to Halt the Killing of Our People!" Moore was an NAACP organizer who helped to register thousands of voters in Florida who was killed on Christmas night in 1951 by the Klan. Robeson wrote that the aim of his murder was "to short circuit the growing clamor for votes and justice in the South by beheading those who are brave enough to demand their rights or strong enough to lead the organized mass movement." Robeson's editorial ideology continuously called on its readers to demand their rights for full equality in a very strong way. Robeson galvanized the growing clamor of outrage at the death of Harry T. Moore in order to stress the importance of independent political organizing for full equality of Negroes: "The need of the hour is for thousands of Harry Moores to rise and take the place of the fallen one. From the colleges and schools of the South, from the plantations and country districts, from the mines, mills and factories, new fighters for full freedom must take our brother's death as the signal for their unending dedication to their people's needs."[752]

Moore was killed for the explicit purpose of organizing Negroes to vote which is what makes this, for Robeson, a "political assassination." William Patterson in this issue mentioned the document he presented to last month to the U.N. last month entitled "We Charge Genocide"

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[751] Robeson Jr., *The Quest For Freedom,* p.221.
[752]"Robeson Calls for Unbreakable Unity in Face of Common Peril," *Freedom,* January 1952, Front page and p.6.

which has underscored by the reporting of the murder of Harry T. Moore. Also in this issue Dorothy Hunton, whose husband Alphaeus Hunton is still incarcerated for not divulging the names of the Civil Rights Congress bail fund contributors, asked women readers to heed Robeson's call to fight for full equality by joining the Sojourn For Peace and Justice.

In this issue Raphael Hendrix celebrated organized resistance against housing discrimination by the Metropolitan Life Company. He reported that hundreds of New Yorkers stood in front of the Stuyvesant Town housing project on the morning of January 14. This town housing project had put eviction notices on 19 families who had fought for the right of any Negro family to live in the project. Like the tobacco workers strike in North Carolina and the auto workers union strike, the management of the housing project tried to break the protest by removing the nineteen of the most militant families from the housing who were fighting for any other Negro family to live there. Hendrix concluded: "the way to end discrimination in housing in New York is simply—to end it."[753] This issue also recognized the promotion of Lorraine Hansberry from writer to assistant editor. Alphaeus Hunton writes about how in Liberia, Western powers ignore the democratically elected leader in Didwho Twe to focus on the leader more friendly to their interests in Mr. Tubman who, more than Twe, has opened up the country to Western companies. Following Hansberry's article praising the independence of Ghana in December 1951, this article serves as a sort of cautionary tale to other newly independent African countries about the challenge of being controlled by Western corporate interests after independence. Robeson in his editorial of this issue focused on the issue of friendship with the Soviet Union.

In the March 1952 issue is an article showing the important work that the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is doing in lobbying elected officials to not be a "war minded"

[753] Raphael Hendrix, "We Licked Jim Crow At Stuyvesant Town," *Freedom*, February 1952, p.8.

Congress. *Freedom* advocated citizen lobbyists to discuss war policy with their elected officials. Hansberry in this issue recognized organized anticolonial resistance in Egypt when she discussed the role of women in Egypt fighting collaboration of Egyptian leaders with Western imperialists:

> Last February, Madame Doria Shafik, president of the Daughters of the Nile, the foremost women's movement in Egypt led a thousand Egyptian women right into the halls of the parliament and demanded feminine representation. And significantly, it was this same women's movement that in January offered some 250 trained young women for guerrilla combat service against the British in the canal zone. The "warnings" are over. The Egyptian people, like other African peoples, are tired of the exploitation and humiliation of the foreign rule of a white supremacist imperialist nation.[754]

Hansberry concluded her work by critiquing Western friendly "Cadillac leadership" that is more concerned with gaining materialist trinkets than in, as Robeson would say about six years later, "a single minded dedication to their people's welfare."[755] Hansberry, Robeson, Burnham and the entire *Freedom* staff were unequivocally interested in collective organized action led by those with this "single minded dedication to their people's welfare," specifically Negro people's welfare. They consider the twelve imprisoned by the Smith Act in 1949 people with a single minded dedication to Negro people's welfare. The last article in this issue described the success of the National Negro Labor Council's job campaign in Louisville in expanding the job market so that Negroes could be "truck drivers, streetcar motomen, saleswomen, bank officials…the Council also achieved what it believes to be the first breakthrough in Jim Crow education in Kentucky below the college level, when it got agreement that courses not being given in the Negro high school would be opened to Negroes in the white school."[756]

Following the theme of strong Negro leadership, *Freedom* in its April 1952 issue focused on the U.S. vice presidential candidate for the Progressive Party, Charlotta Bass. It also showed

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[754] Lorraine Hansberry, "Egyptian People Fight For Freedom," *Freedom*, March 1952, p.3. Hansberry's 1952 description of Egypt recalls the 2011 Arab Spring across the Middle East.
[755] Robeson, *Here I Stand*, p.102.
[756] "Louisville, Chicago, Coast Victories, Highlight NNLC Job Campaign," *Freedom*, March 1952, p.8.

the tragic repression of *Freedom* supporters by Jim Crow. Harry Hudson celebrated the work of Mrs. Mae Atkins who fought race discrimination in the field of hiring butchers at Harlem stores: "we went to the American Labor Party, and with their support, we got 3,000 leaflets," Mrs. Atkins said. In their leaflet the committee demanded not only that a full time Negro butcher be hired, but that no white butcher be fired." *Freedom* debunked the idea that in order to allow room for Black workers white workers would have to be fired.[757] Also in this issue is a report on the arrest of *Freedom* vendor Earli Chapman by Birmingham Chief of Police Bull Connor. In response to the Jim Crow oppression of *Freedom*, Burnham held a forum "Committee For A Free South" intending to organize Negroes who wanted to read and spread the word about *Freedom.* In the stead of Paul Robeson, Lorraine Hansberry attended the Intercontinental Peace Conference in Paraguay. She writes at this conference that many families in Paraguay are in political exile for the same reason that Roosevelt Ward was arrested: to avoid being drafted by the U.S. Army to fight in Korea. Eslanda Goode Robeson endorses the efforts of the African National Congress.[758] Like no other piece in *Freedom* heretofore, Robeson specified his editorial ideology as one that asserts that Negro people must lead the struggle for liberation, but they must not exclude white allies for simply being white. We see more aspects of this refined editorial ideology throughout the life of *Freedom.* Beulah Richardson, known later more famously by her performance name, Beah Richards, wrote a front page article in this issue about Charlotta Bass who is a woman of gentle heart and firm purpose, who "won a three year fight with the Southern California Telephone Company to employ Negroes by organizing 100 Negro

[757]Harry Hudson, "Community FEPC Group Wins 33 Jobs in Harlem,"*Freedom*, April 1952, p.2.
[758] Compared to the African National Congress of 1952, the African National Congress of the nineties and the new millennium has been heavily compromised by Western corporate interests ever since their acceptance of foreign contributions. See John Pilger, *Freedom Next Time: Resisting the Empire*, (New York, Nation Books, 2007), p.213, 220-221. Steven R. Carter writes without reference that Hansberry attended the Intercontinental Peace Congress in Montevideo, Uruguay, when *Freedom* in this April 1952 issue reported that she attended it in Paramaribo, Paraguay. *Hansberry's Drama: Commitment Amid Complexity*, (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1991) p.viii,10.

citizens to cancel their subscriptions.[759]*Freedom* included a birthday supplement in this issue and following this supplement is a review of Alice Childress' play *Gold Through the Trees* which according to Kathy Perkins makes Childress the first African American woman to have a play professionally produced in New York City.[760]*Freedom* told us that this play "concerns the ties between the African peoples and American Negroes." It essentially dealt with what freedom means to an African or an African American at different places at three different times: in Africa as the holocaust of enslavement was taking place; in antebellum America; and in then present day South Africa.

In this section Robeson's collaborator Lloyd Brown wrote that his passport case was argued in the Court of Appeals in Washington in March 1952 and that Robeson must have the right to travel both as an artist and as a leader in the world movement for peace and colonial liberation.He wrote that the State Department denied this appeal and said formally that Robeson's travel would be "against the best interests and will of the American people," but Brown writes: "the conclusion is clear: it is the State Department's opposition to colonial freedom that is against the best interests and will of the American people,"and not Robeson's travel.[761]

In the May 1952 issue Lorraine Hansberry celebrated the work of George Crockett, attorney of the Smith Act victims who was imprisoned for his so called contempt of court. *Freedom* also looked at the role of the church in freedom struggles in a piece that is not

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[759] Beulah Richardson, "Progressives Name Mrs. Bass," *Freedom,* April 1952, p.4; Lisa Gay Hamilton produced a documentary on Beah Richards (Beulah Richardson) distributed by HBO Films called *Beah: A Black Woman Speaks.* For more on Charlotta Bass see the Regina Freer, "L.A. Race Woman: Charlotta Bass and the Complexities of Black Political Development in Los Angeles," *American Quarterly* 56 (2004), p.607-632. And Marti Tippens' "Talking Back: How Publisher and Activist Charlotta Bass Challenged Inequality Through *The California Eagle*,"University of California at Northridge 2001 master's thesis.
[760] See Kathy Perkins, ed. *Alice Childress: Selected Plays,* (Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 2011).
[761] Lloyd Brown, "Robeson Passport Case: State Dept. Says African Freedom 'Against Best Interests of U.S.," *Freedom,* April 1952, p.5.

attributed to any author. In light of his specified editorial ideology from his previous issue, on how "theNegro people must lead the struggle for liberation," Robeson in this issue asked what kind of allies we should in the struggle for Negro liberation: "half hearted liberals who advocate gradualism and ride to public acclaim on the backs of 'our' problem? Or modern day abolitionists who go all-out for freedom now?" Lorraine Hansberry's play *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window* dealt with both kinds of people in her fictional characters: the half hearted liberals in Wally O'Hara and (arguably) the modern day radical in Sidney Brustein. Burnham also in this issue wrote a powerful appeal to white progressives in "Negro Suffrage Movement—New Southern Revolt" where he said that the right to vote, in light of the murder of Harry T. Moore, movement depends on the active interest and participation of every class and group in our nation, especially white Southerners like the ones who bombed Moore's home, because they, Burnham writes "are also ground down under the heel of the Dixiecrat flunkies of Northern big business interests." He said that the right to vote will only come to the white worker to the extent that the majority of white voters join with the rising Negro vote to throw the racist rascals out of office.[762] Burnham in this article challenged assumptions about labor organizations and political organizations needing to be only Negro or only white in order to make a positive impact the way Beulah Richardson describes Charlotta Bass.

A potential hotbed for radical organizing that *Freedom* discusses is the church. In the article "Church Always Led Freedom's Struggles," the unnamed author writes that African people "the Negro church became part and parcel of the Negro peoples' fight for freedom and has remained in a position of leadership insofar as it has continued to associate itself with the

[762] Louis Burnham, "Negro Suffrage Movement—New Southern Revolt," *Freedom,* May 1951, p.1,3.

aspirations and continued struggles of its people."[763] Paul Robeson wrote that "the Negro church is the still the strongest base of power of organization" because they are still "independent."[764] The *Freedom* staff discovered this while planning Robeson's Freedom Fund tour this year. In hosting Robeson and helping to raise thousands of dollars for *Freedom*, the African American church community in and around Seattle defied the Seattle city officials who sought to block Robeson's appearance.[765] Lorraine Hansberry wrote a review of Alice Childress' *Gold Through the Trees* which opened at the Club Baron in Harlem. Of Childress she says she "knows more about language and drama than most people who write for the theatre today, and the result is that whatever its little weaknesses, *Gold Through the Trees*, is probably the most worthwhile and entertaining show currently running in New York."[766] The fact that the Committee for the Negro in the Arts presented this play is a testament to Hansberry's second article in *Freedom* critiquing stereotypical images. At the end of it she suggests that an organization should be formed to demand more dignified images of African Americans. About one year after writing this, she is able to compliment Alice Childress, a fellow *Freedom* staffer, on the language and drama that in terms of its depictions of Black characters which is an absolute improvement from the Amos and Andy show she wrote about.

On the front cover of this issue, *Freedom* makes up to now its strongest appeal to Negro voters to leave the two party system. Du Bois exhorts his readers to support the progressive

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[763]"Church Always Led Freedom's Struggles," *Freedom*, May 1952, p.5. Steven R. Carter, biographer of Lorraine Hansberry, writes that Hansberry wrote this unattributed article (in *Hansberry's Drama: Commitment Amid Complexity*, (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1991), p.55) however because this article references the AME Zion church directly and the Reverend Benjamin Robeson who wrote in the previous *Freedom* issue is a Reverend of the AME Zion church, it is more likely that Benjamin Robeson wrote this article, especially since in interviews with Patricia Marks and Mike Wallace, Lorraine Hansberry stated that she does not subscribe to any religion.
[764]Robeson, *Here I Stand*, p.96.
[765] Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.401. Duberman writes that a number of Seattle's Black leaders—Vincent Davis, Lester Catlett, and James McDaniels—testified at an injunction in support of Robeson. Seattle organizers sent out special delivery letters to leaders of Black clubs, churches, and political organizations stressing the lie, of what Seattle city officials believed, that Robeson's appearance would cause racial antagonism.
[766] Lorraine Hansberry, "Gold Through the Trees: CNA [Committee for the Negro in the Arts] Presents Exciting New Dramatic Revue," *Freedom*, May 1952, p.7.

party instead of the corrupt two party system which is part of Robeson's editorial ideology: "if we are going to have democracy in America, we must organize the Third Party by homes and blocks; we must jam meetings and halls."[767]*Freedom* exhorted its readers to support the Progressive Party as one that is politically independent outside the two party mainstream. This issue celebrated the work of white ally Simon Zukas in his work to make Northern Rhodesia independent from Great Britain. His work is a testament to the importance of interracial coalition building.

This issue also recognized leaders who stand up for what Robeson has termed full equality: Thomas Johnson, Walter Barnett and Enus Christiani. Thomas Johnson asked for support in his strike of a CIO branch, Local 286, the United Furniture Workers of America, as they protest wages. Walter Barnett, an army soldier, was trying to gather signatures for a petition wanting the FEPC strengthened. Lorraine Hansberry called on readers to take collective organized action against the police killing of Enus Christiani, a Black student at NYU who was shot by police in a dispute with fellow white college student about his using as a target,that he would throw arrows at, a photo of the face of a Black woman. Also on the theme of resistance to big business interests, this June 1952 issue presented what seems to be Robert Franklin Williams very first article that critiques the Washingtonian accomodationist culture of the Historically Black College he attends in Johnson C. Smith College in Charlotte, North Carolina. In a way it sort of exposed the work that needs to be done regarding a more radical education. Williams presented a survey to forty fellow college students and asked them to identify whether or not they heard of radical individuals. In his article, he presented his results showing that of the 40 students Williams surveyed at Johnson C. Smith, 0 had heard of Charlotta Bass where 40 had not; 16 had heard of Harry T. Moore where 24 had not; 4 had heard of the Smith Act where 36

[767] W.E.B. Du Bois, "Du Bois Calls Third Party Only Hope in 1952," *Freedom*, June 1952, Front page.

had not; while 30 had heard of W.E.B. Du Bois where 10 had not. This survey showed how *Freedom* was not part of the mainstream American television or newspaper medium. Williams presented this to argue for the importance of a more progressive education in American colleges and universities: "the lack of a progressive curriculum inclusive of an objective analysis of current events places the Southern Negro college student at a disadvantage in understanding the problems of his world…The fallacy is that most students are thinking as they have been taught to think, of their personal careers, or becoming a third class aristocracy in a Jim Crowed world."[768]

In their first issue to review books, Hansberry who by now is in charge of the book review section, assigns John Oliver Killens to review Ralph Ellison's novel *Invisible Man* for *Freedom.* It was given attention by *Freedom* because of its mainstream popularity however its treatment, like *Freedom's* treatment of the mainstream two party system, is as critical. Killens' critical approach to Ellison was complimentary with Robeson's editorial ideology in encouraging political organizing but absolutely excoriated the content of the novel's story. He called it "a vicious distortion" of Negro life, a modernized "surrealist" anti-Negro stereotype. Lawrence P. Jackson writes that part of what was Killens' problem with the book was that "nowhere" in it "did a Black character directly confront and violently resist unambiguous white racism."[769]The actions of the characters in Ellison's novel for both Killens and Hansberry belie the proscriptions and endorsements *Freedom* made continually to its readers about directly confronting white supremacy, through the reporting of William L. Patterson before the congressional committee

[768] Robert Franklin Williams, "N. Carolina College Youth Calls For A Militant Student Generation," *Freedom,* June 1952, p.5. This article in *Freedom*, Timothy Tyson writes, was part of Williams' pursuing his early dream of becoming a writer. As a result of pursuing this dream as a writer that Paul Robeson's *Freedom* allowed, Williams in 1962 wrote *Negroes with Guns* (New York, Marzani and Munsell, 1962) which, according to Tyson, influenced Huey Newton who would become co-founder of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. See Timothy Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power,* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1999), p.289, 357. This speaks to the important power of the written word of *Freedom* made possible by Robeson's editorial ideology.
[769]Jackson, *The Indignant Generation,* p.359-360.

and the Sojourn for Truth and Justice. Nowhere in Ellison's novel is such an endorsement of confronting white supremacy made and for this reason it is a problem for Killens. Hansberry reviewed *Spartacus* by Howard Fast, writing that "it is unfortunate that Mr. Fast chose to tell his story so largely through the eyes of the degenerate slave-holding class and so little through the eyes and hearts of the slaves who were the heroes of both the book—and of history."[770]

The July 1952 issue celebrated the organization of union workers who, as striking for labor rights, were apparently striking for higher wages and being punished for it. Robeson in this issue called for greater support among readers for the African peoples fight for self determination against European colonization. In an article called "Leaders Demand U.S. Support for Growing African Struggles," *Freedom* wrote that "a cross section of Negro leadership in the United States directed a petition to President Truman calling for "genuine and unequivocal support of the principle of self-determination for the peoples of Africa and other subject lands…FREEDOM pointed out in its April issue that the [Daniel] Malan government is propped up by huge investments of U.S. industry, direct government loans, and the purchase of uranium from waste ore in South African gold mines."[771] In a very important article fighting for full equality called "Memo to Political Parties: Act Now," eighteen national Negro organizations met representatives from all political parties, asking their stands on issues and ultimately concluding that of the three conventions, only one promises action tailored to suit the Negro's needs: the Progressive Party.

The writers of this article, like Robert F. Williams, explain the reasons we do not hear from the political parties that best addresses the needs of the Negro people: "denied time by the

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[770]John Oliver Killens and Lorraine Hansberry, "Book Review," *Freedom,* June 1952, p.7.

[771]"Leaders Demand U.S. Support for Growing African Struggles," *Freedom,* July 1952, p.2. When he holds a silver cross, Hansberry's character Tshembe Matoseh critiques the European exploitation of minerals for material profit in *Les Blancs* which will be discussed in depth in the next section. For African American attitudes towards purchasing diamonds from South Africa that calls attention to the awareness of imperialism in this country, see Lisa Mardelle Bratton, "African American Attitude and Behavior Change Toward Purchasing Diamonds: The South African Diamond Industry and Its Impact on South African Economic Independence," (Ph.D dissertation, Temple University, 2001).

radio and television networks, censored by the publishers of the big money press, the Progressives are fighting a brazen conspiracy to hide from the American people the fact that there is a third major party in the race."[772]On the topic of Korea, *Freedom* reported that by now the killings there have entered their third year and that "it is the second longest foreign war our country has waged." They supplied the information and then endorsed collective organized action: "the American people must reclaim the honor and integrity of our nation by calling to a halt the racist butchery in Korea and in the South of the U.S.A."[773]

True to his editorial ideology that encouraged independent political organization that works toward full equality, Robeson made strong policy critiques of the Democratic and Republican party. He answered the question of how to support the Progressive Party despite their being ignored by the mainstream media by claiming that all of us has some work to do, "not on TV, not on radio, not long distance—but face to face with the powers that be. I mean mass action and mass pressure."[774] The National Negro Labor Council asked for any readers associated with the new burgeoning airline industry to contact the Council to win 100,000 jobs for Negro workers in areas of employment, now barred to them. Also in this issue, *Freedom* called upon readers to boycott Schaefer beer in protest of its refusal to meet with Negro Labor Council Representatives.[775]In another edition of the article with the same title "Memo Now to Political Parties: Act Now For Civil Rights," *Freedom* concludes that from where the voter sits,

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[772] "Memo to Political Parties: ACT NOW,"*Freedom,* July 1952, Front page, p.6; This denial of time by radio and television networks speak to what Paul Street in his biography of Barack Obama says about the difficulty of progressives running in a presidential campaign: "one simply cannot mount a serious run for the presidency without the approval of wealthy election investors from within the top 1% of citizens who own more than half the nation's financial wealth and account for more than three fourths of the significant campaign contributions," Paul Street, *Barack Obama and the Future of American Politics,* (Boulder (CO), Paradigm, 2009), p.189.
[773]"Killings?Who---Us?"*Freedom,* July 1952, p.4.
[774] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story," *Freedom,* August 1952, Front page.
[775] "Make it Clear: Boycott Schaefer!" *Freedom,* August 1952, p.3.

the Progressives, in one sense, must be regarded as the major party: "it is the only party which provides major participation of Negroes in deliberations." Robeson said:

> in 1952 our campaign is challenging the two old parties "and raising that challenge to new heights.We will force the Democratic party in the person of Mr. Truman and his Wall Street boy Mr. Harriman to respond to the demand for genuine civil rights for the Negro people….the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties are united in preparing for war. Preparing for means that they must destroy civil rights. All supporters are urged to write…[776]

Robeson was analyzing the logic behind his being ignored by Truman. To his readers regarding organizing, Robeson killed the assumption that the critique of Communism is valid. The Communist threat was used against activists like Paul Robeson and William Patterson to avoid forces loyal to Wall Street to end discrimination. He called his readers to collective organized action following his analysis.

The front page headline of the October 1952 issue blasted Max Yergan for his support of the South African colonial government led by Prime Minister Daniel Malan. Robeson Jr. would later write that Max Yergan was a CIA consultant during the life of *Freedom.*[777] Dorothy Burnham documents the need of Southern sharecroppers to organize yet again in response to the Truman administration's ending of many Roosevelt New Deal policies: "Throughout the cotton belt of the old South it is a common thing to hear farmers talk of the need to organize again."[778] The loss of New Deal farm projects is what makes the draft evasion of Roosevelt Ward reported by *Freedom* so important. Oscar Brown Jr. wrote about the loud vocal resistance the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) faced when it landed in Chicago. Brown wrote that HUAC, a past master at union busting operations was called in to cut off the heads of the union

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[776]"Memo to Political Parties: ACT NOW for Civil Rights," *Freedom,* August 1952, Front page.
[777] "South African Leaders Blast Max Yergan," *Freedom,* October 1952, front page; Robeson Jr., *The Quest For Freedom,* p.304; Robeson Jr. says that the CIA material he obtained under the Freedom of Information Act totals 176 heavily redacted documents shows this.
[778] Dorothy Burnham, "Southern Tenants and Croppers Talk About the Need For Organizing," *Freedom,* October 1952, p.2.

and set the membership a suicidal spree of "name calling" and "political purging" that would have left them "easy prey at the negotiating table…Its failure was due largely to the militant stand made by such men as Leon Beverly, President of Local 347 of UPWA CIO, and Sam Parks, Chairman of the Chicago Negro Labor Council and director of the Anti-Discrimination Department of UPWA's District One." Brown celebrated this militant defense against the anti-Communist purge.[779] Dave Moore applauded the gains that the Local 600 made in electing leaders from the Progressive-Unity coalition to the general council of the UAW: "the victories of the Progressive-Unity coalition at Ford meant that the era of Reutherism has just about ended in the local. These victories also meant that other locals in the UAW will look upon Local 600 as a beacon of light to guide them to a better future and democracy in the automobile industry."[780]

This November 1952 issue is concerned with domestic policy as a result of the Korean war and how Negroes in the States should organize concerning it. Alec Jones asked whether wars abroad mean better jobs over here and he answers no:

> Pennies for public education—and the schools are so crowded his child must stand in an aisle for there is no seat. A pittance for public helath—and Negro babies die for lack of medical attention. Nothing for recreational facilities—and the commercial press manufactures crime waves in Negro neighborhoods to further foster race hate and bigotry. This is the cost of the Korean war to the Negro people.[781]

Jones presented this as an issue not only of equality but also of peace. He basically showed on a local level the effect of imperialism on a local level. This information is presented in *Freedom* as a way to underscore Robeson's point about the role of the two party system in alleviating the oppressive conditions Negroes or African Americans are facing and why such conditions are

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[779] "Where Did You Say You're From: Un American Committee Packs Its Bags Under Fire of Union Leaders," *Freedom*, October 1952, p.5. Following his writing for *Freedom*, Oscar Brown Jr. like Paul Robeson would be able to make a career as a singer here and abroad.
[780]Dave Moore, "Negroes Gain as Progressive Coalition Wins Election," *Freedom*, October 1952, p.5.
[781] Alec Jones, "Do Wars Abroad Mean Better Jobs Here? Urban League Shows War Boosted Bias," *Freedom*, November 1952, p.4.

exactly related to the nations under U.S. occupation like at this time Korea. Lorraine Hansberry investigated the issues of underfunded schools specifically in Harlem. Hansberry implicated the lack of Black teachers as part of the problem and presents this issue as one of Negro students not getting full equality as their white counterparts in terms of education. She made her conclusions not only on her speculation but on a union questionnaire about the number of Negro teachers on school staff: "twenty eight of the fifty seven schools which answered the Teachers' Union questionnaire had no Negroes no their staff at all, including those schools outside of Negro communities where there were large numbers of Negro students."[782]An article about the Chicago branch of the National Negro Labor Council discussed their role in picketing Sears for jobs: "campaigns have also gotten results in St. Louis, Newark, Los Angeles, and other major cities." On this same page is Alec Jones article on the poverty created by the Korean invasion. Its placement in the *Freedom* paper assumes labor organizing as one way to combat imperialism.[783]

Robeson wrote in his editorial that the fight for Negro liberation does not come about by boasting but by battle and hard work. Along with these themes, Harry Drayton gave the history of labor organizing in Jamaica suggesting the kind of hard work that Robeson mentioned: "Labor conditions in the islands, steadily deteriorating over the years, led to a series of strikes throughout the Caribbean during 1935-1938." Lorraine Hansberry reported on the growing anticolonial movement in Kenya that she will later fictionalize in her monumental play *Les Blancs* where she presents a fictional story around the folktale of the hyena and the elephant that is mentioned in this article. Hansberry in this article and in *Les Blancs* reframes the mainstream

[782]Lorraine Hansberry, "Harlem Children Face Mass Ignorance in Old, Overcrowded, Understaffed Schools," *Freedom*, November 1952, p.3.
[783] "NNLC Campaigns For Sears Jobs," *Freedom*, November 1951, p.4.; The ruling class response to effective labor organizing in the United States is deindustrialization: instead of meeting the anti-racism demands of the labor unions, they outsource and transport manufacturing jobs overseas and instead impose the same unfair working conditions on peoples of color outside the United States in a form of exported Jim Crow. The underlying message in *Freedom* is solidarity with oppressed peoples across all nations who are exploited by American multinational corporations.

narrative the New York Times about Africa being savage, chaotic, disorderly and in need of British civilization. In an October 20, 1952,*New York Times* article written by Tania Long entitled "British Worried By Kenya Terror," the so called Mau Mau, which Hansberry called the Land and Freedom Army (the name they've given themselves). The so called Mau Mau are framed as "savage" and those who exhibit "terrorist" behavior. Long wrote that the resistance the British government was facing "stem from the frustrations of a savage people neither mentally nor economically able to adjust itself to the swift pace of civilization…not least in their influence on the tribe have been many missionaries who poured into Kenya from Britain and the United States as the country was opened to white settlers."[784] Hansberry's play *Les Blancs* takes place in a religious mission in a fictional nation called Zatembe based on Kenya. She presents a major character in this play inCharlie Morris who, despite his pleasant exterior, fundamentally believes the ideas that Tania Long write about the anticolonial resistance.

In her article called "Kenya's Kikuyu: A Peaceful People Wage Heroic Struggle Against British," she first wrote that "the Kikuyu people are helping to set fire to British imperialism in Kenya. In recent months new agencies in the United States and Europe have been sending out frantic dispatches about the "terrorists" and "witchcraft" societies in the colony." Hansberry reframed the Land and Freedom Army not as "savages" but as "a highly organized guerilla movement for African freedom."[785]

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[784] Tania Long, "British Worried By Kenya Terror," *New York Times*, October 20, 1952.

[785] Lorraine Hansberry, "Kenya's Kikuyu: A Peaceful Wage Heroic Struggle Against British," *Freedom*, December 1952, p.3; Kenyan writer Ngugi Wa Thiong'o critiques the Western and neocolonial attempts to stigmatize African peoples in his fiction and nonfiction. *Wizard of the Crow* is a novel about a fictional African nation Aburiria that will do anything necessary to get money from Western corporate interests, even if it means perpetuating negative stereotypes about their fellow countrymen wanting to remain poor because they practice "witchcraft": "Aburiria justice ends up in the pockets of the highest bidder," Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Wizard of the Crow*, (New York, Anchor, 2006), p.430. In his memoir, *Dreams in a Time of War*, he writes that his brother, "Good Wallace, was a member of the supply wing of the nationalist guerilla army, the Kenya Land and Freedom Army…The stories of Mau Mau as atavistic anti-progress, antireligion, antimodernity are deeply at odds with what I know of my brother, attested by his

In June 1952, Bertram Alves wrote in George B. Murphy's stead while Murphy was visiting key cities for a sub drive. Alves called on readers to start a Freedom Club in their own towns. George Murphy in Chicago wrote in the October 1952 issue that Octavia Hawkins and Rachel Ellis help set up a FREEDOM committee headed by Harold Abel. By December, Paul Robeson's influence on fundraising would return when he writes a letter in the December 1952 issue asking readers to subscribe to a $5 advance sale of his new album. By now no record stores in the country were selling his music because of the FBI surveillance and consequent censure of any business or public place that would host him. He invited his son and Lloyd Brown to join him in creating "an independent record company as a means to reconnect with his progressive-liberal white audience, from he had been cut off and to reach Black church audiences with an album of traditional spirituals and hymns." This became the Othello Recording Corporation which sold their first album *Robeson Sings* in 1952. They had to sell this record independently since no stores would display any music by Robeson, nor would any radio station play them. However *Robeson Sings* was sold primarily by mail order through Black churches, progressive organizations and papers like the *National Guardian.* Robeson Jr. writes that overall the Corporation generated $60,000 in income and paid Robeson $12,000 in royalties. *Freedom* saw some of this income and royalties, as the December 1952 issue includes a letter by Robeson asking readers to subscribe to a five dollar advance sale of his new album.[786]

In the next issue they hold a contest for *Freedom* readers where the winner received one of four things: a $150 vacation trip, a $100 weekend holiday, a 17-jewel Bulova watch or a special prize of an autographed album of brand new Othello Recording of *Robeson Sings.* The

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last daring act of coming home to wish me well [on a secondary school entrance exam, which the author passed]." Wa Thiong'o, *Dreams in a Time of War* (New York, Pantheon, 2010), p.211, 230.

[786] Robeson Jr., *The Quest For Freedom,* p.222; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.336. Foner also writes that Robeson sees his income dwindle "from a high of over $100,000 in 1947 to about $6,000 in 1952," p.40.

repressive McCarthyism does not prevent him from selling albums. It also allows him to generate revenue not to allow *Freedom* to grow or to be issued more frequently but to survive. In fact, Robeson Jr. writes that an internal memo to J. Edgar Hoover from assistant CIA director Lyman Kirkpatrick described Robeson as "a very independent person who will not let himself be used."[787] The continuation of Robeson's career despite the state sanctioned harassment proves this. This description would be true not only of Robeson but of his editorial ideology and the artistic vision of playwrights Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry that worked for *Freedom.*

In the January 1953 issue of *Freedom,* William Patterson wrote an article comparing the case of Rosa Lee Ingram to the famous case of the Rosenbergs who were accused and executed for allegedly selling secrets to the Soviets. Harry Drayton in the second article of a two part series discussed the labor history of Jamaica and like Herbert Aptheker provides a history of independent political organizing only in Jamaica. The two major parties in Jamaica are the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). Drayton writes that efforts to unite the Caribbean islands in terms of labor organizing is continually undermined by the more conservative elements of the bourgeoisie. He talked about how former prime minister of Jamaica Alexander Bustamante helped expel militant members of parliament, and how Grantley Adams, then leader of the Barbados' Labor Party expelled members of the Caribbean Labor Congress who are part of the militant World Federation of Trade Unions. His critique of Bustamante and Adams is similar to Ashley Totten's critique of the imperialist interests of what Frantz Fanon calls the colonized bourgeoisie. Adams and Bustamante, by Drayton's explanation, are part of that bourgeoisie. This is in line with Robeson's editorial ideology of identifying leaders who fight strongest for full equality and have "a single minded dedication to

[787] Robeson Jr., *The Quest For Freedom,* p.224.

their people's welfare."[788] As of this and the previous issues, *Freedom* will begin focusing on leaders in the Caribbean like Cheddi Jagan of Guyana for their expressed quality of having a single minded dedication to his people's welfare. Robeson challengds the normality of the two party mainstream in his editorial writing that "the American people again allowed themselves to be taken in—this time by Eisenhower….We know that war would mean an end to our struggle for civil rights, FEPC, the right to vote, an anti-lynching law, abolition of segregation."[789] Robeson's editorial ideology combined with his fight for peace with his fight for full equality because for the Eisenhower administration fighting foreign not only nullified peace, it nullified addressing the problems of Jim Crow.

