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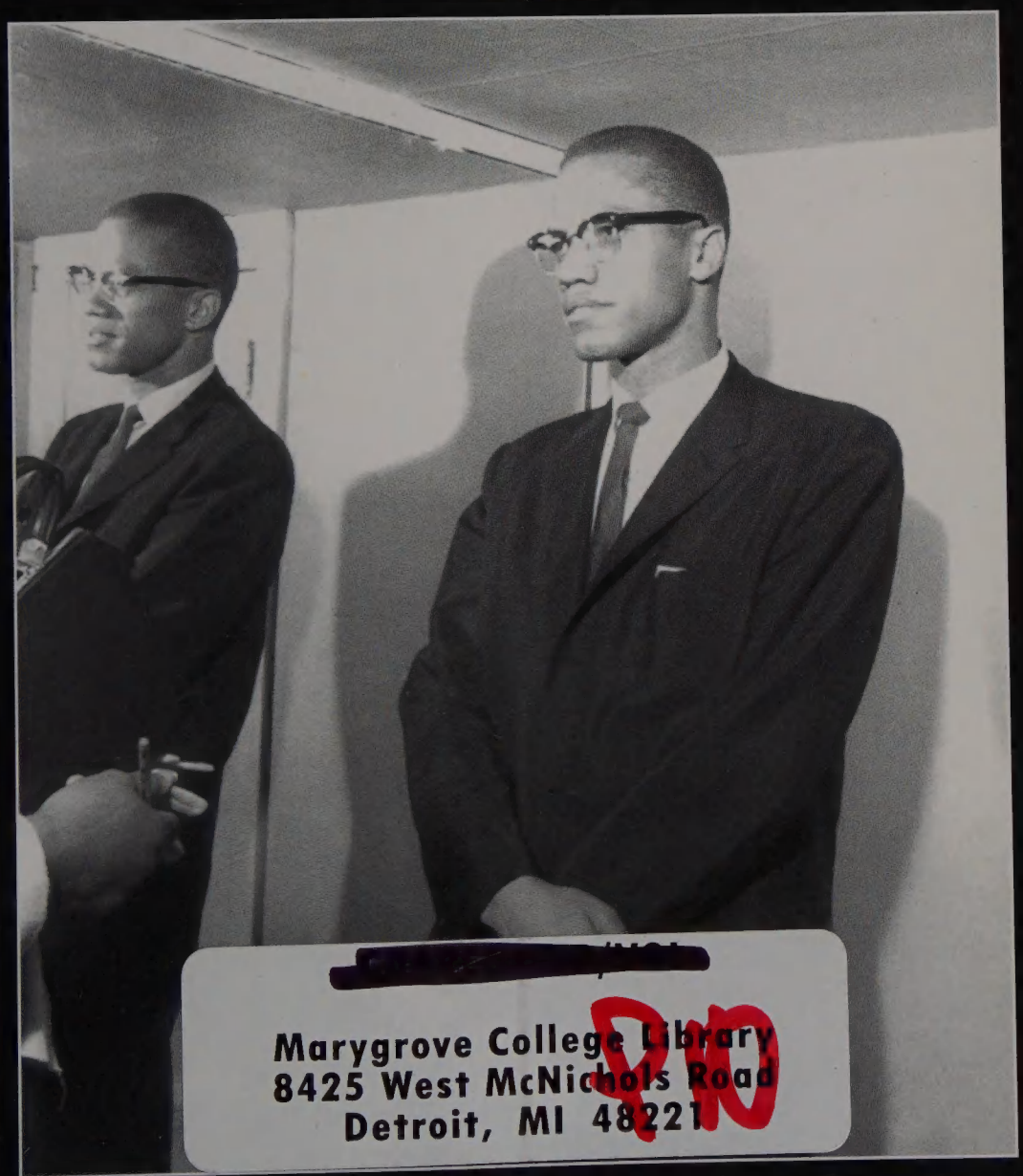

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V. P. Franklin, Editor

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Contents

BLACK LEVEE CAMP WORKERS, THE NAACP, AND THE MISSISSIPPI FLOOD CONTROL PROJECT, 1927–1933

Richard M. Mizelle, Jr.

> Images of what I had seen in Mississippi—the grim little river towns, rain-soaked levees, suspicious white faces, poverty-beaten Negroes—stayed fresh in my mind for a long time.
>
> Roy Wilkins, *Standing Fast*[1]

> These contractors are getting so slack, they pay you half your money and hold the other half back. There ain't but two men that gets paid off, that's the commissary clerk and the walking boss. A levee camp man ain't got but two legs you know, but he puts in the same hours that a mule do on four.
>
> Gene Campbell, "Levee Camp Man Blues"[2]

In early January 1933 Roy Wilkins and George Schuyler emerged in front of a packed house at the historic Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, New York. The NAACP was holding its annual celebration gala and the crowd waited in anticipation of what the two men had to say about their recent undercover trip south posing as unskilled laborers to investigate charges of debt peonage and violence in Mississippi Delta levee camps. A native Missourian, Roy Wilkins was editor of the black owned *Kansas City Call* newspaper before his appointment as assistant secretary for the NAACP in 1931.[3] George Schuyler was a New Yorker and known as a rather conservative poet and freelance writer in black press circles. A month earlier in December 1932 on the heels of a pending federal investigation of levee camps, the two men volunteered for this extremely dangerous mission. Schuyler was familiar with the South's social and cultural terrain, but the mid-westerner Roy Wilkins had little experience "down South."[4] Wilkins later recalled in his autobiography *Standing Fast*, that he had only been to the South once in his life and was perhaps a bit naïve about the risk he was taking. In the chapter "Up in Harlem, Down in the Delta," he recalled the danger of disclosing their identity, even to black levee camp workers who might betray their trust. The entire trip would prove more daunting for Wilkins whose northern accent and upper middle-class demeanor might blow his cover.[5]

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After placing a tight lid on the project, Wilkins and Schuyler first traveled from New York City to Memphis and the home of black millionaire Robert R. Church who directed the men to Beale Street for work-pants, boots, and bags for their mission. The two wanted to transform their physical appearance into that of southern workers. With $50.00 each and aliases for safety—Roy Wilkins went by "Roy Jones" and Schuyler as "George Smith"—they boarded the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad from Memphis en route to the Delta.[6] Reluctantly, they decided to split up in order to cover more territory, even though they were much safer together. Wilkins rode the train to Greenville, Mississippi, where he bid farewell to his partner who traveled another 90 miles to Vicksburg. Both men were now alone and as Wilkins later recalled, he felt like "a spy deep within enemy lines."[7]

Hoping to secure work, Wilkins found a vacancy at a local boarding house on the outskirts of a Greenville levee camp. It was an unusually cold and blustery December night in the Delta and the landlady who rented the room watched the suspicious stranger closely. It was hard to fool those black southerners who had seen so much and Wilkins felt uncomfortable at their curiosity. When he stuck his hands over a stove to warm them, the landlady noticed how smooth and un-calloused they were and made a point of commenting to the other men in the room that he did not look like a workingman. Wilkins had to respond swiftly and assertively, explaining his hands and northern accent by telling the woman he had been an elevator operator in St. Louis before losing his job due to the Depression.[8] Although his assertive response temporarily satisfied the landlady, the next morning he had to explain himself again. Temperatures had dipped below freezing overnight and in an unconscious act Wilkins naïvely asked the landlady if he could have more heat. The old lady informed him that a bucket of coal could be purchased for $.25, but followed with the admonishment that the workingmen she knew did not need luxuries such as heat in the morning. They simply got up, put on their work clothes or overalls without complaint, and went to work. Wilkins realized his "greenness was showing through dangerously, and I warned myself to be more careful."[9]

Wilkins and Schuyler spent a total of three weeks undercover in several levee camps gathering valuable information at boardinghouses, during informal settings, and after work when workers were more relaxed and willing to talk. Most men Wilkins encountered worked from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., many using levee work as supplemental labor to farming and sharecropping. The long hours, irregularity of pay, and unfair commissary system were the biggest sources of consternation for workers.[10] In a levee camp near Lake Providence, Louisiana, Schuyler observed that men working twelve to sixteen hour days were obligated to pay commissary fees for the use of water and cooking utensils. In camps near Tallulah,

Mound Bayou, and Delta Point in Mississippi; and Eyebrow, Deer Park, Duckport, and Waterproof, Arkansas, most black men received between $1.00 and $2.00 per day, a dollar and a half less than what the few white workers were being paid.[11] From the perspective of Wilkins and Schuyler it seemed very difficult for levee workers to get out of debt and make "livable wages" through a system specifically designed to work black laborers as much as possible with little compensation.

Soon after returning to New York, Wilkins published the article "Mississippi River Slavery—1933" in the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine, reporting much of what he witnessed in the South.[12] "While there is complaint from workers on all the forms of exploitation, the greatest wail is against the irregular pay day system," Wilkins observed. "The men grumble over the small pay, long hours, cursing, beating, food, tents, commissary fleecing, but they reserve their greatest bitterness for the contractor who won't pay you even that little you got coming."[13] Pay periods were deliberately drawn out two or three months so workers could accumulate debts through the commissary system.

> The longer the pay days are withheld, the more food and clothes the men buy at the camp Commissary at the high prices in vogue there. There is the money lending business which all foremen carry on at twenty five cents interest on the dollar. Then there are those other deductions: a lump sum, three or four dollars a week for commissary, whether one uses that amount or not; fifty cents for drinking water; fifty for the cook (single men pay this); fifty or seventy five cents tent rent.[14]

Under this system laborers might work upwards of three months and receive only a dollar or two in payment after all the deductions. For Wilkins the hypocrisy was how this system of peonage occurred "under the supervision of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, in mockery of the American flags that flew on staffs erected in the camps. It was a system of peonage organized by the federal government and paid for with American tax dollars."[15]

This essay focuses on the ways in which the NAACP's commitment to ending debt peonage among levee workers described by Roy Wilkins and George Schuyler in the early 1930s had roots back to the 1927 Mississippi River Flood. While the 1927 flood forever altered U.S. policy with passage of the landmark 1928 Flood Control Act, an under recognized aspect of this significant legislation was the battle over "livable wages" for levee camp workers.

AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE 1927 MISSISSIPPI FLOOD

The colossal failure of levees during the 1927 flood led directly to public demands for a national flood control policy in the Mississippi Valley as well as plans for rearranging the flow of the Mississippi River.[16] After just a few months of

hearings Congress quickly passed the Jones-Reid bill that became the 1928 Flood Control Act. At the time of its passage some called it the "greatest piece of legislation ever enacted by Congress" with a price tag of $325 million.[17] The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers called it 'Project Flood" and as historian John Barry noted, it "set a precedent for the New Deal, by requiring the federal government to actively intervene in local and regional economic development."[18] NAACP leaders would refer to it as the Mississippi Flood Control Project (MFCP). Although it represented a significant protest by the NAACP over African Americans' working conditions in the post-1927 flood era, the project has largely been excluded from historical narratives of race and labor in the early 20th century.