The February 1953 issue provided yet another clear example of Robeson's editorial ideology and how within it, the fight for peace is onein the same as the fight for full equality. The front cover headline read: "Puerto Rican Troops Sentences Recall Gilbert Case; Expose Jim Crow Policy" and the following story is about a racially segregated regiment from Puerto Rico that refuses to fight on the Korean battlefront. While this article is not attributed to any author, *Freedom* called the United States' decision to court martial these 94 Puerto Ricans "cowardice."[790] George Murphy wrote about the work for full equality by the Harlem Tenants council in their call for a merger of all tenant groups to improve rent control, strengthen rent control laws and forcing landlords to correct violations.[791]

The March 1953 issue was focused especially on labor organization. Lorraine Hansberry's article in this issue was about the work of the Negro Labor Council protesting hiring discrimination in New York City hotels. She presented evidence of this discrimination in a

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[788] Harry Drayton, "West Indian Labor Fights For Unity and Federation," *Freedom*, January 1953, p.3.
[789] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story," *Freedom*, January 1953, p.12.; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks*, p.339.
[790] "Puerto Rican Troop Sentences Recall Gilbert Case, Expose Jim Crow Policy," *Freedom*, February 1953, Front page.
[791] George Murphy, "Harlem Tenants Organize As Housing Crisis Deepens," *Freedom*, February 1953, p.3.

manner similar to how George Schuyler did in his "Negro Labor and Utilities" article in the January 1927 issue of *The Messenger*. Both showed hiring discrimination in the public utilities of New York.[792] Jesse Gray wrote about the Harlem Tenants Council banding together to battle a real estate corporation for a plot in a manner similar to Raphael Hendrix's article about one year prior about Harlem tenants banding together to prevent a real estate company from trying to gentrify them.[793]George Murphy wrote about the work of what seems a small town hall meeting organized by the Michigan diocese of the AME church. This town hall put AME clergy, and Detroit labor leaders face to face with their state senators in an effort to get Eisenhower to strengthen the weakened Fair Employment Practices Commission. When Senator Carlton Morris said elected officials should not be bludgeoned, AME Bishop according to Murphy replies: "It is not a matter of bludgeoning or of educating legislators; it is a matter of human rights."[794]

This issue also featured a supplement focusing on "Special Auto Workers." In the supplement, more focus than in any previous issue was spent on breaking racial barriers down among unions in the auto industry according to Robeson's editorial ideology on full equality and on labor rights. Alphaeus Hunton penned an article critiquing the Jim Crow treatment of Jamaican Reverend Amos Carnegie, and the lack of response by the Eisenhower administration to it.[795]This issue critiqued the autocratic move by UAW Walter Reuther in removing five of the most militant leaders for being "members of, or subservient to" the Communist party and doing "irreparable harm" to the UAW. Robeson spoke to the importance of supporting militant labor leaders like those in the UAW article and he calls on readers to attend the UAW conference in Atlantic City in order to recruit leaders to combat or weaken the UAW's attempt to make the

[792]Lorraine Hansberry, "NLC Fights Bias in N.Y. Hotels," *Freedom*, March 1953, p.2.
[793] Jesse Gray, "Harlem Tenants Fight Evictions And Proposal to Decontrol Rents," *Freedom*, March 1953, p.3.
[794] George Murphy, Jr., "Michigan FEPC Lobby Rouses Capitol, Demand Legislators Act," *Freedom*, March 1953, p.6.
[795] Alphaeus Hunton, "Jim Crow Wins 3 Bouts As UN Group Bides Time," *Freedom*, March 1953, p.8.

UAW less militaristic.[796]Robeson in the September 1951 issue of *Freedom* said that Reuther is "in support of the war program, would tie workers to wage freezes, escalator clauses, and other gimmicks which lead to practical starvation and depression."[797]An article "Skilled Jobs For Negro Women is Aim of Auto Union Drive in Detroit" by an unnamed author discusses how the discriminatory hiring policy of the big auto barons put "the heaviest burden on Negro women, according to union officials interviewed by *Freedom.*"[798]Robeson's editorial ideology meant undermining the work of Walter Reuther and all of its causes that would weaken the labor struggle.

Alice Childress challenged the idea in the March 1953 issue that all *Freedom* has to do is survive. Childress wrote that "folks get tired" of always being asked to save things by sending money in. She proposed instead of helping *Freedom* survive, that subscribers should help *Freedom* grow to a point where it would be issued "semi-monthly and probably weekly." With her reputation as a witty writer who writes an engaging series called "Conversations from Life," Childress finally asked: "If you're not part of your local Freedom Associates, why not join?"[799] According to FBI File dated 1953, the editorial staff of *Freedom* "are Communists active in racial matters."[800]

The April 1953 issue *Freedom* shows how the South African government worked to undermine efforts by the autonomous "independent" AME church to aid the anticolonial cause there. Alphaeus Hunton wrote that Prime Minister Malan banned AME Bishops Frederick Jordan and Howard Primm from going to South Africa to preside over an estimated 10,000 AME

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[796] "Militant Veterans of [Local]'600' Appeal International Rule," *Freedom*, March 1953, Auto workers supplement.
[797]Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks*, p.286.
[798] "Skilled Jobs For Negro Women is Aim of Auto Union Drive in Detroit," *Freedom*, March 1953, p.11.
[799] "After a While Folks Get Tired of Saving Things," *Freedom*, March 1953, p.4.
[800] FBI File on Paul Robeson, File #100-25857, Microfilm Reel 1, Section 8, Frame #0992.

members there.[801] Lorraine Hansberry issueda vehement critique of Richard Wright's novel *The Outsider* for is "psychopathic lust for violence." For the first time since Jackie Robinson's testimony before the House Un American Activities Committee critical of Robeson's so called controversial statements in 1949, Robeson respondedto it and said that the main purpose behind what he said had more to do with fighting for peace than anything else, and that he hoped Robinson will speak out for peace too.[802] Reviewed in this issue is a book by Esther Cooper Jackson about her husband James Jackson who was one of the Smith Act victims called *This is My Husband.* Hansberry's supervised review of this book recalls the important work that James Jackson engaged in organizing the SNYC that made a way for Robeson to connect with fellow radical youth like Louis Burnham which led to the origin of *Freedom.* About her husband, Cooper Jackson writes:

> he remembered the hungry tobacco workers: helped to organize them. He remembered his oppressed people of the Southland: he helped organize and lead the Southern Negro Youth Congress that made the countryside ring with its cry for 'Freedom Equality, Opportunity.'…Readers…should feel impelled to help in the fight to repeal the Smith Act and win amnesty for its victims.[803]

Hansberry in accordance with Robeson's editorial ideology was hoping that readers would adopt the same passion for collective organized action against Jim Crow. This kind of consistent education of a public that Cooper Jackson provided about her husband in media like this would eventually lead to the U.S. overturning the Smith Act. Like Killens' excoriation of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man,* Hansberry excoriated Richard Wright's *The Outsider* calling it "a story of sheer violence, death and disgusting spectacle, written by a man who has seemingly come to despite humanity." She said that the book evidences how Wright himself "is outcast from his

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[801]Alphaeus Hunton, "State Dept. Winks at Malan Church Ban," *Freedom,* April 1953, Front page.
[802] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story: Open Letter to Jackie Robinson," *Freedom,* April 1953, p.3.
[803] Esther Cooper Jackson, Book Review, "A Pamphlet with the Glow of Truth: *This is My Husband* by Esther Cooper Jackson," *Freedom,* April 1953, p.5. In my interview with Esther Cooper Jackson, she said that Louis Burnham strongly protected her.

own people." To her Wright "exalts brutality and nothingness; he negates the reality of our struggle for freedom and yet works energetically in behalf of our oppressors; he has lost his own dignity and destroyed his talent. He has lost the bright and morning star but the Negro people have not." Her mention of "bright and morning star," is a reference to Wright's short story in his 1938 book *Uncle Tom's Children* also called "Bright and Morning Star." The story centers on Reva, a rural Southern Black mother who uses a gun against a white sheriff to defend her son Johnny-Boy who has decided to join a Communist group. Hansberry implied that since writing this short story and moving to France, Wright has written fictional characters that have unfortunately lost this kind of combativeness toward Jim Crow and thus he is sending his Black readers the wrong message. Like *Invisible Man*, Hansberry could find no redeeming qualities in *The Outsider* that could address Robeson's editorial ideology of the kind of organized collective action that was needed.[804]

In this May 1953 issue Paul Robesonidentified Max Yergan as agent of the State Department, based on Yergan's reporting from South Africa that is favorable to the Malan Government.[805]Months before the UAW Conference, Robeson writes that the Ford company, which Randolph also discussed in his paper, hired only whites. A letter on behalf of Negro workers who were overlooked was sent to Fordby AME Zion Reverend C.M. Metcalf of the Greater St. Peter's AME Zion church. *Freedom* wrote that it has also issued a letter but received

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[804] Lorraine Hansberry, "Book review, *The Outsider* by Richard Wright," *Freedom*, April 1953, p.7.; Lorraine Hansberry's writing of this review had some effect on her artistic vision namely of *A Raisin in the Sun*. In this review she mentions that Wright "in one passage…describes in great detail **the contents of a garbage can.** And a stark, real description it is. But nowhere in his four hundred pages can he bring himself to describe—say the **beauty or strength** in the eyes of the working people of the Southside. It seems that he has forgotten [emphasis in original]." Hansberry would use the proverbial "garbage can" to represent Negro life. She tells Studs Terkel in a 1959 interview that as a writer she was not only trying to show the proverbial "garbage can" as it is [referring to this 1953 review of Wright's book] but what it [Negro life] could be," or its strength and resilience, as Hansberry would come to show in the fictional characters she created in *A Raisin in the Sun*. Hansberry, "Make New Sounds: Studs Terkel Interviews Lorraine Hansberry," *American Theatre* (November 1984), p.5-8, 41.

[805] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story: Africa Calls—Will You Help?" *Freedom*, May 1953, Front page.

not response.[806] The coverage of this discrimination in hiring is definitely a result of Robeson's editorial ideology of focusing on fighting for labor rights. This issue also provided a history of how the newly postbellum Free Negroes' quest for education was responsible for the life of many educational institutions that produced many influential lawyers and doctors.

Frederick Cornish, a possible descendant of Samuel Cornish, one of the editors of *Freedom's Journal*, writes a significant article about efforts of African American New Yorkers to politically organize outside the then slavery-sanctioning two party system in 1864 in order to challenge assumptions in readers' minds about the futility of independent political organizing outside the two party system. Cornish deals with the relationship of the New York Negroes to the Republican and Democratic machine in the later nineteenth century and the beginnings of Negro representation in the U.S. Congress. His article is part of Robeson's editorial ideology because it shows how African Americans organized for full equality outside the two party system. He wrote that these African Americans formed "a National Convention of Colored Citizens of the United States," and organized an equal rights party with Victoria Woodull, a Black woman, heading the ticket in the presidential election of 1872. The party nominated Frederick Douglass as vice president but he declined the nomination and the party lost this election to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, who like fellow Republicans Truman and Eisenhower, would deny Jim Crowand cooperate in the removal of Union and federal soldiers from the South in 1877, which basically ended Reconstruction and spawned Jim Crow. Like Robeson in 1952, Cornish showed how these African Americans during Reconstruction saw the

[806] "For Hiring Agents By-Pass Negroes: Jobs For Whites Only?" *Freedom*, May 1953, Front page.

futility of seeking political representation from the two party system and took pains to form their own political party that represents their own interests.[807]

This issue has an exclusive focus on the problem of colonization in Africa. In a piece entitled "Leaders and Laymen View Social Role of Missions," Eugene Gordon described the significant difference between the missionary work of white clergy and Black clergy. Charles Williams, a Negro Presbyterian elder was quoted by the associated press in Boston after returning from a trip to the Congo where he observed "Rum, syphilis and illegitimate children are the result of the 50 years of missionary work of white people in the Congo." He called for the missionary work of Black clergy, two of which Daniel Malan has banned from Africa: "the Black people of Africa are crying for the advent of their blood brothers from America as missionaries who, they believe, will bring them the teachings of real Christianity, void of the white man's lust for gold and thirst for power."[808]*Freedom* showed the powerful support Black missionaries were providing the anticolonial struggles in Africa in its article "Malan Bans Bishops." The articlementioned a recent issue of *Life* a growing group of Africans is described as leaders of the anti-colonial movements who are:

> a class that is notably different from the tribesmen, the farm laborer and the factory hand; [they are] "doctors, teachers, businessmen, professors, politicians, priests and ministers, and trained welfare workers…in large measure the gift to Africa of the Christian missionaries." All reports from Africa indicate that "the tribesmen, the farm laborer and the factory hand" are joined with the mission-trained minority to build powerful movements that will eventually lead to African liberation from colonial bondage.[809]

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[807] Frederick Cornish, "Negroes Overcame Prejudice and Rioting to Win Right to Vote in 19th Century N.Y., *Freedom*, May 1953, Front page; See Omar Ali, *In the Balance of Power: Independent Black Politics and Third-Party Movements in the United States*, (Athens, Ohio University, 2008) and my review of Ali's book, "Review of In the Balance of Power," *Journal of African American Studies* 13(2), June 2009, p.190-194.

[808]Eugene Gordon, "Leaders and Laymen View Social Role of Missions," *Freedom*, June 1953, Front page. Hansberry ultimately shows the effect that missionaries have in Africa, in a fictional way, through her character of Dr. Willy Dekoven in *Les Blancs* who uses alcohol to cope with the hatred of his role in keeping Africans in colonial positions as menial servants to Europeans, and whose romantic relationship with Eric leads him to also become alcoholic.

[809] "Malan Bans Bishops," *Freedom*, June 1953, Front page.

It shows readers of *Freedom* the nature of the difference between the work of white missionaries and Black missionaries among South African people. While *Freedom* praised the role of Black missionaries in South Africa, it identified the role of Max Yergan as a collaborator with British colonialism in the article "An African Leader Exposes May Yergan" by Dr. Z.K. Matthews. Matthews cites a 12 page interview Yergan did with U.S. News & World Report called "Africa: Next Goal of Communists." Matthews reprinted an editorial from the May 9 Baltimore *Afro-American* which noticed "it is a sad situation…[where someone] with this background boldly voices the fantastic belief that the three centuries old oppression of Africans is to be free from criticism." A South African clergyman, Matthews pointed out that Yergan in his long stay in the Union of South Africa "had little or no first hand contact with African political organizations such as the African National Congress."[810]

In an article called "Let Africans Speak for Africa," Jomo Kenyatta, whom *Freedom*identified as president of the Kenyan African Union said about a recent hearing on the conflict between the settlers and the Land and Freedom Army that "we do not feel that we have received justice or the hearing that we would have liked."[811] In another unattributed article called "Under These Conditions We Are like Dead People," attention focused on the impact of colonialism specifically on women. One strong anticolonial organization this article focused on is the Nigerian Women's Union, founded by Funmilayo Ransom-Kuti, mother of celebrated performer Fela Anikulapo-Kuti.[812]Another piece celebrated the role that trade unionism plays in

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[810]Z.K. Matthews, "An African Leader Exposes Max Yergan, *Freedom*,"June 1953, p.9. Hansberry in creating the character of the American journalist Charlie Morris in *Les Blancs* is basically re-creating and critiquing the work that Max Yergan did in "covering" Africa for American presses.

[811] Jomo Kenyatta, "Let Africans Speak For Africa" *Freedom*, June 1953, p.5.

[812] "Under These Conditions We Are Like Dead People," *Freedom*, June 1953, p.9. In his book on Fela,Carlos Moore, who from taped interviews with Fela, press clippings and personal memories, writes that the mother of celebrated Nigerian artist-activist Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, Funmilayo Ransom-Kuti, is a teacher who founded and was president of the Nigerian Women's Union "was quite heavy politically."He continues: "The more my mother got involved in the political movement, the worse things got between her and my father. The confrontation of my

fighting European colonial policy. Due to the activism of African dock workers in all industries throughout French West Africa (the article names Senegal, Sudan, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and [then] the Upper Volta), the French parliament voted on November 23, 1952 for the long fought for Labor Code for Overseas Territories. This is a Bill of Rights for dock workers and contains for the workers a right to organize, the principle of a 40 hour week, family allowances and benefits to pregnant women. This bill also banned forced labor. The success of this bill was a testament for *Freedom* to the power of labor organizing against colonalism: "not one train ran. Not one boy made a bed. Not one cooked boiled water for his European masters. Everywhere the Africans coolly and firmly avoided provocation to the great disappointment of the colonialists."[813]Kumar Goshal wrote a piece on the role of Indians in Africa. Goshal's article suggests that Indians were encouraged to emigrate to South Africa, like they were to Guyana, in order to depress overall wages and support the subservient colonial relationship between British

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mother with the Oba (chief) of Abeokuta didn't help either to improve things between my parents. The Oba Alake Sir Ladapa Ademola II was the Chief of Abeokuta…The Alake was not one of those seven kings. So my mother would never call him king. When she spoke to the press or to white people she would always, "The Chief of Abeokuta, the Alake." You see, Alake is a title. My mother was against the Alake because he was working for the white District Officer. He was a lackey of the colonial system. When the Alake declared he would collect taxes from women who are selling small, small things in the market?' The Alake would collect taxes from them for his own pockets. That was in 46, 47, 48. My mother said: "This must stop!" She mobilized all the women. Then they took the streets and protested. That's how the whole thing started. She also got all the market women to boycott sales for as long as the British colonial administration did not recognize their rights as traders. From there it progressed to demanding more rights. It expanded to become a Nigerian opposition. At first, it was called the Nigerian Women's Union, then it became the Federation of Nigerian Women's Union. She got all the women toagther and told them: "Now we are going to take over the Alake's house." Everybody hated the Alake's house." Everybody hated the Alake. There was a huge courtyard outside his house. So my mother said, 'Lets all go and take over the entire house.' About 50,000 women went, with my mother as head.He fled to Oshobgo. My mother had succeeded in chasing the Alake out of Abeokuta; she chased him into exile. It was Chief Obafemi Awolowo who brought the Alake back in 1951 when he launched his political party, Action Group, and was attempting to get the British to put him at the head of the first Nigerian government. Bringing the Alake back was such a demagogic move! When my mother heard the news, I remember seeing her come storming back into the house. And a few minutes later, come back out, dressed as a…man. I swear she got dressed like that because she realized she was going to fight men. It was her way of saying 'It takes a man to fight another man!' But the Alake came back anyway…she shifted her fight to getting the right of suffrage for Nigerian women. And she won that one too, because women did cast votes in the first election sin Nigeria during colonial times. An amazing woman, my mother!" Carlos Moore, *Fela: This Bitch of A Life*, (New York, Lawrence Hill, 2009), p.42-47. Bill T. Jones wrote, produced and choreographed the 2010 Broadway musical *Fela!* which won popular acclaim starring Kevin Mambo and Sahr Ngaujah as Fela; Lillias White and Patti Labelle played Funmilayo Ransom-Kuti.

[813]Nathan Brewster, "Unions Grow in Africa," *Freedom*, June 1953, p.9.

and Africans. However Goshal writes more directly that "the Indians in Africa have at last learned that only by uniting with the African and other oppressed people can they secure freedom, justice and equality for themselves."[814]This is a fulfillment of Robeson's editorial ideology of working people uniting across cultures and races to upset the colonial relationship.

The July 1953 issue gave an important story of struggle forlabor solidarity. The incidents described become a direct example of Robeson's December 1952 editorial that "the fight for Negro liberation does not come about by boasting but by battle and hard work." It exposed the role of the federal government in paying scabs in the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS), who was a union, Eugene Gordon writes, "of 5,000 members who are Negroes; and these men and women—cooks, bakers, butchers, pantrymen, stewards, stewardesses even in the lowest ratings, work a 36 hour week and get no less than $100 a week takehome." The government Gordon said was trying to weaken the MCS "bystalling delays, paralyzing collective bargaining with shipowners thereby saving these shipowners over $2,000,000 in back pay alone, and depriving our members of that amount in wage increases."[815]

This is the same union that Robeson spoke to, nearly one year ago when he told them at their convention: "There may be a few high-placed stooges in hand-me-down jobs who will try to get the Negro people to go along with the program of our would-be world conquerors. But they couldn't be found at the MCS Convention."[816] Now the federal government was working to essentially create them in the MCS and Robeson needed his readers to support those that the government is pressuring. He ended his editorial seeking collective organized action around the case of MCS president Hugh Bryson: "wire, phone or write to Atty. General Herbert Brownell

[814]Kumar Goshal, "Indians in Africa," *Freedom*, June 1953, p.9.
[815] Eugene Gordon, "For Fighting Jim Crow," *Freedom*, July 1953, Front page.
[816] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story," *Freedom*, June 1951, Front page.

asking that this indictment and attempted frameup of Hugh Bryson be dropped."[817] An unattributed article called "Africans Unite Despite British Plots to Divide," discussed the rival political forces in Nigeria, one being Nnamdi Azikiwe's National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, who were trying to unify the whole nation divided by colonization, with an overall aim of being self governed by 1956. They rejected the British-issued MacPherson Constitution which according to the article:

> divided Nigeria as the Romans did Gaul, into three parts, Northern, Eastern, and Western regions…The outbreak of violence in Kano last month reflected not at all a conflict between Moslems of the North and non-Moslems of the South, which was the way the British authorities and the U.S. press described it. One the contrary, it represented a conflict between those who support a progressive anti-imperialist policy for Nigeria and those whose vested interests depend upon the maintenance of British overlordship.[818]

The article endorsed the demand for all progressive forces in Nigeria today for unity and self-government. The splitting tactics of the colonial overlords, this article says, cannot suppress that demand. The approach of Robeson's editorial ideology to the so called Negro question is a more inclusive of African peoples across the world. It increased focus on teaching the anticolonial struggles in Africa so that his readers in *Freedom* understood that Negroes in the United States will not overcome Jim Crow as long as Africans suffer brutal colonization in Africa. Robeson's ideology was meant to inspire Negroes especially readers of *Freedom* in the United States to undertake independent political organizing for full equality, labor rights, for friendship with the Soviet Union, and for peace. *Freedom* showed that the struggle for full equality encompassed these latter three issues and knowing and supporting anticolonial struggles in Africa would eventually lead to the acquisition of labor rights and ultimately full equality for Negroes in America. *Freedom* also exposed the anticolonial movement in the Caribbean focusing on

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[817] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story," July 1953, Front cover. Robeson also said in his June 1951 editorial that of all his connections with working men and women, "there is none of which I am more proud than my honorary membership in MCS."
[818] "Africans Unite Despite British Plots to Divide," *Freedom*, July 1953, p.3.

Guyanaand how the British government tried to suppress the democratic uprising in the form of the People's Progressive Party whose leader is Dr. Cheddi Jagan. Initially their July 1953 article "British Guiana Vote Was People's Will" discusses the electoral landslide won by the People's Progressive Party and how "their zeal will be directed toward cleaning up 139 years of British mess and building the foundation for a Socialist state." It recognizes "the Honorable L.S. Forbes Burnham," who is "Barrister-at-Law and the 1942 British Guiana Scholar and Chairman of the Party."[819]He is also second cousin to Louis Burnham and would later become prime minister of Guyana, and known as Forbes Burnham. As prime minister, Forbes Burnham would be later implicated in the 1980 murder of Guyanese activist Walter Rodney. According to Louis Burnham's wife Dorothy, Louis would be disappointed with the move that Forbes made after he became Guyana's Prime Minister.[820]

This issue continued very strongly within Robeson's vision of doing everything possible to keep the struggle for labor rights alive. In an unattributed article, "Labor Lowers Boom on Jim Crow; NNC, Key Unions Hold Anti-Bias Conferences," the work of the militant initiative of "not-to-be denied Negro workers" is beginning to bear fruit. Credit for this went to the National Negro Labor Council and because of these celebrated results, article states: "a new wind is blowing in the labor movement, a good wind."[821]

This issue also lamented the U.S. support of the British overthrow of a democratically elected People's Progressive Party. Months after their victory, British warships alighted on Georgetown, sending 1,500 British troops that were station throughout the country intending to

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[819]"British Guiana Vote Was People's Will," *Freedom,* July 1953, p.3.

[820] Personal Interview with Dorothy Burnham, April 4, 2012. Ms. Burnham said to me that Forbes Burnham "was once active in the Freedom movement," despite his later rightward turn. "He came to New York once or twice and met our family. His father I believe moved to Guyana from Barbados and Louis's family moved from Barbados to the States." On the death of Rodney, see Clayton Goodwin, "Remembering Walter Rodney," *New Africa* (June 2010), p.84-86.

[821] "Labor Lowers Boom on Jim Crow; NNC, Key Unions Hold Anti-Bias Conferences," *Freedom,* September 1953, Front page

quell any popular support. The article continued: "the colonial office in London has suspended the constitution, ousted six PPP cabinet members, and searched the homes of some 40 leaders for "evidence" of a plan to "set up a Communist dominated state."*Freedom* showed how the specter of Communism threatened not only Negroes in the United States but people in the Caribbean. The article claimed that "the root" of this issue is the presence of U.S. private companies who in recent years "have moved in to grab off an increasing part of the super profits derived from this exploitation."[822]

In his second article, Frederick Cornish discussed the importance of the Negro vote in electing the first Negro alderman in the state of New York, in a way that tells*Freedom* readers that they must play some role in the electoral process in order to achieve the Negro struggle for liberation.[823] On the fourth page of this issue, *Freedom* reported on the two thousand attendees of the World Congress of Women in Copenhagen, Denmark, in an article called "American Women Join World Peace Crusade." Another article discussed the role of women in the anticolonial movement in an article titled "Women of Nigeria Meet in Historic National Conference," that was organized in part by FunmilayoKuti.

In the October 1953 issue Robeson articulated his vision by discussing the deeper meanings behind the very militaristic foreign policy of the United States has on then British Guiana, South African and the rest of the world by stating that the U.S. is "threatening colored peoples with death and destruction unless they humbly recognize the inalienable right of Anglo-Saxon Americans to sit on top of the world."[824] Frederick Cornish wrote that the Jim Crow in New York politics received its biggest body blow due to independent political organizing with

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[822] "Protest Mount As London Overthrows Popular Government in South America," *Freedom,* September 1953,Front page.
[823] Frederick Cornish, "First Assemblyman and Alderman Mark Growth of N.Y. Negro Vote Bid For Congress Fails," *Freedom,* September 1953, p.2.
[824] "Robeson Stirs NNLS Meet: U.S. Negroes Need Peace!" *Freedom,* October 1953, Front page

the election of: Hulan Jack a Negro borough president of Manhattan, Lewis Flagg, a Negro municipal judge of Brooklyn, and a Negro and Puerto Rican to the New York State legislature. Cornish underscored yet again the importance of the Negro vote in its ability to weaken Jim Crow and generate an electorate that is more responsive to the needs of the community. More important for Cornish however is the role of independent committees in the election of these Negro elected officials. In the campaign for Julius Archibald to be state senator, Cornish wrotethat this happened because:

> independent committees chose their own candidate and program, then forced themselves into the democratic primaries, battering down the defense of the powerful Democratic machines in two boroughs. In both cases, the machines battling to the bitter end, were forced to finally accept the candidate and issues chosen by the people. In both cases, *progressive forces played a crucial role in uniting the many disparate forces to make up a fighting coalition movement [italics added].*"[825]

Cornish, like Robeson saw progressive forces as the vanguard for serious change in American society and create a governing body more responsive to the needs of working people. They implored readers of*Freedom* to see the importance of independent political organizing and the role of third parties in allowing progress against racism and sexism. This is the kind of organizing that Paul Robeson endorsed, that necessitates knowing the political reality and consciously grooming and voting for a candidate that will best address that political reality who is not bought by the corporate mainstream or the two party system.

In an update on the British military attacks on the People's Progressive Party in British Guiana, Janet Jagan wrote that when British rulers think they have broken the party "by suspending the Constitution and locking up our leaders, they have again made supreme asses of

[825] Frederick Cornish, "Election Summary: New Yorkers Rap Jim Crow, Point to 54 Elections," *Freedom,* October 1953, Front page; Cornish takes what Charles V. Hamilton described as a "liberal reformer" very seriously and sees its role in the form as judge, congressman, or any elected official, in helping accomplish full equality as important. See Charles V. Hamilton, "An Advocate of Black Power Defines It" in *The Rhetoric of Black Power,* ed. Robert Scott and Wayne Brockriede (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p.179.

themselves. The Party today is stronger than it was last month… In the end the people will triumph."[826] John Jones wrote an important article, "Negro Railroad Workers Fought Loss of Jobs Through Union Pact," about the efforts of Negro railroad workers to be hired despite the infamous "Washington Agreement of 1941," that "non promotable (read: Negro)" workers should not exceed 50 percent in each class of services. The article also analyzed the Railway Labor Board in a more progressive way than Randolph was able to perceive by asserting that the National Railroad Adjustment Board which, according to the Railway Labor Act was responsible for negotiating disputes between management and workers. It suggested that Randolph's failure in negotiating with the Railway Labor Act that upheld Pullman's refusal to negotiate in 1928 had to do with not demanding a Representative from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on the Board, however whether such a demand could have been realistically met at that time is up for debate.[827]

In an article called "African Council Charges Govt. Supports Colonial Oppressors," *Freedom* called on readers to oppose the McCarran Act which challenges the existence of the Council on African Affairs on the basis of its unfair treatment of South Africans under the leadership of Prime Minister Daniel Malan. It included what would become an oft-quoted statement in *Freedom* originally from Charles Baylor: "The American Negro cannot become the ally of imperialism without enslaving his own race!" On the basis of this quote and the injustices of colonization in South Africa and British Guiana presented, *Freedom* in this issue in particular, expected its readers not to become the ally of imperialism. It encouraged its readers to support the work of independent political organizations like the Council of African Affairs. It ends by stating: "The Council calls upon friends to protest the Department of Justice persecution in

[826] Janet Jagan, "From British Guiana: 'In the End the People Triumph,'" *Freedom*, October 1953, p.2.
[827] John H. Jones, "Negro R.R. Workers Fought Loss of Jobs Through Company-Union Pact," *Freedom*, October 1953, p.3

letters to President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell. Contributions to the work of the Council should be sent to Mrs. Rosalie Pinckney."[828]

Very significant in this issue was a theater review by Lorraine Hansberry of a play by George Tabori called*The Emperor's Clothes* with a profound social message that bears many similarities to the state persecution that *Freedom* and the Council on African Affairswas facing.It showed how state persecution divides families for the explicit purpose of wrecking indigenous culture in a way that accommodates the interests of the colonizing group, in this case the Rockefellers and the Morgans, whom Randolph and Robeson name.This review will be discussed at more length in the third section following discussion of Alice Childress' own play *Trouble in Mind* and before Hansberry's pivotal play *Les Blancs.*[829]

In the last page of this issue was an article by Milly Salwen that discussed the Duck Island frame up case of Clarence Hill, who was accused of murdering a white couple. The transcript of the trial claimed that Hill entered a liquor store before committing the crime, however the article claims the crime happened on election day when all liquor stores are closed. Salwen writes that because Clarence Hill is a Negro, he is meted out whatever justice dictated by white men says should be paid to avenge a white couple's murder. Salwen wrote that his sister has started a committee to free him and that "if thousands of people across the country will join Clarence Hill, petitioning Gov. Driscoll of New Jersey to grant executive pardon, they can

[828] "African Council Charges Govt. Supports Colonial Oppressors," *Freedom*, October 1953, p.6.
[829] Lorraine Hansberry, "Alice Childress' Acting Brightens A Fine Off-Broadway Theater Piece," *Freedom*, October 1953, p.7. Hansberry writes a play review about state repression and what it can do on an individual level which is what causes trauma for Elek Ordry, the ex-schoolmaster and main character of the play. At the family level it also divides father from son and brother. Hansberry shows this at the family level between Abioseh, Tshembe, and Eric Matoseh in *Les Blancs.* This is incredibly relevant to the American state's repression at this time of the CAA who suffers McCarthyite persecution in a manner similar to how this Hungarian family in George Tabori's play *The Emperor's Clothes* faces persecution against the Fascist forces.

unlock the doors and free this innocent man."[830] Like the rest of *Freedom* this article encourages politically independent organizing for the cause of fighting for full equality and against frameups.

There is no straightforward discussion of fundraising for*Freedom* in the face of this barrier of McCarthyism until the October 1953 issue where an editorial blurb likely written by Burnham implores readers to contribute: "it costs one-and-a-half times what you pay to keep *Freedom* going."[831] Burnham chose to keep this rate in order to make it more economically feasible for the working class that *Freedom* is trying to galvanize to actually buy the paper. Also in this issue was an advertisement for an annual cabaret dance which required the price of a subscription to enter. By the end of 1953 Robeson set off on a second Freedom fund tour but it failed miserably compared to the one in the previous year. The reason for this was related to Esther Cooper Jackson's original response to my question about the reason for *Freedom's* demise: McCarthyism. But in 1953 it was a McCarthyism that was enforced more strongly by African Americans. He would not see the kind of support that he saw in 1952 from the Black Seattle community again in the following year. Duberman writes that the NAACP threatened its Oberlin chapter with a removal of its charter if it sponsored Robeson in a concert.[832]Bertram Alves writes a letter to a fellow *Freedom* staff member John Gray dated July 1, 1953 where he explains part of why this tour fails: "the Negro middle class admire him but are fearful of his hold on the masses," frightened that "the disapproval of white leaders will injure the special position of leadership and privilege these middle class folk enjoy."[833] The Negro middle class at

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[830] Milly Salwen, "Trenton Frameup Victim Cries Out—Sympathy? Clemency? No, Justice." *Freedom*, October 1953, p.8.
[831]"Four Easy Ways to Keep Freedom Coming to You," *Freedom*, October 1953, p.3.
[832] Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.409.
[833]"Letter from Bert Alves to John Gray," Paul Robeson Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, *Freedom* Correspondence; Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.409.

this time also proved a significant barrier to Robeson's editorial ideology. These African Americans were afraidthat openly supporting Robeson would threaten their own middle class status and thereby contributed accrording to Bertram Alves to the failure of the Freedom Fund which resulted in the limiting the promulgation of the Robeson's editorial ideology.

In the November 1953 issue of *Freedom* Robeson in his editorial called McCarthyism an "American brand of fascism." He first defined fascism most clearly in his May 31, 1948 testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee where he said:

> the essence of fascism is two things: racial superiority, the kind of racial superiority that led a Hitler to wipe out 6,000,000 Jewish people, that can result any day in the lynching of Negro people in the South or other parts of America, the denial of their rights, the constant daily denial to any Negro in America, no matter how important, of this essential human dignity which no other American will accept, this daily insult. The reason this can be [now listing the second thing after racial superiority] the power of resources in the hand of a few, and the use of state power as Hitler or Mussolini or the police in Kansas city to beat down any attempts to strive toward any kind of Democratic rights or freedom.[834]

This speech not only addressed the fascism of the Axis Powers in the Second World War. This speech then in 1948 and as of this editorial's printing in 1953 addressed full equality. Then winning the war meant fight Jim Crow for full equality of Negroes. McCarthyism for Robeson became a significant stumbling block in winning the war to end Jim Crow discrimination. However after noticing several events including but not limited to: the State Department's denial of his request for an appeal and the Appeals Court supporting the State Department's stated reasons for not returning the passport; the murder of Harry T. and Harriet Moore by the Klan; the frameup of militant labor leaders by the UAW; the arrest of Earli Chapman by Bull Connor for selling *Freedom;*the banning of AME bishops by Daniel Malan; the growing troop presence in

[834] Paul Robeson, "Testimony before the Committee of the Judiciary of the United States Senate, Eightieth Congress, Second Session, on H.R. 5852 An Act to Protect the United States Against Un-American and Subversive Activities (Mundt-Nixon Bill)," May 31, 1948; Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p.328-329; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks*, p.490.

Korea and the growing poverty in urban cities; the support of the U.S. for the British suppression of the democratic uprising; and the jailing of Alphaeus Hunton and Roosevelt Ward, Robeson could make no other conclusion than see McCarthyism as American fascism. Sharing the front page with this editorial is an article by John H. Jones on how the fight to win full job equality through the railroad industry has really just begun. This was happening at a time when the job market for the railroad is shrinking compared to the time of *The Messenger*, mainly because of the increasing reliance on airlines for transportation instead of railroads. Despite this shrinking in the job market, Jones wrote that "their battle deserves the active support of all trade unions and Americans who believe in fair play."[835] A shrinking job market was not only seen in the railroad industry but also in the farming industry.

The shrinking job market in the farm industry was addressed by Thelma Dale's review of Victor Perlo's book *The Negro in Southern Agriculture.* Dale wrote that more pressure is put on Negro farmers to produce more with less land to farm. She addressed this unreasonable expectation on these Negro farmers by fighting for "a national Fair Employment Practices law with teeth."[836]

The strike of Louisiana sugar cane workers in this December 1953 issue of *Freedom* provided the strongest example of what Paul Robeson intended to be a struggle for labor rights. This strike is significant because it included 1200 laborers both Black and white. The union's demands were modest: 75 cents an hour for unskilled worker and a dollar an hour for the skilled tractor drivers. This article like no other described the tactics of management to defeat it: "the strategy of defeating the strike rested upon two tactics: 1. Keep the sugar grinding mills in full operation and 2. Split the small farmers away from the farm laborers and their strike through

[835] John Jones, "Fight Against R.R. Bias Looms in '54," *Freedom*, November 1953, Front page.
[836] Thelma Dale, "Book Review of "The Negro in Southern Agriculture," *Freedom*, November 1953, p.2.

propaganda to the effect that the strike was against all cane farmers, so big planters and small farmers can stand together."[837] By showing this *Freedom* intended its readers to understand the systemic causes for strikes being broken which, in such a case would happen because of a belief in propaganda which is meant to appeal to race namely between the Black workers and the white small farmers. This article presented the hierarchy of the sugar cane industry with Sugar Cane workers at the bottom, above that are small farmers and grinders; and at the top are the planters who, as the article claims, rely on a no strike clause only with workers on the big plantations, who usually pay the most. The three-tier hierarchy is set up to foster ideological divisions between any tier or within any tier to cripple worker solidarity.

This article did not report a successful outcome for these workers but insists that every struggle against the sugar trusts is welcomed by the workers in other countries. In a first article credited to Louis Burnham entitled "A 54 Resolution: Get Jim Crow Off the Rails," Burnham launched an "Equality in Railroad" fund drive to combat discrimination in railroad employment.[838] Also in this issue, Alphaeus Hunton favorably reviewed Basil Davidson's book *Review on Southern Africa* which he calls "a much needed and effective antidote to this distorted and dangerous 'cold war' view of Africa."[839] Du Bois penned an important editorial piece in this issue critical of the Smith Act that is in line with Robeson's editorial ideology. He followed the logic of Robeson calling McCarthyism an American brand of fascism and concludes that the Smith Act "leads to a fascist dictatorship." He wrote that what makes the Smith Act a reality is the fact that:

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[837]Special Correspondence, "Louisiana Sugar Cane Workers Brave Terror to Build Their Union," *Freedom,* December 1953, Front page and p.3.
[838] Louis Burnham, "A 54 Resolution: Get Jim Crow Off the Rails," *Freedom,* December 1953, Front page.
[839] Alphaeus Hunton, "Book Review of 'Review on Southern Africa,;" *Freedom,* December 1953, p.3. Of worthy mention is Basil Davidson's important book *Modern Africa: A Social and Political History* that puts much of the history of African nations in less of a colonial context.

> so many people are interested in the present organization of production and distribution of wealth and are comfortable and powerful because of it, we have the mistake of widespread and continuous effort to stop people from thinking, to stop them from knowing, to stop them from doing what is perfectly legal to do in order to make this a better world.[840]

Du Bois provided an example to the definition that Robeson gave of fascism mainly the second part which keeping the resources and wealth in the hands of a few by in essence stopping people from being able to think for themselves.

In the January 1954 issue, like Du Bois did in December, Robeson attacked key assumptions behind the State Department's reasons for withholding his passport and behind McCarthyism. In his editorial this issue he stated that the "Big Lie" behind his and others being persecuted for their fight against Jim Crow is "the fairy tale that the American people are somehow threatened by communism."[841] This particular critique not only assumes the fight for full equality but also the fight for friendship with the Soviet Union. In this sense, Robeson is engaging in what bell hooks has called a counter hegemonic discourse.[842] While the hegemony is propagating the threat of communism throughout the American mainstream, Robeson's paper *Freedom* has been providing a counterhegemonic discourse that asserts that communism is in fact not threatening. He implored his listeners to reject the big lie that McCarthyism is a threat that different social systems can in fact live together in "peaceful cooperation."[843]

Also in this issue *Freedom* included a resolution adopted by the NAACP at their 44th National Convention as a way to collectively fight the American brand of fascism. Anticommunism proved to be a contentious issue for *Freedom* and its relationship with the

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[840]W.E.B. Du Bois, "Smith Act Seeks to Stop Thinking, Leads to a Fascist Dictatorship," *Freedom*, December 1953, p.4.
[841] Robeson, "Here's My Story," *Freedom*, January 1954, Front cover.
[842]bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*, (Cambridge, South End Press, 1999), p.11-17. Marti Tippens mentioned this kind of discourse in her thesis on Charlotta Bass.
[843] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story," *Freedom*, January 1954, Front page.

NAACP. Roy Wilkins has excoriated Robeson in the organ's journal *The Crisis* four years prior, yet both groups called for an to Jim Crow. However *Freedom's* approach was unquestionably more militant while the NAACP's was more moderate in that it relied more on destroying Jim Crow through the judicial process and through cooperation with government agencies. By the next year, according his biographer Juan Williams, now NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall would seek unprecedented access to the FBI in different ways by strengthening the NAACP's McCarthyist positions. In a letter that Marshall wrote to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, he disparaged the critique that NAACP leader and militant dentist Dr. T.R.M. Howard from Mound Bayou, Mississippi made against the FBI for not investigating the killings of Negroes in the South. Robeson in the February 1955 issue of *Freedom* would later praise the work of Howard in organizing Blacks to resist the racist intimidation of the white citizens' councils in Mississippi.[844]

Freedom provided an in depth investigative look behind the man leading the witch hunt against so called Communist sympathizers: U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. This front page article was called "Leading Racists Back McCarthy" was by George Allen who wrote:

> the senate…discovered that out-of-state funds has been funneled through McCarthy into Maryland. Among these funds was a sum of 10,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Clint Murchison of Texas…Just who is Clint Murchison? He is part of "a group whose oil wealth is virtually unlimited" and whose politico-financial backing is firmly behind Sen. McCarthy…This McCarthy backer admitted that one of the things he emphasized was white supremacy. "Well its not hard to see that Texas farmers are almost all Anglo-Saxons…And whatever you think about it, they're anti-Negro on the equality thing, anyway." They are giving financial backing for McCarthy to take the TV airways over more than 145 outlets throughout the United States under the speciously-titled production "Facts Forum" an outright propaganda stage reaching millions of Americans for

[844] Williams writes that in a 1956 memo to Lou Nichols, assistant FBI director wrote that Marshall believed "the communist party's effort to get in the NAACP was the single most worrisome issue." Marshall recalled meeting with Nichols and, about his work with the FBI, said, "we were helping each other. It was something he wanted and there was something I wanted." Juan Williams, *Thurgood Marshall: American Revolutionary,* (New York, Three Rivers Press, 1998), p.254-256. This cooperation with the FBI might have played a role in the Supreme Court decision's influential 1954 decision and Marshall's being nominated to the U.S. Supreme Court by President Johnson in 1967.

> McCarthyism. Among the facts which the McCarthy forum will not televise are that the backers of this extremely costly program are some of the foremost white supremacists in the South.[845]

Bryan Burroughs writes that FBI director J. Edgar Hoover accepted the invitation from Senator McCarthy's big funder Clint Murchison to stay at his hotel resort, *Del Churro*, every summer since 1952 to his death in 1972: "Murchison did more for the director than pay his bills and print his book." Hoover, the former FBI director William Sullavan later told an interviewer, "had a deal with Murchison where he invested in oil wells, and if they hit oil, he got his share of the profits."[846]

On the second page of this issue *Freedom* explained more of the hysteria of McCarthyism with their headline: "McCarthy Bans Books That Honor Negroes" and showed how not even a writer who legitimizes the fear of Communism is safe from censure: "Before the McCarthy committee, the Negro poet and writer, Langston Hughes, renounced his past and cooperated with McCarthy. Yet McCarthy was not primarily concerned with Mr. Hughes recantation. He was interested in Hughes' books as "Simple Speaks His Mind," which were banned abroad notwithstanding the author's cooperation.[847]

The third page of *Freedom* included reactions from across the Black press and the Black church denouncing McCarthyism. The Baltimore based *Afro-American* wrote in their July 18, 1953 paper about McCarthy: "his aim is to create the impression that authors who dare expose or

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[845]George Allen, "Leading Racists Back McCarthy," *Freedom*, January 1954, Front page and p.6.

[846] Bryan Burroughs, *The Big Rich: The Rise and Fall of the Greatest Texas Oil Fortunes*, (New York, Penguin, 2009), p.227-228. The recent 2011 biopic on J. Edgar Hoover starring Leonardo Dicaprio interestingly enough focused on his relationships with his mother and his lover and did not mention any other relationships which were so much more influential on American society, such as with U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy, Clint Murchison, Paul Robeson, Claudia Jones, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Fred Hampton or any others whose deaths implicate Hoover. It is very much a sympathetic portrayal of the director that is unwilling to take an honest look at Hoover's destructive influence on the Black Freedom movement.

[847] "McCarthy Bans Books," *Freedom*, January 1954, p.2. According to his biographer Arnold Rampersad, under the threat of McCarthyism, Langston Hughes would continue to renounce his so called Communist ties by dissociating himself from all left wing circles and causes. He agreed to cut Du Bois, from his biographical essays on famous Black writers, and any reference to racism. Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes, Volume 2: I Dream A World, 1941-1967,* (New York, Oxford University, 1989),p.229-230.

protest American racial shortcomings are "following the Communist line" and therefore what they write must be subversive." The Reverend Edward D. McGowan, chairman of the National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership, called on his congregation to resist McCarthyism he said "nearly 2,000 years ago, the founder of the Christian community gave his life for the right to think, to speak and to believe according to the dictates of His conscience."[848]

Freedom in February reported steadily on the British trying to suppress the democratic uprising in British Guiana, this time by imprisoning the leader of the People's Progressive Party in British Guiana, Cheddi Jagan. This article was written by his wife Janet Jagan. *Freedom* presented the People's Progressive Party as an example to its readership about the importance of independent political organizing for full equality in accordance with Robeson's editorial ideology.[849]On the third page, Kenneth Clark, whose famous doll study is cited by plaintiffs in the influential *Brown v. Board* case which was happening at the time of this article's printing, provided a history of how independent political organizing by New York blacks secured adequate public education for Black youth. He proposed not only that this kind of organization happen, but also that a study be done to show the achievement gap in quantitiative terms.[850]

In the February 1954 issue, Burnham explained to subscribers that in the previous year they experienced a serious decline in income from new subs and renewals. He asked readers to sign a sustainer pledge form, "sign it and send it right away." By now *Freedom* is four months behind publication and have suffered two key blows. One was Robeson's "heart trouble" reported by an FBI agent in Los Angeles dated December 1, 1953. The other was the personal

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[848]"Opposition to McCarthyism Grows in Press, Pulpit and Organizations," *Freedom,* January 1954, p.3.
[849] Janet Jagan, "Despite Arrests, Guianese Continue Fight Against British Repression," *Freedom,* February 1954, p.2.
[850] "Are Jim Crow Schools Confined to the South? No! N.Y.'s System is Restoring Segregation,"*Freedom,* February 1954, p.3.

loans that by now he had extended to *Freedom* given his already drastically reduced income.[851] The appeal that Burnham makes in this issue is most dramatic and there would not be another one like it. This loan and the existing subscriptions and sales would apparently help *Freedom* last up to the next year.

The March 1954 issue began with a front page headline about the assumptions regarding big money and Jim Crow that *Freedom* readers should be looking at: "it is clear…that much remains to be done in winning nominations for Negroes in big city contests where the machines of one or the other parties ignore Negro demands unless they are reinforced by a united non-partisan campaign in the Negro communities." In his regular editorial Robeson celebrated the work of Ho Chi Minh in leading the fight against French troops in Vietnam. He related Ho Chi Minh fighting French troops to Toussaint L'Ouverture's fighting French troops in the Haitian revolution. Robeson repeated a second time in *Freedom* the statement by Charles Baylor that "the American Negro cannot become the ally of imperialism without enslaving his own race."[852] In line with his editorial ideology, Robeson showed the repression by the British government against the popular uprising of the People's Progressive Party (PPP): "over 70 people were arrested on various charges, including disorderly conduct, holding illegal processions and meetings, assault, etc. The police tear gassed the PPP headquarters on April 7, closed it down and posted armed guards."[853] Louis Burnham in his first and only film review of *Freedom* praised the film *Salt of the Earth* for its depiction of a working family trying to survive on a

[851] Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.414; the source of the loan to *Freedom* by Paul Robeson were two interviews Duberman conducted with Alice Childress, who would become an influential playwright.
[852] Paul Robeson, "Here's My Story," and "Ho Chi Minh is Toussaint L'Ouverture of Indo China," *Freedom,* March 1954, Front page
[853] Janet Jagan, "British Push Harsh Measures in Guiana As Popular Leaders Defy Emergency Orders" *Freedom,* March 1954, p.2.

decent standard of living.[854]In an unattributed article, an African student spoke to the anticolonial struggle that was happening at this time in Kenya: "If a man comes into your home, and begins taking your possession and beating your wife and children, what is there left to do but fall upon him with all the strength your body can command."Like the British invasion of Guiana and the military invasion of Indo China, *Freedom* enlisted support for the Kenya African Union in their struggle for land against the occupation of British settlers whom the article indicts for their occupation: "Over 30,000 men, women, and children of the Ol-Engruone settlement were served in 1948 with removal orders from their homes." This definitely fulfilled the full equality and the fighting for peace aspects of Robeson's editorial ideology.In this article the fable of the elephant and hyena is told and Hansberry uses this fable in her play *Les Blancs* to have her character Ntali (Peter) who is a very committed member of the anticolonial resistance to convince the uncommitted Hamlet-like main character Tshembe join the anticolonial resistance.It unquestionably influenced Lorraine Hansberry's literary imagination in her writing of the play *Les Blancs*.*Freedom* had an unquestionable influence on the anticolonial, anti-imperialist literary imagination Hansberry employed to write *A Raisin in the Sun*and *Les Blancs,* plays that will be discussed in the next section.[855]

The April 1954 issue continued from its previous issue emphasizing public education. For *Freedom* now this issue has taken center stage. It became the key issue by which its staff and readers and activists will fight for full equality according to Robeson's editorial ideology. In this issue is an article by Louis Burnham concerned with the flaws endemic to the public school system in an issue around the time of the influential *Brown v. Board* decision. He identified high

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[854] Louis Burnham, "Union That Produced 'Salt of the Earth,' Can Also Make Great Film of Negro Life," *Freedom,* March 1954, p.3.

[855]"Land Hunger, Forced Labor, Political Tyranny Provide Basis for KAU [Kenya African Union] Demands," *Freedom,* March 1954, p.4.This will become the principle behind the anticolonial dramatic conflict that Lorraine Hansberry's play produced after her death, *Les Blancs,*presents which is discussed in the next section.

teacher turnover and overemphasis on standardized tests as two leading causes for inferior schooling of Negro children, but more important the work that the "Children Apart" Conference was doing to combat this substandard schooling with the direct intention of showing *Freedom* readers the importance of politically organizing around causes of public education. As editor of *Freedom,* Burnham suggested by writing this article that not only should parents be conscious of how these issues might affect their schools, they should alsopolitically organize around this issue so as to prevent sub standard education. In accordance with the editorial ideology of Robeson that supports independent political organization for the cause of full equality, this "Children Apart" conference ended with initiatives to meet with elected officials "who hold the power to redress the issues of inferior Negro schooling."[856]

On the second page Du Bois celebrated independent political organizing in accordance with the first and fourth issues of Robeson's editorial ideology, and that is fighting for peace and full equality. Du Bois in this article traced the origins of the anticolonial revolutions in Africa and relates them to the Pan African Congresses he helped found. The third page of this issue described committee set up in Harlem to aid the African people in Kenya in their anticolonial struggles: "Its immediate aims are to: [one] raise the sum of $5000 during June to August for the Kenya Africans. [Two] send dried milk, vitamin pills and first aid supplies to Kenya. [Three] contact the Kenya Committee of London, England to serve as the distributing agency of the funds and materials collected."[857]This was a clear example of the kind of aid that Robeson as chair of the editorial board of *Freedom* intended to give: it definitely fulfilled the full equality issue of his editorial ideology.

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[856] Louis Burnham, "NEGRO CHILDREN BRANDED! Harlem Conference Reveals that New York Board of Education Stamps 'Inferiority' on Young Generation," *Freedom,* April 1954, Front page and p.4.
[857]John Jones, "African Council Says U.S. Foreign Policy Hinders Drive of Africans for Freedom," *Freedom,* April 1954, p.3.

Freedom would not be able to print another issue until August 1954 and the basic reasons for this were explained in the previous section. They include but are not limited to: little to no revenue from subscriptions, the difficulty of acquiring subscriptions given the climate of Mcarthyism. In their August 1954 issue, *Freedom* had a front cover headline that read: "Popular Movement Needed to Enforce Court Decrees." *Freedom* sensitively felt the Southern resistance to this law and sought in accordance with Robeson's editorial ideology, to inspire its readers to build a popular movement for better education of Negro youth, as they reported on in their June 1951 issue that showed how Negro pupils were supported by the Farmville, Virginia, Black community. *Freedom* hoped this headline would inspire like movement. It later showed how the threat of Communism was used to suppress democratic uprisings in the U.S. as well as in South Africa. In an article by Alphaeus Hunton called "South Africans Organize Congress of the People," a grassroots anticolonial movement that intended to protect the right of South Africans to move from one place to another is profiled. Hunton wrote that *The New York Times* would have you believe that the Congress of the People is simply a Communist plot and that the organizations backing it are all Communist dominated. "As of last October, under the terms of the 'Suppression of Communism,' Act, 516 men and women including 53 trade union officials had been 'named' by the 'liquidator.'…This is somewhat like the U.S. Attorney General's arbitrary listing of over 250 organizations as "subversive."[858]Du Bois lamented the passing of U.S. Representative Vito Marcantonio who was the lone vote in the U.S. House against the war in Korea.[859]On the fourth page of this issue, *Freedom* celebrated the independence struggle of Guatemala who "threw off the yoke of colonial domination and put control into the hands of those Guatemalans who proceeded to give their country the most democratic government in all

[858]Alphaeus Hunton, "South Africans Organize Congress of the People," *Freedom,* August 1954, Front page and p.4.
[859]W.E.B. Du Bois, "Politician in the Finest Sense," *Freedom,* August 1954, p.3.

of Latin America."[860]On the sixth page of this article was a searing reminder of the peril of nuclear warfare. On this page is a photograph of Japanese woman standing in the aftermath of the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. In an article about this catastrophe we get the account of a Mrs. Yoko Ota:

> On the roads I saw thousands upon thousands of men, women, and children, fleeing the hell of Hiroshima. All of them without exception "were covered with terrible wounds. Their eyebrows were completely burned off; on their faces and hands the skin was burned too, and hung in strips. If many of them held their two arms stretched towards the sky, it was only to try and calm the pain. Some of them vomited as they walked."[861]

This article is one of several in *Freedom* that detailed the peril of nuclear warfare, a topic which becomes inspiration for Lorraine Hansberry's absurdist play *What Use Are Flowers?* which is a story that takes place after a nuclear holocaust. In this article *Freedom* intended to show the stark inhumanity of nuclear warfare as a way to deter its use. It thereby shows readers the need to fight for peace according to Robeson's editorial ideology.

The first headline in the January 1955 issue reads "Harlem Tenants Live in Dread of…Death by Fire." It called on tenants to join tenants organizations in order to avoid the dangerous calamities like fires, caused in part by absentee landlords.[862] In an article by Howard University Professor of Education Doxey Wilkerson entitled "School Edict in Danger Unless U.S. Cries: Integration Now!" Wilkerson wrote that there is a need for more demonstrative action—thousands of meetings throughout the country, demanding Integration Now.*Freedom* saw a more deliberate enforcement of the *Brown v. Board* decision as the best avenue to fulfill Robeson's editorial ideology and achieve full equality. It wanted its readers to call for

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[860]Adam Brand, "White Supremacy & Search for Greater Profits Merged in Guatemala," *Freedom,* August 1954, p.4.
[861] "Hiroshima," *Freedom,* August 1954, p.6.
[862]"Harlem Tenants Live in Dread of…Death By Fire", *Freedom,* January 1955, Front page.

integration and the full enforcement of the *Brown v. Board* decision.[863]An unattributed article entitled "The Story Behind the Louisville Frameup…No Jobs for Negroes!" tried to foster interracial cooperation around the case of Carl Braden who was imprisoned for several months for helping a Black family move into an all white Louisville suburb. While he became a whipping boy in the mainstream media and an example to all other white Louisville citizens about the dangers of challenging racial segregation, this article tried in accordance with Robeson's editorial ideology to rally support among African Americans in Louisville for the case of Carl Braden. They hoped his imprisonment can be a catalyst for stronger labor organizing to combat Jim Crow discrimination. *Freedom* suggested to Louisville's Black citizens that if they fight against Braden's imprisonment, they would be fighting against the same business interests that racially discriminate against them, ultimately to their benefit.[864]

Lorraine Hansberry wrote an important article this issue titled "Cry of 'Juvenile Delinquency' Covers Up Youth Problems," where she slams the hypocrisy of the so called mysterious violence of our youth who are forced to be socialized in a violent environment. She said that a critical look at the measurable delinquency by our youth is a result of unemployment which is related to the "one of the lowest volunteer records in our national history." This is an indication of how this younger generation (in 1955) "despises militarism as a way of life," but are socialized by militarism: "our youth are expected to create decent values in a way of life that

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[863] "School Edict in Danger Unless U.S. Cries: Integration Now!",*Freedom*, January 1955, Front page. Influential Black writers and activists like Zora Neale Hurston and Malcolm X would come to denounce the *Brown v. Board* decision and denounce racial integration. Zora Neale Hurston said she regarded thte ruling "as insulting rather than honoring my race." Hurston, "Court Order Can't Make Races Mix," *Orlando Sentinel*, August 11, 1955. In a 1961 debate with Bayard Rustin, Malcolm X said that "the entire philosophy of racial integration is doomed to failure because the great majority of whites would never acquiesce to racial assimilation" (Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*, (New York, Viking, 2011), p.186). For more on the debates on how Marable wrote Malcolm X, including my first published article, "Marable's Revolutionary Malcolm," see Herb Boyd, Ron Daniels, Haki Madhubuti, and Maulana Karenga, eds. *By Any Means Necessary: Critical Conversations On Manning Marable's Biography of Malcolm X* (Chicago, Third World Press, 2012).

[864] "The Story Behind the Louisville Frameup…No Jobs for Negroes!" *Freedom*, January 1955, p.2.

discusses war as culture. They are given Mickey Spillane and "Brutal"—"Horror"—"Terror"—"War" comics to read." Hansberry's indictment of how young people are socialized challenged key assumptions about how to organize regarding issues facing the youth. This indictment is reflected in her children characters in *What Use Are Flowers?* who are, socialized "in the wild" after a nuclear holocaust, are arguable no different than how many American children are socialized to be suspicious of one another and to treat the next individual as a threat. Through her fiction and nonfiction, Hansberry suggests that militarism of American culture is socializing our youth to see each other as competitively as if they were raised in the wild after a nuclear holocaust.[865]

In the February 1955 issue Robeson celebrated the work of Dr. T.R.M. Howard, a militant dentist who demanded protection from the federal government for Negroes who are killed for defying Jim Crow. Jim Crow had arguably a stronger presence in the South, as of last year's Supreme Court decision, in the form of White Citizens Councils who devised ways to defy this decision. Robeson celebrated the bold fearless resistance of Negro Southerners in depositing a total of $143,000 in the Negro owned Tri-State Bank of Memphis which was meant as a buffer for Negro businesses, farmers and professionals whose livelihood was being threatened by the White Citizens' Council. This proved very valuable because many Negro

[865] Lorraine Hansberry, "Cry of 'Juvenile Delinquency' Covers Up Youth Problems," *Freedom*, January 1955, p.4. Hansberry's fiction is part of an artistic tradition that is absolutely antithetical to those traditions of the writers of popular comic books like Mickey Spillane. According to his Wikipedia, Mickey Spillane was an adherent of Ayn Rand. According to Matt Taibbi, former Federal Reserve Chair Alan Greenspan was also an admirer of Ayn Rand whose novel,*Atlas Shrugged* about a story of aristocrats who separate from mainstream society and form a pure free market utopia, appealed to Greenspan. He applied the most essential principles exalted in the novel, about "free market" unregulated capitalism to his policies of encouraging government bailouts to private banks and investment companies, and allowing the mortgage and investment banking speculation bubble to grow, which precipitated in a massive economic downturn since 2008 that hurt the most vulnerable in society with massive layoffs and foreclosures. The fact that American young people are socialized by influential writers like Spillane who exalt values like militarism and competitiveness that both Rand and Greenspan exalt is a problem for Hansberry. She critiques these values most directly in her absurdist one act play *What Use Are Flowers?* See Matt Taibbi, *Griftopia: Bubble Machines, Vampire Squids, and the Long Con That is Breaking America*, (New York, Spiegel & Grau, 2010), p.43.

Southerners lost their job at the slightest indication for opposing the White Citizens Council. This pooling of economic resources presented perhaps the strongest economic example of fighting for full equality that *Freedom* ever wrote about. It was a thrilling answer to the April 1952 issue of the *Freedom* vendor being jailed for selling *Freedom.* Since then this article represented some level of increased resistance to Jim Crow South. Robeson also called on his readers to provide Negro Southerners with some capital that could help forestall the attacks of the White Citizens Council.[866]

Also on the front page, Thelma Dale wrote about the work of progressive legislators and progressive legislation at the national level. Most significant legislation discussed was the amending of Rule 22, which would have allowed the U.S. Senate to limit the use of filibusters which was readily overused by Dixiecrat Senators in order to filibuster anti-Jim Crow measures. Dale wrote: "not one Republican Senator stood with Senator Lehman against the filibuster on opening day, not even the great "liberal" Wayne Morse."[867]Dale finally called on readers to take organized collective action and demand the Congressmen and Senators to hold "hearings on and passage of an FEPC Bill."[868]

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[866]Paul Robeson, "Mississippi Today—History in the Making," *Freedom*, February 1955, Front page. Robeson also said in his own memoir that the power of Negro action would depend on "a central fund, not only for legal purposes but for all the purposes of Negro coordinated action…a central fund would be a 'community chest' to help our struggles everywhere. Nonpartisan and not controlled by any single organization, this fund would be a national institution of our whole people" Robeson, *Here I Stand*, p.100. The Tri State Bank of Memphis he writes about in this February 1955 editorial would probably be the closest thing to a strong central fund exerting the power of Negro action that Robeson would see in his lifetime.

[867] Thelma Dale, "Fight Looms For Civil Rights," *Freedom*, February 1955, Front page. Wayne Morse would later be the only vote against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964 sanctioning continued military invasion of Vietnam. While Thelma Dale expresses disappointment in 1955 in his inability to prevent filibustering of civil rights legislation, U.S. Representative Barbara Lee in 2001 in her speech before the U.S. House denouncing the military invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan days after September 11, 2001, would later celebrate Morse's vote against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution authorizing Johnson's continued use of military force in Vietnam. See Barbara Lee, "Speech Before the U.S. House of Representatives—September 16, 2001," in Julianne Malveaux and Reginna Green, eds. *The Paradox of Loyalty: An African American Response to the War on Terrorism* (Chicago, Third World Press, 2002), p.77.

[868] Thelma Dale, "Fight Looms For Civil Rights," *Freedom*, February 1955, Front page.

The Harlem Mortgage and Improvement Council intended to combat housing discrimination against Negroes that deny them property in a redlined area:

> over the last several years it has used every kind of pressure: moral suasion, public conferences, support for a Harlem lending institution (the Carver Building Loan Association), conferences with public officials, but all to no avail." The result is that Harlem property owners must either get loans through loan sharks at exorbitant rates or allow their property to deteriortate beyond repair.[869]

The Council resolved, according to *Freedom* not only to take these issues to the State Legislature but also to begin a campaign of education about the need to fight Jim Crow in housing. This article showed how depressed living conditions in low income areas are not only a result of simply neglectful personal habits of African Americans as the environment would suggest, but the depressed living conditions are a result of banks refusing to lend to African American property owners. The character of Lena Younger in Hansberry's play *A Raisin in the Sun* was able to overcome this barrier and purchase a home in a predominantly white neighborhood but she is met with some resistance in the character of Karl Lindner who representing a neighborhood "improvement" association, offers her money not to move in. This will be discussed in the next section. On the second page of this issue Lorraine Hansberry penned an article entitled "Child Labor is Society's Crime Against Youth," which asserted that child labor helps to explain juvenile delinquency. This piece is part of a trend that began since the January 1955 issue that would show Hansberry's increasing preoccupation with the society that young people would be growing into. In this article she talked about the successful efforts of capital against labor to remove protections against child labor in order maximize their profit. She quoted Eugene Debs to describe the importance of reducing child labor and giving children back their childhoods: "Flowers they are, with souls in them, and if on this earth man has a sacred

[869] "Harlem Homeowners Fight: Jim Crow Mortgage Properties," *Freedom*, Feburary 1955, Front page.

charge, a holy obligation it is to these tender buds and blossoms of humanity."[870] This quote is the likely source of inspiration for the title of her absurdist play *What Use Are Flowers?* The main character in this play Hermit teaches children the use of flowers is to beautify, however the children he comes to teach become "flowers" in the sense that Debs has meant it and, in their cycles of demonstrating and rejecting the lessons he taught them, has him questioning, as he is dying, their use and contribution to humanity overall. On a larger scale Hansberry,in accordance with Robeson's editorial ideology encouraging full equality and fighting for peace, is asking those in authority today what use is there for young people in a world ravaged by racist hostility and the presence and continuing threat of a nuclear holocaust?