Scholars approaching the myriad social and cultural lenses through which to understand the 1927 flood have helped frame the disaster in terms of region, race, class, and environmentalism. Pete Daniel, Robyn Spencer, and John Barry have made clear how the 1927 flood influenced both local and national politics and described how levees were transformed into violent spaces of debt peonage and labor control. Robyn Spencer in "Contested Terrain: The Mississippi Flood of 1927 and the Struggle to Control Black Labor," described the experiences of African American victims of the flood in the Delta region and the politics of "entrapment and control" led by the American Red Cross and wealthy local planters. Spencer surveyed the terrain of control where African American men were conscripted at gunpoint by local whites into sandbagging levees in the Mississippi Delta. African Americans worked securing and fortifying vulnerable levees throughout the Mississippi Delta, and unloading Red Cross relief supplies. If local whites needed help clearing land or unloading supplies, any African American inside or outside a relief camp could be forced into labor.[19]

In Greenville, Mississippi, white planter and local government official William Percy issued a "work demand" granting local whites the authority to force African Americans into whatever type of work they desired after the flood. Percy announced, "All Negroes in Greenville outside of the levee camp who are able to work should work. If work is offered them and they refuse to work, they should be arrested as vagrants. Names and addresses of those refusing to work should be telephoned to police headquarters."[20] Stories circulated of African Americans being removed from their homes or stopped on the street at gunpoint and taken physically to the levee to work. One African American man was shot and killed by police after refusing local whites' demands to work on the levee. It was later revealed that the man had already worked close to twelve hours on the levee earlier that same day and had just returned home. He was killed for refusing to go back.[21]

The National Guard was activated in Mississippi to patrol camp perimeters and to track African Americans. If African Americans worked as sharecroppers

before the flood, they had to provide the name of the white landowner before entering a Red Cross relief camp and receiving food. If they did not work for a white landowner, every African American family, single man, woman, and child had to be vouched for by another local white.[22] Any African American caught living outside the Greenville relief camp without suitable explanation was arrested.[23] Surveillance was maintained largely through a "tag system" reminiscent of the antebellum "slave codes" and "black codes" of the post–Civil War era. This tag included their name, who they worked for, or the name of the person who vouched for them. African Americans were required to have this identification visible at all times or risk being jailed or sent to a levee detail. Ultimately the objective was to prevent the movement of valuable labor out of the region, control the flow of charitable resources into the flooded areas, and reconstitute African American laborers' contractual obligations to local landowners.[24]

THE MISSISSIPPI FLOOD CONTROL PROJECT

Addressing widespread use of terrorism in the South in the post–Civil War South, literary scholar Saidiya Hartman argued that "in the context of freedom, the need to re-impose black subordination was no less pressing and was actualized not only through forms of legal repression and punishment, but also through the inculcation of rules of conduct."[25] Any behavior by African Americans that did not coincide with what southern whites were accustomed to was considered insolent. In the post-bellum South re-inscribing subordination and restricting African Americans' mobility and movement decreased the possibility of achieving economic independence. Poor and landless black southerners easily fell into debt to white landowners and were victimized by the systems of sharecropping, debt peonage, and convict leasing. With regard to the convict labor system, it operated "not merely as a corrupt and unjust penal system" labor historian Alex Lichtenstein noted, but also as "a system of labor recruitment, control, and exploitation particularly suited to the political economy of a post-emancipation society."[26] Though state convict lease systems officially ended in 1908, the work camps and debt peonage continued well into the 20th century and convict labor was used in state and local highway construction, railroad work, lumber and mill industries, and in levee camps.[27]

In the years following the 1927 flood, the condition of southern black laborers deteriorated as depressed cotton prices and peonage kept large numbers in abject poverty. As the 1920s turned into the Depression era, the National Urban League's T. Arnold Hill commented that at no time in the seventy years since the end of slavery had the "economic and social outlook seemed so discouraging" for African Americans.[28] By 1927 levee camps had developed well-deserved reputa-

tions for violence and the exploitation of black labor. William Hemphill, a northern-born, white levee inspector working in an isolated camp near Friars Point, Mississippi, in 1905, occasionally published articles in a northern newspaper on life inside a Yazoo Delta levee camp, explaining everything from the technical dimensions of levees to the violence directed at African American workers. Disclosing his own bias, he wrote, "If one of the white foremen shoots a couple of niggers on the works, and it by no means is an unheard of or infrequent thing," Hemphill reported, "the work is not stopped. They are buried at night and that's all there is to it."[29] The violence experienced by black levee workers in the early 20th century was typical of Jim Crow South.

The struggle to earn a living wage and escape poverty was extremely difficult. Levee work was seasonal and often a supplemental, rather than a primary, source of income; and many black farmers and sharecroppers used intervals between planting and harvesting to work in other industries. Planting season usually lasted from mid-January to late May each year, and the harvest season extended from August to the end of December.[30] For two or three months during the year many black sharecroppers hoped to use seasonal levee work to provide additional income for their families. After visiting the Yazoo Delta region in 1933, Roy Wilkins pointed out, "The shortage of cash drove [black southerners] to work on the levees in the off season between planting and harvest."[31] Levee camps were not alone in drawing black farmers away from fields in hopes of securing additional income. A similar process occurred when black farmers entered the lumber industries in Louisiana, North Carolina, and Mississippi.[32]

At the time, black levee camp workers were likely to be described as "pathological" and "criminal," rather than wage earners struggling to secure living wages in the Jim Crow South. In the 1920s sociologist Howard Odum coined the term "Black Ulysses" to refer to wandering African American laborers in the South.[33] Odum used contemporary notions of scientific racism commonly held in academic circles that African American workers were inherently over-sexualized, violent, and morally bankrupt wanderers across the southern landscape who maintained little or no connection to family.[34] Subsequently many researchers refuted Odum's characterizations of black laborers in the work camps and pointed out that they were not "wanderers" but local men, similar to the workers described by Roy Wilkins, who were employed in these industries often as seasonal and supplemental laborers to help support their families.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN DELTA BLUES MUSIC

The characterization of African American working class culture as "pathological" was also conveyed and commercialized through the 1930s "race

records."[35] Historian William P. Jones described the racial bias of folklorists John and Alan Lomax in their meetings with and recordings of Delta bluesman Huddie Ledbetter. Jones noted that, "Ledbetter preferred to perform in a suit and bow tie, but the Lomaxes convinced him to don overalls and a bandanna that more closely fit their image of a rural worker . . . underscoring Odum's contention that African American manhood was personified by the southern working-class outlaw."[36]

Daily life inside the levee camps under the Mississippi Flood Control Project is difficult to document because the records have been scattered and the workers themselves left few accounts. The few recorded interviews of levee workers in the 1920s, the investigative reports performed by the American Federation of Labor in December 1931, and the two reports by the NAACP within a three-month period in late 1932 provide only glimpses into the experiences of levee camp workers.[37] Country Blues singers in the 1930s also provided an important framework for understanding survival inside these camps. Early Blues music emerged after the Civil War, particularly in the last two decades of the 19th century, as personal expressions of a world full of tribulations. Blues singers were rarely paid because, as poet and musician Amiri Baraka reminds us, most people believed that anyone could "sing the blues" who had experienced such oppressive conditions.[38]

Early Blues music was much more intensely personal and private, even though there was some standardization in the style and lyrics. Amiri Baraka suggested that, "the music remained personal because it began with the performers themselves, and not with formalized notions of how it was to be performed."[39] The personal nature of Blues music changed in the 1920s when the performers were first recorded. What was once a personal expression of the world around them was transformed into a much more public and professional musical form reflecting the shifting life experiences of many African Americans. Through migration and introduction into a world outside the rural South, the content and voice of the Blues changed once it entered the public sphere. The coming of the phonograph and radio greatly extended the reach and influence of Blues music to other parts of the country. As millions of African Americans migrated from the rural South to urban centers during the Great Migration so too did performers travel to New York City, Chicago, Kansas City, and Los Angeles in search of recording companies and in the process Country Blues combined with newer styles and sounds, giving rise to the "Urban Blues." As anthropologist Clyde Woods noted, "the new and rapidly expanding recording industry extended the geographical range of the blues . . . the establishment of an African American community of consciousness based on recorded blues and jazz was one of the most fundamentally significant and enduring mobilizations of this period."[40]

Robert Brown was one of those migrants. Born in July 1910 in Walnut Ridge, Arkansas, by 1932 he was recording with Blue Birds Records in Chicago under the name "Washboard Sam." Brown recorded the song "Levee Camp Moan" in 1941 or 1942, and it highlighted the recent battle over wage discrimination in the levee camps.

> Says I worked in a levee camp, just about a month ago,
> I whined so many wagons, it made my poor hands sore.
> We slept just like dogs, eat beans both night and day, but I never did know,
> Just when we were due our pay.
> They had two shifts on day, and the same two shifts at night,
> But if a man whined a wagon, he can't sleep his baby right.[41]

WORKING CONDITIONS IN MISSISSIPPI RIVER LEVEE CAMPS

Levee camp workers rose early in the morning for work, usually around 3 a.m. preparing for the day's hard labor. Some might immediately harness and feed mules that would work alongside them, while others repaired broken wheelbarrows and carts used to carry materials. Most worked from the dark of morning until the dark of night in twelve hour shifts with few breaks.[42] By 1933 the Mississippi Flood Control Project maintained a workforce of between 25,000 and 30,000 men in the Yazoo Delta, the overwhelming majority African Americans.[43] In an attempt to stimulate the regional economy the federal government awarded contracts to local white farmers and businessmen who set up levee construction camps. John L. McWilliams operated a government-contracted camp near New Orleans; B. H. Flynn had a camp near Alexandria, Louisiana; and J. W. Noble maintained one near Natchez, Mississippi. There were also levee construction companies that created their own niche in the federal government's long-term commitment to levee construction. For example, the Morrow and Harris Company operated camps near Yazoo City, while the Memphis-based Southern Pine and Land Company operated camps in both Tennessee and Mississippi.[44]

During this same time, some camp operators gained a reputation for extreme violence and cruelty and many workers avoided them at all costs. R. T. Clark in Natchez, Mississippi, was known as the "Terror of the River" because of the murderous and violent ways the foremen treated African American workers. The Lowrence brothers operated several camps in Arkansas and Mississippi in the 1920s and were also widely considered to be among the most violent and oppressive employers. The experience of working for the Lowrence brothers was best summed up in an interview with an African American levee worker who declared that he would only work for the Lowrence brothers after he was dead.[45]

In this view, black men in Arkansas are taking loads of dirt to fortify the levee after the 1927 flood. Photography by the Illinois Central Railroad, 16 May 1927; courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

Camp operators were responsible for a specific stretch of land within a levee district, and depending upon the levee district's size, there might be several operators working side by side. For example, the Memphis levee district alone maintained over seventy contractors, while the Vicksburg district had close to fifty. The number of workers in levee camps also varied significantly ranging from fifteen to the larger camps with a workforce of over two hundred. There were both residential and non-residential camps, depending on the location and the desires of camp operators. Out of necessity, camps located in more isolated areas were more likely to be residential, particularly if dense swamp and marshlands made access difficult.[46]

Residential housing in the form of semi-permanent tents came to resemble miniature towns in the swamp and some became dangerously overcrowded. Constructed without adequate ventilation, screens, floors, and sometimes without windows, there was little concern about the transmission of disease. Some tents were so poorly constructed that one levee camp worker reported having to dig ditches and pile dirt against the sides to keep from being flooded when it rained. This activity itself formed cisterns of water that could become breeding grounds for malaria and yellow fever carrying mosquitoes. Camps operating closer to populated areas, like the ones Roy Wilkins visited, were often non-residential and workers either lived at home and traveled daily to the work camp, or found

temporary housing at boarding houses. Small businesses were set up on the outskirts of larger camps that catered to the workers' needs.[47]

This shot from behind workers shows the surrounding environment in which they were forced to work following the flood. Photograph by the Illinois Central Railroad, 16 May 1927; courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

Levee construction was especially backbreaking and dangerous work in the decades before the 1940s and the introduction of caterpillar tractors. The building and extension of levees entailed the clearing of thick cane breaks, swamps, and forested areas, as well as digging and hauling large amounts of soil. From the French word *lever* meaning "to lift," levee engineering varied from place to place, but typically included a batture, barrow pit, berm, crown, and banquette.[48] A batture is a mile of forested landscape situated between the river and levee, ideally forming a first line of defense against the encroachment of flood waters. The barrow (or borrow) pit is a place where workers dug up large amounts of soil for the actual lifting or elevating of levees. Barrow pits might be fifteen or sixteen feet deep in an area 300 feet wide, while gradually sloping up to level ground, serving the dual purpose of providing materials for the construction of levees and a second line of defense as floodwaters would have to fill the barrow pit before reaching the levee.[49]

The barrow pit was the site where teams of workers hauled thousands of cubic feet of soil per day from pit to levee. Workers on the front end called "lumpers" filled mule-drawn carts with soil, tree roots, pulled-stumps, and other debris from the land being cleared. "Drivers" navigated mule drawn carts with loaded materi-

als to the levee where "dumpers" unloaded the debris onto the levee used specifically for elevating its grade, sometimes navigating dangerously narrow planks of wood with wheelbarrows.[50] The berm is a stretch of level ground on the levee that might be thirty to forty feet wide. Depending upon the tax base in the local communities, some levees might also include a crown located on the top of structures between six to eight feet in width and a final buttress called a banquette. Raising levees took considerable time because the materials took a long time to settle. Workers might elevate a levee three or four feet before moving to another stretch, allowing this initial stretch to coalesce for months before returning to begin the process of elevation again.[51]

The machinery used in levee construction—caterpillar tractors, scrapers, and stump pullers—was dangerous and it is likely accidents occurred at a much higher rate than the remaining records reveal. There are only a few references in the historical documentation of camp workers suffering injury from stump pullers or other machinery.[52] While workplace accidents and injuries have historically led to changes in law and increased public awareness, levee camp workers had no way of making claims for injuries.[53] Racism largely excluded African American workers from the more skilled jobs such as operating tractors, thus trapping them into the drudge work of levee building. African American workers might spend upwards of twelve hours bending over and shoveling soil, placing such strain on their backs, that by the end of a shift many could barely stand up straight.

But it was the wage exploitation that would become the labor and civil rights issue for the NAACP. Workers derisively nicknamed the exploitative camp stores "robissaries." Roy Wilkins and George Schuyler explained that the workers paid commissary fees or racked up debts for the services and various items they needed such as food, sleeping cots, blankets, water, and ice.[54] Some camps required workers to pay for living quarters and the dining hall, even if they did not live in the camp; while others deducted commissary fees of $3.00 to $5.00, even if the worker never used the store. Similar to the practices in sharecropping, commissaries offered what were called "drags" or extensions of credit automatically deducted from wages and difficult for workers to track.[55] Contractors could charge whatever prices they wanted for commissary items and other products knowing that this brought profits to them. In the more isolated camps, workers might have little choice but to use the commissary and become the victims of the price gauging that usually occurred. In 1931 at the Powers Construction Camp near Lake Village, Arkansas, a twelve-pound sack of flour that cost $.60 in the commissary was $.30 in local stores. A $.15 pound of salt pork was no more than $.06 at surrounding stores. Condensed milk was $.20 in the commissary, well over the $.08 people outside the camp paid.[56] NAACP officials pointed out that these practices were widespread on the MFCP and kept camp workers in a quagmire of wage and labor exploitation.

THE NAACP ATTACKS LEVEE WORKER EXPLOITATION

Herbert Hoover achieved national popularity while serving as "relief manager" during the 1927 flood and rode to a victory over Democrat Alfred Smith in the 1928 presidential election.[57] When the Stock Market crash of 1929 plunged the country into economic depression, Hoover's popularity plummeted among most Americans in the early 1930s, setting the stage for the arrival of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the White House in 1933.[58] Roosevelt assumed the difficult task of bringing the country out of the Depression and offering Americans a "New Deal." Yet historians have long suggested that in many ways the New Deal was a "raw deal" for most African Americans and a "halfway revolution" in the words of historian William Leuchtenberg, for the victims of capitalism's failures.[59] The remainder of this essay situates the 1927 flood as background to the NAACP's commitment to exposing debt peonage on the Mississippi Flood Control Project in late 1932 when Hoover's presidency was ending and months before the New Deal was launched. Nonetheless, the responses to the 1927 flood and the federal government's approach to flood control served as the context for addressing the labor question in the early years of the New Deal. When the federal government began putting in place policies and programs to assist workers, the NAACP was already positioned to demand changes on behalf of black levee camp workers.

When the NAACP began calling for an investigation of levee camps in the summer of 1932, Hoover responded by attempting to put distance between governmental agencies and African Americans in need of assistance. Rather than launching a federal investigation, Hoover appointed a civilian committee in October 1932, headed by Tuskegee Institute President Robert Russa Moton, to investigate levee camps under federal jurisdiction.[60] NAACP leaders were dismayed at the formation of this civilian committee because it provided yet another example of the President's refusal to take their demands seriously enough to mobilize the resources of the federal government. In 1927 as Secretary of Commerce and head of relief operations after the Mississippi flood, Hoover had authorized the formation of a civilian investigating commission to look into accusations of forced labor and mistreatment in Red Cross camps.[61] The appointment of the civilian team infuriated many African American leaders, especially the appointment of Robert R. Moton to head this "Colored Advisory Commission." A disciple of Booker T. Washington, Moton was allowed to choose the sixteen-member commission that eventually included J. S. Clark, president of Southern University in Baton Rouge; Claude Barnett of the Associated Negro Press; L. M. McCoy, president of Rust College in Mississippi; and three members of Moton's faculty at Tuskegee.[62]

Not surprisingly, Moton did not choose a single individual with ties to the NAACP. The Colored Advisory Commission released two reports in June and July 1928, but included little criticism of Hoover or the Red Cross relief camps, even though commission members complained they were rarely allowed to talk to African Americans in the camps without white supervisors being present.[63] Criticism of the commission began from Hoover's initial announcement. The NAACP described the appointment of Moton as an effort at appeasement and there was little expectation of tangible improvements. In the November 1927 issue of *The Crisis*, W. E. B. Du Bois observed, "[W]e have grave suspicions that the colored committee recently appointed by Mr. Hoover to investigate flood conditions and peonage in the Mississippi Valley will be sorely tempted to whitewash the whole situation, to pat Mr. Hoover loudly on the back, and to make no real effort to investigate the desperate and evil conditions of that section of our country. Slavery still exists in the Mississippi Valley and this Committee knows it." [64] Du Bois believed that not standing up for African Americans at this important juncture would be unforgivable. Ella R. Hutson of San Diego's Negro Women's Council wrote the President to express her disappointment that Hoover would not do more.

> I can see no other reason why you should not have carried out the request made of you, unless you were afraid of incurring the disfavor of the Mississippi and Arkansas hoodlums and making yourself unpopular with those blood thirsty savages. Well, does every thinking man and woman know that a Negro committee appointed in the South has its hands tied and cannot make an investigation and ascertain the real facts of all the unfairness as practiced by the Red Cross there in the South . . . as the Federal Government could through you, if you were not afraid of criticism from the uncivilized South.[65]

Ida B. Wells-Barnett protested Hoover's civilian commission and conditions in relief camps through the Ida B. Wells Club in Chicago and her frequent criticism was published in the *Chicago Defender*.[66]

It was not a case of civilian commissions not being valuable or serving a purpose, but in 1927 and in 1932 African American leaders believed correctly that only the federal government had the power to ensure changes in the rules and regulations pertaining to the treatment of African American workers on government-sponsored projects. The failure of the 1927 civilian commission's efforts to bring significant changes weighed heavily on the NAACP and it came as little surprise, and perhaps even a bit of relief, that funds would not be made available for the second Moton-led commission in 1932.[67]

In the period between the final months of the Hoover administration in 1932 and early stages of the New Deal in 1933, the NAACP officials focused on what they considered to be an inherent problem with the flood control project: its dependence on local contractors. Funded by the federal government, the MFCP fell under juris-

diction of the War Department, a situation the NAACP would target in demanding the protection of African American workers.[68] If the intent of the 1928 Flood Control Act was to create a well-designed system of flood control that benefited the entire country, funded by tax dollars, then the federal government had a responsibility to protect the workers performing this service. From the perspective of federal officials, however, the local contractor system stimulated entrepreneurship by giving local people a stake in levee construction. Unfortunately, federal officials ignored how this system might lead to labor exploitation by relying on "local practices."[69]

By the fall of 1932 the NAACP had been successful in gaining the attention of the War Department. On 22 August 1932 the NAACP sent to President Hoover, Secretary of War Andrew Hurley, Attorney General William DeWitt Mitchell, and to some twenty-five U.S. Senators a copy of a report from an undercover investigation carried out the previous summer and containing the explicit request that actions be taken to correct the exploitative conditions in the levee camps.[70] This first report contained the findings of Helen Boardman, a white NAACP staff member, whose investigation took place before Roy Wilkins and George Schuyler were sent on their 1932 mission.[71] Hoover referred the report to the War Department and Major General Lytle Brown who responded immediately in an antagonistic tone by excusing the low (or no) wages paid and pointing out that the government was paying what was "customary" in the region.[72] Following a harshly worded letter from NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White, Secretary of War Hurley wrote to White: "I regret that General Brown did not assure you a thorough, unbiased and fair investigation of your complaints, I will do so now."[73]

The War Department finally decided to hold an initial hearing in Washington, DC, on 22 September 1932 at the Office of Chief Engineers led by the Assistant Chief George B. Pillsbury. While the press was not allowed in the hearing, the NAACP officials brought a prepared statement to pass out to reporters who were present. Only five people attended the hearing that morning: Walter White, Helen Boardman, George Pillsbury, an unidentified Army Captain, and the stenographer.[74] The inquiry became a contentious affair when Pillsbury seized upon the NAACP decision to omit names and some background information to protect workers. Pillsbury suggested that the report was too general and lacked specificity.[75] At one point Pillsbury asked why laborers who were not receiving money owed to them did not seek legal recourse. But he was clearly ignorant of what black levee camp workers knew too well: as second-class citizens, they had little recourse to the law.[76] While this inquiry bore little fruit, by late September 1932 NAACP officers were successful in persuading New York Senator Robert F. Wagner to introduce a resolution into the 72nd Congress calling for a Senate investigation of levee camps. This was what the NAACP would have preferred. Instead, President Hoover appointed the civilian commission in October 1932, but it was never funded.[77]

As the White House administration changed from Republican to Democrat, and the first "Hundred Days" of the New Deal was under way, the NAACP leaders began focusing on what they believed was the limited way levee work was defined. Levee work was largely non-union labor and in the lexicon of the federal government long defined as "emergency work," somehow making it different from other civil engineering projects. "River work" differed from the construction of buildings, bridges, and tunnels because of this "emergency" designation.[78] By targeting unionizing efforts in other industries with government contracts granting workers eight-hour days and the "prevailing rate of wages," the NAACP pushed for inclusion of the MFCP with other civil engineering projects.[79] Roy St. Lewis, Assistant Attorney General for the Department of Justice, responded to NAACP charges of violations of the eight-hour work day by arguing that those limitations did not apply to those engaged in the construction or repair of levees. With regard to rules about the prevailing rate of wages, F. L. Payne of the War Department made a similar argument: "[T]he law enacted by Congress providing for the payment of prevailing rates of wages by contractors under contracts with the Federal Government is specifically limited, under its terms, to contracts for the construction of buildings. The law is not applicable to the construction of levees, revetments, and other work generally included in the flood control project."[80] Prevailing rate of wages was part of the controversial Davis-Bacon Act passed by Congress in 1931 requiring contractors receiving funds from the federal government to pay workers on a scale customary in the region.[81]