On the second page of this issue *Freedom,* discussed an important battle for jobs on the West Coast seagoing vessels. This battle had many implications for the solidarity of labor between two camps: one is the Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS) with the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the other is the Jim Crow AFL-supported Seafarers Union and the U.S. government in the form of the National Labor Relations Board. The NLRB apparently took a vote from the citizens of San Francisco on which unions should be offered jobs, and forced the MCS off the ballot. Many Black San Franciscans turned to the local NAACP for help, but found that their regional director Franklin Williams sided with the Seafarers. The lawyer for the MCS-ILWU asked for a delay of the vote but to no avail. The article suggested that those within labor unions diligenty fight the Jim Crow ambitions of other so called unions supported by the National Labor Relations Board.[871]

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[870] Lorraine Hansberry, "Child Labor is Society's Crime Against Youth," *Freedom,* February 1955, p.2.
[871]"Workers Fight for $5 Million Annual Income in Coast Union Battle," *Freedom,* February 1955, p.2. Since the fifties, the ILWU is one of the few American unions still on the forefront of workers' rights. Their refusal to ship grain of EGT over EGT's refusal to lower the price of grain which basically determines world hunger is a testament to their support of workers' rights across the globe: "the world's grain supply is controlled by a handful of agribusiness giants, including U.S.-based Cargill and Archer-Daniels-Midland. At home their profits are created

In this March 1955 issue, Vicki Garvin, editorial board member of *Freedom*, in "New Hope For Negro Labor" saw the AFL-CIO merger as a positive step in the direction of stronger labor organizing: "Here, surely is a major challenge to the very existence and growth of democratic trade unions which, when diligently tackled will immeasurable change the status of Negro workers and improve the conditions of Negro and white families, North and South."[872] Bill Fletcher Jr. and Fernando Gapasin would later write that following the AFL-CIO merger, the percentage of the workforce represented by unions began a slow decline (though the absolute number of union members remained relatively steady over the decades). After the McCarthyist Communist purge, the merger signified the surrender of the much weakened CIO to the AFL and the renunciation of any effort to build an alternative trade unionism by the more pragmatist leaders of organized labor like George Meany who would become president of the merged labor group in 1955. He is according to Fletcher and Gapasin, "straight out of the tradition of Samuel Gompers" who proudly took responsibility for starting the East St. Louis Race Riot of 1917. He believed that the function of unions was not to organize unorganized workers but rather to "preserve the privilege of union membership for a stratum of already organized skilled workers."[873] This, along with continued deindustrialization, is no doubt reflective of the decreased militance of labor unions of the kind like MCS covered by African American radical periodicals like *Freedom*.

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through the increasing exploitation of the working class."See "Lessons of the Battle of Longview," *Workers Vanguard* February 17, 2012. Along with supporting the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union in 1955 as reported by *Freedom*, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (ILWU) supported a November 2 and December 12, 2011 blockade of grain from EGT in Oakland in support of the Occupy Wall Street and Occupy Oakland movements:http://www.bailoutpeople.org/WestCoastPortShutdown.html.
They continue to be at the forefront of the human rights struggle against not only the racism the AFL-CIO but also the Palestinian struggle against Israeli occupation by preventing Israeli cargo shipments on June 12 2010 : http://electronicintifada.net/content/activists-prevent-israeli-ship-unloading-us-port/8886 (Both accessed 20 March 2012)

[872] Vicki Garvin, "New Hope For Negro Labor," *Freedom*, March 1955, Front page.

[873]Fletcher and Gapasin, *Solidarity Divided*, p.29-30.

An unattributed article on the front page of this issue praised the work of the upcoming Afro-Asian Bandung Conference which is meant to: "promote good will and cooperation between the Afro-Asian countries to explore and advance common as well as mutual interests and establish and further and neighborly relations."[874] In a sort of cautionary tale directed towards the new AFL-CIO, another article entitled "The Retreat of the Knights of Labor" discussed how the failure of the Knights of Labor to successfully develop a stronger union was a result of its failure "to enlist the colored worker."[875] On the next page of this issue Thelma Dale wrote a seminal article in line with Robeson's editorial ideology, mainly on the issue of the fight for full equality as its concerns white progressives. The article "Negroes Face Dixie Counterattack in Fight For School Integration," is about how Negroes faced Jim Crow terrorism that is Southern white backlash against the *Brown v. Board* decision. She relied on the pioneering maverick journalism of Hodding Carter, writer for the Greenville *Delta Democrat-Times* who is one of the few white reporters sympathetic to the plight of Negroes fighting Jim Crow. Dale wrote that Carter mentions Dr. Clinton Battle, a Black Mississippi doctor who helped Negroes register to vote. She also mentioned the work of Negro PTAs in Virginia and Negro state legislators in Maryland planning to implement the *Brown* decision.[876] Lorraine Hansberry in this issue penned an article about the inferior curriculum in many Negro schools called "Life Challenges Negro Youth" : "No skill, no job, bad schools, inadequate recreational facilities, no future (unless atomic law can be called a "future"). These are among the causes of the disturbing youth crime and delinquency rates the sensational documentation of the commercial press omits."She said that without the efforts of "pioneering Negro scholars," like

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[874] "Afro Asian Conference Attracts Millions Across the World," *Freedom,* March 1955, Front page.
[875]"The Retreat of the Knights of Labor," *Freedom,* March 1955, p.2.
[876] Thelma Dale, "Negroes Face Dixie Counterattack in Fight For School Integration," *Freedom,* March 1955, p.3. For more on Hodding Carter, see J. Todd Moye *Let the People Decide: Black Freedom and White Resistance Movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1945- 1986,* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

her uncle, William Leo Hansberry, who helped found the African Studies Department at Howard University, "and a few conscientious individual white teachers," the Negro child simply will not learn in the public schools that "the early Egyptian empires…were the foundation of 'Western civilzation' and were in fact founded by dark people who came into the Nile Valley from the Sudan." She compared this treatment of the necessary education for Black youth to the education from a text by Charles and Mary Beard book who she says, unfortunately, explained away one of "the great achievements of Negro people in the New World—the Haitian Revolution," which they call a failure for the restraining influence of whites not being able to restrain the Negroes "easy reversion" to savagery. She said she attended the NAACP-sponsored National Youth Legislative Conference in Washington, D.C. last month and was encouraged by the "deep seated identity that our young people have managed to retain with African liberation struggles despite 150 years of denial. Nor did the delegates overlook any opportunity…to condemn the United States Government for its collaboration with white imperialist rule."[877]

As a deliberate counterexample to the absence of meaning that Hansberry presented,*Freedom* on the same page as this piece provided a children's story about the Palmares community of Brazil that were formed in resistance to Portuguese plantation society. These marooned communities are also interestingly enough a result of their assumption that the so called normal plantation society of a Portuguese colony had no place for them and their interests, so they formed their own community:

> And it grew and grew—for 40 years!...The Portuguese slaveholders were very frightened and angry at the existence of Palmares, so in 1696 they sent a great army of 7,000 soldiers with huge canons against the town. And though the African fought back very bravely, thousands of thousands of them were murdered, and the town was destroyed. In Brazil today where there are 20,000,000 people of African ancestry, the people still

[877] Lorraine Hansberry, "Life Challenges Negro Youth," *Freedom*, March 1955, p.7.

> remember Palmares, where escaped African slaves lived for 40 years in a city of freedom.[878]

Freedom's mention of the Palmares community suggested its consideration of Black Nationalism independent of whites as an avenue to full equality. The description of the Palmares' community's demise in *Freedom* suggested what Robeson's editorial ideology would say to the feasibility of a separate independent Black Nation in the traditional sense of one by Paul Cuffee, Edward Blyden, or Marcus Garvey.*Freedom's* treatment of Palmareseven for children suggested that a completely independent Black Nation during the reign of a militaristic, aggressively fascist white supremacist Roman empire, and its outgrowths including the current American empire, would perish at the hands of military attacks of such an empire, just like the Palmares community did. While Robeson's editorial ideology did not exhaust a discussion of Black Nationalism, he did foster a debate on its possibility to provide best the full equality he sought for Negro people. The story of Palmares intended to show youth then and today that they do not have to assume the fascist norms of the American society and that, as long as they engage in collective organized action, they have the opportunity to create a society based on values closer to a Black Nationalist ideal, even if it may not last forever. Palmares is celebrated at the least by *Freedom* for providing that alternative to the colonial life set on the terms of the European elite, which *Freedom* rejected in Brazil and in the United States, outright. Sterling Stuckey's dissertation chapter on Paul Robeson states that Robeson, in some way at least like the Palmares maroons, believed that the day was not too distant when the most daring hopes of the

[878]"Children's Story: Palmares—Freedom City," *Freedom,* March 1955, p.7. For more on Palmares and similar communities in Brazil, see Joao Jose Reis, translated by Arthur Brakel, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia,* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).For more on Afro-Brazilians' resistance to colonial policies in Brazil, see Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro Brazilians in Post-Abolition Sao Paolo and Salvador,* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University, 1998).

greatest nationalistic movements would achieve the tangibility of freedom.[879]Kersuze Simeon Jones' conceptual definitions of Black Nationalism, which do not define a nation in the traditional Western or Biblical sense as one with a standing military and distinct borders, address more closely Robeson's editorial ideology. Of her four distinct conceptual definitions of Black Nationalism, her fourth applies most to Robeson's vision:

> a diasporic Black Nationalism which is synonymous to Black Internationalism in that the goal is to have a foundationthat is based on political, economic and sociocultural dialogues among Blacks while maintaining a clear understanding and respect toward the various geographic and national identities within the Diaspora.[880]

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[879] Ples Sterling Stuckey, "The Spell of Africa: The Development of Black Nationalist Theory, 1829-1945," (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1973). Chapter 2 in this dissertation is "I Want to Be African: Paul Robeson and the Ends of Nationalist Theory and Practice." Davis, *A Paul Robeson Guide,* p.304-5. Philip S. Foner in his introduction writes in 1978 that Stuckey's dissertation chapter is "the most insightful study of aspects of Robeson's ideological development based, in the main, on what he actually wote and said rather than on hearsay," but that it "fails to see how Robeson's study of Marxism and his association with Black communists like William L. Patterson and Benjamin Davis, Jr. influenced his ideological development," Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks, p.*22. However I contend that given Foner's admission that "it is impossible for any single volume to encompass the full richness of this remarkable life," his reader on Robeson still misses the powerful influence that the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC), had on Robeson's ideological development which eventually led to the life of *Freedom,* Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.vi, 22. Foner should have included the May 1942 issue of the SNYC's paper, *Cavalcade,* covering his Robeson's 1942 visit to the SNYC conference, or the April 22, 1942 edition of the *Daily Worker,* which Robeson Jr. does, in *The Quest For Freedom,* p.42. Robeson's 1942 and 1946 visits to the SNYC conferences should also be mentioned in Foner's chronology of Robeson's life. The James and Esther Cooper Jackson Papers at the Tamiment Library of New York University, which are currently being digitized and are unable to be reviewed in the final stages of this dissertation, provide more information as to the ideological influence of SNYC on Robeson.

[880]Kersuze Simeon Jones, *Literary and Sociopolitical Writings of the Black Diaspora in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), p.24. I am grateful for the deeper understanding that Dr. Simeon Jones has given me of the influence of the Haitian Revolution on the expansion of the United States. She explained that without the Revolution, France would have never sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States. But because of it, to make up for their loss in plantation cash crops, destroyed during the Revolution (Robeson said in his March 1954 editorial, "'Burn the cities, destroy the harvests, tear up the roads with cannon, poison the wells, show the white man the hell he comes to make!' Those fiery words addressed to his people by Toussaint L'Ouverture when Napoleon sent Le Clerc with an army of 30,000 men to reenslave Haiti, are echoed today by Ho Chi Minh, who is the Toussaint of Vietnam," *Freedom,* March 1954, front page; Foner, ed. *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.377-379), France sold the territory and the U.S. was able to expand westward to become the grand empire that it is today. This makes our rapacious and hostile policy towards Haiti all the more disgusting considering that without the freedom of the Haitian enslaved, the freedom to expand with the racist idea of Manifest Destiny would not have happened. The Haitian revolution, as Simeon-Jones and Hansberry celebrate, allows for our ideas of nation to be challenged and modified to fit different groups notions of freedom. For more on cultural pedagogy sensitive to the experience of African Americans, see Serie McDougal, "An Afrocentric Analysis of Teacher/Student Style Congruency and High School Black Male Achievement Levels," (Ph.D dissertation, Temple University, 2007).

Robeson was definitely an internationalist in his hope for having Blacks in the United States see their struggle for equality intertwined with that of the African, Vietnamese, and the Korean. More than an emigrating physically to a physical colony, Robeson exhibited and believed in a kind of Black Nationalism that called for Black workers to lead the struggle for their freedom and to be supported from primarily Blacks and committed whites across the globe. Hansberry's article on teaching youth the Haitian revolution and *Freedom's* mention of the community of Palmares carried tremendous implications on exactly how differently *Freedom* wanted its readers socialized from the mainstream.

The April 1955 issue opened with Robeson sending his sincere greetings to the Bandung Conference but expressing his sincere regret that he could not attend due to the State Department's continued seizure of his passport. Robeson traced the success of the Bandung Conference to his own growth of political consciousness in the thirties when his interest in the shared musical culture of Africa and Asia began: "Years ago I began my studies of African and Asian languages and learned about the rich and age old cultures of these mother continents of human civilization."[881]Thelma Dale wrote a front page article in this issue entitled "Education Decree in Danger" about yet again the intransigence of the South. She quoted Thurgood Marshall who says "the Southern states are fighting integration with every weapon, fair and foul," yet by next year Marshall takes a disingenuous turn in order to gain the support of the FBI. He later helped Southern states undermine the*Brown v. Board* decision that*Freedom* supported when he would tell FBI assistant director that the NAACP's biggest challenge is not fighting Jim Crow in the South but Communist infiltration.[882] Vicki Garvin also on this page wrote about the

[881] Paul Robeson, "Greetings to Bandung: Afro-Asian Conference Represents a Turning Point in World Affairs," *Freedom,* April 1955, front page and p.7.
[882]Thelma Dale, "Education Decree in Danger," *Freedom,* April 1955, front page; Williams, *Thurgood Marshall,* chapter 24, "Machiavellian Marshall."

effort of Negro brewery workers filing a case with the New York State Commision Against Discrimination charging discrimination as a result of historic conditions over which they had no control which, in this case, was the dismissal of Negro brewery workers. True to Robeson's editorial ideology, she encouraged her readers to fight for full equality against companies like this brewery who dismissed their workers.

In their April 1955 issue they conceded to a shrinking readership, from about 50,000 in 1952 to less than 20,000 in 1955, that this "might be the last issue you will ever read: and we don't think that's what YOU want!" They state that 4,349 of their subscribers "haven't paid even for the $1 for 1955: are YOU among them?"[883]They asked for an additional $2 if they're able to finish paying their yearly subscription.

In order to survive as a paper, Burnham utilized the celebrity of Paul Robeson in order to persuade their readership to support them. In this issue they printed a congratulatory speech by then Morehouse President Benjamin Mays calling Robeson "the people's artist" when awarding him an honorary doctorate. They also included a supplement or insert congratulating Robeson on the thirtieth anniversary of the concert career of Paul Robeson. This April 1955 insert features headlines of the work of Paul Robeson in *Othello* and singing "Ballad of the Americans." Before this issue is released, the right front wheel of the car belonging to his driver-bodyguard Frank Whitley came off after having been tampered with during a weeklong visit to Los Angeles according to Robeson Jr. Both times, says Robeson Jr., it was sheer good luck that Paul was not in the car and Whitley was not injured.[884] Robeson was still facing FBI surveillance and harassment while *Freedom* magazine was on its last legs. There is no question that *Freedom* staff noticed this harassment and weighed what effect keeping *Freedom* alive

[883]"The Facts of Life," *Freedom,* April 1955, p.3.
[884] Robeson Jr., *The Quest For Freedom,* p.239; Robeson Jr. said that the FBI files contain no mention of the two "mishaps."

would have on the safety of Paul Robeson—monetarily and physically. In the May June 1955 issue they make their very last appeal for funds by asking readers: "Won't You Be Our Doorbell Ringer?" They wrote how they drew up a plan calling for an appeal to readers "to wipe out the huge printing debt we had accumulated [part of which was to Robeson himself]. The response was good. We didn't pay off the full debt to the printer with the money we received, but we did pay a chunk of it, enough to enable us to keep going." However they explain the eventual demise of *Freedom* as a Catch-22 situation:

> we found that our hand-to-mouth basis of operations increased. Instead of working on stories for the current issue, we found ourselves knocking on more doors than we care to count, meeting people from whom we tried to raise contributions to pay current printing bills. We weren't able to quit this fundraising operation until we had enough money to satisfy the printer. And we weren't able to get on to our job of collecting stories and writing them until we had finished our fundraising job. As a result we have had to combine our May and June issues and will have to do the same for July-August [their last issue]. As they say on the railroads, that's a heck of a way to run a monthly. The point of this story is that you—and only you—can help put us on schedule. We ask you to take over part of the job of knocking on doors that has fallen on us. We ask you to see your friends, sell them subscriptions, collect their dollars, fives and tens and let us get on with our work of getting more and better stories for FREEDOM.[885]

Dorothy Burnham also remembered "the people who were running *Freedom* spent a lot of time fundraising." About her husband she said "as an editor of a paper you hope to spend a lot of time doing the editorial work but he had to spend a lot of time doing the fundraising." Fundraising she noted was particularly difficult for *Freedom* because "they were not supported by ads. They were supported most by contributors."[886]Ultimately, Thelma Dale Perkins, Esther Cooper Jackson, and Dorothy Burnham all provide keys to understanding how *Freedom* raised funds for its paper. Its demise was brought about by lack of money that was not only fundamentally caused by McCarthyism, but by the inability to keep their fundraising at pace with collecting and writing stories. *Freedom* showed a tremendous amount of resolve and resilience

[885]"Wont You Be Our Doorbell Ringer?," *Freedom*, May-June 1955, Front page.
[886] Personal Interview with Dorothy Burnham, April 4, 2012.

for a paper that did not depend on mainstream advertising but on individual subscriptions and on novel fundraising strategies that included dramatic programs, cabaret dances, Robeson's singing tours, Robeson's recordings, dances, letters from sharecroppers. Its life is a testament to the power of literacy and free enterprise among the African American community within an environment that tried to actively control their thoughts. The next section describedthe principles of the editorial ideologyof *Freedom* and how it reversed this thought control by overcoming these barriers to his editorial ideology andarticulating his anti-imperialist stance that rejected the two party system. Robeson rejected this system in a boldly anti-imperialist editorial ideologyin *Freedom* that supported the description of him by a CIA director as "a very independent person who will not let himself be used."

In the first combined May June 1955 issue under the headline "As We Push On For Full Voice in Schools Fight," *Freedom* reported that "already more than a hundred petitions have been filed with school boards in Mississippi. In the next months this will be repeated all over the South. The actions of Southern Negroes to win their constitutional rights NOW must have the energetic and vocal support of all who profess a belief in democracy."[887] By the end of the year, Rosa Parks, who would later attend the funeral of one of *Freedom's* earliest writers, Robert F. Williams, chose to win her constitutional right not to be racially segregated on a city bus. Thelma Dale on the third page of this issue wrote an important article on the casualties of Jim Crow that came about as a result of Negroes registering to vote:

> *"You n-----rs think you will vote but it will never happen---This is to show you what will happen if you try.*(signed) CITIZENS COUNCILS."
>
> Two weeks before Rev. George W. Lee was shot to death while driving in his car in Belzoni, Miss., the above note was left in his (Negro) Elks rest after white vandals had broken into the building, wrecked equipment and destroyed the check book… the record to date of FBI investigations or lynching (not one lyncher prosecuted and convicted in

[887] "As We Push On For Full Voice in Schools Fight," *Freedom*, May-June 1955, Front page.

> more than 10,000 lynchings in the U.S.) underscores that unprecedented protest and demand must descend upon Washington if the murderes of Rev. Lee are not to remain free to kill again.[888]

This episode of racist violence intended to intimidate all other Negroes in the South from voting is exactly what *Freedom* was intending to combat and eliminate. Ultimately, Dale and the entire tone of *Freedom* encouraged its readers to become citizen lobbyists and remember that their donation and support of *Freedom* helps produce more fighters like Harry T. Moore as Robeson encouraged and more resisters like the Rev. George W. Lee. As in the reporting of Africans in Palmares, *Freedom* reports like Dale's showed a level of nobility in dying for the cause of fighting Jim Crow or larger institutions of white supremacy. In an unattributed article called "Ike's Farm Program: Take Land From Poor Give to Rich," *Freedom* pointed out that the whole goal of depressing wages is accomplished by forcing smaller farmers to produce more money crops and when they are unable to, their land is taken by one of the Big Four who refuse to put the unused crops on the world market.[889] Ben Giles reported on the sixth page of this issue on the delivery of the aforementioned "Freedom Charter" drafted by South Africans resisting anticolonial oppression proclaiming: "nothing that can now be done can stoop a new and mighty upsurge of the people, fighting for the new life of freedom in South Africa, to which the Freedom Charter leads them."[890] Lorraine Hansberry penned a review of the film *Hiroshima* and disputed claims that it is not a work of art because it was too propagandistic. Hansberry praised the film just for this quality: "We see young girls slapped and abused by the Emperor's masters; we see fascist soldiers strutting about the streets congratulating themselves on the invincibility of

[888] Thelma Dale, "Belzoni Murder: Aimed at Crusade for Voting Rights," *Freedom,* May-June 1955, p.3.
[889] "Ike's Farm Program: Take Land From Poor Give to Rich," *Freedom,* May-June 1955, Front page.
[890] Ben Giles, "The Congress of the People: South Africans on Eve of Historic Meeting to Draft a Freedom Charter," *Freedom,* May-June 1955, p.6.

their Imperial Destiny."[891] She called the U.S. soldiers she observed "fascists" and, like Du Bois, followed Robeson's logical extension about American foreign and domestic policy being fundamentally racist. She referred to these soldiers in terms of her October 1952 review of George Tabori's play *The Emperor's Clothes* by calling them the "Emperor's drill masters," and claim that they congraulate themselves, falsely on believing in their own invincibility. The most important propaganda this film presents for Hansberry is the message: "No More Hiroshimas—anywhere, ever." In line with her editorial ideology, Hansberry hoped for herself and for *Freedom* readers that nuclear warfare will be avoided at all costs.[892]

The final July-August 1955 issue of *Freedom* quoted a letter from Roy Wilkins to the Justice Department saying that Negroes in Mississippi have no recourse except to the Federal Government in the midst of a civilized nation in 1955. This made the NAACP local chapter leader Dr. T.R.M. Howard's critique of the inaction by the federal government especially more important because he was an NAACP member that was following all the necessary legal channels to seek justice. However Juan Williams writes that Thurgood Marshall in order to develop a friendly relationship with the FBI dismissed Howard's claims of the FBI ignoring their

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[892] Lorraine Hansberry, "Film Review: Hiroshima," *Freedom,* May-June 1955, p.7. President Obama has taken steps to reduce nuclear weapon hostilities with Russia since his inauguration, however he still has not chosen to sign the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty and still leaves the nuclear option as a viable last option, despite the holocausts its caused in Hiroshima and Nagasaki by U.S. nuclear bombs in 1945 and in Fukushima-Daiichi by a tsunami in 2011. To date, the United States remains the only nation to ever use a nuclear bomb despite its loud allegations and protestations of other nations' supposedly having them. Obama's support of nuclear energy and power is related to the campaign support he received from Exelon Nuclear company who gave more to Obama than to any other presidential candidate. Obama's chief political strategist is David Axelrod, who worked as a consultant to Exelon since 2002. Street, *Barack Obama,* p.32. The Inter Press Service reported in late September 2009 that "despite statements by Barack Obama that he wants to see the world reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons, the U.S. Department of Energy continues to press forward on a new program called Complex Modernization, which would expand two existing nuclear plants to allow them to produce new plutonium pits and new bomb parts out of the enriched uranium for use in a possible new generation of nuclear bombs…the administration was openly funding the reconstitution of its own nuclear arsenal while denouncing a supposed Iranian nuclear weapons program for which no direct physical evidence existed." Paul Street, *The Empire's New Clothes: Barack Obama in the Real World of Power,* (Boulder (CO), Paradigm, 2010), p.84-85; John Pilger, "Iran's Nuclear Threat Is A Lie," *New Statesman,* October 1, 2009 at www.newstatesman.com/international-politics/2009/10/iran-nuclear-pilger-obama Accessed 6 August 2012.

appeals for an investigation, and wrote a 1956 letter to J. Edgar Hoover stating that Howard was a "rugged individualist" who could not be controlled by the NAACP and that he had no official connection with the organization. The *Freedom* article would state that the Justice Department replied to Howard's inquiry claiming that there were not conditions in the South which are "met and overdone" to require their investigation.[893]Although *Freedom* applauded the work of the NAACP in its headlines, especially with respect to helping to enforce the *Brown v. Board* decision and achieve a better public school education for all Blacks, the work of NAACP lawyers like Thurgood Marshall did not exactly return the favor of supporting Southern Blacks like Dr. T.R.M. Howard, the kind of people whose activism *Freedom* celebrated and tried to inspire among more Southern Blacks. Instead, Marshall dismissed Howard as an anomaly unrepresentative of the NAACP before J. Edgar Hoover and, following the demise of *Freedom*, sanctions the FBI's willful refusal to investigate murders of Southern Blacks fighting Jim Crow, like the Reverend George W. Lee. One issue the article sought Justice Department investigation in is the insistence by Southern school districts of Georgia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and others to maintain racial segrgation in public schools even ater the *Brown v. Board* decision. North Carolina's governor Luther Hodges appealed to Negroes to accept Jim Crow on a voluntary basis according to this article and Roy Wilkins responded with an emphatic "no!" The article ended asking the question of whether the Justice Department should be forced to move against every Southern racist, whether private citizen or public officials who in face of Supreme Court decision "champions continuation of segregation or murderous attack against law-respecting Negro citzens?"

[893] Williams, *Thurgood Marshall*, p.255; Thurgood Marshall to J. Edgar Hoover, January 24, 1956, FBI File #61-3176-1202.

According to Marshall's letter to J. Edgar Hoover the answer is no but according to Robeson's editorial ideology in the *Freedom* paper the answer is yes. This was underscored by the article's last statement that life will be carried into this historic Supreme Court decision only when more people like Dr. T.R.M. Howard, part of "an aroused Negro people…labor and all democratic sections of the population fully supports the Justice Department doing so."[894]*Freedom* not only puts the onus of enforcing *Brown v. Board* on the Justice Department but also suggested that "aroused people" like T.R.M. Howard not stop agitating that Department until they start meaningfully investigating. While *Freedom* relied on the judicial branch, more than anything, it relied on citizen lobbyists who are aroused and continually bring the racist killings to the attention of the FBI in ways that T.R.M. Howard was doing. Also on the front page was an article about Robeson retrieving his passport. Robeson said he would refuse to sign an affidavit agreeing only to sing and not to speak out politically. This piece boiled his passport case down to two issues: one, whether the State Department has the right to demand the signing of any affidavit and two, whether the State Department has a right to deny a citizen the right to travel simply because he entertains the views which may be abhorrent to that Department. The

[894]"Terror Grows in South; Congress, Ike Duck Action," *Freedom,* July-August 1955, p.3. Timothy Tyson writes about Luther Hodges who assumed governorship of North Carolina in 1954. Hodges' keystone was "his image as a moderate on questions of race" although in reality he "assumed that Black citizens should gratefully accept white leadership, and he demanded racial deference," Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie,* p.107. Toni Morrison's 2003 novel *Love,* about the conflicts for wealth within Silk, a fictional Southern Black community around a hotel resort speaks profoundly to the real life role that Thurgood Marshall played among Southern Blacks in general. In it, Bill Cosey a resort owner, enjoys a high level of status and privilege due to the wealth he inherited from his father who "earned his way as a Courthouse informer. The one police could count on to know where a certain colored boy was hiding…all sorts of things Dixie law was interested in. Well paid, tipped off and favored for fifty-five years, Daniel Robert Cosey kept his evil gray eye on everybody." By the story of her novel and the titles of her chapters in it, Morrison's *Love* questions the popular narratives we get about those who have acquired fame and status in like Cosey in her novel and also in real life mainstream American society like Thurgood Marshall, J. Edgar Hoover, and John H. Johnson. The popular narratives about these men belie the actual truth of how they acquired it and how they are remembered because of fame and status, like Bill Cosey in *Love* had. Popular narratives tend to belie the role these men played in actually undermining the Black Freedom struggle; Morrison's character "L" in *Love* says: "All over the world, traitors help progress. It's like being exposed to tuberculosis. After it fills the cemetery, it strengthens whoever survives; helps them know the difference between a strong mind and a healthy one; between the righteous [like Thurgood Marshall] and the right [like T.R.M. Howard]—which is, after all, progress." Morrison, *Love,* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), p.67,139.

article concluded on the next page asking readers to write to the State Department or to President Eisenhower to help Robeson win the fight for his passport. In his editorial which began on the second page, Robeson wrote that "the answer to injustice is not to silence critic but to end the injustice."[895] He recognized the support of the Black press in reporting the fight and enlisted readers to also write to Washington and call for a wider exchange of singers and actors from all across the world. On this second page is a letter from a Myrtle B. in Canada writing about the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation playing his Peace Arch concert recording more often since his being denied travel outside the country.[896]In a front page article entitled "Congress, Ike Duck Action," the message is sent that in light of Eisenhower's absolute ignoring passing any civil rights legislation, "a truly non-partisan meeting of Negro leaders from all parts of the country to determine a course of action pointing toward a record registration of Negro voters, the party conventions next summer and the vital 1956 elections."[897] This issue covered the Freedom Charter of South Africa drafted by its workers and labor unions intending to fight the fascist violence of the Malan government. The charter called for one main goal: "a democratic state, based on the will of the people [which] can secure to all their birthright without distinction of color, race, sex, or belief." Two of the nine tenets of the Freedom charter spoke most directly to

[895] Paul Robeson, "If Enough People Write Washington I'll Get My Passport in a Hurry" *Freedom,* July-August 1955, p.2. Derrick Bell writes that before Marshall left the NAACP Legal Defense Fund to accept a judicial appointment, he: "asked Thurgood Marshall why civil rights groups had not risen to defend Paul Robeson. Marshall response was short and to the point. He told me it was a matter of survival. The NAACP and other Black groups were deeply afraid of being charged with subversive affiliations. As Marshall put it, 'Robeson had gotten out there too far and we had to cut him off.' In retrospect, though, I wonder whether active concurrence in the truths spoken by the most courageous would not have brought strengths that justified the risks," *Silent Covenants,* p.63.
[896] "From Canada: Dear Paul…" *Freedom,* July-August, 1955, p.2.
[897] "Congress, Ike Duck Action," *Freedom,* July-August 1955, front page and p.3. This recalls Robeson's statement in his 1958 book *Here I Stand* that the biggest foes to allowing Negroes to vote are the Dixiecrats or the signers of the Southern Manifesto against desegregation. For Robeson's editorial vision in *Freedom,* this necessitated the grassroots formation of a third party such as the Progressive Party that speaks more closely to the needs of working people. Robeson, *Here I Stand,* p.79.

Robeson's editorial ideology: one the people shall share in the country's wealth and two, all shall be equal before the law.[898]

On the sixth page of this issue *Freedom* compared the effects of the Smith Act of 1940, intended to suppress free speech and bolster Jim Crow, to the effects of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 intended to bolster the system of enslavement. In this article called "These Are the Smith Act Victims…Jailed for Thinking," the case is made that the defense of the communists, eight of whose pictures they include, was a movement to invalidate a resistance in the specific interest of fifteen million American Negroes for freedom and equality.[899] On the last page of this issue under the headline, "Judge Hastie Dissents: 'First Amendment Prevents Government From Proscribing Their Teaching,'" was Judge William Hastie's Third Circuit Court of Appeals decision hearing the Federal Grand Jury case of the Smith Act Victims. In his decision he cites a legal precedent, what he called the Dennis decision, where he ruleed that first amendment right may only be infringed by the government "if actual verbal conduct is calculated to incite men to violence as soon as circumstances will permit." Judge Hastie found that in the case of the Smith Act victims there was no evidence that indicated that the Communist teaching of said group "has been calculated to incite people to violent aggression against our government." In that spirit, Judge Hastie writes, "I would reverse these convictions."[900] Two of the twelve Smith Act victims would be released in 1955 and by 1957 the U.S. Supreme Court would uphold Judge Hastie's decision, ruling the Smith Act unconstitutional. On the theme of voiding sentences,on its very last page, *Freedom* called on its readers to help void the 15 year sentence of Carl Braden

[898]"Africa's Freedom Charter," *Freedom*, July-August, p.5.
[899] "These Are the Smith Act Victims…Jailed for Thinking," *Freedom*, July-August 1955, p.6.
[900] William Hastie, "Judge Hastie Dissents: First Amendment Prevents Government From Proscribing Their Teaching," *Freedom*, July-August 1955, p.7.

"after serving eight months in jail as a result of the house purchase for a Black family."[901] This last appeal to the readers of *Freedom* for interracial cooperation towards the work of full equality supported Robeson's editorial ideology. This fight for full equality encompassed the other aspects or issue of his editorial ideology which included the fight for peace and not militarism; the fight for labor rights; and the fight for friendship with the Soviet Union.