Roy Wilkins and George Schuyler conducted their undercover investigation amidst these ongoing deliberations hoping their eyewitness accounts would help to push through a Senate investigation. After months of filibustering and stonewalling in Congress, the Senate passed a resolution on 22 February 1933 to create a special committee of three senators, headed by Robert Wagner, to investigate the MFCP. The exploitation of levee camp workers by government contractors would now have a national audience. The 15 April 1933 headline in the *Chicago Defender* declared, "Open Levee Slave Probe: Wagner to Head Quiz in South." Republican Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota and Democratic Senator Hubert Stephens from Mississippi rounded out the committee.[82]

After focusing on saving the banks and stabilizing the financial system during the first hundred days, New Dealers moved to find ways to stimulate the economy. Industrial expansion would be an important force for national recovery and the construction of levees was an important part of this process. Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) signed by President Roosevelt on 16 June 1933 outlined industry-wide codes to place limits on the number of hours to be worked per day and set standards for minimum wages. The NIRA also guaranteed many workers the right to collective bargaining and forbade child labor.[83] The

NAACP highlighted Section 7(a) by lobbying the National Recovery Administration (NRA) to include levee workers as part of industry codes to elevate wages, reduce hours, and improve working conditions. In July 1933 some $37 million was allotted by the Public Works Administration for flood control work in the lower Mississippi Valley. This meant that river work was brought under NRA public works regulations.[84] This was not an open and shut case, however, as the reality for most African American workers under the NRA was far more complicated. As P. B. Young of the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* noted, the NRA symbol of the blue eagle was a "predatory bird instead of a feathered messenger." Many African Americans were critical of the NRA referring to it as the "Negro Removal Act" because rather than pay black workers at the industry-wide wage levels for specific jobs, they were fired and replaced by white workers. However, when the MFCP was included under New Deal legislation, this was considered a minor victory for black levee workers.[85]

CONCLUSION

The NAACP's activism between 1927 and 1933 helped to bring about significant improvements for black levee camp workers. While Senate hearings took place on camp conditions, including investigations of the exploitative commissary system, equally important was the national attention workers received from the NAACP's campaign to expose widespread abuses on the Mississippi Flood Control Project. "We didn't turn Mississippi into Canaan, of course" Roy Wilkins would later write in his autobiography, but their work during those five years laid the foundation for many workers' rights campaigns in the 1930s and 1940s.[86] Many levee workers' wages were increased moderately in the range of ten to thirty cents per hour, and in some locations they were periodically successful in limiting work week hours to thirty.[87] Without question, debt peonage continued to occur in levee camps, even after the 1930s since New Deal legislation focused primarily on the rate of wages and the eight-hour work day. Violence continued in levee camps in the South, as did the abuses in the operation of the commissary system.[88]

While the NAACP moved on to other labor and civil rights issues in the 1930s and 1940s, the organization continued to monitor the conditions for levee camp workers, sending representatives to the camps to investigate and report on the circumstances. Some reports were more positive, but they continued to hear about brutality, violence, and exploitation on the MFCP. These reports were promptly forwarded to the War Department for immediate attention.[89] Reprimands of abusive levee camp operators did occur and were publicized in the African American press such as the headline in the 3 February 1934 issue of the

Chicago Defender: "War Department Fires Brutal Levee Camp Boss: Used Lash to Punish Worker."[90]

The Mississippi Flood Control Project represented only the beginning of the NAACP's efforts to ensure that black levee camp workers were treated fairly and with respect. Between the 1927 flood and early stages of the New Deal the NAACP demanded increased protection from the federal government for black levee workers who emerged from a longstanding invisibility in national conversations of race and labor. The NAACP's labor activism was important for improving the working conditions for those who actually built the levees that provided protection for all men, women, and children, black and white, from floods that previously ravaged an entire region of the United States.

NOTES

[1]Roy Wilkins, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* (New York, 1982), 119.
[2]Gene Campbell, *Levee Camp Man Blues*, recorded May 1930 (Brunswick 7154).
[3]Patricia Sullivan, *Lift Every Voice: The NAACP and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York, 2009), 152.
[4]Wilkins, *Standing Fast,* 119–27; George S. Schuyler, *Black and Conservative: The Autobiography of George S. Schuyler* (New Rochelle, New York, 1966), 198–204; Oscar R. Williams, *George S. Schuyler: Portrait of a Black Conservative* (Knoxville, TN, 2007), 86–89; Sondra K. Wilson, ed., *In Search of Democracy: The NAACP Writings of James Weldon Johnson, Walter White, and Roy Wilkins (1920–1977)* (New York, 1999), 158; "NAACP Levee Camp Investigators Jailed and Threatened in Mississippi," 13 January 1933, NAACP Press Release, Mississippi Flood Control Subject File, 1930–1934, NAACP Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (hereafter NAACP Flood Control File).
[5]Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 119–27.
[6]Ibid.; Schuyler, *Black and Conservative*, 198–204; Williams, *Portrait of a Black Conservative*, 86–89.
[7]Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 121.
[8]Ibid.,119–22.
[9]Ibid., 122.
[10]Ibid., 119–27.
[11]Ibid., 119–27; Schuyler, *Black and Conservative*, 198–204.
[12]Roy Wilkins, "Mississippi Slavery in 1933," *The Crisis*, April 1933, 81–82.
[13]Ibid.
[14]Ibid.
[15]Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 123.
[16]John Barry, *Rising Tide: The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 and How It Changed America* (New York, 1997); Ted Steinberg, *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disaster in America* (New York, 2000).
[17]Karen O'Neill, *Rivers by Design: State Power and the Origins of U.S. Flood Control* (Durham, NC, 2006), 143–47.
[18]Ibid., 147; Barry, *Rising Tide*, 423.
[19]Robyn Spencer, "Contested Terrain: The Mississippi Flood of 1927 and the Struggle to Control Black Labor," *Journal of Negro History* 79 (Spring 1994): 171–80; John Barry, *Rising Tide: The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 and How It Changed America* (New York, 1997).
[20]The notice was reprinted in the *Chicago Defender*, 4 June 1927; See Spencer, "Contested Terrain," 170–81.
[21]William Alexander Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee: Recollections of a Planter's Son* (New York, 1941), 265–68.
[22]*Chicago Defender*, 16 June 1927; *Vicksburg Evening Post*, 6 May 1927; Walter White, "The Flood, the Red Cross, and the National Guard," *The Crisis*, January–March 1928; John Barry, *Rising Tide,* 314–32; Spencer, "Contested Terrain."
[23]Spencer, "Contested Terrain," 175–76.

[24]*Chicago Defender*, 16 July 1927.
[25]Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection, Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1997), 148.
[26]Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (New York, 1996), 2–3; see also the work by Douglass Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York, 2009).
[27]Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor,* 2–7.
[28]Quote taken from Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergency of Civil Rights as a National Issue: The Depression Decade* (New York, 1978), 35.
[29]Alan Lomax, *The Land Where the Blues Began* (New York, 1993), 212–56; William Hemphill Family Papers, Special Collections, Duke University Library, Durham, NC; Barry, *Rising Tide*, 122–23.
[30]See Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York, 1985), 80–94.
[31]Wilkins, *Standing Fast,* 123.
[32]Ibid.
[33]William Jones, *A Tribe of Black Ulysses: African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South* (Urbana, IL, 2005), 2–3. Jones describes the influence and demands of black lumber workers in the early 20th century on the political, social, and economic transformation of the southern region. He also describes the conscious movement of local farmers into seasonal lumber industry work as a way of supplementing wages. The result meant more stability and economic mobility for families. He argues that when lumber industries throughout the South began pushing against seasonal employment and for more long-term investments by workers in the 1920s, black lumber workers responded by demanding policies that reinforced workplace ethics, family life, and leisure in these newly developed lumber communities.
[34]Ibid.
[35]Ibid., 3–4.
[36]Ibid.
[37]American Federation of Labor Report on Levee Camps, 5 December 1931, NAACP Flood Control File; Helen Boardman Report on Levee Camps, August 1932, NAACP Flood Control File, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; hereafter Boardman Report.
[38]Leroi Jones, (Amiri Baraka) *Blues People: The Negro Experience in White America and the Music That Developed From It* (New York, 1963), 67.
[39]Ibid.
[40]Clyde Woods, *Arrested Development: The Blues and Plantation Power in the Mississippi Delta* (New York, 1998), 109–11; Daphne Harrison, *Blues Pearls: Blues Queens of the 1920s* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1990), 56–57; Sherley Anne Williams, "The Blues Roots of Contemporary Afro-American Poetry," in *Chant of Saints: A Gathering of Afro-American Literature, Art, and Scholarship,* ed. Michael S. Harper and Robert Stepto (Chicago, IL, 1979), 123–35.
[41]Washboard Sam, *Levee Camp Moan*, Document Records DOCD 5176, Complete Recorded Work in Chronological Order, Vol. 6, 1941–1942. I obtained a recording of this song from the Hogan Blues Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.
[42]American Federation of Labor Report on Levee Camps, 5 December 1931, NAACP Flood Control File, Boardman Report.
[43]Figures taken from the Mississippi Valley Branch of the Associated General Contractors, quoted in *The Chicago Defender*, 12 August 1933.
[44]"List of Contractors on Levee Work on Mississippi River and Tributaries," NAACP Flood Control File.
[45]John Cowley, "Shack Bullies and Levee Contractors: Bluesmen as Ethnographers," *Journal of Folklore Research* 28 (1991), Special Double Issue: "Labor Song: A Reappraisal," 135–62.
[46]"List of Contractors on Levee Work on Mississippi River and Tributaries," NAACP Flood Control File.
[47]Alan Lomax, *The Land Where the Blues Began* (New York, 1993), 235–50. Walter Brown was also interviewed by Lomax in the 1970s. Lomax's work is problematic and has been rightly criticized by numerous scholars, but provides a useful window into the unsavory aspects of levee camp life.
[48]Barry, *Rising Tide,* 191.
[49]Ibid., 190–92.
[50]John Cowley, "Shack Bullies and Levee Contractors."

[51]Barry, *Rising Tide*, 190–92.

[52]American Federation of Labor Levee Camp Investigation, 5 December 1931, NAACP Flood Control File.

[53]See David Rosner and Gerald Markowitz, *Deadly Dust: Silicosis and the Politics of Occupational Disease in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ, 1991); Martin Cherniak, *The Hawk's Nest Incident: America's Worst Industrial Disaster* (New Haven, CT, 1986); and Alan Kraut, *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the Immigrant Menace* (Baltimore, MD, 1995); Arthur F. McEvoy, "Working Environments: An Ecological Approach to Industrial Health and Safety," *Technology and Culture* 36 (April 1995): S153.