Thelma Dale Perkins became general manager of the *Freedom* periodical in its last year, 1955, when it was still trying to survive within a climate hostile to Paul Robeson. Throughout its tenure from November 1950 to its last issue in 1955, it was a subscriber-based periodical and did not have the comfort of relying on large advertiser revenue like Randolph's *Messenger*. For fundraising it relied entirely on revenue from one time purchases and yearly or monthly subscriptions. When asked why *Freedom* could not survive beyond 1955, Perkins answered: "we didn't have any money."[902] Esther Cooper Jackson, who along with her husband James Jackson met Paul Robeson in 1942 and again in 1946 at the SNYC Conferences, and worked with those involved with *Freedom.* Her husband was one of the twelve imprisoned under the Smith Act, which was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1957.[903] When asked why *Freedom* ended, she said it was "McCarthyism."[904] Dorothy Burnham said: "I think both answers are correct. Because of the struggles during the McCarthy period, money that was coming into *Freedom* dried up. It was very difficult."[905]

Given the climate of increased anticommunist harassment that Robeson faced including the seizure of his passport by the State Department, the life of *Freedom* was affected by these

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[901]"Support Jim Crow Fighter to Void 15 Year Sentence," *Freedom,* July-August 1955, p.8.
[902] Personal Interview with Thelma Dale Perkins, March 10, 2012. Special thanks to Esther Cooper Jackson for making this interview possible.
[903] Sara Rzeszutek Haviland, "Communism and the 1950s Black Freedom Movement," in *Freedom Rights: New Perspectives in the Civil Rights Movement,* (Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 2011), p.116-129.
[904] Personal Interview with Esther Cooper Jackson, February 29, 2012. Special thanks to the work of Ian Rocksborough-Smith and Erik McDuffie for making this interview possible.
[905] Personal Interview with Dorothy Burnham, April 4, 2012.

two factors of McCarthyism and having no money. These factors interplayed in interesting ways. McCarthyism caused *Freedom's* lack of funds because potential readers and subscribers would not subscribe or even buy a paper for fear of being harassed or targeted as a Communist. This is why as editor of *Freedom,*Louis Burnham employed unique creative ways to promulgate Robeson's editorial ideology in *Freedom.* For Burnham, one non-negotiable factor about *Freedom* that promoted its editorial ideology was its price. Throughout its entire life from its November 1950 to its July-August 1955 issue,*Freedom* never cost more than ten cents. This price was set in a way to make it affordable for the working class readers it was appealing to. However this price, which was very low compared to *The Messenger*, which cost fifteen cents in 1928, made it very difficult to generate an amount of revenue that could sustain the paper. However throughout its tenure, *Freedom's* price was never raised and Burnham, who died within five years after its ending in 1960, apparently had a clear rationale for this. Part of this rationale also dealt with not putting any more of a financial strain than what their readers already experienced. This is why he engaged unique fundraising strategies seen in various issues of *Freedom* that utilized the celebrity of Paul Robeson and related his Robeson's struggle for his passport to the struggle of working class African Americans who understood how the label of Communism was being used by the federal government as a scapegoat to avoid dismantling Jim Crow.

In summary, *Freedom* folded in 1955 due to McCarthyism which in general produced a lack of funds and a demand of subscriber revenue that could not keep up with operating costs. This McCarthyism was also responsible for withholding support from the Negro middle class who did not want to threaten their middle class status to openly support Paul Robeson.The year that *Freedom* ended was also the same year that the State Department denied Robeson's

application a subsequent time. Judge Burnita Mathews ruled that since Robeson's original civil suit retrieving the passport in 1950, he "had not exhausted his administrative remedies." Martin Duberman writes that exhausting his administrative remedies meant signing an affidavit to the State Department promising not to make any political speeches while abroad.[906] Robeson protected his editorial ideology and his constitutional right to free speech which for him meant that he could not sign the affidavit promising to avoid political speeches. This barrier of restricted travel worked in concert with domestic McCarthyism to strangle the spreading of his editorial ideology. These barriers that might have stopped the printed paper of *Freedom,* but these barriers did not stop influential playwrights like Lorraine Hansberry and Alice Childress from promoting Robeson's editorial ideology in their plays.

Theeditorial ideology of Paul Robeson provided the tools for a rich anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-imperialist literary imagination of Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry whoseinfluential plays ask all of us where we stand with regard to the state promulgation of racism, poverty and imperialism. The plays written by them that their writing for *Freedom* has most direct impact on,will be discussed in the next section. The performance and production of these plays immediately challenge racist, sexist, and imperialist norms of American society in a way that imagines a non-sexist non-racist, and anti-imperialist world. Their plays could not have been written nor produced without the editorial ideology of Paul Robeson.

How Robeson's Editorial Ideology Surmounted the Barriers It Faced

[906]Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.433.

Although *Freedom* ended, its legacy and its promotion of Robeson's editorial ideology still lived in the work of the playwrights like Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry that wrote for the paper. This section will examine the plays of Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry in the context of their writings for *Freedom*from 1951 to 1955. It will focus only on their works that this dissertation claims was most directly influenced by *Freedom.* For Childress it was her 1955 play *Trouble in Mind.*For Hansberry, this section argues that her work most directly influenced by *Freedom* washer 1970 play*Les Blancs.* It will discuss how Robeson's editorial ideology, which encouraged organized collective action in support of full equality for Negroes, influenced the playwriting of Childress and Hansberry. The three plays discussed in this section ask the reader what role they will play, after reading or seeing the play, with respect to the state in its advancement of what Paul Robeson has defined as its fascist interests, that is using racism and rapacious ultra-capitalism to concentrate the resources and wealth in the hands of a few.[1101] By doing so, this literary criticism will show how both Childress and Hansberry imagine in their plays a non-racist and non-sexist world.

Childress' play *Trouble in Mind*is a full length continugous story, and was first produced November 4, 1955, about two months after the final July-August 1955 issue of *Freedom.* Childress revised it since including mention of the Little Rock Nine, which was probably not mentioned in the first 1955 production. The setting is the same throughout the entire play which is at a rehearsal "at a Broadway theater in New York City."[1102] The first act takes place on a

[1101] Paul Robeson defined fascism publicly as using the idea of racial superiority to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few, "Testimony before the Committee of the Judiciary of the United States Senate, Eightieth Congress, Second Session, on H.R. 5852 An Act to Protect the United States Against Un-American and Subversive Activities (Mundt-Nixon Bill)," May 31, 1948; Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p.328-329; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.490.
[1102] Perkins, ed. *Alice Childress,* p.49-114, until otherwise indicated. *Trouble in Mind* was originally produced at the Greenwich Mews Theatre in New York on November 4, 1955 with the following cast: Clarice Taylor (Wiletta Mayer), Hilda Haynes (Millie Davis), Charles Bettis (John Nevins), Howard Augusta (Sheldon Forrester), Stephanie Elliot (Judy Sears), James McMahon (Al Manners), Hal England (Eddie Fenton). Perkins, ed. *Alice Childress,* p.48. I was grateful to attend a phenomenal reading of this play June 20, 2011 at the American Airlines Theater in New

Monday morning while the second act takes place three days later on a Thursday morning. The play opens with aspiring actress Wiletta Mayer entering a play rehearsal, saying how hard she was banging on the door to get in the theater. She is symbolic here of the role that Childress herself and her plays have had on mainstream American theater. She is symbolic because like her plays, she has to make noise in order to be recognized. Henry, the stage hand, eventually lets her in. Henry asks Wiletta to guess his age and even though stage directions tell us she does not want to answer, she guesses late fifties and he says: "I fool 'em all! I'm seventy eight years old! How's that?" Henry quickly develops camaraderie with Wiletta, asking her to guess his age and offering her coffee. John Nevins, who stage directions tell us, is a "young Negro actor" enters. Wiletta learns he's from Newport News, Virginia, and asks if he knows an Estelle Nevins. When John says that's his mother, we learn that Wiletta went to school with Estelle and recognized John as "the little baby in the carriage." When John asks if she's proud to be in theater, she promptly corrects him: "show business. It's just a business. Colored folks ain't in the theater." Wiletta advises him to further to tell management that he was one of the children in *Porgy and Bess,* and to laugh at everything they say, regardless of his true opinion. When John asks her true opinion of the play and she says it stinks, he basically tells her that he could not play in anything he couldn't believe in, and that he's studied the play. Wiletta replies that things that aggravate her always run in the theater industry a long time and tries to gain the upper hand with John, by telling him, after he's told her he's studied the script they're preparing to rehearse: "don't study it. Learn it."

York, directed by Charles Randolph-Wright, produced by Gwen Gilliam and Project 1 Voice with Leslie Uggams reading Wiletta Mayer, Malachy McCourt reading Henry, Alano Miller reading John Nevins, La Chanze reading Millie Davis, Bill Irwin reading Al Manners, Justine Lupe-Schomp reading Judy Sears, Tim McGeever reading Eddie Fenton and Don Stephenson reading Bill O'Wray. The website of Project 1 Voice is www.project1voice.org.

Millie enters the rehearsal space wearing a mink and drops a newspaper on the table that tells of the Little Rock Nine. She is very sensitive and aware of how her race differentiates her from her white cast members and, more than any other character, will have no hesitation to verbalize it front of them. Sheldon and Judy follow after Millie. Stage directions tell us that Sheldon is an "elderly character man" and Judy is a "young actress" who is presumably white, however Childress does not specify her race which makes the play interesting as it progresses given its turns. Wiletta recognizes Sheldon and Sheldon thinks he recognizes John when John tells him he was one of the children in *Porgy and Bess,* Sheldon replies "I knew I remembered you,"which reliably elicits laughter from the audience. When Millie asks Judy what she's doing, Sheldon says that in *Chaos in Belleville,* the play this cast is rehearsing, she's Miss Renard, the Southerner's daughter who fights her father about the way he's treating us. Sheldon tells us Bill O'Wray is the father and that "he's awful nice." When Millie says she doesn't want to wear a bandana, Sheldon says she would holler when there's no work,but "when the man give you some, you just holler as loud." Wiletta, a bit more understanding replies that "it's the man's play, the man's money, the man's theater, so what you are going to do?" Sheldon clears his throat to remind them that Judy who by now we can tell is white, is listening. Judy says she would like the audience to learn from the play they're about to rehearse that people are people. Wiletta then says to Judy that she would not like to think of theater as a business but as an art, which contradicts what she told John which is that theater is just show business. Childress through Wiletta shows the double consciousness where Blacks like Wiletta believe they must show only their side with only positive emotion before whites—a side that is more conciliatory and passive. Wiletta tells John she doesn't think the script they're going to rehearse is worth anything but when Judy asks her about it she said "I never had anything affect me so much in all

my life…It's so sad, ain't it sad?" And "I almost busted my sides laughin." Wiletta expresses her double consciousness in order to get the role and fulfill her dream, that she tells Henry, of becoming an actress. By this point from the page (and not the stage) it is clear that Childress is saying that to be historically accurate, her character Judy should be played by a white woman.

When the director Al Manners enters with his stage manager Eddie and insults him, both Wiletta and Sheldon laugh especially hard. When Al enters, the whole aura of the scene changes to express nothing but deference to Al. To try to dissipate the aura, Al walks to Wiletta and gets chummy with her, prompting her to show only her docile and passive side rather than the more true side she first showed to John. Al says: "this is my girl, we did a picture together." Sheldon proudly adds as if not to be plussed, that in the film he was helping the Confederate Army. Childress shows the power dynamics between the actors and director in trying to keep work and stay in, what Wiletta told John, the "show business." Manner announces that Bill O'Wray is out until tomorrow because he's a rehearsal for a TB show. Manners calls the play they are going to rehearse a story that leads to a clever "understanding."In order to encourage the cast he said "he is ready to sweat blood and want to see the cast draw pay envelopes "for a long time." Manners makes clear to the cast that they will not discuss the parts of the play and they will not read the play from beginning to end. He gives Judy directions about what upstage, downstage, center stage means and as an apparent acting exercise, crumbles a piece of paper, throws it to the floor and orders Wiletta to pick it up. She replies in fury that she refuses to pick it up because she isn't the janitor and Al uses this to break some ice in the rehearsal and as a teaching tool to to the actors about how to deliver "the firm texture of truth." They read a scene from the play where Mr. Renard's daughter Carrie is trying to convince Mr. Renard to allow the "tenant farmers" to have a barn dance. The audience can begin to see why Wiletta would have problems with the

storyline. Mr. Renard's servants, Petunia and Ruby, played by Millie and Wiletta, read their roles that basically fulfill stereotypical roles of docile, contented Black servants.

Sheldon reads the role of Sam, Ruby's husband and John reads the role of Job, Ruby's son. In the scene of *Chaos in Belleville* that they read, Job tells his parents that he's going down to Turner's Corner to hear Turner and his brother talk "about votin.'" Job says he got a letter from the President about joining the Army and Job believes that joining the Army is only supposed to happen to man in a society when he is allowed to vote. This speaks to one of three inspirations from *Freedom* for this play. The first is Lorraine Hansberry's review of William Branch's play *MedalFor Willie*in the November 1951 issue of *Freedom,* about Willie, a Black GI who dies in combat and the heroic mother who rejects the medal awarded him. Hansberry praised this story for its rejection of imperialism and military service of Southern Black men while Jim Crow thrives where they live. She quotes the Willie's mother, Mrs. Jackson: "They say Willie is a hero because of all the killing…I think maybe Willie should have had that machine-gun right here at home, where it might have done some good." About this character, Hansberry says: "this thin little Negro women who has heard the same speeches all her life takes the medal and dashes it against the wall, just missing the general's head—and walks out of the ceremony. The words of a Mrs. Jackson strike home like a dynamite blast. And Clarice Taylor, who plays the role, has a rich understanding of such a woman."[1103] Hansberry, like Childress, rejects military service as an option for Black men as long as they're Jim Crowed out of voting, housing, education, etc. Like the Martinsville Seven, Willie has been framed up because of racism in essence to die a violent deathwithout realizing the freedom he is deserved like any

[1103] Lorraine Hansberry, "*Medal For Willie* Deserves A Medal," *Freedom,* November 1951, p.7. Clarice Taylor (1917-2011), whose performance as Mrs. Jackson, is celebrated in this review also played in Childress' other play *Gold Through the Trees.* She is most popularly known as Anna Huxtable, mother of Cliff Huxtable played by Bill Cosby, on the popular television sitcom *The Cosby Show.*

other citizen. Childress's construction of the story within the story, *Chaos in Belleville*, is an opportunity for Childress to show a bold anti-racist and anti-imperialist Black male character fighting Jim Crow. She does so in Job who receives a letter from the President asking him to join the Army. However after learning what he does from Turner, he makes up his mind not to even consider committing to answer the question of whether he would join the Army until he is able to vote. This puts him already at odds with a majority of white and Black Southerners at the time. But it shows a character that, like those celebrated in *Freedom*, defies Jim Crow.

Job assumes that a soldier should not be sent off to fight a war in a foreign country if he is denied the right to vote in his own and already in terms of character development is more analytical than Willie in Branch's play. His ambition is to vote which, already, makes this script a little special. Childress, through Job, asks: how would the Jim Crow South handle young Black man who wants to vote before he decides whether to join the military? His parents dissuade him from going, so Childress already shows one of Job's barriers to voting. When the cast reaches this part, they take a brief break.

Following the break, Al directs Wiletta to a scene where she is singing alone on a porch. A lyric of her song says: "no confusion in that land where I'm bound" and fulfills the stereotypical role of Southern Negro characters who depend on heaven after death rather than trying to fight against Jim Crow while they're living. Al adores the way that Wiletta sings the song and asks her what she was thinking after it. Wiletta is thrown off by this question and says to Manners: "I thought that's what you wanted." Manners corrects her tells her she must know the reason behind why she's doing what she does. He tries to train her in this manner but to no avail, mainly because their interpretations of the *Chaos in Belleville* script are fundamentally different. Al leaves the table to rehearse a scene with Judy and Wiletta is talking to herself about

what Al wants. She says, very frustrated with herself and with her directions: "Justify. Ain't enough to do it. You got to justify." Millie and Sheldon argue over who's the Uncle Tom and Millie exits for what looks like their first break. When the cast leaves, Henry enters again, brustling at the way the Al reacted when he brought jelly donuts that Al did not ask for. He says he comes from a fighting people, the Irish—who fought for home rule. Wiletta, despite her disappointment in herself primes him to discuss his history in order to restore the dignity Manners took away from him in their confrontation earlier about a donut. Wiletta relates to his fighting spirit when she says she's going to be an actress regardless of what the world says.

The second act begins three days later in the same palce. It begins with the apparent star, or white hero of the play Mr. Renard, read by Bill O'Wray. The act opens with him practicing his monologue with canned applause that Al had Eddie cue at specific times within the monologue. In his monologue, Bill quotes former U.S. Senator and arch slaveowner Henry Clay. As Al admires Bill's portrayal of Renard, Childress suggests that Manners's admiration is reflective more of his own opinion on a 1957 climate race relations, progressing slowly but "surely." Bill has doubts about his portrayal and when he voices them to Al, Al asks Bill to have lunch with the cast in order to build cast unity. Al says he wants to eat without people staring at him like they did when he bumped into Millie on the street. But Al says that that being a reason not to eat with the cast is "nonsense," knowing that as a trained actor, Bill is not particularly phased from doing what he wants by the stares of an audience. Wiletta enters and says she's been reading the script over and over again and and got advice from a Mrs. Green from her church whose uncle was a sharecropper. Manners soundly dismisses Wiletta's reaction to the script and to whatever Mrs.Green's reaction to it was. Wiletta insists on telling Al that Mrs. Green says the third act is not a natural outcome of the first. Manners asks her to do him a favor

and not to think about it. The rest of the cast drifts in, stage directions tell us that John "is drifting more andmore toward the heady heights of opportunism." The aura of this scene is different from the first and there is a subtext in this part of the play that suggests that Al has more control of Judy.[1104] When Jon says he's been up all night, and Al makes a joke by saying John was "at Sardi's no doubt," the stage directions tell us that Judy, like never before, is "enjoying the intangible joke to the utmost" with Wiletta who as part of her persona plays it up, but as she turns to notice Wiletta laughing, the stage directions tell us "her laughter dies." Childress is suggesting some competition emerging between Judy and Wiletta for the good grace of Al who already knows his limits in dealing with Wiletta that are much more lenient with Judy. This laughter lightens the mood of the rehearsal and when Millie shows John her watch, they break into separate conversations. Sheldon is having one with Wiletta and Mille and another is between Al, Judy and John. Childress is showing how the power dynamic as shifted and this exposes who is closer to whom: Judy and John are closer than Wiletta is to John and Wiletta does not try to jockey for more favor from Al, especially since she is learning what her director wants. As they begin to rehearse another part of the play the stage directions tell us that "Judy now plays Carrie in a different way from Act One. There is a reserved kindliness rather than real involvement" which suggests a subtext of a stronger relationship between the two. The scene the cast now reads is on the porch of the Renards where everyone is waiting for Job. Al says that everyone in this scene is "worried like crazy." They wonder if the lynchers caught Job. Judy reads Carrie who tells Ruby she plans to get her father and the judge. Even though Judy "understands" the injustices Blacks have faced, in order to start a career as an actress, she is

[1104] In my May 11, 2007 interview with Phylicia Rashad about her directorial debut of *Gem of the Ocean*, that aired onWBAI radio, she mentioned the power of the "subtext" which is the information to the actor that is not written on the paper that guides their interpretation of the character they're playing. The subtext of the second act of *Trouble in Mind* suggests a closer bond between Al Manners and Judy Sears, mainly after his "going over a scene" with her in the previous act of the play.

forced to play a role that would help a lynch mob seize the son of her servant. Judy notices this problem and tells Al she thinks Carrie is "helpless." Sheldon reads Sam who says nothing about Job and does not speak until Ruby read by Wiletta says "nothin' to do now but pray" and he prays. Childress in writing *Chaos in Belleville* is commenting on the ways that white men write passive Black male characters like Sam who were willfully silent and powerless to defned their sons from Jim Crow racism. In this scene Sam only speaks when he is spoken to and he does not originate creative ways to help his son avoid being lynched. Al is most concerned about what his so called star actor feels about the play. As they continue the scene, Job returns to the Renard plantation and says "I gotta leave." Al directs John to "play this as an appeal," or in a more subservient way. Al's interpretation of these characters is definitely more stereotypical and docile that what the actors believed.[1105] However John, hoping like Judy to launch his career, says "Ah, you're so right" and reads "I gotta leave" with an especially "tender appeal." Ruby tells Job that the only thing to do is to *give himself up*. Carrie chimes in agreement with Ruby trying to help: "my father will have you put in the county jail where you'll be safe." Childress shows the utter naïvété of Carrie because if Job ends up in jail, given the climate of Jim Crow towards African Americans who tried to to vote then, Job would most likely be lynched before staying in jail very long. As Renard, whom Bill O'Wray reads, enters the scene,Ruby immediately asks him for help. When Renard agrees to take him to the jailhouse and asks him if he believes he's learned his lesson, John says he believed he was right. Childress shows a resolute Black man who stands on principle and would do what Willie's mother Ms. Jackson would have done rather than do the thing he knows will please the Jim Crow community. Renard ignores this and takes him to the jailhouse claiming: "I owe your ma and pa that much."

[1105] Around this time, this different interpretation was also made by William Styron in his 1967 Pulitzer Prize winning novel on Nat Turner *The Confessions of Nat Turner*, followed by *Ten Black Writers Respond to William Styron's The Confessions of Nat Turner* edited by John Henrik Clarke.

As John leaves, Eddie's reading of the stage directions tell us that John looks to his father. Finally he looks to his mother who, instead of defending him, goes back to her ironing. We learn from Al manners later in the story that on the way to the jailhouse, Job and Renard are stopped by deputies, one of whom shoots and kills Job as he tries to escape.

At this point, it is apparent that Alice Childress based the story of *Trouble in Mind* in part on the life of Maceo Snipes. In Paul Robeson's 1949 address to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, he describes the sacrifice of a man named Maceo Snipes, who was "a World War II veteran" who "went to vote in Taylor County, Alabama." He was dragged from his home on July 17, 1946, the night after he had voted, being the only Negro to vote in that district, in the state primaries. Moments later he was found dead on the doorstop of his home within sight of his wife and children. Robeson told his address: "His murderers walked away saying, 'We told you not to vote. But the widow of Maceo Snipes told her children: "When you grow up, you'll vote too."[1106] In Childress' fictional *Chaos in Belleville*, Job is killed because he was sent to the jailhouse without his parents' resistance to his going because, like Maceo Snipes, he dared to try to vote. Childress's stage directions tell us John by this point in their rehearsal is self-conscious about Wiletta and Sheldon, and is "ashamed" of them much the way Job in the script was ashamed of his parents who gave him up to Renard. Childress speaks to the way in which the script by a white writer assumes and supports the idea that parents of children in the Jim Crow South would rather grow them up to let such a way of life socialize them without actively resisting it. The fictional script by a white male writer presents a set of Black parents who punish their child for breaking the Jim Crow status quo. John ignores this stereotypical characterization of Job to please Al Manners the director in order to ultimately support the white

[1106] Paul Robeson, "The Negro People and the Soviet Union," Address at Banquet sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, November 10, 1949; Foner, ed. *Paul Robeson Speaks*, p.239, 546.

supremacist theater industry whichpromulgates the racist ideas of the state. Robeson's experience with the film industry, which Childress was aware of, points to the role of films in promulgating racist ideas, especially since from film came *Birth of A Nation.* In a 1938 interview, to the distinguished Afro-Cuban poet Nicolas Guillen, Robeson said:

> I am convinced that the great American and English companies are controlled by big capital, especially by the steel trust, and they will never let me do a picture as I want. For that reason, I am not interested right now in film work, and less in pictures dealing with the 'Negro problem.' The big producers insist on presenting a caricature image of the Black, a ridiculous image, that amuses the white bourgeoisie and I am not interested in playing their game.[1107]

Childress' fictionalized *Chaos in Belleville* reminds us that the "big producers"that Robeson mentions here are interested in perpetuating racist stereotypes about how a Southern Jim Crow family would support their son to be taken to jail for trying to vote. When Wiletta tells Al the problem she has with the story of *Chaos in Belleville,* and Al Manners tells her he wants "truth," John tries to justify this story to her: "they've probably never seen a movie or used a telephone…they're not like us…they're ignorant." The cast is silent after his admitting this, as if to take in the realization that this play may in fact be supporting racist stereotypes. Manners adds that they are "simple" but they're "human beings." Wiletta says the only reason he's saying they're "human beings" is because they're colored. This disruption ensues and Manners bangs on the table saying that he won't countenance another outbreak, and that "there's going to be order." Al Manners justifies the script for the cast. He asks Sheldon to share a personal story about his witnessof a lynching. After he does, the cast takes a break and Wiletta asks Manners about her character Ruby's action, to which he replies: "Its not the script, its you." Bronson, the writer of the script, Al tells Wiletta, does the writing "you do the acting, its that simple." When the cast leaves, Wiletta by herself tries to learn her lines. When they return Manners says he

[1107] Paul Robeson, Interview with Nicolas Guillen, *Melodia,* Havna Cuba, 1938; *Bohemia,* Havana, May 7, 1976; English translation by Katheryn Silver, *Daily World,* July 25, 1976; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks,* p.123.

wants to go over something with Judy and Judy, after having a few glasses of wine, says "he's afraid she'll go overboard on the friendshipdeal and complicate matters." Manners called her delirious for this statement.

Wiletta returns later than the rest, saying she is now "able to relate and justify." As they read their scene, Wiletta pulls John off the floor even though the script says he should be kneeling. She then interrupts manners directly: "you been askin' me what I think and where things come from and how come I thought it and all that. Where is this comin' from? Tell me, why this boy's people turned against him? Why we sendin' him out into the teeth of a lynch mob? I'm his mother and I'm sendin' him to his death. This is a lie." Wiletta Mayer says "this" in the spirit of William Branch's Mrs. Jackson and in the spirit of the wife of Maceo Snipes who, as a mother, taught her children that exactly because their father was killed after he voted, that they should vote. She evevntually yells: "The writer wants the damn white man to be the hero—and I'm the villain." Al Manners explains that the script is going a certain way, but Wiletta, true to Childress' artistic vision and Robeson's editorial ideology, believes it ought to go another way. She turns to John and tells him: "you got to go to school to justify this!" And for Childress Wiletta shows how the education of the theater trains its actors, directors, and artists how to accommodate white supremacy by supporting scripts that exalts a white hero. This play presents disinterested Black parents who teach their children to accommodate white supremacy and play the game of the group that Paul Robeson to Nicolas Guillen called the "big producers." Wiletta draws a gasp from the whole cast when she tells Al Manners for supporting thi script: "you are a prejudiced racist." Al delivers the longest monologue in the play about how not wonderful it is to be white, how difficult it is to raise funds for works that tell the "unvarnished truth" and that all the Black cast members that the should aim for the soft spot in the American heart: "you've

got a free ride. Coast, baby coast." Al Manners by admitting the pressure against Blacks sympathizes on some level with Wiletta's disapproval of the script. However, during Manners' monologue, she asks a searing question: "would you send your son out to be murdered?" And when she asks it again, Wiletta triggers a racist invective from Al Manners that displays his true sentiment: "Don't compare yourself to me! What goes for my son doesn't necessarily go for yours! Don't compare him [points to John]…with three strikes against him, don't compare him with my son, they've got nothing in common…not a goddamn thing!" The stage directions tell us that after Al's line here "he has lost company sympathy" and he leaves.

Sheldon expresses disappointment with Wiletta, telling her that she should have used wisdom and that he has more of a right to complain because he's just whittling a stick. Wiletta said she's playing a leading part and she wants the script changed or else. After Al's departure, Eddie the stage hand enters and announces that the cast has been dismissed. There is an awkward silence in the cast. Millie for the first time in the play reaches out to Judy and Bill inviting them to coffee to chat. Bill replies: "I have to study for my soap opera…but thanks." Judy agrees to go talk. The silence heard now speaks to the uncertainty of steady work which befalls all Black actors in the film and theater industry, and they are now faced with more uncertainty after Wiletta's fallout with Al.

Soon the entire cast exits except Wiletta who cries as Harry takes a seat. Wiletta realizes how her effort to change the script will be handled: "Divide and conquer…A telephone call for tomorrow's rehearsal…they won't call me…But I'm gonna show up any damn way. The next move is his. He'll have to fire me." She is forced out of her sadness when Henry asks her again to guess his age. Wiletta plays again: "not more than sixty." When they discover a tape recorder that Eddie was playing canned applause from for Bill's monologue, Henry asks Wiletta if,

despite this fallout, she would, like she said she always wanted, say something grand as an actress. She comes downstage and recites Psalm 133. Henry turns on applause and the play ends with Wiletta standing at the canned applause.

Trouble in Mind presents Alice Childress's artistic rejection of Black stereotypes through her character of Wiletta, who as an actress refuses to play the role of a mother that is supportive of her son being punished by the Jim Crow South for trying to vote. Like Paul Robeson, this artistic rejection had some basis in the personal life of Childress, who sometime before 1957 divorced her husband Alvin Childress in part, because of his playing the stereotypical role of Amos in the *Amos n' Andy* television series.[1108] Life imitated art in the case of Childress' own life but also in the case of the life of *Trouble in Mind*. After its original Greenwich Mews theater production, according to her scholars Kathy Perkins and Lavinia Jennings, Childress had similar problems of "interpretation" with her own white producer when he threatened to cancel the off-Broadway production if she did not end the play happily since the commercial theater preferred such happy endings. Childress conceded and changed the ending. In the revision, Wiletta, instead of resolving to return the next day, negotiates a "realistic" presentation with Al Manners.[1109] Later Childress was asked to move the play to Broadway with a series of rewrites. Her frustration with the constant request to accommodate the various white producers resulted in her refusing to continue rewriting after she said she "couldn't recognize the play one way or the other" therefore ultimately resolving not to have it done. These struggles with white producers

[1108]Perkins, ed. *Alice Childress,* p.xviii.Perkins writes that in 1984, Nick Stewart who played Lightnin' in the *Amos n' Andy* series told her that Alice Childress was not happy about Alvin playing Amos. Donald Bogle writes that the Amos played the less stereotypical, "mild mannered sensible husband" and taxi cab driver. It began as a radio series performed by Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, two white men, then evolved into a highly rated and very popular television series from 1948 that was heavily critiqued by the NAACP. Bogle writes that the show, unlike Alice Childress' work, "never expressed or even suggested anger or indignation about the system—racial, economic, or social…The protests against the television series continued for the next two years, until finally CBS, bowing to pressure, removed *Amos n' Andy* from its broadcast schedule in 1953." Donald Bogle, *Primetime Blues: African Americans on Network Television,* (New York, Farrar Straus & Giroux, 2001), p.37, 40.
[1109] Lavinia Jennings, *Alice Childress,* (New York, Twayne, 1995), p.7.

reflect Childress's own character Al Manner's admission, that the mainstream theater is not interested in "the unvarnished truth." Childress' unvarnished truth in *Trouble in Mind* had to do with staying faithful to the play's original ending of Al Manners yelling and ending the rehearsal after Wiletta's simple question of "Would you do this to your son?" The production life of *Trouble in Mind* also reflects Childress's determination, like Wiletta's, not to commit to any artistic collaboration, be it a play or a producer that will compromise your own principles and values. White producers like Edward Eliscu wanted Childress to make the ending happier and in a sense celebrate accommodation to the racist story in *Chaos in Belleville*. Childress refused. Her own experience with white producers and *Trouble in Mind* reflects her commitment to her ethical principles that she wanted her first husband Alvin to follow, of not promulgating state-supported racism and fascism. This fascism depends on compromised films that portray Blacks as stereotypes. Childress's Wiletta Mayer imagines a world where a lead actress can in fact change the script if she deems it necessary because she believes it supports racist ideas. She is able to do this largely because of the platform that *Freedom* provides due to the editorial ideology of Paul Robeson.

This play is also inspired by the "Conversations From Life" written by Alice Childress in the April 1953 issue of *Freedom*, where Mildred is telling Marge about her Mildred's sister's son, Bubba, who's "been mixin in politics and things…Shoutin' about civil rights and sendin' off petitions and preachin' against war and carryin' sings and Lord only knows he don't think nothing of criticizin' anybody's government any time!" She tells Marge that his mother Florence is so worried about his activities. When in front of both her and Florence, Mildred tells Marge that Bubba said:

> Aunt Mildred I cannot do the popular thing…I cannot close my eyes, ears, mouth and swallow down my own manhood…I cannot join the chorus of liars singin' out 'All is

> well.'…I cannot crawl in Jim Crow and be content to eat my crust of bread, sleep a restless sleep…I cannot watch indifferent whilefolks flit across a movie screen…or hear their voices and laughter pouring into my living room…and say—'this is my pleasure..this is my job…this is my rest.' Its unjust Mamma! It's wrong Aunt Mildred![1110]

Mildred told Marge that after hearing her sister Florence's son, Bubba, say this, Florence began to cry because of a deep seated fear that Bubba would get killed. In this portrait, Alice Childress shows a more sympathetic and realistic look at how a Black mother might feel about her son who is getting involved in voting like the son, Job, in *Trouble in Mind*. It is a more sympathetic portrayal because this mother shows real dramatic emotion and is at visible conflict between supporting her son and supporting the staus quo by not upsetting those like Maceo Snipes' murderers who might also kill her son for his beliefs. This is a less stereotypical portrayal of a Southern Black mother than Ruby in Childress' *Chaos in Belleville,* who when her son looks for support, turns to iron her employer's clothes.