[54]American Federation of Labor Levee Camp Investigation, 5 December 1931, NAACP Flood Control File. The AFL was first to report on levee camps conditions in the Yazoo Delta. It is possible Holt Ross and Thomas Carrol, the two men who conducted the report, may have drawn the wrath of William Green, president of the AFL. Ross later told the NAACP that he was fired as a labor organizer for the AFL because of the report. Ross also published an article on his findings in the AFL's *Federationist,* "Levees, Labor and Liberty," March 1932.

[55]American Federation of Labor Levee Camp Investigation, 5 December 1931, NAACP Flood Control File.

[56]Boardman Report.

[57]Barry, *Rising Tide,* 361–78.

[58]Joan Hoff Wilson, *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive* (New York, 1992).

[59]William Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940* (New York, 1963); Alan Brinkley, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (New York, 2009); Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks.*

[60]"Investigation of Labor Camps Along the Mississippi Flood Control Project," 30 September 1932, Press Release by the NAACP; "Aroused Negro Public Opinion Forced Hoover Levee Probe, Says White," 1932, NAACP Press Release; Walter White to James A. Cobb, Municipal Court, Washington, DC, 16 November 1932; Walter White to Rev. H. S. Bigelow, Odd Fellows Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio, 2 December 1932, all documents located in the NAACP Flood Control File. The Hoover Commission consisted of Dr. R. R. Moton, Judge James A. Cobb, Eugene Kinckle Jones, and Lt. Colonel U. S. Grant.

[61]John Barry provides of good description of the reports. See *Rising Tide,* 381–91.

[62]Ibid.; Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: Volume 2: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901–1955* (New York, 1986).

[63]John Barry, *Rising Tide*, 381–91.

[64]W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Crisis*, November 1927; in the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa.

[65]Ella Hutson to Herbert Hoover, 20 July 1927, Red Cross File, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library.

[66]See Mia Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York, 2010), 3–6.

[67]John Barry provides of good description of the reports; see Barry, *Rising Tide*, 322–23. This second Moton-led committee is not discussed in much of the literature on race and labor during the period.

[68]O'Neill, *Rivers by Design,* 143–47; Alan Brinkley, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (New York, 2009), 30–54; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks,* 58–84.

[69]O'Neill, *Rivers by Design*, 143–47.

[70]"Investigation of Labor Camps Along the Mississippi Flood Control Project," 30 September 1932, NAACP Press Release, NAACP Flood Control File.

[71]Ibid.; Boardman Report.

[72]Lytle Brown, Major General and Chief of Engineers to Walter White, Secretary for the NAACP, 25 August 1932, NAACP Flood Control File.

[73]Walter White to Lytle Brown, 29 August 1932; Andrew Hurley, Secretary of War to Walter White, 31 August 1932, NAACP Flood Control File.

[74]"Investigation of Labor Camps," 30 September 1932, NAACP Press Release, NAACP Flood Control File; "War Department Fails in Attempt to Hush up Testimony of Flood Control Slavery: General Pillsbury Excludes Press But Miss Boardman Hands Out NAACP Release," 1932, Press Release, NAACP Flood Control File.

[75]"Investigation of Labor Camps," 30 September 1932, NAACP Press Release, NAACP Flood Control File.

[76]Ibid.; "Interrogation of Miss Helen Boardman by Brigadier General G.B. Pillsbury," 22 September 1932, NAACP Flood Control File; Boardman Report.

[77]Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt,* 118–43.

[78]Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston, MA, 1958), 87–92.

[79]Ibid.

[80]F. H. Payne, Assistant Secretary of War to Walter White, 10 October 1932; Roy St. Lewis, Assistant Attorney General to Walter White, 22 September 1932, NAACP Flood Control File.

[81]Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt,* 41–63.

[82]"Expect Levee Probe Committee to be Named in Last Congress Hours," 3 March 1933, NAACP Press Release, NAACP Flood Control File; "Open Levee Slave Probe: Wagner to Head Quiz in South," *Chicago Defender*, 15 April 1933; Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 126.

[83]Schlesinger, *The Age of Roosevelt,* 87–92; Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 57–60.

[84]"Levee Contractors Present Code Raising Pay of Labor," 4 August 1933, NAACP Press Release, NAACP Flood Control File; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, 47–48, 52–55; Roy Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of the NAACP, to Ludwell Denny, Associate Editor, Scripps Howard Newspapers, 11 October 1933, NAACP Flood Control File. Research into the Public Works Administration would be useful for the discussion of levee camp workers after 1933. Unfortunately, the administrative file of the PWA was discarded and is now unavailable.

[85]Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, 53–55.

[86]Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 126.

[87]Ibid.

[88]"Levee Contractors Present Code Raising Pay of Labor," 4 August 1933; Roy Wilkins to Robert R. Church of Memphis, TN, 4 October 1933, NAACP Flood Control File.

[89]Walter White to Rev. Mother M. Katherine, Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Cromwells Heights, PA, 10 July 1934; Roy Wilkins to Major General Edward M. Markham, Chief of Engineers, War Department, 3 October 1934; and W. L. Byrd, Vicksburg, Mississippi to NAACP, 3 November 1933, NAACP Flood Control File.

[90]"War Department Fires Brutal Levee Camp Boss: Used Lash to Punish Worker," *The Chicago Defender*, 3 February 1934.

SOLIDARITY AMONG "FELLOW SUFFERERS": AFRICAN AMERICANS AND GERMAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE UNITED STATES DURING WORLD WAR II

Matthias Reiss

"Here the Negro is nothing. . . . It is a *hell hole. The German War Prisoners are treated better than we are here.*"[1] These words were written by Private James Pritchett in a letter from Camp Livingston, Louisiana, in January 1944 and echoed similar statements made by many other African American soldiers in their correspondence with friends, family, civil rights organizations, newspapers, the War Department, or the White House.[2] More than 371,000 German as well as 51,000 Italian soldiers, sailors, or airmen were interned in the United States during the Second World War.[3] The claim that these defeated "white" members of Axis armies had more rights and privileges in the United States than black soldiers in American uniforms was a powerful one. African Americans successfully used it during World War II to protest against the treatment they faced, and several historians have mentioned this since the 1970s.[4] "Nothing symbolized the lack of respect accorded to African American soldiers more than their being denied admission to facilities that accepted the patronage of German prisoners of war," David Brown and Clive Webb noted in 2007; and Clarence Lusane has even shifted part of the blame to the prisoners of war (POWs) when he wrote that the "fight against German racism took place in Europe and the United States as the global racial contract of white supremacy was once again enacted."[5]

This essay argues that the relationship between the Germans and African Americans was much more complex than some statements found in the letters of black soldiers would suggest.[6] Historians have so far shown little interest in the interactions between the two groups. German scholars began to collect evidence on the treatment of German soldiers in enemy hands in the 1950s in an effort to provide factual information for public officials and courts dealing with pension claims, compensations, and related issues.[7] Set up in 1957, the Scientific Commission for the History of German Prisoners of War systematically collected

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some 45,000 personal testimonies and diaries from veterans up to 1972. Former POWs who had been in American custody almost inevitably mentioned African Americans, but the focus on work and living experiences in captivity, together with the political sensitivity of the topic, meant that this aspect received no systematic treatment by the commission.[8] It was only in 2002 that the first publication on the relationship between German POWs and African Americans appeared in Germany, and this essay builds on this work.[9]

American historians became interested in the history of German POWs after the war in Vietnam and the opening of government files in the 1970s.[10] Like in Germany, much of their work focused on the way the United States implemented the 1929 "Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War," although the U.S. government's reeducation program for German prisoners also attracted considerable attention.[11] The POWs' criticism of racial discrimination in the United States was usually interpreted as a defensive reaction, despite two path-breaking articles by Martin Sosna and Matthew J. Schott in the 1990s.[12] For the most part American historians have tended to assume a local or regional perspective in dealing with the history of enemy prisoners, and most portrayed the POW program as a success which led to individual friendships between white Americans and German prisoners and contributed to the good relations between the United States and West Germany after the war.[13] In the last decade, however, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the controversies around the treatment of captured enemy combatants in the "war on terror" have shifted the focus to a long-term analysis of Americans' experiences with prisoners of war.[14] In addition, historians have also started in recent years to look at the postwar experience of POWs and study questions of sexuality and masculinity during and after captivity.[15]

This essay fits into this new focus on gender, a category which is interlocked with race and status. While the German POWs in the United States struggled with the potentially emasculating experience of captivity and anxieties about their status in the postwar world, African Americans often framed their fight for equality as a struggle for manhood. Both groups found themselves at the bottom of the economic hierarchy in American society and often worked side by side performing unskilled and unpleasant low-paid labor. Under these specific conditions, German POWs and African Americans developed usually harmonious relationships, which were remarkably free of conflict. Not only in North America, but also in liberated Europe and occupied Germany, both groups got along very well.

If the friendship between white Americans and German prisoners is now firmly imbedded into the narrative of the African American community's two-pronged struggle against fascism at home and abroad, as in the "Double-V" campaign, historians also need to ask what meaning and impact the countless friendly interactions between defeated Germans and African Americans had.[16] Rather than treat-

ing the German POWs as symbols of a static racial landscape, it might be more productive to examine how the presence of over 371,000 "Nazi prisoners" in the United States changed their own outlook as well as undermined the racial assumptions that underpinned American society in the 1940s. Captivity offered the vast majority of German prisoners their first sustained direct contact with African Americans. For a few years they gained first-hand knowledge of how this group worked and lived and often came to the conclusion—rightly or wrongly—that they were on the same level as them. Many of the African Americans they encountered reinforced this perception believing that the German POWs were "prisoners like us."[17]

The contacts between the two groups in the United States and Europe had a special quality. The German POWs in the United States and the African American soldiers in Europe were both "strangers" as defined by the sociologist Georg Simmel and others.[18] According to Simmel, the stranger's essential quality is that he "comes today and stays tomorrow." He is "the potential wanderer" who is "fixed within a particular spatial group" but whose "position in this group is determined, essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning."[19] The stranger "is not radically committed to the unique ingredients and peculiar tendencies of the [resident] group, and therefore approaches them with the specific attitude of 'objectivity.' But objectivity does not simply involve passivity and detachment; it is a particular structure composed of distance and nearness, indifference and involvement."[20] Due to his peculiar position, the stranger "often receives the most surprising openness—confidences which sometimes have the character of a confessional and which would be carefully withheld from a more closely related person."[21]

The interaction between Germans and African Americans on either side of the Atlantic was a relationship between a resident group and "strangers." Race was, of course, a factor in this relationship, but it mattered less than many historians have assumed until now. Socioeconomic conditions and the perception of shared underdog status established a sense of closeness whose impact also needs to be discussed. This essay hopes to promote this discussion in order to move beyond overly simplistic frameworks of "white against black" and come to a more complex understanding of the significance of race and racism in the Second World War.

GUARDING THE ENEMY

The U.S. Army officers who created and ran the POW system in the United States during World War II were acutely aware that white prisoners would pose a problem in racialized American society. From the very beginning, POW camps

were concentrated in rural areas of the U.S. South. This was due to security concerns, but also because of the lower costs of building and running new camps and the high demand for unskilled, dependable, and cheap labor in this region. By 1945 nearly every state as well as the territory of Alaska had German POWs interned within its borders. However, the vast majority of German prisoners, around two-thirds, lived and worked in the South, while tens of thousands more were detained in the border states.[22]

The POW system in the United States was run by Provost Marshal General (PMG) Allen Gullion, who was appointed in late July 1941.[23] The PMG, who also was head of the Military Police (MP), successfully insisted that all prisoners or internees in the United States should be guarded by companies of Military Police Escort Guards. As in armies all around the world, the task of guarding enemy POWs did not have a high priority, and the Provost Marshal General constantly struggled to get enough qualified personnel for these units. Gullion nevertheless refused to accept African American soldiers with the argument that the use of black troops for guard duty would invite enemy reprisals.[24] The possible justification for such retaliatory action was never spelled out. However, international law banned the humiliation of captured enemy personnel and it is likely that Gullion thought that the use of non-white guard soldiers might be interpreted that way by enemies of the United States.