Trouble in Mind tells the reader and the audience that Wiletta stands unequivocally against the side of the state who, according to Manners' tirade, would never want "the unvarnished truth." Because above all Al Manners is trying to direct Bronson's script more than anything else, he is willing to peddle white supremacist lies about how a Black family would respond to their son voting and thus he would support state-supported fascist stories that ultimately justify continued fascist policies like Jim Crow against the Southern Blacks since, as characters like Sam and Ruby suggest, they would betray their son to the white racist status quo anyway. The rest of the cast do not have as strong a vested interest in seeing the original story of *Chaos in Belleville* survive as does Al. However Wiletta stands firm on her refusal to tell a lie; she rejects the state supported-fascist rule in the South and thereby rejects this script. Because

[1110] Alice Childress, "Conversations From Life" *Freedom,* April 1953, p.8.

Wiletta is a talented actress invited to play a lead role in a Broadway play, she has the ability and the power to demand a script with stronger parents who would support their child's effort in the Jim Crow South. For Childress, Wiletta imagines a non-racist future more supportive of children like Bronson's Job who want to break social norms.

Lorraine Hansberry was a writer whose playwrighting career that skyrocketed from 1959 was profoundly influenced by what she wrote for *Freedom* from 1951 to its last year in 1955. She died in 1965 after battling with cancer while her second Broadway play was running. In a portion of her journals, which her husband and literary executor Robert Nemiroff shared in the posthumously published work *To Be Young, Gifted, an Black: Lorraine Hansberry in Her Own Words,* she reflects on *Freedom* and Louis Burnham:

> I work for the new Negro paper, FREEDOM, which in its time in history ought to be *the* journal of Negro liberation…in fact, it will be…I work five days a week typing (eh?) receptionist and writer, and take home $31.70, which I think must account for the slimness…The editor wore a large black moustache in those days and he was seated in an office on Lenox Avenue behind a desk arranged in front of a large curving window that allowed one to see a lot of Harlem at one time. It seems to me now that there were few things in that office other than the desk, the two chairs we sat on, a lonely typewriters, some panels of gray afternoon light—and the altogether commanding personality of Louis E. Burnham…I suppose it was because of his voice, so rich, so strong, so very certain, that I never associated fragility with Louis Burnham despite his slight frame. The things he taught me were great things: that all racism was rotten, white or black, that *everything* is political; that people tend to be indescribably beautiful and uproariously funny. He also taught me that they have enemies who are grotesque and that freedom lies in the recognition of all of that and other things.[1111]

By the time she joined the staff of *Freedom*in New York, she was a published poet having had her poems "Flag From a Kitchenette Window" and "Lynchsong" in the Communist-affiliated left's periodical *Masses And Mainstream.*[1112]Before arriving in New York,by the end

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[1111] Lorraine Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted, and Black: Lorraine Hansberry in Her Own Words,* Adapted by Robert Nemiroff (New York, Vintage, 1969), p.77, 79. Dorothy Burnham would say in my interview with her that Louis was very happy working with her.

[1112]Jackson, *The Indignant Generation,* p.345. Jackson describes "Lynchsong" as a protest against Willie McGee, a Mississippi truck driver's imminent execution. Judith E. Smith describes "Flag from a Kitchenette Window" from

of her freshman year at the University of Wisconsin in 1948, she was elected campus chairman of the Young Progressives of America who, like Paul Robeson, endorsed the Progressive Party candidate Henry Wallace for President. In the summer of 1949 Hansberry waits tables at Camp Unity in Wingdale, New York, that represented the principles that Hansberry by herself had already come to support. Camp Unity was a summer camp welcome to Black families as well as white families. This is where she meets singer Philip Rose who by the spring of 1949 is on the culture staff of Camp Unity as a singer for dinner entertainment, and would come to co-produce her very first play.[1113]Within the next two years by 1950, Hansberry would leave the University of Wisconsin permanently and live in Harlem at around twenty years of age, to seek venues where, Judith E. Smith writes,"Black cultural assertion was built on interracial and international solidarities."[1114]*Freedom* was an international solidarity that endorsed an interracial and international solidarity which became venue for Hansberry to assert her own cultural experience within a Black family trying to move from an economically depressed region, the ghetto. Writing for *Freedom* provided Hansberry a strong American anticolonial ideological base she would later employ to write influential plays that imagined a non-racist world. These plays would come to demand that the audience to ask themselves what role will they play in relation to the state. All of Hansberry's works discussed in this chapter imagine an anti-sexist and anti-racist world however this dissertation will focus on *A Raisin in the Sun* and*Les Blancs*. This

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the September 1950 issue of *Masses & Mainstream* as a "bleak commentary on the empty promise of postwar American nationalism for people without full rights as citizens, the title and poem located its narrator in housing associated with Carl Hansberry's real estate empire on a Memorial Day…The only resolution the poem offers is to begin to walk with "our steps deliberately against the beat," Judith E. Smith, *Visions of Belonging: Family Stories, Popular Culture, and Postwar Democracy, 1940-1960*, (New York, Columbia, 2004), p.292.

[1113] Philip Rose, *You Can't Do That On Broadway! A Raisin in the Sun and Other Theatrical Improbabilities*, (New York, Limelight Editions, 2001), p.43, 46. Rose would write that "since the summer of 1949 and all through the years that followed, Lorraine Hansberry and I would see each other quite often." Ten years later Rose and David J. Cogan would produce *A Raisin in the Sun* on Broadway. I am especially grateful for an autographed copy of Rose's memoir, *You Can't Do That On Broadway* that he handed to me at the 2004 Harlem Book Fair.

[1114] Smith, *Visions of Belonging*, p.290. I find this remark by Smith, about Hansberry seeking Black cultural assertion through interracial and international solidarities incredibly accurate.

section plans to provide an in-depth criticism of*A Raisin in the Sun* and*Les Blancs*, how they each showed each character in relation to the state and its promulgation of fascism, and how it imagined in non-racist and non-sexist world.

A Raisin in the Sun takes place over the course of several weeks. The first act takes place Friday morning in one scene, then Saturday morning in the next while the second act takes place later on Saturday. The first two scenes of this second act take place a few weeks later on Friday night and scene three takes place on moving day. Act three takes place one hour later from the third scene of act two. It opens with Walter Lee Younger, a chauffeur, asking his wife Ruth who is about thirty, to convince his mother, while he goes to work, to use a $10,000 insurance check that they expect in the mail for a liquor business he wants to start. Ruth does not like the idea because she believes the money is not theirs. Beneatha, Walter's sister, enters and tells Walter the same thing. Beneatha is twenty and aspiring to be a doctor but in light of her rejection of Walter's idea for a liquor store, Walter asks her why she doesn't become "a nurse like other women—or just get married and be quiet."[1115] Beneatha tells Walter that picking on her is not going to make their mother, Lena, give Walter the insurance money. After Walter leaves for work and Beneatha leaves for her guitar lessons, Ruth asks Lena for some money to use for Walter's proposed liquor store. Lena declines for religious reasons, and asks Ruth to take better care of herself as she looks tired. Later in the play Ruth returns from the doctor and learns she is pregnant. When Lena suspects Ruth will see an abortion doctor, she asks Walter to tell Ruth to keep the baby, but Walter is thinking more about getting the money for his proposed liquor store venture. Also, by now Beneatha is courting two men: an African student she met on campus

[1115]Lorraine Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun*, (1959; New York, Vintage, 1994), p.38. All page references are from this 1994 edition until otherwise indicated.

named Joseph Asagai who is from Nigeria, and a rich Black college student named George Murchison.

In the second act, Lena tells the family that she has taken the $10,000 insurance money and put $3000 down on a house in Clybourne Park where Ruth says, "there ain't no colored people living." Lena replies: "well, there will be now." When Ruth asks if there are no other places besides Clybourne Park where coloreds are living, Lena replies that those places "cost twice as much as other houses. I did the best I could." This speaks to the sociological conditions that prevented Blacks at this time from moving out of the ghetto which, Hansberry had first hand knowledge of. A February 1955 *Freedom* article entitled "Harlem Homeowners Fight Jim Crow Mortage Properties" mentions the factors that prevent Blacks from leaving the ghetto. One factor is banks not lending money on Harlem property.[1116] Another factor is Blacks being shown areas outside redlined zones that banks and mortgage companies would restrict from Blacks. Hansberry was aware of these factors but their influence on a fictional Chicago Southside family is significant and indicative of the influence that writing for *Freedom* had on her. The fact that Hansberry's Younger family comes across an insurance check makes them especially unique and able to leave the ghetto. Another characteristic that makes them unique is that Lena Younger had the knowledge to decline to pay the houses she was initially offered that cost twice as much as other houses; she is a uniquely savvy consumer who will choose only the best quality home for the most affordable price which, for her, happened to be in Clybourne Park.

By this time, a relationship developed between Beneatha and Asagai. Asagai and Murchison influence Beneatha, whom Hansberry said is based on her own self. With Asagai, Beneatha learns African culture and values she has come to learn and appreciate. However, Beneatha learns that George makes demands on her that draw her into upper class status, turn her

[1116] "Harlem Homeowners Fight Jim Crow Mortgage Properties," *Freedom*, February 1955, Front cover.

into a trophy wife and ultimately diminish her sense of self. Hansberry's working for *Freedom* had some influence on how she imagined George Murchison. He shares the same last name as the oil tycoon Clint Murchison and represents the elite class, the fascist class that uses race to keep wealth in their own hands. According to the January 1954 issue of *Freedom* magazine, Clint Murchison bankrolled Senator McCarthy to who helped harass suspected Communists for fighting Jim Crow.[1117] He, like Hansberry's George Murchison, is interested in preserving his status and privilege but disturbing the work of the *Freedom* staff who, according to FBI reports were accused of being Communists. After a date one night at the beginning of the second scene, George Murchison tries to get intimate with Beneatha, but their physical chemistry does not mix well. George gets frustrated with her, like Al Manners, tells her to "drop the Garbo routine" and be happy that she looks good because regardless of her ideas, guys aren't interested in that: "they're going to go for what they see. Be glad for that…As for myself, I want a nice—simple—sophisticated girl…not a poet—O.K.?" The stage directions tell us he starts to kiss her, but she rebuffs him again and he jumps up in anger. George tells her honestly that he did not go out with her "to hear all her thoughts—because the world will go on thinking what it thinks regardless!" Beneatha asks him "why read books? Why go to school?" George replies that "going to school has nothing to do with thoughts." At this line, Beneatha asks George to leave because she does not believe, like Hansberry, that school "has nothing to do with thoughts." Beneatha like Hansberry firmly believes that reading and gaining knowledge can in fact change the world. Hansberry has commented in a speech at the Black Writers Conference that man has the power to transform the universe and "impose the reason for life on life."[1118]

[1117] Charles Allen, "Leading Racists Back McCarthy," *Freedom*, January 1954, Front cover.
[1118] Lorraine Hansberry, "The Negro Writer And His Roots: Toward A New Romanticism," in Gerald Early, ed. *Speech & Power: The African American Essay and Its Cultural Content, From Polemics to Pulpit,* Volume 2. (Hopewell (NJ), Ecco, 1993), p.140.

Beneatha believes, like Hansberry, that by reading and gaining knowledge one can determine one's own path and alleviate, in Addison Gayle's words, those problems which have confronted humanity too long like racism and sexism. Beneatha and Hansberry know that reading and gaining knowledge is especially important for the African students in America like Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah at this time who are educating themselves in American colleges and using their knowledge from these academies to go home and fight and lead the anticolonial cause. By Nkrumah's knowledge he gained at Lincoln University, he was able to impose the reason "for life on life," which is to lead Ghana to independence from Great Britain, on the lives of millions of people. This, Beneatha, believes is the power of gaining knowledge. For Beneatha, to follow George's path of simply "getting a degree," means going through the motions and follow someone else's path that has been set for you rather than carving out your own path. This seeps into their physical chemistry because deep down Beneatha cannot trust George for believing this, and she asks him to leave her apartment, but also leave her life.

Like the real life Clint Murchison, Hansberry's George Murchison is interested most of all in keeping his elite status. He will do this even it it means silencing his partner's potential to use school learning to revolutionize the world. Hansberry herself believed in the power of the written word to inspire others evidenced by her work for *Freedom* and would therefore also personally reject Murchison's idea that books and school have nothing to do with developing thoughts. Hansberry recalled that Louis Burnham taught her that "all racism was rotten white or black" and in *A Raisin in the Sun* she shows some glimpses of "black racism" from not only George Murchison who, like those that *Freedom* critiqued, will uncritically support the status quo of white supremacy. *Freedom* critiqued in its pages Black colluders like Max Yergan, George Schuyler and Edith Sampson for towing the Truman administration line of unadulterated

brutal colonization of African peoples, and Beneatha applies this same standard in her personal life to George Murchison who, presumably is not interested in African independence. And if he is not interested in African independence, then, Beneatha figures, he is not meant for me. In George Murchison, Hansberry shows a character willing to work within white supremacy and accommodate it to preserve their status because regardless of what "we" think, "the world will go on thinking what it thinks regardless." Beneatha rejects this and seeks to nurture her relationship with Asagai.

The second character that exhibits a glimpse of Black racism is that of Mrs. Johnson whose scene was omitted from the original Broadway version for length reasons. Mrs. Johnson is a busybody neighbor who enters the apartment and has a conversation with Lena about her family and out of politeness we see that Lena obliges her even though stage directions tell us with some of Mrs. Johnson's words, "Mama is a cold sheet of endurance." Mrs. Johnson delivers a newspaper to Lena and shows surprise at the news of the Youngers' plans to move out of their southside Chicago apartment to a suburb known as Clybourne Park. With this surprise is an element of jealousy and discouragement from Mrs. Johnson who in a conversation with Lena says: "Lord, by now ya'll's names will have been in papers plenty—NEGROES INVADE CLYBOURNE PARK! BOMBED!" Lena tells her they're not moving there to get bombed. Mrs. Johnson responds promptly that she will be praying to God that this does not happen. Mrs. Johnson tells Lena she knows about Walter, about how "being a chauffeur ain't never satisfied Brother none." She tells Lena that there's nothing wrong with being a chauffeur but Lena says there's "plenty" wrong with it: "my husband always said being any kind of servant wasn't a fit thing for a man to have to be. He always said that a man's hands was to make things, or turn the earth with—not to drive nobody's car for 'em—or—carry they slop jars. And my boy is just like

him—he wasn't meant to wait on nobody." Lena comes to this realization, after telling Walter he has a job, when Walter in the first act responds: "a job? I open and close doors all day long. I drive a man around in his limousine and I say, 'Yes, sir; no, sir; very good, sir; shall I take the Drive, sir? Mama, that ain't no kind of job…that ain't nothing at all." Lena remembers this when she tells Mrs. Johnson that Walter Lee was not meant to wait on anybody. The stage directions tell us that after hearing this that Mrs. Johnson is "rising somewhat offended" and says: "The Youngers is too much for me!You sure one proud-acting bunch of colored folks. Well—I always thinks like Booker T. Washington said that time—'Education has spoiled many a good plow hand.'" Lena calls Booker T. "a fool" and Mrs. Johnson said "me and you never agreed about some things, Lena Younger."

Hansberry shows how Mrs. Johnson reflects some of the working class ideas of the neighborhood that the Youngers lived in. The fact that Hansberry writes that Mrs. Johnson was "offended" when Lena refused to concede that Walter Lee was not meant to take a job as a chauffeur shows that she will not be a typical Negro family who is simply grateful for a job because it's simply a job. Hansberry's portrayal of Lena Younger and Walter Lee's rejection of service sector menial jobs speaks to an article Hansberry wrote for the June 1951 issue of *Freedom:* "Negroes Cast in Same Old Roles in TV Shows," where she writes that "the longer the concept of the half-idiot sub human can be kept up, the easier to justify economic and every other kind of discrimination so rampant in this country." Hansberry's Mrs. Johnson is absolutely no "half idiot" or "sub human," as none of Hansberry's characters are. Mrs. Johnson believes in Booker T. Washington's philosophy in a way that accommodates the growing service sector industry caused by postwar deindustrialization that caters to the wealthiest in ways that Hansberry and her Younger family characters don't. Solomon Northup said that in his narrative

that menial roles have been allotted to the "children of Africa" and its descendants.[1119] Hansberry and her Younger family characters, unlike Mrs. Johnson, reject this "menial role" that includes the occupation of chauffeur which Walter Lee wants to leave in order to become an independent businessman. Hansberry intends to show the Younger family not as the average family who appreciates average jobs, but as a family who aspires, as Beneatha does, to make their own profession or as Lena says "to make things." Mrs. Johnson's being offended by this is a reflection of her own "Black racism" against Blacks who think they're too good for the average service sector jobs like chauffeur that are available. After having that conversation with Mrs. Johnson who frowns on Walter Lee wanting a better job andafter remembering Walter's desire to leave his job, Mama gives him his opportunity to do so. She said she paid thirty five hundred dollars down on the home she bought in Clybourne Park and decides to give Walter six thousand dollars with explicit instructions: "three thousand…in a savings account for Beneatha's medical schooling. The rest you put in a checking account—with your name on it. And from now on any come out of it is for you to look after. For you to decide." Walter asks Lena if she trusts him "like that," and Lena replies that she "never stopped trusting" him, just like she never stopped loving him.

One week later Karl Lindner, a white man from "the Clybourne Park Improvement Association" arrives when Lena is not home, and offers the Youngers family cash not to move in. Given their "proud actin" ways as Mrs. Johnson said, Walter Lee, Ruth and Beneatha who are present when Lindner arrives soundly reject the offer and in fact ridicule him when he leaves. After Lena arrives and they are prepared to move, Walter gives "Willy Harris" the entire six thousand dollars which, we learn though Walter Lee's friend Bobo, has absconded with the

[1119] Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years A Slave, The Barnes and Noble Library of Essential Reading* (1853; New York: Barnes and Noble, 2007), p.4.

money. The family is mortified. Asagai arrives and notices Beneatha extremely disappointed.When Beneatha tells him that Walter squandered the money with "a man Travis wouldn't have trusted with his most worn-out marbles," Asagai offers his condolences and questions the American life insurance policy and American society that would reward a family with cash after the death of a man. Asagai tries to console Beneatha by telling her about the dramatic nature of African revolutions and how the death of an individual or a dream can actually help advance the cause of revolution. In his almost uninterrupted monologue, he relates "reading a newspaper" to the "sudden dramatic events that make history leap into the future." Like Beneatha, he sees the importance of reading and implies its potential for fomenting revolution. Unlike Murchison, he assumes the importance of literacy of the working masses in securing the seizure of their personal rights. He asks why Beneatha would think of giving up her dreams of being a doctor on account of her brother losing the six thousand dollars. If she would do this then, he asks, "what good is anything? Where are we all going and why are we bothering!" Beneatha yells "AND YOU CANNOT ANSWER IT!" to which Asagai responds: "I live the answer!" He tells her how he might live to be "a great man" and "hold on to substance and truth and find [his] way always" and because of that he would be butchered in his bed one night "by the servants of empire."

Asagai desperately tries to show that good people die or strong dreams die by no fault of their own but because it was their time and that "death will always be." He tells her its possible that his own Black countrymen could come out of the shadows one night to slit his then "useless throat," and that life is not a long line like she thinks, like Western philosophies teach but, instead is a circle that depends on life and death. Asagai says that his death "would actually replenish" all that he was and primes her to *do* something in response to the family's loss. He

proposes to take her home to Asagai with him, and gives her time to to think about this proposal.Cheryl Higashida writes that an FBI agent saw a 1959 preview of *A Raisin in the Sun* before its March 11th opening at the Ethel Barrymore theaterreporting and the agents report focused on Hansberry's character of Asagai. According to this review Asagai has "a desire to educate himself so that he can return to teach and raise the level of the people of his village" so they can "overthrow the rule of European nations, find political freedom, improve themselves economically and educationally, and make their own future." While Asagai's lines do mention "revolution," they do not mention it exactly in the context which this FBI agent claims. Asagai mentions "revolution" in order to show Beneatha how "sudden dramatic events" happen in order to comfort her for her family's loss. Higashida writes that ultimately the agent saw no cause for concern since "few [in the audience] appeared to dwell on the propagnda messages" but the overwhelming attention that the review gave Asagai showed "how much Asagai's vision mattered to the state."[1120] It also showed how much the state exaggerated Asagai's influence in Hansberry's story of the play that focused not on "overthrowing the rule of European nations," but on the Younger family carving their own way outside the economically depressed conditions they lived in. James Baldwin wrote that for the first time, *A Raisin in the Sun* showed the truth of Black people's lives were shown on stage and, as such, the audience who saw the preview with the FBI agent in 1959, was no doubt preoccupied with appreciating this truth rather than overtly, as the agent claimed, plotting to overthrow European rule.[1121]

Before arriving on Broadway, it premiered in New Haven and Philadelphia. In its Philadelphia run, Princess Starletta Depaur, a professional dancer with Katherine Dunham, hosted the entire cast of *A Raisin in the Sun* including Lorraine Hansberry at her home for dinner

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[1120] Cheryl Higashida, *Black Internationalist Feminism: Women Writers of the Black Left, 1945-1955* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 2011), p.63, 195; Lorraine Hansberry's FBI File, February 5, 1959.
[1121]James Baldwin, "Sweet Lorraine," in *To Be Young, Gifted and Black,* p.xviii.

in early 1959 in the Overbrook section of Philadelphia.[1122] One of the momentos from this dinner is an autographed poster signed by the entire cast in possession of Depaur's daughter, Starletta DuPois, a professional actress who would later play Ruth Younger in the 1989 American Playhouse production of *A Raisin in the Sun* that would be first mainstream production to restore the role of Mrs. Johnson. She would later play the role of Lena Younger in a critically acclaimed 2010 production of *A Raisin in the Sun* directed by Michael Buffong at the Royal Exchange Theater in Manchester, England. In *A Raisin in the Sun,* DuPois has played Beneatha in a college production; Ruth in the Lincoln Center and American Playhouse productions; and most recently Lena at the Royal Exchange in Manchester, England. From a performer's perspective who's observed the audience, she told me:

> Its our story, but its also every man's story, because everybody wants this [the opportunity to own and work for yourself] out of life and that's what grabs the people at the end, because they say: that could've been me. That I started out with nothing, and…I worked hard and worked as many jobs as I needed to in order to be able to have a better life.[1123]

Starletta DuPois' reflections shows that audience members of *A Raisin in the Sun,* then and now, were more interested in relating the characters' lives to their own, than in applying what they heard from one character in it, Joseph Asagai, to overthrow European rule, as this FBI agentsaid in their review. The play's popularity speaks to the the common goals that all Americans want, which is owning their own home, being in charge of their own livelihood and life without being suffocated by institutions powered by historical racism that encourages

[1122] The original Broadway cast of *A Raisin in the Sun* included Ruby Dee (Ruth), Glynn Turman (Travis), Sidney Poitier (Walter Lee), Diana Sands (Beneatha), Claudia McNeil (Lena), Ivan Dixon (Asagai), Louis Gossett (George), John Fiedler (Karl), and Lonne Elder III (Bobo).

[1123] Personal Interview with Starletta DuPois, March 23, 2012. Special thanks to Cecelia Antoinette for making this interview possible.

dishonesty between Blacks, the kind that Willy Harris showed to Walter Lee by absconding with his family's money.[1124]

Walter Lee after disappointing the family decides to call Lindner. When Lindner arrives a second time to the house, this time when Lena is home, he is "glad" to know that the Younger family will after all accept their "generous" offer. He tells them: "life can really be so much simplerthan people let it be most of the time." By "life" he means the Younger family's acceptance of the place, the Southside Chicago apartment, that the white supremacist capitalist society has carved out for them—what Pauline Hopkins (to Freund's dismay) has termed the "proscribed role"—to be in. By accepting this more limiting space in life, Lindner and many of the whites in Clybourne Park would be pleased. These whites would rather the Youngers stay content with the conditions described in Hansberry's own letter to Miss Oehler:

> We must come out of the ghettoes of America, because the ghettoes are killing us; not only our dreams, as Mama says, but our very bodies. It is not an abstraction to us that the average American Negro has a life expectancy of five to ten years less than the average white. You see, Miss Oehler, that is murder, and a Negro writer cannot be expected to share the placid view of the situation [of the idealism Miss Oehler was claiming Hansberry was showing in *A Raisin in the Sun* of Negroes and whites integrating peacefully] that might be the case with a white writer.[1125]

Hansberry rejects these conditions for African Americans and writes the Younger family doing the same thing. In the play, Lindner notices that Walter Lee's son Travis walk over and notice his papers, and right when Walter, in front of Ruth, Lena, and Beneatha, is ready to take Lindner's money not to move in, Ruth tells Travis to go downstairs and Lena says: "No. Travis you stay right here." To Walter Lee she says: "you make him understand what you doing,

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[1124] While the play encourages self-determination for all people, it does not do so at the expense of what Hansberry regarded as most important work, which was collective organized action against the march of American fascism. She believed, until her death that turning American liberals into American radicals was the most important work to be done. The message of triumph for the Younger family by no means disqualifies ambitions for anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-imperialist progressive work in this country.

[1125]Lorraine Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted and Black*, p.117.

Walter Lee. You teach him good. Like Willy Harris taught you. You show where our five generations done come to." Lena wants Travis to stay in order to help Walter Lee understand that the lineage of survival and resistance that the Youngers have come from do not take money in order accept inferior conditions. With Travis and the entire family with him, Hansberry's stage directions tell us "the tension hangs; then Walter steps back from it" and says to Lindner that "we are a very proud people." While Lindner wants him to sign, Walter keeps telling him about their family, ending with "and we have decided to move into our house because my father—my father—he earned it for us brick by brick…We don't want your money." Hansberry shows how Walter Lee is aware of the free labor of Africans including his descendants that produced tons of cotton that went into the clothes and wealth that produced the industrial revolution which has helped fuel white supremacist capitalism to this day. When Walter Lee says "my father" to Lindner he is referring not only to his own biological father but the male descendants of all African Americans whose labor helped create white wealth to produce a concept of white privilege that exists to this day. Lena tells Ruth that her husband "come into his manhood today…like a rainbow after the rain."

In summary, *A Raisin in the Sun* is a play that, like all of Hansberry and Childress' *Freedom*-inspired work, asks what role the audience will play in relation to the state. The entire Younger family like the Hansberry family, at the time they were living, challenged the ideas about integration that the state supported. By ending the play the way she did, with the Youngers moving to Clybourne Park, Hansberry is challenging state-supported fascism which is exactly what her work and the work at *Freedom* did in advancing Robeson's editorial ideology. Steven R. Carter writes that previous drafts demonstrate how difficult this ending is, and one early draft

includes the following dialogue between Walter and Lena just after Walter has rejected Lindner's offer to buy the house:

> Lena: I'm proud you my boy. *(Walter is silent)* Cause you got to get up..and you got to try again. You understand. You got to have more sense with it—and I got to be more with you—but you got to try again. You understand?
>
> Walter: Yes Mama. We going to be all right, Mama. You and me, I mean.
>
> Lena: *(Grinning at him)* Yeah—if the crackers don't kill us all.[1126]

Hansberry wrote characters who were aware of white racism and its imminent threat on the lives of Black people, and thereby rejects the idea that just because Walter Lee decides for the family to move into Clybourne Park, that*A Raisin in the Sun* provides a happy ending. She responded to a critic who damned the play's conclusion as that of a conventional soap opera: "if he thinks that's a happy ending, I invite him to live in one of the communities where the Youngers are going!"[1127]More than celebrating racial integration, *A Raisin in the Sun* rejects racial segregation and the ghetto, the genocidal proscribed role the American society has carved out for African Americans. The Youngers' commitment to move into their new home is a reflection of Lorraine Hansberry's real life move from her family's Southside Chicago apartment into a white neighborhood. In a letter to the editor of the *New York Times,* Hansberry writes that after she moved into this new home, they so were often in danger of racist attacks by hostile segregationist whites, that her mother was "patrolling our house all night with a loaded German luger, doggedly guarding her four children, while my father fought the respectable part of the

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[1126] Hansberry, Original Draft of *A Raisin in the Sun,* quoted in Carter, *Hansberry's Drama,* p.50-51.
[1127]Hansberry, "Me Tink Me Hear Sounds in De Night," *Theatre Arts,* October 1960, p.9-11; Smith, *Visions of Belonging,* p.321.Judith E. Smith writes that mainstream criticism did not understand and so dismissed the significance of Beneatha's and Asagai's perspectives which extend far beyond the family. Smith, *Visions of Belonging,* p.318.

battle in the Washington court."[1128] In this letter she downplayed the ideals of "progress" that liberals pointed to in order to argue that more radical protest methods, which Hansberry absolutely endorsed, are not necessary. Hansberry's work with in fulfilling the editorial ideology of Robeson helped radicalize her to support the sit-movement that grew while her play was running on Broadway in 1959. Hansberry supported the nonviolent radical protest methods that Alice Childress mentioned in her play five years prior, in her character of John in *Gold Through the Trees*. Hansberry's time in writing for *Freedom* influenced her characters to break society's status quo and supported, like Paul Robeson did, movements that challenged this status quo.

In the May 1952 issue of *Freedom*, Robeson said that the Negro struggle for liberation must have allies but what kind? He asks: "half hearted liberals who advocate liberalism and ride to public acclaim on the backs of "our" problem? Or modern day abolitionists who go all out for Freedom *now?*"[1129]Five years later in 1964, Hansberry would answer this question at a Town Hall meeting called "The Black Revolution and the White Backlash," and assert that the allies in the Negro struggle for liberation can be no more and no less than modern day abolitionists: "we have to find some way, with these dialogues, to encourage the white liberal to stop being a liberal and become an American radical."[1130]A common theme in Hansberry's work was to challenge racism and sexism by encouraging self-proclaimed liberals to become radicals.

Margaret Wilkerson writes that a central question that Lorraine Hansberry is asking in *Les Blancs*, her *Freedom*-inspired 1970 play dealing with African colonization is: "can the

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[1128]Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted and Black*, p.21. Hansberry later says that the fact that her father and the NAACP "won" a Supreme Court decision is the sort of "progress" our satisfied [liberal] friends allude to when they presume to deride the more radical means of struggle.
[1129] Robeson, "Here's My Story: An Evening in Brownsville," *Freedom*, May 1952, Front cover; Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson*, p.317.
[1130]Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted and Black*, p.239.

liberation of oppressed peoples be achieved without violent revolution?"[1131] She writes that *Les Blancs* is the first major work by a Black American playwright to focus on Africa and pose this question in the context of an African liberation struggle. Robert Nemiroff said that Hansberry wrote it as a response to the 1960 production of Jean Genet's play *Les Negres,* that she felt was more "a conversation between white men about themselves." In *Les Blancs*which means "the whites" in French,Hansberry was striving for a more realistic conversation between European, African and American cultures. She was also interested in showing British colonization of Africa and how American culture supports it. Her articles covering the anticolonial Kenyan insurgency for *Freedom* inspired her interest in writing *Les Blancs* that would present this more realistic conversation in a personal way. Her article in the December 1951 issue called "Gold Coast's Rulers Go, Ghana Moves to Freedom" speak to her interest and celebration of Ghana's independence from British rule. Her March 1952 article called "Egyptian People Fight For Freedom" discuss the role of women played in supporting genuine democratic movements against leaders imposed by European colonization in Egypt.

Her article in the December 1952 issue called "Kenya's Kikuyu: A Peaceful People Wage Heroic Struggle Against British" is the probably the one article most responsible for her interest in exploring the anticolonial struggle in play form through *Les Blancs.* She begins it by writing: "today the Kikuyu people are helping to set fire to British imperialism in Kenya." She is

[1131] Margaret B. Wilkerson, "Introduction," in *Les Blancs: The Collected Last Plays by Lorraine Hansberry,* edited with critical backgrounds by Robert Nemiroff, (New York, Vintage, 1994), p.18. Scholars of Black Freedom movement radicals underestimate the degree to which radicals like Hansberry believed in the role of violent revolution in response to European colonization. Wilkerson writes that Hansberry's commercial success and popularity masked her radicalism and improperly aligned her with "integrationism" rather than the muscular voice of Malcolm X who was born on the same day, May 19th, five years before Hansberry. This issue has especially been raised with Manning Marable's 2011 publication of his biography of Malcolm X where Marable writes: "What Malcolm sought was a fundamental restructuring of wealth and power in the United States—not a violent social revolution, but radical and meaningful change nevertheless," Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention,* (New York, Viking, 2011), p.483. A closer examination of Malcolm's and Hansberry's works would reveal their beliefs in the necessary role of violent social revolution in accomplishing fundamental restructuring of wealth and power. Nemiroff writes that "for Lorraine Hansberry, insurgency was a necessity, an essence of the artist," *To Be Young, Gifted And Black,* p.xxiv.

on the side of the insurgent Kikuyu and, true to Robeson's editorial ideology, fighting for full equality of African people rather than the menial positions that colonization forces them in. Hansberry points to the necessity of violent revolution in her description of the negotiations Kenyans engaged to resist British colonization: "since the coming of the British in 1890, the Africans of Kenya and particularly the Kikuyu have exhausted practically every form of delegation and petition to the British government in seeking corrections of their grievances against 20,000 white settlers." Hansberry addresses the nonviolent means by which Kenyans resist colonization, how they've exhausted these means, and ultimately points to the fact that Kenyans have no other alternative but violent revolution for Kenyans. In this article she points to the material reason for the British presence: "the Kikuyu know that the gold discovered in the territory of the Kavirondo and that their own land is so precious to the imperialists that they will never leave Kenya—unless they are put out."[1132]

In *Les Blancs*, Hansberry points to the material resource that colonization is exploiting and, from the perspective of the colonized, their need to essentially "put out" their colonizers. She does this in the fictional African nation she creates called Zatembe colonized by Great Britain, which is based on the real life colonization of Kenya. The play is set in a British mission compound in Zatembe run by Reverend Torvald Nielsen whom we never see throughout the play, and his elderly and charming wife Madame Nielsen. Hansberry's decision to set a play on European colonization inside a religious mission speaks to her showing the role of the European church in African nations, in accommodating colonization in an apparently harmless yet fundamentally persistent way.