Gullion's quest had the support of his superior, Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General for Services of Supply/Army Service Forces (SOS/ASF). When plans were made to form two new MP Escort Guard Companies from black personnel in early 1942, the PMG's Office successfully intervened and insisted that these units would be filled with white recruits only.[25] At their specific request the next wave of MP Escort Guard companies in March 1942 was also "filled by transferring white personnel from the Army Ground Forces."[26]

The exclusion of African Americans from the MP Escort Guards violated an earlier pledge by the government that black recruits would be allowed to serve in all branches of the Army and in proportion to their population, i.e., slightly over 10 percent.[27] Therefore, assistant chief of staff, Brigadier General Harry L. Twaddle argued that "[f]uture plans for expanded facilities for internment of enemy aliens, civilians and prisoners of war, must include considerations of the employment of Negro troops on this duty."[28] Major General Dwight D. Eisenhower, then head of the Operations Division, concurred and stressed the need to decide in principle the "source from which personnel for future Military Police Escort Guard Companies will be obtained" and the "desirability of designating certain of such companies as colored units."[29]

In the past such policy decisions had been the responsibility of the Personnel Division, G-1. After the reorganization of the U.S. Army on 9 March 1942, how-

ever, it was unclear whether this was still the case. As a result, POW matters were generally referred to the Provost Marshal General for decision after the reorganization, despite his relatively low position within the new Army organizational framework, until G-1 fully resumed its responsibilities concerning enemy prisoners of war in April 1943.[30] Eisenhower's request in April 1942, "that this Division be furnished with information upon which to base instructions to the Commanding General, Services of Supply" about the use of black troops as MP Escort Guards, was thus paradoxically passed on to Somervell and decided by the Provost Marshal General.[31] Somervell and his subordinate were quick to recommend, "that the personnel of Military Police Escort Guard Companies be white."[32] From then on, a simple reference to "the nature of the mission" of Escort Guards was enough to justify the exclusion of black soldiers from these units.[33] Even when other units than MP Escort Guards were assigned to guard German prisoners of war, only white troops were used.[34] Following Gullion's suggestion, the government's pledge was honored by creating "sufficient additional Military Police Battalions (Zone of Interior) as colored units to insure that a minimum of 10.6 per cent of the enlisted personnel assigned to these two categories of Military Police units (Military Police Units, Zone of Interior, and Military Police Escort Guard Companies) is of the Negro race."[35]

This policy remained unimplemented for almost a year until the civilian aide to the Secretary of War, Truman Gibson, suggested that it might be time to address it. Appointed as a political gesture towards African American voters before the 1940 presidential election, the civilian aide collected complaints about discrimination and monitored the state of racial affairs in the U.S. Army. In March 1943 Gibson suggested in a memo to Major General Idwal Edwards, G-3, that the fear of enemy reprisals in response to the use of African American guards was no longer reasonable and that in "view of the activity now in both the North African and Pacific Theatres it would seem that Negro units could be trained for guard functions."[36] However, Edwards replied that "the general situation still is such as to make it inadvisable to create Negro Prisoner of War Escort Guard Companies at this time."[37] Gibson immediately apologized and claimed that his memo was sent to Edwards "inadvertently."[38]

The picture changed only after most MP Escort Guard Companies were disbanded in April 1944 to save manpower, and the task of selecting American soldiers for service in POW camps was transferred to the commanding generals of the nine Service Commands in the United States.[39] From then on, some African Americans were assigned for guard duty in the United States, although it is impossible to say how many. The Army's resistance to black GIs guarding enemy prisoners in the United States—a policy decision that had been made even before

Pearl Harbor—was quietly dropped in response to the practical demands of war.[40] In North Africa and Europe, African American soldiers were already guarding enemy POWs on a regular basis by 1944.

PRECONCEIVED NOTIONS AND FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Captivity is a travel experience and like all travelers the German POWs brought their preconceived ideas about American society in general, and African Americans in particular, with them. Positive perceptions of the United States as "the land of unlimited opportunities" existed side by side with those of a materialistic country entirely focused on material gain.[41] As Earl Beck has shown, German travelers who visited the United States before the Nazis' rise to power in 1933 were generally very sympathetic to African Americans and often portrayed them as the antithesis of American materialism. The Germans found white Americans "soulless," superficial, materialistic—in short "cultureless. . . . The Negro, in contrast, had a soul and was creating a culture."[42] Even the Nazis, whose hostility towards people of African descent is beyond any doubt, sometimes portrayed African Americans as victims of American capitalism and hypocrisy. The Nazi Party's own teaching materials on the United States, for example, featured a picture of an elderly African American with the caption: "Is he not a living indictment against a country which first put him and his race in the chains of slavery, then supposedly gave them their freedom which is basically nothing else [but] endless economic misery?"[43] In a similar fashion, a 1942 book showed the picture of an African American man in a shantytown with the caption: "In the land of extreme materialism no authority cares for the outcasts of fate. Like nomads they wander the United States by the hundreds of thousands. Frequently one therefore encounters unbelievable misery on the fringes of American cities."[44]

The German Army's own information pamphlet on the United States stressed that "the so-called Land of the Free" continued to practice the slave trade and slavery long after Europe only spoke with revulsion of both. It claimed that white people, too, had been reduced to the status of slaves as indentured servants in North America and that the institution continued to exist in the form of debt peonage. The condemnation of the "gruesome lynch justice" in the United States served to further stress the uncivilized nature of American society.[45] Probably the best example of this anti-capitalist discourse is A. E. Johann's semi-fictional travel account *Das Land ohne Herz* (*The Land without Heart*) from 1942, of which Joseph Goebbels' Ministry for Propaganda distributed over half a million copies in Germany. In the book Johann praises the "admirable passive insurmountability of the black race" in the United States. African Americans were portrayed as victims of capitalism who, in contrast to other members of American society, had managed

to preserve their dignity and were "still able to sing, able to sing a song, which is probably the most un-American occupation there is."[46]

The Germans who fell into American hands largely found these ideas confirmed by their own experience in captivity. Due to the relatively low number of black combat units at the frontline in North Africa or Europe, most prisoners first encountered African Americans on their journey to the rear. The trucks, which brought them to the transient camps or ports, were usually driven by black GIs who also guarded the POWs on these trips and defended them against the hostile civilian population in the recently liberated countries. Being the traditional victims of mob violence in the United States, African American soldiers showed little tolerance for it abroad and even used their weapons to defend the prisoners; an empowering experience whose impact must have been considerable. One German recalled how African American soldiers actively protected him and his comrades against French civilians on their journey to the coast in August 1944. "Had they not acted so vigorously, we would have fared quite badly. On this occasion we experienced for the first time how much compassion the colored Americans had for us. We were only able to solve this mystery after having our experiences with them in America."[47] In Italy, black soldiers made the prisoners collect stones and ordered them to retaliate when attacked by the local population. "We gladly did what they demanded," one of the prisoners later recalled, "Due to this incident, we had a good opinion of these colored Americans."[48]

African American soldiers check the possessions of German POWs arriving in Boston, MA, in 1944. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

Once the POWs arrived in the United States, however, African Americans appeared no longer as armed members of a victorious army, but second-class citizens or service personnel. All new arrivals in the United States had to go through the entry ritual of disinfection, which was usually performed by African American GIs. The prisoners had to strip and were covered with a white powder by black soldiers who the exhausted POWs often described as "gigantic" or "brawny."[49] To their intense surprise, they were then brought to the POW camps in Pullman passenger carriages and "served by black waiters in spotless white uniforms" during the journey.[50] As late as April 1945, German prisoners reported that "blacks in snow-white jackets" brought food and drinks to their seats.[51] A few POWs even traveled in sleeper trains where African American porters were on call to serve them.[52]

The train journey often took several days and gave the prisoners ample opportunity to get a good impression of the country. African Americans caught their eyes and were remembered even years later. One prisoner recalled his first impressions fifteen years after the war. "What attracted attention were the large skyscrapers, the heavy car traffic and, although already known through descriptions, the large number of Negro railway workers."[53] Another German remembered that the POWs were "impressed by the huge train station and the people of all different skin colors during a stop in Chicago."

> [A]crew of colored workers cleaned the train windows with a hose and broom. From a black worker I received my first American cigarette. He laid his hand gently on my shoulder. From that moment I knew that I would meet good people in captivity, too.[54]

The German POWs would indeed have ample opportunity to meet American citizens during their internment in the United States. According to the 1929 Geneva Convention, enlisted men could be made to work for the detaining power. Non-commissioned officers (NCOs) were only compelled to do supervisory work, while commissioned officers did not have to work at all, although they were allowed to volunteer. The majority of German prisoners in the United States were employed by the U.S. Army on military installations, but a substantial number were hired out to civilian employers as contract laborers. Fear of escapes or sabotage and the lack of guard personnel initially prevented the efficient use of the POWs' labor until a policy of "calculated risk" was adopted in February 1944. From then on, the maximum employment of POW workers took priority. Security was quickly reduced to a symbolic minimum that allowed many German prisoners to come into direct contact with American civilians and soldiers when they left their compounds during the day to go to work.

Fraternization with the prisoners was forbidden, but Americans nevertheless showed, in the words of the commanding officer of Fort Benning, Georgia, "an

uncontrollable desire to watch them and try to communicate with them."[55] Many were deeply impressed by the POWs' youth, physical fitness, and discipline. A reporter who visited a POW camp in Oklahoma in July 1943 confessed that "[u]niformly neat, excessively polite, splendidly disciplined, these young men are—frankly—hard to dislike. Whatever poisonous ideologies may still be boiling underneath their sun-bleached hair to all outward appearances they are like any American kids from Tampa to Tacoma."[56] Most white Americans had little interest in the ideological differences that separated them from the German enemy. Because the German POWs looked "just like Kansas farm boys," they tended to treat them as social equals.[57]

ICONS OF OPPRESSION

All efforts to segregate the prisoners from the civilian population and mark them out as different could not conceal the fact that the German soldiers were undeniably Caucasians, and their whiteness gave them certain privileges in American society. As already mentioned, African American soldiers wrote an endless stream of letters in which they complained that, "even the German prisoners are treated better than we are, how could this be?"[58] African Americans reported that the POWs received better medical treatment, working and living conditions, greater freedom of movement, higher quality jobs, and more respect from white American officers.[59] Many African Americans were particularly upset that German prisoners were allowed to use facilities reserved for whites in the South. After visiting a POW camp in Texas, for example, a black soldier reported in a letter to Truman Gibson, the civilian aide: "It was to my amazement . . . to observe a sign in the latrine, actually segregating a section of the latrine for Negro soldiers, the other being used by the German prisoners and the white soldiers. Seeing this was honestly disheartening. It made me feel, here, the tyrant is actually placed over the liberator."[60] African American civilians occasionally had similar experiences. John Hope Franklin, then a professor of history in Durham, North Carolina, encountered German prisoners on a racially segregated train in June 1945. Franklin was sitting in the overcrowded compartment for African Americans, together with a number of war veterans, while the next coach was only occupied by a few German prisoners and their guards. He, too, protested against this arrangement in a letter to the Southern Railway. Although he never received a reply, his letter was forwarded to the Office of the Secretary of War, which by that time closely monitored possible tensions between African Americans and enemy prisoners.[61]

Letters forwarded by African American newspapers or civil rights organizations received more attention and required a reply from the War Department.