[1132] Lorraine Hansberry, "Kenya's Kikuyu: A Peaceful People Wage Historic Struggle Against the British," *Freedom*, December 1952, p.3. A second unattributed article about Kenya, likely written by Hansberry called "Land Hunger, Forced Labor, Political Tyranny Provided basis for KAU [Kenyan African Union] Demands," (*Freedom*, March 1954, p.4) also provides a folk tale from an African student that Hansberry would use in *Les Blancs* to convince her protagonist Tshembe Matoseh to join the anticolonial insurgents.

Charlie Morris, a prominent character in this play, is an American journalist who is sent to cover the work that the Nielsen mission is doing in Africa. His coverage stresses the theme of sacrifice the whites have made in this mission towards African people. His coverage of this sacrifice assumes on some level that Africans arein need of being saved because they will not submit willingly to being colonized. It is challenged by the play's protagonist, Tshembe Matoseh, who has returned to the Nielsen mission in Zatembe from England to attend the funeral of his father. He is from Hansberry's fictional Kwi ethnic group and was raised by Madame Nielsen with whom he has developed a close bond. His two brothers have changed quite considerably since his first leaving Zatembe. His older brother Abioseh has since joined the Roman Catholic church and hopesto work within the Catholic Church. His younger brother Eric has remained in Zatembe, and developed a romantic relationship, perhaps the first same-sex relationship ever explored on stage with a Black man, with one of the doctors on the mission, Dr. Willy DeKoven. Dr. Marta Gotterling is another doctor on the mission who introduces Charlie Morris to the mission in the first scene of dialogue. The very first scene of this play is without dialogue and features a character named "Woman" who obviously represents the spirit of insurgence.In this very first small scene or prologue, Woman approaches the audience and "begins to dance." The stage directions tell us that during the climax of her dance, she pulls a spear planted in the earth "with great strength and raises it high."[1133] This is the second time in both of Childress and Hansberry's plays that spears are present. The Old Woman character in Childress's play *Gold Through the Trees* tells us that the status of "slave" will bring forth spears which symbolizes the African resistance and insurgency against their living the condition as a slave. Hansberry uses this prop of the spear in *Les Blancs* as a symbol of the anticolonial

[1133] Nemiroff, ed., *Les Blancs: The Collected Last Plays by Lorraine Hansberry*, p.41. All the following quotes are from this text until otherwise indicated.

resistance against living the condition as a colonized subject. Hansberry has this spear held by the Woman character, who never speaks throughout *Les Blancs* but interacts significantly with Tshembe. Like the Shakespearean Hamlet, Tshembe is mainly indecisive about whether to lead hisanticolonial Kwi insurgency against their British colonizers.

When Charlie arrives at the mission, he is warned by Marta, a medical doctor, to keep his valuables under lock and key, as "the whole world doesn't share the West's particular moral concepts—private property for one." The other mission doctor, Dr. Willy DeKoven who is more sensitive to the growing insurgency around the mission, tells Major Rice, the military leader, that Charlie Morris has come to do a piece on the "New World," what today's mainstream media would call an embedded journalist. Rice tells Charlie that "he flushed out a couple of terrorists in the bush" and wants to look at any news dispatches that Charlie sends out, in order to portray the Africans they've colonized as savages. Charlie as a white liberal journalist asks DeKoven if the West is "using its head," in its relations with the Kwi, or relying in some manner on what Americans would call diplomacy. DeKoven replied that "the [white] settlers are outraged because the Foreign Office is talking at all—and the blacks, because talk is no longer enough." Marta tells Charlie that Eric will show him to his living quarters. Madame Nielsen comments that first will come the smell of liquor, then comes Eric. When DeKoven asks Madame not to pick on Eric, Madame reminds DeKoven that Eric can't help drinking any more than DeKoven can help giving him alcohol. Hansberry's insertion of the issue of a mission doctor giving colonial subjects alcohol speaks to an article by Eugene Gordon in the June 1953 issue of *Freedom* entitled "Leaders and Laymen View Social Role of Missions." In it Gordon quotes Charles Williams, a Negro Presbyterian elder who said in Boston after returning from a trip to the Congo where he observed: "Rum, syphilis and illegitimate children are the result of 50 years

of missionary work of white people in the Congo."[1134] In writing *Les Blancs*, Hansberry shows one aspect of how white missionaries introduce alcoholism to Africans like Eric in Madame Nielsen's line to DeKoven. Hansberry shows how Africans are victims to alcoholism by white missionary work claiming to civilize them.

When Tshembe in the next scene sees Eric for the first time and asks whether DeKoven is giving whiskey, Eric changes the subject and asks how Tshembe's life is in Europe. Tshembe tells him about the family he is making with his white wife and son. And Eric tells Tshembe that the leader of the Kwi resistance, Kumalo, is coming home to Zatembe. Tshembe, as DeKoven told Charlie, is tired of seeing talks go nowhere between the colonists and the anticolonial reistance. He describes the bureaucratic runaround that characterizes most of how Europe deals with its settler colonies in general. And he disparages Kumalo's visit saying it will not be no different because it will be full of talk with little substantive change:

> we will write a report, which will be forwarded to the Foreign Secretary, who will forward it to the Prime Minister, who will approve it for forwarding to the settler government in Zatembe.'—(abruptly sobering)—who will laugh and not even read it. *That* is what Kumalo has been doing in Europe. *That* is what he will do in Zatembe.

Hansberry was interested in showing the routine colonial treatment of anticolonial movement which she deeply sympathized with. She is modeling the pathological beliefs that whites have about Blacks and, more deeply than Genet's play, she is modeling the pathological beliefs that Blacks like Charles Williams have about whites in their missions being a destructive influence on African people and their culture. When Eric asks what Tshembe thinks ultimately will happen when Kumalo returns to Zatembe, he replies, frustrated: "Talk!"

Abioseh arrives, greets his brother Tshembe, and tells him what he did since last seeing him. Tshembe said he worked in mines on the coast, then "got a job on a newspaper, but when

[1134]Eugene Gordon, "Leaders and Laymen View Social Role of Missions," *Freedom*, June 1953, Front cover.

the resistance began the government closed it down. Poof! So I scraped together some cash and went off to Europe." Tshembe is able to analyze and explain to Eric the problem with negotiations between Kwi resistance and the colonial government because he worked for a newspaper that was obviously sympathetic to the resistance since the colonial government closed it after it began. His leaving the colony of Zatembe to live in the mother colony England speaks to the ways in which he voluntarily gave up the work of the resistance that he is again confronted with as he returns for his father's funeral. Abioseh tells him of his plans as part of a "group—responsible, educated, enterprising" and blames their lack of so called progress on the resistance: "the settlers won't budge of course, while fanatics give them the least excuse."

Their first main conflict is exactly how to pay respects to their father, especially since Abioseh has joined the Catholic mission and Tshembe has been away in England for so long. Tshembe deeply wants to retain the culture that fears will be lost with the death of his father. But after being influenced by Catholicism, Abioseh questions whether they should repeat the ritual of their cultural tradition, of dancing, painting the cheeks, wearing the ceremonial robe and dancing for their father's burial. When Tshembe says they should, Abioseh says he does not believe any of it. When Tshembe plans to don, the oldest Abioseh, with their father's ceremonial robe, he reveals Abioseh's "cassock and crucifix of the Roman Catholic Church." Tshembe puts the robe on himself and Hansberry's stage directions tell us "the two are confronting each other." Tshembe tells Abioseh that, sadly, Abioseh hasn't come to pay respect to their father but to rail against a few pots of innocent powder" or to renounce his African heritage. Abioseh retorts that the benefit of what he is doing will mean progress in a different way: "someday a Black man will be archbishop of this diocese, a Black African cardinal, think of what that will mean!" Abioseh is interested in racially integrating the Roman Catholic Church rather than interrogating

its role in British colonization of Zatembe. Tshembe is also conflicted for what he feels is his subconscious abandonment of the anticolonial resistance by his marrying a white woman from a culture that is colonizing his own. When Abioseh offers Tshembe a silver cross, Tshembe takes it saying: "I know the value of this silver, Abioseh! It is far more holy than you know." He relates how the raw material that made the Abioseh's silver cross came from the hills of Zatembe that was mined by workers like himself who were exploited and made some connection with an anticolonial resistance as a result of that exploitation:

> I have collapsed with fatigue with those who dug it out of our earth! I have lain in the dark with those barracks where we were locked like animals at night and listened to them cough and cry and swear and vent the aching needs of their bodies on one another. I have seen them die! And I think your Jesus would have loved those men.[1135]

He flings the cross back at Abioseh and in his last line says: "if the legend is true at all that he was a good man, then he must have despised the priests of the temples of complicity! I am going out to our people." By "complicity" Tshembe is critiquing the role of religion in being complicit with the European state. Tshembe says that if the Jesus Abioseh's Catholicism claims to love good, then he would have loved the miners that Tshembe worked with in those unsanitary working conditions and by doing so, he would certainly sympathize with the resistance that Tshembe was once part of, and denounce the temples whose complicity is with the crime of colonization. He says he is going out to his people in a manner similar to how the Queen in *Gold Through the Trees* said she is going out after learning the holocaust that African people are enduring. Tshembe indicts Abioseh for his role in being complicit with colonization for the purpose of securing his position within the Catholic church.

In the next scene Charlie invites Marta Gotterling for a leisurely stroll through the woods after dusk and she delines for the threat of attacks by savages. Major Rice enters and announces

[1135] Nemiroff, ed. *Les Blancs,* p.62.

that a settler family, the Duquesnes have been killed. They all wonder where Dr. Torvald Nielsen is. Tshembe enters the scene and brings Madame Nielsen a gift. It is obvious that Tshembe shares a deep affection for Madame Nielsen. But when Major Rice sees him he demands his papers and Madame Nielsen reprimands Rice for his demand because, he says, he is simply returning home for his father's funeral. Tshembe obliges Rice with his papers and DeKoven defends him as a "son in mourning" and not the terrorist Rice has made him out to be. Rice says the mission is under "martial jurisdiction" and instructs everybody to "wear side arms" but they refuse. Before he exits he asks Charlie to remember that him and the missionaries mean no harm but that "this is our home." Madame leaves but tells Tshembe he must come back and tell her all about "my mountains" speaking proverbially of the England that Tshembe lived in.

Charlie invites Tshembe to sit down and share a drink but the conversation gets rocky when Charlie asks Tshembe if he knows the leader of the revolutionary, and Tshembe admits that he was his second in command. Charlie admits that he was assigned to cover the Summit Conference on disarmament but that he made a conscious decision not to go there but to cover the British settler colony, the "other part." Tshembe asks if on his way here he noticed the gashes in the mountains "from whence came the silver, gold, diamonds, cobalt, tungsten?" Through Tshembe Hansberry shows how the British mission's presence is meant to justify and perfect the extraction of raw material for financial profit of the already richest in the settler colony. Charlie on the other hand tries to convince Tshembe of the sacrifices the missionaries have made, however Tshembe sees their role as suspect because they are fundamentallyimperialistic and Charlie, unable to see Tshembe's issue with imperialism, asks Tshembe to throw away "catchwords" and asks him if he's a Communist. Like Joseph McCarthy and Clint Murchison, Hansberry's Charlie Morris is unable to respect African right to

self government and assumes that whole sale rejection of colonial missions automatically means he must subscribe to Soviet influence. A woman by the end of this exchange with Tshembe and Charlie starts dancing and starts to seduce Tshembe out of his conversation with Charlie. Stage directions tell us she "signifies the slaughter, the enslavement." Tshembe verbally resists her obvious physical control over his body and tells her he's renounced the spear. But without saying a word, the woman's movements around Tshembe foreshadow a strong calling for him to get involved in the anticolonial resistance and join his Kwi people.

In the first scene of the second act, Marta and Charlie converse. Like Charlie, Marta believes that Reverend Nielsen and his fellow missionaries have made an extraordinary sacrifice. When Charlie tells Marta that the sacrifice seems daunting in light of how Tshembe sees the mission, Marta immediately reverts to her privilege of being a white missionary saying: "what difference does it make what he says? Or any of them for that matter? Hansberry shows Dr. Gotterling, as a white woman who before being a doctor is first and foremost a colonist who sees Africans as "them" and in need of help by Europeans. He further upsets Marta by asking who Eric's father is. In the stage directions, Eric is described as "fairskinned." Charlie approaches Tshembe and asks him to speak out agains the "terror." Tshembe ignores him and lays out cloth. Charlie tries again to get Tshembe to understand his point of view but to no avail. Charlie tries to warm up to Tshembe by telling him: "you know, the truth is you and I share about the same opinion of Major Rice." Charlie asks Tshembe why he doesn't "use his influence" to "speak out against the terror." But Tshembe, very much like Hansberry's tone in her writings in*Freedom* on Africa, sees in Charlie's request "to speak out against the terror" based on two implicit and incorrect assumptions that ultimately benefit British colonization. One is that the resistance did not already try to do so in myriad forms that Hansberry wrote about in the December 1952

article, “Kenya’s Kikuyu,” where the Kenyans have exhausted of every delegation and petition to protest nonviolently. And two, that the question Charlie is asking is not better posed to colonial officials like Major Rice who has encouraged settlers to carry guns and shoot when threatened. Instead of taking the time to peel through theseassumptions, Tshembe tells Charlie: “Mr. Morris, if you don’t mind I have a business to build!” He ultimately tells Charlie that the British are only listening to the resistance now “because they are forced to. Take away the violence and who will hear the man of peace? It is the way of the world, hadn’t you noticed?” Charlie sees Tshembe’s rejection of his advice as evidence of Tshembe’s hatred of all whites: “You really can’t get rid of it, can you? The bitterness. No matter how you try, we’ve done it to you: *you do hate white men!”* Hansberry shows how Charlie is unable to see the world except in binary terms. Hansberry shows how Charlie Morris is trained in the culture language of American imperialism. When Tshembe mentions to him the word “imperialism,” Charlie is immediately caught off guard, calls this a “catchword” and suspects Tshembe of being a Communist instead of having a mind of his own that wouldn’t identify in any way as only a communist or a capitalist. When Charlie asks Tshembe to “speak out against the terror,” he is essentially asking him to tell the Kwi resistance to stop fighting so that more Africans will not be killed. This is a concession that Tshembe is not willing to make. Charlie thinks in binary terms and figures that if one is not on the side of the colonists, then one must be unequivocally against the colonists and that since that resistance is losing in numbers, then the resistance should relinquish their will to the colony. Charlie Morris is very much an American journalist in the sense that he supports British colonization and questions the role of the resistance in fighting them. But in talking to Charlie, Tshembe becomes more and more committed to the anticolonial resistance because of how Charlie sees his cause as hopeless. Hansberry was interested in

writing the thoughts of Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture in an unproduced screenplay. One of the lines that Hansberry wrote, of Toussaint talking to his comrade is: "we have something in our favor, Biassou. The Europeans will always underestimate us. They will believe again and again that they have come to fight *slaves. (He smiles)* They will be fighting *free* men thinking they are fighting slaves, and again and again—that will be their undoing."[1136]

After speaking with the American journalist Charlie, Tshembe is leaning more towards the anticolonial resistance after seeing how in so many ways Charlie underestimates him and the resistance, thinking they are simple Communists under Soviet influence or that they are fighting a lost cause. This is especially why the next scene Hansberry is building in Tshembe a strong interest in the resistance. Peter asks Tshembe to join the Kwi council in the resistance against white settlers. He tells Tshembe the tale of Mondingo, the wise hyena who, while thinking about how to solve the dispute between the hyenas who have been in the forest part but were displaced by the elephants, also get displaced by the elephants. In this tale the elephants are symbolic of the British. It was first mentioned in the Decmeber 1952 issue of *Freedom*in an article most likely by Hansberry,where she quotes the words of an African student sympathetic to the Kenyan resistance.[1137] Peter tells Tshembe that his father was a commander in the Land and Freedom Army which the mainsteam media derisively calls the Mau Mau. When Tshembe says that he's not interested in killing old missionaries, especially like Madame Nielsen who's helped to raise him; who's he's brought a gift for; and who's perhaps the only person in Zatembe he looks forward to conversing with, Peter tells him that "they are part of it."

[1136] Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted And Black*, p.138.
[1137] Nemiroff, ed. *Les Blancs*, p.95. For the folktale of the elephant and the hyena, see Hansberry, "Land Hunger, Forced Labor, Political Tyranny Provided basis for KAU [Kenyan African Union] Demands," *Freedom*, March 1954, p.4.

Tshembe in typical Hamlet style tries to avoid the mantle of leadership of the resistance. He says that Kumalo is treutning home and Kumalo responds that there has been enough "talk." Tshembe offers to go to Kumalo and tell hm he has one season to talk and get the demands of the resistance granted, but Peter points out that with his own government car, government office, and a white government secretary to warn his bed, his interests have been compromised and, like Max Yergan, he no longer speaks for the people. Peter tells Tshembe words that he knows would challenge greatly the assumptions of Charlie: "you understand we are determined to rule? By whatever means necessary." In the next scene Rice announces that Amos Kumalo has been arrested. When Charlie asks Rice what makes him think the world will sit for this, Rice responds mockingly that the world will react decisively "as always: with a U.N. resolution!" Major Rice prepares himself and the mission for military attacks following the jailing of Kumalo. When Tshembe enters asking for Kumalo, Charlie tells him he's been arrested and also tries to comfort him that "they'll hear about this in Washington!" But Tshembe quickly retorts to Charlie's apparent naivete about the U.S. role in British colonization: "they *know* about this in Washington!" Charlie thinks as a journalist he will provide breaking news about the struggles the missionary has in "dealing with" the anticolonial resistance, but Tshembe implies that what Charlie reports Washington already knows about by means other than his reporting that are part of the colonization network of support the U.S. has given Britain in its colony of Zatembe.

In the next scene, Tshembe, Abioseh, and Eric meet and Eric tells his two other brothers that he's been recruited to join the the resistance and leaves. Abioseh tells Tshembe that "creatures" like Eric make it impossible for men like him and Tshembe who only need to bide their time and wait for the colonial government to call upon them: "And then it will be our time!...Black men will sit beside the settlers. Black magistrates, Black ministers, Black officers."

Abioseh's ideal represents the same colonial structure with only Black men instead of white men running it. His is what Jean Genet imagined in *Les Negres* independence to be, however Hansberry shows more of an insurgent revolutionary presence in the nonspeaking role of Woman and the speaking role of Peter. Abioseh in disagreement with Tshembe about the response Kumalo's jailing, also like Peter, pushes Tshembe to become a leader of the resistance despite his strong reluctance.

In the next scene Charlie reveals that angel to the reader and the audience he wants to tell by asking DeKoven how the mission "saved his life." He replies "for whatever little its worth." DeKoven indicts the inferior conditions that the mission exists under compared to the hospital conditions that serve European settlers in Zatembe. He is a tragic character who turns to alcoholism to help cope in dealing with his role in the colonization of Africans: "I came here twelve years ago believing that Icould—it seems so incredible now—help alleviate suffering by participating actively in the very institutions that help sustain it." When Charlie tries to cheer DeKoven up by pointing gout that he's saved many lives, DeKoven profoundly notes: "colonial subjects die mainly from a way of life. The incidentals—gangrene, tumors, stillborn babies—are only that: incidentals." DeKoven tells a tragic story of of the efforts that a group of Africans made to "ask for freedom" by talking to Reverend Nielsen and asking his intercession on their behalf to the colonial government. DeKoven says he told them "children, children…my dear children…go home to your huts! Go home to your huts before you make me angry. *Independence Indeed!"*DeKoven said he noticed the disappointed reaction in the faces of this group hoping Nielsen would intercede for freedom to the colonial government on behalf of this group, but he didn't. Tshembe's father Abioseh was part of this group, DeKoven says, and we learn now the motivation behind Abioseh the senior joining the Land and Freedom Army. The

stage directions tell us that as DeKoven recounts this to Charlie, Tshembe is listening unnoticed by them. DeKoven says that the resistance is "quite prepared to die to bring their freedom to Africa," and right after this line, Tshembe exits still unnoticed. Tshembe is learning things about his father that perhaps he has never learned before: his role in the Land and Freedom Army and his being dismissed by the mission leader that reared his son. His father is the ultimate counterexample to Charlie's implicit charge that the resistance is not doing enough to "speak out" against the violence. In researching *Les Blancs,* Steven R. Carter points out that according to Hansberry's notes for this play, she researched actual European missionaries in Africa, one of them being that of Albert Schweitzer. She based a lot of the mission leader Reverend Nielsen on John Gunther's study of Schweitzer who believed that "the Negro is a child and with children nothing can be done without the use of authority," European authority that is.[1138] We see how Nielsen according to DeKoven believed this. The truth of Nielsen's racism for DeKoven and the missionary that supports a racist colonial structure drives him to drink and to get his companion, Eric, to drink.

Charlie asks the same question to DeKoven that he asked to Marta: Eric's paternity. DeKoven reveals that the father of Eric, whom stage directions tell us is "lightskinned" is not Reverend Nielsen but Major Rice. Rice returns and reports that Reverend Nielsen has been killed. He sees Peter and in a bit of dramatic irony orders him to get a drink for his soldiers. Just before Peter delivers the tray he drops it and tries to escape but is shot dead by Rice and his soldiers. Over his dead body, Rice says that the new safety flare system which the colonists use to alert each other was cut: "your friend here had cut the old one—did you know that DeKoven?" The next sixth scene is without dialogue like the very first, and serves as an invocation for all those on the side of the anticolonial resistance to "KILL THE INVADER!!!...Let us drown them

[1138]Carter, *Hansberry's Drama,* p.114; John Gunther, *Inside Africa,* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1955), p.733.

in the blood they have shed for a thousand seasons." This invocation is spoken in terms of those Robeson wrote in his March 1954 *Freedom* editorial praising the anticolonial resistance of Ho Chi Minh's forces against the European military. In this editorial, he called Minh the Toussaint of Indo China. This scene is not only a rallying cry for Tshembe after hearing from DeKoven about his father; it is confirmation that he has committed himself to the cause of anticolonial resistance like his father has. In the next scene Charlie and Tshembe share a final exchange that reflects Tshembe's skepticism about Charlie's true commitment to brotherhood. Tshembe facetiously suggests the title of a book that Charlie should write: "The Story of A Mission: How it Tried to Lift the Benighted Black From His Native Sloth And Indolence—And How It Was Rewarded." Tshembe ridicules the angle at which the American mainstream will portray the African as savages in need of so called American civilization and suggests this book title with very much this mind. Charlie responds telling Tshembe to stop telling him what side to come out on: "I'm me—Charlie Morris—not the white man!" While the imminent violent conflict approaches, Charlie prepares to leave Zatembe, and serve the typical role that white liberals often serve when anticolonial conflicts deepen: they return to the hegemony physically and psychologically. This is what Charlie will do now that the resistance is growing and the Mission is no longer maintaining his desired image of the sacrificial lamb. Hansberry modeled Charlie Morris after the real life character of Max Yergan who co-founded Robeson's Council on African Affairs, but who during McCarthyism slowly became on the side of the state eventually accusing Robeson of peddling Communism to Africa. Like Charlie, he is unable to sympathize with anticolonial resistance because he sees everything in only binary terms. In the October 1952 issue of *Freedom*, Robeson writes that Max Yergan was a CIA consultant during the life of *Freedom* and whose only public statement was a widely heralded "warning" to the leaders of the

civil disobedience campaign to "beware of Communism!"[1139]Dr. Z. K. Matthews, chairman of the Cape Province African National Congress, wrote an article for *Freedom* in its June 1953 issue called "An African Leader Exposes Max Yergan," where he responds to Yergan's interview in the May 1953 issue of the U.S. News & World Report where he claimed that Africa was the next goal of the Communists.[1140]Morris, based on Yergan, is unable to see anticolonial resistance as a democratic movement without the influence of Communist infiltration. For this reason, he and Tshembe always argue because their conversation digresses into Charlie's accusation of him being racist only by disagreeing with him.

In the next scene is the one conversation Tshembe was looking forward to: one with Madame Nielsen. He asks her the very serious question of why Reverend Nielsen let his mother die after birthing Eric. Madame said that Eric was the living denial of everything he stood for: the testament to three centuries of rape and self-acquittal. He wanted the child dead; wanted your mother to die! Madame finally tells Tshembe "our country needs warriors. Like your father." Like Peter and Abioseh, Madame Nielsen also pushes Tshembe into the role of the resistance leader that he is reluctant to be. In the next scene Abioseh talks to Madame in a conversation justifying his turning Kumalo over to the colonists. Madame's silence suggests her disapproval. The remainder of the play unfolds more through action than words as Tshembe confronts Abioseh, shoots him dead, then kneels to the body. In the same moment Madame is suddenly shot, and Eric throws a grenade into the mission in which his two brothers remain, one dead and the other alive on the verge of burning to death. The final stage directions tell us: ("as flames envelop the Mission, he sinks to the ground, gently sets her body beside that of his

[1139] "South African Leaders Blast Max Yergan," *Freedom*, October 1952, Front page.
[1140] Z.K. Matthews, "An African Leader Exposes Max Yergan," *Freedom*, June 1953, p.9.

brother, and in his anguish, throws back his head and emits an animal-like cry of grief as—in a pool of light facing him—the Woman appears.) Curtain."

Hansberry ends this play with the death of the Nielsen mission that leaves the answer to the question of whether revolution can come about by only violent means, an unequivocal yes. Throughout the play, we are told about the peaceful means the Zatembeans sought for their freedom, by petitioning their government through their Reverend. However when this failed and the presence of Europeans became more permanent through the birth of Eric, the Kwi people then relied on Kumalo for their freedom but noticing, through Peter's observations that his role as leader is compromised by the material niceties of the European office, car, and woman. In the final straw after the death of Abioseh, the Kwi people depended on violent means by first cutting the flares then by killing their intermediary Reverend Nielsen and finally by bombing the mission at the end. The Mission played apparently a positive role in Tshembe's life, and in the end, the sight of Madame Nielsen being shot, he could not bring himself to leave her. He considers himself still more a man that a Kwi. This is what ultimately made Tshembe's revolutionary aims unsuccessful. When he learned of his father's path he made for liberation and how he apparently did not succeed in it, he resolved to carve a more revolutionary path for himself. However, as he admitted, because he saw himself more a man who was raised largely by a white European woman with Western values that he adopted so much of, he was unable at the end of *Les Blancs* to carry out a successful revolution and dies in the bombing of the mission that raised him. For Hansberry, Tshembe Matoseh very much like Shakesepeare's *Hamlet,*is tragic exactly because he cannot leave the Mission after his younger brother bombs it. Hansberry asks all of us: will we be able to divorce ourselves from the Western values we're raised with and if necessary join revolution? Abioseh and Tshembe answered no. Eric is the

only character who maintained a same-sex relationship while coping with alchoholism to survive the end of the play as far as we see and come out saying yes, he would be able to join revolution. Charlie Morris by his defection to the U.S. has also answered no, and continues American fascism by seeing "imperialism" and "terror" as catchwords used to justify more fascist expansion. Madame Nielsen, despite her being shot at the end, fought the work of her colonial state, and encouraged the anticolonial work of Tshembe's father and Tshembe. DeKoven despised his role in support of the state and the disparity in treatment it allows those in the more rural areas compared to treatment for settlers and as such is against the fascist expansion of the state. Each of these characters supported or opposed state-directed fascism. By showing these characters Hansberry has imagined a world where "catchwords" cannot short circuit meaningful conversation and where resistance leaders are more decisive about their willingness to take the mantle of anticolonial leadership.

Lorraine Hansberry said at a1959 Conference of Negro writers,hosted by the American Society for African Culture, that Negro or Black writers should address themselves to the most pressing issues of our time: "war and peace, colonialism, capitalism vs. socialism." She goes on to say that: "if the world is engaged in a dispute between the champions of despair and those of hope and glorification of man—then we, as members of the human race must address ourselves to that dispute."[1141] Her play *Les Blancs* addressed itself to war and peace and colonialism. Her

[1141]Hansberry, "The Negro Writer and His Roots," p.130. Mary Helen Washington writes that the speeches at this March 1, 1959 Conference of Negro Writers were of Lorraine Hansberry and Alice Childress were omitted from the proceedings of this conference, edited by John Davis in a "slim" volume called *The American Negro Writer and His Roots,* who wrote in his preface that "since America is now committed to integration, the problem of Black writers having to write for a non-Negro audience was in the process of 'being resolved.' His preface is a perfect cold war document, containing and obscuring much of the vibrant, sometimes contentious, debate at the conference over issues of integration, protest art, and white control of the publishing industry." Washington would write that Hansberry and Childress' omission would have something to do with what the Frank Church committee expose showed about the group hosting this conference, AMSAC, being a C.I.A. front group. Washington would later quote Lloyd Brown in an interview about this conference who attended, but was not allowed to speak: 'The AMSAC, which appeared from nowhere, vanished the same way…so check out the Church's committee's report on

words in the published conference book were highly edited and omitted by John Davis. However her words, along with Alice Childress's according to Lloyd Brown, were the most radical calls for the engagement of the Negro writer. Her call to writers to address themselves to the dispute between the champions of despair and those of the hope and glorification of man is a dispute she did within the pages of *Freedom* regarding the anticolonial cause. The plays of Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry contributed to humanity by exposing the racism and sexism endemic in the stage and film industry (*Trouble in Mind*), housing market (*A Raisin in the Sun*), and colonization cloaked in humanitarian intervention (*Les Blancs*).

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the phony organizations set up by the C.I.A." Mary Helen Washington, "Desegregating the 1950s," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies,* No. 10 (1999), p.18-19, 29.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

A Summary of Different Editorial Ideologies

Pauline Hopkins' work as literary editor of the *Colored American Magazine* began in part due to the initiative of Walter Wallace, Jesse Watkins and Harper Fortune who all started the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company. They saw Hopkins's talent as a writer and novelist and decided to employ her expertise in crafting a paper that would appeal to the sensibilities of middle to upper class African Americans, and strive for racial uplift. The paper ended providing a cautionary tale to William Monroe Trotter about the danger and control of Black capitalists like Booker T. Washington that work to censor more progressive Black editors like herself.[1142] This cautionary tale paved the way for the success of *The Crisis* edited by Du Bois, whom Hopkins biographer Lois Brown said imitated Hopkins to his great benefit.[1143] When Du Bois asked William Monroe Trotter for evidence of Booker T. Washington using hush money from his philanthropists at Tuskegee to subsidize Negro newspapers in "five leading cities," Trotter responded with accurate but undocumented information of Tuskegee's relations with the Boston *Colored Citizen* and the *Colored American Magazine.* In a letter to Oswald Garrison Villard, Du Bois provided Trotter's undocumented information to make the point that "the methods of Mr. Washington and his friends to stop violent attack had become a policy for wholesale hushing of all criticism and the crushing out of men [and women] who dared to criticize in any way."[1144] In Hopkins time as literary editor of the *Colored American Magazine,* she turned out to be the sacrificial lamb that Black editors learned from in terms of relating to the beast or "the machine"

[1142] This censoring is also reminiscent in how Black capitalists participated in the censor of Hoyt Fuller. See Jonathan Fenderson, "Journey Toward A Black Aesthetic: Hoyt Fuller, the Black Arts Movement, and the Black Intellectual Community," (Ph.D dissertation, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 2011).
[1143] Brown, *Pauline Hopkins,* p.284.
[1144] Stephen R. Fox, *The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter,* (New York, Scribner, 1971), p.87-88.

of the two party mainstream. Unfortunately, Du Bois was curiously silent on the influence of Pauline Hopkins. According to an April 27, 1905 letter from J. Max Barber, whom Hopkins initially warns against Washington's warpath for Black editors, he tells Du Bois that he is enclosing a letter from Hopkins that Washington's "Business League machinery" is being mustered against [Barber's paper] *The Voice of the Negro.* If you can use these facts in any way to help the cause of decent journalism and fair play, you are perfectly welcome, not only to the facts, but to use my name in sending these letters to the Editor of the Post."[1145] Du Bois's lack of mention of Hopkins is peculiar. Hopkins' experience as editor ended because she would conform to John Freund's demands that she curtail her political critiques and instead focus on the success of Negro business and Negro enterprises. Hopkins came to the realization that regardless of whether she took up Freund's advice, her editorial voice would be curtailed in her situation and she would be forced *not* to adopt an independent course and forced *to* adopt partisan lines. She was a pathbreaking editor whose use of the romance novel to critique American racism and sexism is like no other because it celebrated revolutionary ambitions in characters who also reflected on the proscribed role she discussed. Her struggle paved the way for the growth and decades long tenure of the founding of the NAACP and its organ *The Crisis,* which Du Bois would come to leave by the time Paul Robeson chairs the editorial board of *Freedom.* Her editorial ideology promoted agitation for political rights that would lead to revolution of the race-based and class-based society.

A. Philip Randolph became editor of *The Messenger* as of 1917 after they were fired from their work for the Hotel Messenger of organizing the headwaiters. When they exposed how headwaiters were exploited by sidewaiters they were fired and employed unique fundraising

[1145] "Letter from J. Max Barber to Du Bois," University of Massachusetts, Special Collections, Du Bois Papers, Series 1a (1887-1910), Box 1, Folder 15.

strategies to start their own paper, *The Messenger*, carried the tradition of the militant New Negro that did not subscribe to depending on the two party system, but encouraged readers to hold elected officials to a higher standard. Randolph's editorial focus depended more and more on labor organizing which was epitomized by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Like Hopkins, Randolph was affiliated with some political organization during their tenure as editor. For Pauline Hopkins, it was the Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company that sought to publish works intended for the uplift of the Negro race. For Randolph, his editorship of *The Messenger* made him the ideal leader of the largest union of Black men at that time, the Brotherhood. His leadership of this organization arguably also came with several costs. He lost the support of the AFPS, and he later lost editorship of *The Messenger* after he called off a union strike and consequently lost many union members. During this decline in membership *The Messenger* folded, however providing a platform for many writers like Langston Hughes, Dorothy West, Zora Neale Hurston, and a future activist named Paul Robeson.

A. Philip Randolph's editorial ideology was more supportive of labor organizing in ways that Hopkins's editorial ideology could not be, namely because of Randolph's gender. Black women were at the bottom of the proverbial social ladder in terms of employment and consequentlycould not rely on endorsing labor organizing to achieve their political rights. However Hopkins's editorial ideology allowed a place for Randolph's editorial ideology in that she endorsed unadulterated, uncompromising agitation for political rights which, successful labor organizing requires. Randolph channeled the agitation of political rights into the rights specifically of Pullman porters which immediately assigned him to an upper class stratum among African Americans, however this channeling developed into a political ideology that, as Jeffrey Perry noted, would form theincredibly essential labor/civil rights trend of the Black Freedom

movement. In one sense Randolph's editorial ideology would shed light on the progress that Black capitalism was making on the progress of Black people. Binga Bank in Chicago which would receive favorable ads in *The Messenger* and would employ Carl Hansberry, the father of a future writer for *Freedom* periodical.[1146] Carl Hansberry depended on the recognition of his employer in *The Messenger* to provide for his family and develop a disdain of the colonial "proscribed" place that American society has carved out for Black people which is the "ghetto." His daughter Lorraine would share that disdain and be emboldened by the editorial ideology of *Freedom* to problematize poverty of Africans and African Americans in her plays.

As chair of the editorial board of *Freedom,* Paul Robeson's reputation as a singer, actor and developing activist set the stage for his leadership of *Freedom.* Unfortunately, due to government surveillance and harassment during the McCarthy era, the paper was not able to last more than five years but in that time, as the last issue shows, it was able to galvanize support for the case of Paul Robeson to retrieve his passport. It was also able to galvanize a case in support of the Smith Act victims who were released when the Supreme Court in 1957 ruled the Smith Act unconstitutional. What made Robeson different from Randolph and Hopkins is his lack of his technical work as editor. Where Hopkins was involved in the printing aspects, according to issues and Randolph was involved in the printing aspects according to letters to the AFPS, Robeson was more an editor in name and not technically the editor. Louis E. Burnham was the technical editor of *Freedom* and put in the work that Hopkins and Randolph put into their papers. Its demise coincided with the failing health of Paul Robeson who was receiving medical treatment.

[1146]Anne Cheney, *Lorraine Hansberry* (Boston, Twayne, 1984), p.2-9.

A Summary of the Barriers That Each Editorial Ideology Faced

The barrier that Pauline Hopkins' editorial ideology faced was definitely linked to the prejudices she faced due to her gender. The fact that Du Bois does not mention her in his epic *The Souls of Black Folk* is ironic considering how she began the debate of industrial education versus political agitation in the pages of the *Colored American Magazine.* Another barrier had to do with what Hopkins herself admits being victim to the "patriarchal" order. This includes assuming that simply because a white man who may seem like an expert in running a magazine is able to give gifts and have wealthy connections is actually an expert. In fact, John Freund proved to be anything but an expert. The fact that Hopkins took a year to reflect on her ouster and had the semblance of mind to collect every letter and give to Trotter, shows that she was very aware of serious barriers to her editorial ideology. She thought it prudent to protect her editorial ideology that advocates agitation for political rights by documenting her ouster. Her tone to Trotter and thelevel of detail in her letter to Trotter begs the question of whether would have, or already, had a more descriptive explanation of her experienceto a female reader. Hopkins maturely accepts responsibility for not taking a militant enough stand against Freund to defend her editorial ideology however Freund's influence on William Dupree also played a role in her relinquishing her ideology in the *Colored American Magazine.*

Where Hopkins spurned Freund's suggestions to utilize the wealth of white philanthropists, A. Philip Randolph welcomed them and sought to use as much of Garland's wealth as possible. Barriers to Randolph's editorial ideology included Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's order for the American Fund for Public Service to terminate funding for *The Messenger,* however by its eighth year, the periodical, as Stuart Chase noted, did not need the help of Garland's wealth to continue. It depended on the galvanizing support across the country for the

cause of Pullman porters which narrowed Randolph's editorial ideology from one that shaped a militant, uncompromising, anti-imperialist New Negro to one that specifically focused on the cause of the Pullman porter unfortunately in a way to the detriment of the itinerant Black worker. The intransigence of the Pullman Company to outlaw tipping dramatically weakened the Brotherhood and was responsible for the end of *The Messenger* by 1928, but by then, it had radicalized workers like E.D. Nixon who would play a significant role in recruiting Martin Luther King to the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Where Hopkins spurned the directive by Freund to solicit the aid of wealthy white philanthropists, Randolph actively pursued it. This was pursuit of the funds of the American Fund for Public Service was not as formidable a barrier as the intransigence of the Pullman Company in its refusal to outlaw tipping. Randolph's "tactical blunder" in stressing the difference between a strike and a strike vote was also responsible for Pullman Company seeing no necessity in meeting with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters regarding the conditions of porters. Like Hopkins, Randolph's editorial barrier was well funded. Both Booker T. Washington and the Pullman Company were well funded. The Pullman Company used its funds to pay newspapers across the nation to slander Randolph as a leader.Booker T. Washington used John Freund who used the personal connection between Hopkins and Dupree to help replace her as literary editor. The social construction of gender arguably played a greater role in the barrier to Hopkins' editorial ideology than to Randolph's.Freund likely used Hopkins' gender before Dupree as a reason to demand that her editorial ideology become less militant. The social construction of race arguably played a greater role in the barrier to Randolph's editorial ideology than to Hopkins. Conductors during the 1920s for the Pullman Company were predominantly white and were largely unionized. However Pullman porters which have more menial

responsibilities than the conductors were not recognizedby Pullman during Randolph's tenure as editor of *The Messenger*. The social construction of gender and race served as formidable barriers to the editorial ideologies of Hopkins and Randolph: they determined how these editors negotiated their way to ultimately influence the Black Freedom struggle.

Barriers to Paul Robeson's ideology are best characterized as symptoms of the prevailing McCarthyism of the period. These barriers threatened not only Robeson's editorial ideology, but his career and ultimately his life. After his controversial 1949 speech at the Paris Peace Conference, Robeson was stereotyped as a Communist and his career as a singer was all but destroyed.The American music industry stopped selling his music and the U.S. State Department seized his passport, preventing him from making a living abroad as a singer. His son Robeson Jr. recounts incidents in Saint Louis and in Los Angeles where the FBI was involved in the removal of wheels from the car in which he traveled. His son has made mention of an intelligence agent trying to get Robeson to ingest a hallucinogen. Robeson's editorial ideology was tied into the message and statement he uncompromisingly made against imperialism and fascism. His refusal to sign an affidavit by the State Department promising not to make political speeches abroad is a testament to his extraordinarily strong beliefs in his own editorial ideology that promoted full equality for all people, especially working Black people across the globe.His periodical *Freedom* would decline the same year in 1955 that his CAA organization would decline, and the same year that his health would decline. These barriers threatened not only his message but his life like no other editor. The social construction of race absolutely played some part in the kind of message that the U.S. State Department wanted to make about acceptable behavior for its African Americans fighting vehemently for racial justice. He would ultimately inspire a group of writers and activists to make the same call for Black Freedom across the globe, regardless of

these barriers. In *Here I Stand*, Robeson places emphasis on how he hopes the Black working class would unify and engage organized collective action in a way that would end Jim Crow in unprecedented ways. His editorial ideology provided the ideological groundwork for the Black Arts Movement that would do just this. Despite the barriers he faced.

A Summary of How Each Editorial Ideology Overcame Its Barriers

Many of these editors overcame the barriers to their editorial ideology in several ways. Hopkins's editorial ideology overcame barriers to show itself again in the *New Era Magazine.* Randolph's editorial ideology overcame barriers to lead the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car porters and help radicalize what Jeffrey Perry called the labor/civil rights trend of the Black Freedom movement. Robeson's editorial ideology overcame barriers to eventually be promoted in the plays of Lorraine Hansberry and Alice Childress whose work inspired the Black Arts movement. Each editorial ideology overcame barriers to make drastically influential change that would prove invaluable to the Black Freedom movement.

Hopkins specifically also overcame these barriers bywriting fictional novels with lasting messages about the importance of trying to live in an anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti-sexist world. She used the genre of the romance novel to convey messages about the importance of uplifting the moral life of our white population.[1150] She did this through characters like Will in *Contending Forces* who denounced the ways that Negro life has been proscribed in the case of the rape of Mabelle Beaubean; through the character of Warren Maxwell who witnessed the chain of racist violence intending to keep Blacks in servitude.

Randolph wrote characters that completely endorsed labor organizing and would not allow their management, in this case of the Pullman Company, to exploit differences of

[1150]*CAM,* Apr. 1901, p.476-477.

generation between Pullman porters and weaken labor solidarity. He debunks lies spouted by management about how Randolph should not be heeded because he is a socialist. Like Hopkins fiction, Randolph is also concerned about the general moral uplift of the white population, however his focus is the Pullman porters' response to it as we see in his dialogues between the New porter and the Old and Uncle Tom porters. Randolph wrote fictional characters for the purpose of strengthening the unity of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. These characters imagined a Pulllman company management that would pay fair wages and not depend on porters to make a living by earning tips which would require extra dehumanizing subservience on the part of porters. Unfortunately this imagined management by Randolph never materialized due to many factors, however, compared to Pauline Hopkins' characters, Randolph's characters were much more limited in scope and length, yet fictional characters from both of these editors imagined a non racist and non sexist world in many significant ways. They both called on their readers to be aware of the circumstances in which they work and they fundamentally asked their readers to raise not only their working standards but to raise the living standards above the comfort of racism and sexism. Paul Robeson did not write any fictional characters himself, but his paper *Freedom* and the editorial ideology espoused within it certainly did. Alice Childress created characters like Wiletta Mayer from *Trouble in Mind*, who challenged the status quo and demanded that our living standards be raised above the comfort of racism and sexism. Wiletta's demand to change a stereotypical role she is asked to play from one who accommodates Jim Crow to one who defies Jim Crow also inspires her readers, performers, and audience to do the same. Lorraine Hansberry's characters did the same. Walter Lee's commitment to lead his family into Clybourne Park inspires his audience to do the same as a performer of Hansberry, Starletta DuPois reminds us. Both Lorraine Hansberry and Pauline Hopkins have a lasting

interest in the Haitian revolution. Hopkins serializes Harriet Martineau's novel about the Haitian revolution as she leaves the *Colored American Magazine,* and Hansberry writes an unfinished screenplay titled *Toussaint,* that is mainly concerned with the Haitian revolution.

Both of these writers' characters also exhibit compassionate qualities that demand their reader account for slavery and Jim Crow before judging or dismissing any individual.
In Hopkins's novel*Contending Forces,* Dora before her mother's roomer, Sappho, says: "I have always felt a great curiosity to know the reason why each individual woman loses character and standing in the eyes of the world. I believe that we would hang our heads in shame at having the temerity to judge a fallen sister, could we but know the circumstances attending many such cases."[1151]Lorraine Hansberry's Lena Younger in her play *A Raisin in the Sun* implores her daughter Beneatha not to dismiss her brother Walter Lee and insult him the way the world has done, but to account for how he's tried to do the best with what he's had to improve his family's lot: "When you starts measuring somebody, measure him right, child, measure him right. Make sure you done taken into account what hills and valleys he come through before he got to wherever he is."[1152]

Tshembe Matoseh's wavering commitment to join the anticolonial resistance speak to our own weaknesses yet shows us that in the end, like his brother Eric, one has to make a choice and be committed to that choice. Hermit's choice to help teach abandoned children to learn beauty and menial skills also speaks to the ability of all of us in crisis periods to love one another and to eschew racism and sexism.

A Discussion of the Influential Fiction From Each of These Editors

[1151] Hopkins, *Contending Forces,* p.101.
[1152]Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun,* p.145.

Pauline Hopkins' novels focused primarily on white characters in an effort to uplift the moral life of our white population. A. Philip Randolph imagined dialogues of Black New Porters, able to overcome the generational and ideological differences of his fellow porters to ask them to utilize labor organizing as a way to secure more rights as a citizen. The art of Childress and Hansberry, when compared to Hopkins, did not focus on white characters as often as Hopkins did, but focused on Black characters who, in the words Lawrence Jackson used to describe Killens' critique of *Invisible Man*, "directly confronted and violently resisted unambiguous white racism." Childress presents Wiletta in order to show her audience the importance of resisting the increasingly fascist rule of the state. They tell their audience that if I could be in my right mind and resist the fascist state, then you could too. Hansberry's character of Walter Lee resists the racially segregated redlined housing and decides to move in; her character Tshembe fights against the kind of American journalism we see in the liberal mainstream mediaas well as the intransigent indifference by colonial leadership and decides to join the anticolonial resistance. Each of these characters resisted the state-directed racism, sexism, and fascism in order to have their own voice and imagine a world where none of these isms exist. Simply because Hopkins characters were not as militant as others did not mean that they served no useful purpose in the Black Freedom struggle; these characters were reflective of the period and were a necessary precursor to the more militant characters we get from Childress and Hansberry. They are reflective of the influence that the thinking from these editors had on laying the groundwork for the Black Freedom movement. Months after the very last July-August issue of *Freedom*, Rosa Parks decided not to move to the racially segregated Negro section of the back of the bus. By this time, the ground was laid and a more militant struggle against fascism would start.Each work of art by these periodical editors contributed to the

alleviation of Western colonialism, racism and fascism which have confronted humanity for too long a time. *Winona* teaches its readers the importance of making interracial alliances in order to dismantle not only the institution of slavery then, but the novel provides an important moral lesson and blueprint about the importance of interracial alliances when faced with the fascist forces that benefit from free slave labor today. *Winona* prepares its readers for the trauma of racist violence and ultimately endorses revolutionary acts to combat it.*Contending Forces* endorses a principled non-moderate stance not only on slavery, but it endorses a principled stance against those capitalists who use political parties to profit, as Hopkins said in her 1901 editorial, solely "on a commercial and financial basis." Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun* contributes to humanity by critiquing and attacking ideas behind racially segregated housing that encouraged ideas about white superiority and Black inferiority. Karl Lindner asks the Younger family what they hope to gain by moving into a community where they're not wanted, and Walter Lee asserts his right to move, saying that his father "earned it brick by brick." The "it" in this case for Hansberry refers to the right to live anywhere given the contributions African Americans have made to the wealth and comfort of American individuals. This play argues dismantles the idea of racial segregation. *Les Blancs* contributes to the alleviation of colonialism, by exposingthe liberal racism of the character an American journalist in Charlie Morris. It alleviates colonialism also by exposing the revolutionary obligation in the characters of Eric and the Hamlet-like Tshembe who both respect their familial struggle against English domination and at some time decide to join the anticolonial resistance. Childress's play *Trouble in Mind* contributes to the alleviation of racism by exposing the racist ideas of white writers and white directors that compel Black actors to play stereotypical roles that uphold white supremacy. Each of these works had characters who boldly resisted white supremacy. Each of them

ultimately imagined a futurebeyond the problems of Western colonialism, racism, and sexism which dominated the period in which these publications ran.

A Summary of the Influence Each Editor Had on the Black Freedom Struggle and the Lessons We Learn From Them Today

Each of these editors produced writings that became what Addison Gayle Jr. calls "a moral force for change." The *Colored American Magazine* was the first periodical to raise the debate of whether industrial education alone for African Americans would help advance racial progress. Pauline Hopkins was literary editor of the periodical at the time and largely responsible for raising this debate. This debate was invaluable to what we know today as the Black Freedom Struggle. Du Bois would popularize this debate in his celebrated book *The Souls of Black Folk* and get much of the credit for a debate that started in the pages of the *Colored American Magazine.* A. Philip Randolph admits to the influential role that this debate played in him becoming a thinker and later influential editor. He would later edit a periodical, *The Messenger*,that would begin a labor/civil rights trend that would play a crucial role in the Black Freedom movement. *The Messenger* would inspire E.D. Nixon to become a committed Pullman porter and later work for the Montgomery Improvement Association. Paul Robeson's paper would give a venue to another influential thinker in Robert F. Williams who would help influence Huey Newton. Newton would become one of several leaders of the more radical trend of the Black Freedom movement representedby the Black Panther Party. In *Here I Stand*, Robeson would mention the influential Reverend Nathaniel Paul, as an example of one who acted in the best interest of Black people's welfare. Paul was based in Boston and used his pulpit not to maintain his class status but to preach to his congregants against abolition. Lois Brown

writes that Pauline Hopkins is a descendant of Nathaniel Paul. Nathaniel Paul, Pauline Hopkins and Paul Robeson played an invaluable role in advancing the Black Freedom struggle. What Randolph shares with them is the belief that organized collective action was the most important avenue to alleviating American racism. Robeson propagated this message in a way that helped create more militant fictional characters in the American mainstream like Wiletta Mayer, Walter Lee Younger, and Eric Matoseh.

What makes each editor profiled in this study significant in African American history is their unwillingness to compromise their politically independent editorial voice. Hopkins refused to follow John Freund's demands to reduce or soften her social commentary or her political critiques of Jim Crow in the *Colored American Magazine* and was therefore asked by Colonel William Dupree to step down as editor. Randolph continually agitated as leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for the Pullman Company to eliminate tipping and raise wages. Because he would not relinquish these aims, he was attacked by presses like the *Chicago Defender* and the *Pittsburgh Courier* for being a socialist and leading his labor union. Despite these attacks he suffered, he still maintained his editorial voice in *The Messenger* and was able to defend in an ethical argument the importance of Pullman porters not depending on tips but on an increased wage. Paul Robeson throughout the tenure of *Freedom* did not let the intimidation of McCarthyism affect his editorial ideology. At no time did he capitulate to the State Department's condition that he sign an affidavit promise not to speak politically while on tours for singing. Robeson proved "a very independent person who will not let himself be used," an FBI agent who wrote to Hoover said.[1153] Each of these radical editors were independent people who would not let themselves be used by the state or the two party mainstream in their editorial voice or vision. What they have in common is that they were editors of publications that got

[1153]Robeson Jr.*The Quest For Freedom*, p. 224.

national circulation and made national influence. Hopkins had an undocumented influence on Du Bois who had a documented influence on Hubert Harrison who inspired A. Philip Randolph who would lead a porters' union that E.D. Nixon would be part of. Nixon would later help recruit Martin Luther King to lead the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955. *The Messenger* as the organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, despite its demise in 1928, laid the groundwork for a whole generation of activists from the National Negro Congress to the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Erik Gellman writes that the Brotherhood's years of activism opened the minds of many African Americans to the possibility of unions as a means of racial advancement.[1154]

Before *Freedom* started, Robeson supported Henry Wallace from the Progressive Party as U.S. President and maintained vehement critique of the two party mainstream throughout the life of *Freedom.* These editors provide invaluable lessons for us today in the new millennium about how to support and create an independent Black press that speaks to the political interests of the African American people. These editors suffered serious financial and personal costs to print counterhegemonic ideas that would spark the activist imagination of future generations of African Americans. Hopkins critique of Washington sparked the imagination of not only Du Bois but of Hubert Harrison,who influenced A. Philip Randolph. Randolph influenced E.D. Nixon who influenced Martin Luther King to join the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Randolph in his pages of *The Messenger* featured an article about Paul Robeson who would later forego his individual artistic achievement to focus on collective organized action that his Freedom Fund represented. His paper sparked the activist imagination of Lorraine Hansberry and Alice Childress who wrote militant characters who would anticipate the real life activists like Malcolm X and Huey Newton. Malcolm X engaged the same tactics for alleviating racism that Paul

[1154] Gellman, *Death Blow to Jim Crow,* p. 11.

Robeson did, namely, engaging the United Nations. Robeson presented a petition to the U.N. in 1952 stating "We Charge Genocide," and at least a decade later, Malcolm X appealed to the U.N. arguing the same thing. Timothy Tyson writes that Huey Newton noted two inspirations for his founding the Black Panther: Malcolm X and Robert Williams, who became prominent as a result of Paul Robeson's periodical *Freedom.* We have a lot to learn from the editorial work of Pauline Hopkins, A. Philip Randolph, and Paul Robeson. One of the most important lessons they teach is the importance of an independent Black press in American society. In my recent interview with independent Black editor Glen Ford, editor of the Black Agenda Report, I asked him about the importance of an independent Black press. He refers to news that Black people read as being their armor and noticed that in terms of today:

> there are huge gaps in Black peoples' armor. One of them is that we don't have fighting publications. We used to have a radical Black press in radio.A lot of the Black press wereadvocacy publications.They consciously were on the side of Black folks. With the demise of most Black newspapers and the cowering of those that remained, we have very few of those. We used to have a rather active Black press on radio. That was forty years ago when every Black radio radio station had a news department. Black radio news is now all but extinct. Since Black radio remains the medium that most Black folks tune into everyday…the lack of real news operation at Black oriented radio stations is a huge loss. It means there is not a generalized Black conversation, not even a medium that reaches most Black people that has any kind of serious Black conversation, based on fact…that's a huge piece of the armor that's fell out. So what we try to do at Black Agenda Radio is to try to build up a large portion of that armor.[1155]

Hopkins allowed a generalized Black conversation in her pages of *Colored American Magazine* repeatedly about the utility of vocational education and whether Blacks should exclusively rely on it or also on a liberal arts education. Randolph in the pages of *The Messenger* engaged in conversations unique to the then Negro community about how the "New Negro" should vote. One of the most important conversations that Robeson had in *Freedom* was

[1155] Personal Interview with Glen Ford, March 8, 2012. On the demise of independent Black radio, see the documentary *Disappearing Voices: The Decline of Black Radio,* produced by U-Savior Washington and Iyanna Jones. See www.disappearingvoices.com accessed 14 August 2012.

whether Negro workers should fight to integrate private companies that made weapons to use in imperial wars that would deprive Black communities. However with the loss of news departments in Black radio, there is a loss of those conversations uniquely concerned with the welfare of Black people.

Glen Ford continues the radical independent tradition of Pauline Hopkins, A. Philip Randolph and Paul Robeson by building conversations in his Black Agenda Radio and his weekly Black Agenda Report that are primarily about the political well being of Black people. Before mainstream integration occurred, Ford says, "there were a number of these nationally read Black newspapers, there was a commonality in terms of the topic that Black folks who were interested in current events." Perhaps the most public example of this commonality Ford describes is seen in the Black Press's response to Robeson's 1956 testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee defending hisstatements at the 1949 Peace Conference in Paris that questioned the commitment of Negro soldiers to fight for the U.S. abroad while they fight Jim Crow at home. Robeson said he was "deeply moved and gratified by many comments in the Negro press [within one month] showed a sympathetic understanding of the position I took in Washington." The *Afro American* said "we agree with Mr. Robeson that its [the committee's] members could more profitably spend their time …bringing in for questioning such un-American elements as those…[Southern] Manifesto signers who have pledged themselves to defy and evade the Constitution; the San Francisco *Sun-Reporter* said "he is the conscience of the U.S. in the field of color relations"; the *Charlottesville Albemarle-Tribune* said "to deny him the right to travel…is more hurtful to American prestige abroad; the *California Voice* said "Robeson embodies the unrestrained and righteous rage that has broken bonds."[1156] The support given

[1156]Robeson, *Here I Stand,* p.44.

Paul Robeson by Black people is an example of the kind of Black conversations the Black Press would have concerning the suppression of a voice of a prominent Black figure. Ford continues:

> we had a common conversation. That, of course, does not exist anymore. Our conversation is still referenced by the same white corporate organs, CNN, *The New York Times,* et cetera, that everybody else references so the distinctness of the Black conversation is rapidly being lost.Black people are talking about subjects that are raised by the biased viewpoint of others, often from the enemy's point of view.[1157]

What Ford means by "the enemy" is the increasingly fascist state and how, through a campaign beginning with the leadership of the FBI by Hoover since the twenties, independent Black voices like Hopkins, Randolph's and Robeson's fought state suppression. Following these editors comes an African American president in Barack Obama that in fact relies on the social construction of race in order to advance the fascism of the state. I asked Ford what effect the Obama presidency has had on the Black presses independent of the two party mainstream, like those by Hopkins, Randolph and Robeson. He replied:

> The Obama presidency has flattened out the Black conversation almost totally. It is a one dimensional conversation, not about what Black people should be doing; its not about Black people as a group at all; the Black conversation tends to be on *how* Barack Obama is doing, not *what* he's doing, not *what* his policies are, but *how* he's doing. That is, *who's* trying to beat up on our Black president? How good our president looks, how adorable his family is, what are *his* prospects for reelection, not what are Black folks prospects for getting out of the worst economic crisis we've been in [emphasis added].

The Black conversations concerning the prevention of national executive leadership from enabling the furthering the worst economic crisis we've had is absolutely missing from the mainstream, and also missing from online news outlets like *The Root* that cater to an African American audience. Paul Street writes about how the current economic recession which was engineered by the bailout was a result largely of then Senator Obama's support of it: "he counseled Democratic congresspersons to vote for both versions of the historic Fall 2008 bailout packages." These bailouts took the government's taxpayer revenue and gave it to the private

[1157] Personal Interview with Glen Ford, March 8, 2012.

corporations who have still not provided new jobs with the bailout funds. Many reports point to how bailouts were used to increase upper management salaries rather than provide new jobs. However, the part of the Black conversation regarding how executive decisions by President Obama have produced the current jobs recession, as Ford noted, is absent. In addition to relying on the private finance industry to revive the nation, his policies included supporting school privatization, closing public schools while increasing the U.S. military budget.[1158] Obama's domestic and foreign policies, of advancing militarism and underfunding or closing public schools, are policies that *Freedom* critiqued Eisenhower for. The presence of *Freedom* played an important role in moderating the fascism of the state. And Black Agenda Report does the same for Obama. I asked Ford how his independent news outlet, Black Agenda Report raises funds. He replied: "we are entirely supported by our readership that is they send in, their donations and that keeps our heads 'barely' above water."What makes his Black Agenda Report different from more popular news outlets that cater to an African American audience like the The Root is that Black Agenda Report is completely reader-supported whereas The Root is a publication owned by the *Washington Post.*Ford says: "they have corporate pockets that are quite deep enough. There is no comparison between a readership supported independent Black publication and a corporate media Black oriented imprint which is what The Root is. That is not to say there are not enjoyable and informative articles in The Root. Some interesting Black people write for them. But it is in no way a Black publication. It's a corporate publication." What made Hopkins, Randolph and Robeson uniquely independent is that they actively identified themselves as advocates of the Black community and were in practice advocates of Black people. They were not going to let their papers become margninalized or under the aegis of a corporation. I asked Ford about how the internet has changed the way we get independent news, and he replied

[1158] Paul Street, *The Empire's New Clothes,* p.21, 85, 185.

that compared to the time of Hopkins, Randolph and Robeson, "hard copy publications are almost prohibitively expensive to run nowadays. And have been so for some time. If there were not the internet I would despair the possibility of there being any possibility of Black internet publications based on cost alone. Because the internet is virtually free, all you have to worry about is the cost of people's time, whether they have it or not. Without the internet, we would truly be in a wasteland." While the cost of producing the paper is much lower, I asked Fordabout his audience and the difficulty in finding your audience through the internet:

> the thing about the internet is, that you decide who you want to reach; you decide who your audience is. And because of where your audience tends to congregate, you go after your audience. It's a great part of the value of the internet. You don't have to do mass mailings in which ninety five percent of the recipients of your propaganda really aren't the right targets. You can say I want the kind of people who read CounterPunch, or Pambazuka, or that very excellent publication Pan African News service. And you figure out ways to reach those people because you know that you have commonalities there, or that you ought to; that that's the kind of conversation you would like to intervene in. Its very difficult to do in a non digital environment, but with the internet its possible.

What helps Ford, like Robeson, is his reputation as a stalwart advocate of Black people. His work on America's Black Forum, the Black Commentator, and now the Black Agenda Report also speaks to how his strong readership can rely on him for sharp analysis that will not be in danger of being influenced by the fascist state. The world of the internet allows independent Black presses to thrive in ways that they didn't exactly thrive during the time of *Colored American Magazine*, *The Messenger,* and *Freedom.* If Hopkins was ousted by Washington and Freund, she could have easily started her own press within weeks. She eventually did start her own press, *New Era Magazine* in 1916 over ten years after leaving *Colored American Magazine*. With the internet she could have done it sooner. When I asked Dorothy Burnham what lessons she thinks all of us can learn from *Freedom,* she replied that it shows the need to get organized and "do as much as we [progressives] can without a big

budget."[1159] Ford's description of the low cost advantage of the internet and the life of his Black Agenda Report both point to the unlimited possibilities that progressives can accomplish without a big budget. For any editor to maintain one's independent voice still requires a faithful readership that is as conscious as the editor about the importance of, what Hopkins calls, "refusing partisan lines." Like *Colored American Magazine, The Messenger, Freedom,* Ford's Black Agenda Report has been able to rely on a steady supportive readership. Popular news sources that have identified themselves as "independent," like *Democracy Now* have not exactly done this. About them Ford says:

> It has lurched rightward since the assault on Libya. Today it's a very painful program to watch. It appears to me that Democracy Now's management is looking deeper and deeper into foundation pockets for support. The more money you look for, the more rightward on the political spectrum your sources will be. I would think that their editorial position becomes influenced by that. I don't know what goes on Amy Goodman's head. In terms of foreign policy, Democracy Now has basically joined the cohort of humanitarian military interventionists which not coincidentally is this administration's policy. It will go down in history as Obama's legacy: aggressive war cloaked in humanitarian intervention. Democracy Now is supportive of that.[1160]

Ford's analysis of *Democracy Now* applies anti-imperialist critique with no holes or exceptions for any foreign U.S. military intervention, unlike *Democracy Now* that justified the military occupation of Libya in 2011. We see that Glen Ford is continuing this important anti-imperialist tradition of Hopkins, Randolph, and Robeson. His reporting is militant and uncompromising.

Limitations and Suggestions For Future Research

[1159] Personal Interview with Dorothy Burnham, April 4, 2012.
[1160] Personal Interview with Glen Ford, March 8, 2012. Ford said about the Black Commentator, which he helped start, that it "is now is an Obamite. It basically tows the line of this adminstration. Or is careful not to oppose this administration." When I asked him what he thought the top progressive news sources were of all time, he mentioned *Encore American News and World News Magazine,* and when I asked him what he thought are today's top progressive online news sources, he said CounterPunch.

This study originally conceived of studying five editors, the extra two being Charlotta Bass who is mentioned in many 1952 issues of *Freedom,* and Daisy Bates, whose organizing the Little Rock was mentioned in revised version of Childress' play *Trouble in Mind.* Perhaps in an expanded book form this study could examine the political independence of both of these editors and seek connections between them. There definitely seemed to be strong radical presence in Los Angeles that the government had its eye on. The work and readings of Charlotta Bass here may have been responsible for radicalizing thinkers that would have some impact on the Black Freedom movement, like Charles Warden who had connections with Huey Newton. Another limitation of this study is not having access to the James and Esther Jackson Papers at the Tamiment Library at New York University. These papers would provide more insight into the relationship between Paul Robeson and the Southern Negro Youth Congress which may have illuminated the editorial collaboration between Louis Burnham and Paul Robeson in a stronger way. Another limitation is access to the papers of the E.D. Nixon at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, which may have provided more insight about the influence that A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had on radicalizing Nixon to the extent that he became involved in the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

My first limitation suggested a very important future research direction. My first goal before any publication offers may arrive, is to include discussion of the editorial ideologies of Daisy Bates and Charlotta Bass who, as independent editors of Black presses have powerful stories to tell in their own right. These editors were two whose work helped inspire this dissertation. The fourth chapter of this dissertation could have been strengthened with a more exhaustive study of the Robeson Archives at Howard University and the James and Esther Cooper Jackson Papers at New York University. The ideological influence of Eslanda Goode

Robeson, Angelo Herndon, Benjamin Davis, Jr., William Patterson, and Revels Cayton on Paul Robeson's political philosophy and ideology deserves much more scholarly attention. It could also have been strengthened with a look at the E.D. Nixon Collection at Alabama State University. This study has suggested that Esther Cooper Jackson, Thelma Dale, Dorothy Burnham and Louis Burnham are each very influential figures in African American history that are each worthy of being the subject of a scholarly biography.

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