Initially, newspaper editors did not pay much attention to the issue. Percival L. Prattis, the executive editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier,* admitted to Truman Gibson in August 1944 that the "first complaints found their way to the waste-basket—they were singular and the war prisoner contrast to Negro soldiers was new." He attached three letters from black servicemen to his letter that he considered "[symptomatic] of complaints that we have been receiving for sometime and that, only recently, began to shape up as a problem in our minds." Prattis also urged the civilian aide to "impress upon our friends in the War Department, despite the nebulousness of these letters, that all Negroes will feel a sense of outrage in social discrimination between them and war prisoners."[62]

What might have turned the editors' attention to this subject was a widely publicized incident at the train station of El Paso, Texas, a few months earlier. In April 1944, a group of nine African American soldiers was denied access to the station restaurant's main dining room during a stopover. Shortly afterwards about two dozen German POWs with their guards entered the same dining room and were served without anyone objecting. "They entered the lunchroom, sat at the tables, had their meals served, talked, smoked, in fact had quite a swell time," as one of the African American soldiers later described the scene in a letter to the Army weekly *Yank*. Contrasting the enemy's hatred for democracy with the black soldiers' willingness to fight and die for their country, he asked, "[W]hy are they treated better than we are?"[63] *Yank* printed the letter that created significant waves. A great number of GIs, many of them from the South, responded and expressed outrage about the incident. The story was reprinted in many newspapers, dramatized in a radio broadcast, turned into a short story that appeared in the *New Yorker* magazine, and also formed the basis for the poem "Defeat" by Witter Bynner.[64]

Because of incidents like these, few African Americans would disagree when an NAACP spokesperson called it "a widely known fact that Nazi prisoners of war receive better treatment in this country than do hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers."[65] The *Pittsburgh Courier* likewise complained that the "New Deal administration has treated prisoners of war . . . far better than it has treated Negro boys who are shedding their blood on far-flung battle fields in defense of America's Constitutional guarantees," and the charge was repeated in many speeches and received credibility as more incidents were reported.[66] By March 1945 Roy Wilkins, the editor of the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine, concluded confidently that "[n]othing so lowers Negro morale as the frequent preferential treatment of Axis prisoners of war in contrast with deprecatory Army policy toward American troops who happen to be Negro."[67]

Most of the stories were based on reports by African American soldiers, and newspaper editors were well aware that these often contained inaccuracies. Nevertheless, the alleged involvement of German POWs allowed them to put

pressure on the War Department and demand a quick investigation of the allegations. In January 1945, for example, Carter Wesley, the president of the *Informer Newspapers*, gave Truman Gibson only one week to investigate a charge made by a soldier in Florida. The GI claimed that German POWs working at MacDill Field had successfully pushed for the reintroduction of racial segregation in a formerly integrated mess hall in the post's hospital. "Since so often soldiers are inaccurate in portraying statements, I would prefer to have an official check on the matter before I publish it," Wesley explained. "But I feel that this thing is so important that I can't afford to let it lie around for a leisurely investigation."[68]

After the well-publicized incident in El Paso, the mere mentioning of German POWs was bound to raise alarm in the War Department and usually someone responded to such requests. The involvement of German prisoners gave a higher profile and a different quality to otherwise regular incidents of discrimination and ensured that complaints were at least noticed. The War Department's investigations often revealed that the specific accusations were incorrect or the blame for discriminatory action was misplaced. But they frequently uncovered other incidents of discrimination or violations of army policy and thereby had a positive effect for African American servicemen and women. The investigation conducted at MacDill Field, for example, revealed that the Germans had not suggested or insisted on segregated mess halls. Instead, the camp commander, Captain George Gresham, had changed the mess hall arrangements on his own initiative to prevent the white prisoners from serving black soldiers on this Florida base, thereby violating War Department policy.[69] It is unlikely that this would have come to the War Department's attention so quickly had it not been blamed on the German prisoners of war.

FELLOW UNDERDOGS

Although the German prisoners became highly charged symbols of the injustices African Americans had to endure, there was surprisingly little conflict between the two groups. In contrast, considerable tensions existed between African American soldiers and Italian prisoners of war in the United States after Italy had changed sides and declared war on Germany in 1943. With their country now a "co-belligerent" of the Allies, Italian POWs were allowed to volunteer for the newly formed "Italian Service Units" (ISU) and some 34,000 men eventually did. Members of the ISUs were supervised, but not guarded, wore U.S. military uniforms with discreet ISU patches, and were relatively free to move around. African American GIs strongly complained "that the Italian Prisoners of War are given too much freedom, and too many privileges."[70] They argued that "the Italians receive better treatment than [N]egro service men."[71] When on Army

buses and in the PX, the Italian POWs were usually extended "more courtesy and consideration" than African Americans.[72] Tensions between the groups led to the killing of an ISU member by soldiers of the all-black 650th and 651st Port Companies at Fort Lawton, Washington State, on 15 August 1944. African American soldiers attacked the barracks of the 28th Italian Quartermaster Service Company, which had been brought in to replace black troops that were about to be shipped overseas. It was later reported that four or five black soldiers "seized one of the Italians as he jumped through a window of the barracks and carried him off, screaming. His body was later found hanging from a post approximately one-half mile from the scene of the riot."[73] In addition, twenty-six Italians as well as three black and three white soldiers were hospitalized.[74] The NAACP expressed sympathy for the soldiers' frustration, but nevertheless condemned the lynching and stressed that "the Negro who has been traditionally the American victim of such brutality can ill-afford to embrace it as a means of assuaging his bitterness."[75]

The members of the ISUs were technically still prisoners of war, but African Americans had more conflicts with the Italians than with the German POWs, very likely because of the greater freedom the Italians enjoyed. The subordinate status of the Germans was constantly and visibly emphasized by the fact that they were at least symbolically guarded, that their camps were surrounded by barbed-wire, and that their outfits clearly marked with the letters "P/W." And regardless of what African American soldiers wrote in their letters, the white Germans often found themselves treated the same way as non-white Americans. African American nurses, for example, who were not needed to care for black soldiers were routinely posted in German POW hospitals. While there was little friction between the nurses and the prisoners, African Americans often regarded this assignment as an affront. "I think it is insulting enough to be out here taking care of them [the German POWs] when we volunteered to come into the Army to nurse military personnel," a nurse stationed at Papago Park, Arizona, complained in a letter to the executive secretary of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses in the summer of 1944.[76] The NAACP also complained and used this practice to attack racial segregation by pointing out that it enabled the Germans to observe the discrimination the nurses suffered. Roy Wilkins, the NAACP's Acting Executive Secretary, told the chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee in early 1945, "our information from various camps is that tendencies exist to concentrate Negro nurses in prisoner of war camps. Several cases have been reported here that they have been doubly humiliated before German war prisoners by being forced to eat in separate dining rooms."[77]

The problem of assigning the German POWs a place in a society in which white racial status was prescribed became an issue when the black actress and singer Lena Horne visited Fort Robinson, Arkansas, in early 1945. Horne first had

to perform for the white GIs in the post's auditorium, and a second show was scheduled for the next day in the mess hall of the African American troops. Shortly before the show for the black GIs was due to start, Horne noted that the first rows in the mess hall were occupied by German prisoners of war. She angrily left the improvised stage, went past the seats of the Germans, and performed a few songs in front of the African American soldiers. "I don't think I have ever been more furious in my life," she later recalled in her autobiography; "by the third or fourth song I was too choked with anger and humiliation to go on."[78]

All those involved realized that the seating arrangement expressed a racial hierarchy. The German prisoners of war sat together with the black troops, but still occupied the front rows. As one German observed, it depended on the commanding officer on the ground whether the POWs were placed above, below, or on the same level as African Americans soldiers in the United States.[79] Erwin Schulz, a German soldier from the 999th Penal Division, observed, "The blacks . . . didn't do much better than us. They were just in front of the wire, and we were behind the wire."[80]

This perception of a shared oppressed status was reinforced in that both groups performed similar jobs in the U.S. economy, often working side by side. "While we were in America, we did the Negrowork. The slavework," one former prisoner recalled after the war. "We replaced the Negroes, nothing else . . . we were treated like the Negroes over there."[81] Initially, some German prisoners tried to use this practice to avoid working for the enemy. Under international law, prisoners of war were protected from performing demeaning work and some German soldiers claimed that tasks that were reserved for African Americans fell into this category. At Camp Huntsville, Texas, for example, the prisoners objected to working in June 1943, claiming that, "white men do not work in the fields in Texas."[82] In Georgia in September 1943, an American officer reported that "[s]ome German prisoners had refused to work on the peanut harvest, stating . . . it is menial work since it usually is performed by [N]egroes."[83]

By the end of 1943, however, the work program was firmly established and such problems were in the past. Indeed, many prisoners came to value the opportunity to leave their camp during the day. They were well aware that they were replacing African American men who had been drafted into the armed forces or found better-paying jobs in the defense industry.[84] Working side by side with those African Americans who had stayed behind and sharing the same and often unpleasant working conditions seemed to have created a sense of mutual solidarity. For example, Günter M., a German prisoner, stressed that the POWs occasionally had problems with white Americans, but never with African Americans. "We were as much 'underdogs' as they were. They somehow realized, well, we were unfree and one could hardly say that they were free either. It was a strange relationship, but it

worked out."[85] Another German veteran Gerhard W. recalled, "The blacks were our fellows, our fellow-sufferers. We worked together with the Negroes in the fields and the quarry. . . . We were their fellow-sufferers: 'Bad time, prisoner time.'"[86] Former POW Erwin Sommerfeld who had worked together with African Americans at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, told the local newspaper when he returned to the site of his former camp in 1997 that they had "seemed especially nice" to the German prisoners "because the blacks sympathized with them for being an underclass in America. . . ."[87] Even those Germans who had worked with African American service troops on military installations claimed that "the colored soldiers in general show special compassion for the prisoners from Germany. They apparently secretly regarded them as fellow-sufferers."[88]

A black soldier of the 12th Armored Division guarding POWs in Germany in April 1945 (NARA).

Such sentiments were apparently conveyed frequently and not only by co-workers. Martin Koinrumpf, a German major, recalled that he first heard the sentence, "You are slaves, and we are slaves" from a "pretty black waitress" who served him breakfast at a train station restaurant in Memphis in 1944. The last time he heard it was on a ship back to Europe, again whispered in confidence, from an African American kitchen worker.[89] Other German veterans stressed that they had to take the initiative when talking to African Americans. A prisoner who worked

with them in the cornfields recalled that the latter reacted positively when approached but still addressed the Germans as "sir."[90] Another POW who worked with African American women in a factory in North Carolina, noted in his diary in June 1945, "We only have to behave like the other whites; and we are for the girls as much 'Sirs' as the other Americans, too. Here we can only be gods who lower themselves, and the whites in the factory are in a deep dilemma. . . . In the presence of a Negro, even the grimmest Nazi (= German) hater will treat us politely."[91]

The American authorities were very sensitive to possible tensions between German POWs and African Americans, but these rarely materialized. Government and army records show only two incidents in which African Americans attacked German POWs.[92] As one African American put it after the war, they "did not feel that they were citizens with enemies outside the country."[93] Complaints about insulting behavior of German prisoners against African Americans were equally rare.[94] Whenever Army officials investigated the relationship between the two groups, as they did at the Army depot at Columbus, Ohio in May 1945, they found that they worked together harmoniously, even when African Americans supervised German prisoners of war.[95] Neither did the Germans object to serving the black troops. At Fort Oglethorpe in Tennessee, German POW waiters at the post's officers' club "provided more than usual service" for a group of black WACs after witnessing the hostile reception they had received when entering the building.[96]

Statements by former POWs themselves confirm these findings. A large number of veterans claimed that their African American co-workers enjoyed talking with them. "And we did it [talking with them] because we were used to, when we are working with someone, then we also talked with them." In an interview Fritz R. recalled that, "for them this was quite something, that whites, even if they were prisoners of war, talked with them. That did make a big impression on them."[97] In these conversations African Americans also told the Germans about the problems they faced. An unidentified black GI told Reinhold Pabel that he "had been the only white man that had given him a friendly word since he was taken into the Army, and . . . complained bitterly that the colored fellows had to do all the dirty work."[98] Another POW wrote in his diary that he had discussed the issue of racial discrimination with a number of African Americans while working in the South. "[T]hey are full of hate against the whites, very embittered about the really unjust treatment and the poor pay. But they also are full of fear and only talk about their suffering in a whispering voice."[99]

Interactions between German prisoners and African Americans covered a broad spectrum of social situations. A few POWs even started to explore the countryside when working in the fields and sometimes visited African Americans' homes during these excursions.[100] For the duration of the war, the Germans were

well supplied with cigarettes, candy, and other consumer items that they often shared with their African American co-workers. Some prisoners traded such items for goods they were not allowed to buy, such as civilian clothes. In return, African Americans often provided the Germans with additional food after the rations of the prisoners were drastically cut in early 1945. Black southerners also introduced the Germans to unfamiliar food, baked birthday cakes, or celebrated the end of the cotton harvest with them.[101] The generosity of the African Americans made a deep impression on the prisoners. "From these people I could get everything," one unidentified German soldier noted in his diary, "even the last piece of bread and the last drop of self-distilled whisky."[102]

The few sources available offering African Americans' perspectives confirm that both groups interacted closely when unsupervised. A seventeen-year-old African American girl, for example, who worked with three other women alongside German prisoners of war in Maryland reported that the "girls and the PW's from Camp Somerset were always talking together and would break up the conversation only when the foreman came in." When interviewed by Army officers, she admitted to kissing one of the Germans and stated that it was "an unusual day if at least once during the day a PW would not bump you and pat you on the buttocks." However, she denied having a sexual relationship with one of the prisoners "because of the difference in races."[103] The commanding officer of the POW camp refused to believe her.[104] Young women always attracted the prisoners' attention, and numerous accounts by POWs contain descriptions of African American women and their—in German eyes—outrageous dresses. There is evidence that some prisoners had sexual relationships with non-white women, although it is impossible to say how frequent intimate relationships were.[105]

Their captive status provided the Germans with first-hand knowledge and experience of the hard life for many African Americans in the South. Hein Severloh, a former German prisoner who was a farmer in civilian life and had "picked cotton the length of the Mississippi" during his captivity in the United States, summarized his experiences:

> I know how to handle hard work, but there it was truly very, very hard. It was terribly hot, and we had to bend over all day. We had nothing to drink. . . . There were a great number of Blacks on the plantation. They required us to gather 100 lbs. of cotton a day; but of the Blacks they demanded two or three times more. . . . For them it was worse than for us. And you have to see how they lived. Their farms: very ugly, very primitive. These people were so exploited.[106]

American employers expected more from their black workers because they were usually more experienced and skilled then the POWs. To the dismay of southern white employers, African Americans sometimes had to show the Germans how to do a task properly. "It may seem ridiculous to point out that it is

undesirable for a darkey to be sent to a prisoner operation for the purpose of instructing the men," Frank Heywood, the general manager of the Southern Pulpwood Conservation Association, reported in late 1943; "nevertheless, on one occasion this very thing did happen."[107] In the southern cotton fields, even the children picked more than the Germans. The U.S. Army warned white farmers not to use their traditional "supervisory techniques"—intimidation or physical abuse—on the prisoners of war, but did encourage supervisors to "DRIVE!" them to "Get the work done."[108] To increase the POWs' productivity, incentive pay and work quotas were introduced in April 1944. Although these measures had some effect, the prisoners' output usually remained far below that of the local African American workers.[109]

Nevertheless, most white employers were full of praise for the German POWs and their work. Racial and class preferences led them to praise the well-mannered, healthy, and disciplined young German soldiers over their black sharecroppers, tenants, or farm hands.[110] To make the prisoners' low output consistent with their presumed racial superiority, the employers usually stressed the higher quality of their work and their greater independence and superior work ethic. After visiting a factory in Georgia, a U.S. State Department official reported that, "Once shown the task required of them, they [the German POWs] work with commendable diligence, require little supervision or further instruction, and in general become more proficient than the blacks who are ordinarily hired for such work." Then he turned to the real advantages of POW labor. "Furthermore, they are on call when needed. . . . The [N]egroes are not. For when a cold snap comes or a few extra dollars have been laid by, the [N]egro fails to show up for work."[111]

The prisoners, of course, had no choice. And there were other advantages. POWs were often cheaper than local laborers. Initially, arrangements for the employment of prisoners of war by private individuals were made by camp commanders and led to the use of POWs "in surplus areas and at a cost to the employer far below the prevailing rate of wages."[112] The jobs mostly affected by this practice were those traditionally performed by African Americans such as cotton picking, pulpwood logging, or peanut harvesting.[113] The system changed on 17 September 1943 when all civilian requests for POW labor had to be channeled through the War Manpower Commission (WMC). In theory, farmers now had to pay the local prevailing wage rate for their use of POWs as laborers. This rate was determined by the respective state director of extension who relied on the advice of local farmers' committees, the County Farm Wage Boards. In other words, the farmers who wanted to employ prisoners of war were allowed to suggest the price they were willing to pay. It is not surprising that they had "a natural tendency to recommend wage rates below actual prevailing wages," as Meredith Wilson, the deputy director of extension service in Washington, DC, put it in September 1944.[114]

Another way of lowering the price of POW labor was to negotiate with local camp commanders the deductions for the transportation and/or feeding of the prisoners. Even if they did indeed pay the local prevailing wage rate for their German workers, employers benefited since the availability of prisoners of war kept wages stable in a time of rapid inflation. The authorities knew that the County Farm Wage Boards were "used to establish wage ceilings rather than to help determine prevailing wages," but often accepted it.[115] American trade unions strongly resisted the use of POW workers for the same reason. As a result, the Germans were mostly used in those industries where wages were low and trade union influence was weak or non-existent. Most of these jobs were located in the South and usually reserved for African American workers.

Another benefit for employers was the disciplinary effect the use of prisoners of war had on African American workers. An official of the American Sugar Cane League, for example, wrote in December 1943 that "the presence of the prisoners has served to wake up the [N]egroes to some concern about more prisoners being brought in to take over their jobs entirely. As a result, the [N]egroes are working better and are staying on the job throughout the week."[116] Similar reports came from other industries. Summarizing the results of the peanut harvest in Georgia and South Carolina, B. F. Ashe, a regional director of the War Manpower Commission, reported in September 1943 that the "use of prisoners of war apparently tended to encourage local free labor to do a better job."[117] Planters in Louisiana also believed that the presence of German prisoners of war "had a stabilizing effect on native laborers," while a banker from Alabama reported as late as June 1945 that the use of POWs was "having rather a good effect on some of our sorry Negro labor by tending to keep them on the job better."[118] Army officers likewise used the availability of POW labor to put pressure on civilian employees. An investigation about the use of prisoners of war at Battey General Hospital in Rome, Georgia, found that "[c]ivilian employees were concerned over possibility of PW's replacing civilians at time of establishment of the PW Camp. The Commanding Officer assured all employees that no satisfactory employee would be replaced by prisoners of war. Civilian absentee rate has dropped since the employment of PW's in the mess."[119]

In July 1945 the black newspaper *East Tennessee News* protested that the continuous presence of over 22,500 German prisoners in the state threatened "to toss thousands of Negro workers out of employment as these vigorous willing prisoners of war become readily available to take over their jobs at wages per day for what otherwise has been paid by the hour."[120] It is not surprising that following the war southern employers in particular were reluctant to let the German prisoners return to Europe. In January 1946 Edward C. Roe, a businessman from Florida, argued that they were not able to replace the POWs with civilian labor as the lat-

ter was not available. "We are greatly dependent upon [N]egro labor for our operation and very few of our former [N]egro employees, who were drafted, have been released from the Services, and of those who have, few have reported to work at our operations."[121] Despite the employers' best efforts, however, the last regular transport of German POWs left the United States for Europe on 22 July 1946.

THE REEDUCATION PROGRAM

The German POWs were not only valued as laborers, but they were also seen as postwar ambassadors who after repatriation would inform their countrymen in Europe about the superiority of the American way of life. Already in March 1944, Secretary of State Cordell Hull suggested in a letter to his colleague in the War Department that the German prisoners' attitude towards the United States represented "a most important part of our problems of post-war security."[122] Government officials assumed that the POWs would "have a powerful voice in future German affairs" and a reeducation program was therefore started to "encourage an attitude of respect on their part for American institutions, traditions, and ways of life and thought."[123] The POW work program was seen as an important part of the reeducation effort and War Department officials argued that, "through their opportunities to see America and to observe how Americans work, it is helping to imbue them with respect for this country and its institutions."[124] Thus prepared, the prisoners would be ready to form the nucleus of a new democratic Germany when they returned home.[125]

When the reeducation program started in late 1944, the Germans already had plenty of opportunity to observe the overt discrimination against African Americans in the United States. As one former prisoner put it, they were being taught the meaning of "democracy," while outside the southern camps no black citizen dared to step on the sidewalk alongside white Americans.[126] The only African American on the reeducation staff was a typist "universally known as Maggie," and race remained the Achilles heel of the program.[127] Fifty years after the war, a German veteran still remembered how he and his comrades became stubborn when the reeducation started. "When they charge us with racism, we point to the Negro-problem or the extermination of the Indians. Then we see helpless Americans who stereotypically label those who disagree with them as 'Nazis.'"[128]

The reeducation officers were allowed to ban reading material from the camps that portrayed the United States in an unfavorable light.[129] Several books that dealt with the situation for African Americans fell victim to this provision, which the director of the reeducation program justified by arguing that the Germans were "intellectually and ideologically adolescent" and in need of "intellectual protec-

tion and guidance," a statement that mirrored whites' frequent description of African Americans as "childlike."[130] However, Edward Davidson and his staff realized that it was "impossible to reject every book which deals in a realistic and not demagogic way with such questions as the Negro problem."[131] Eventually, the reeducators addressed the issue of racial discrimination by arguing that it was the long-term result of slavery; that African Americans had made tremendous progress since their emancipation; and that "freedom of speech" made it at least possible to debate this problem and to work towards its solution. As one of the program's educational advisors put it, "It was never attempted to gloss over social injustices and race prejudices; as the majority of the prisoners had been working in the cotton fields of the South and in the canneries of the Southwest, it would not have been easy to do so. But it was possible to point out to them that this is not a society that gives primary concern to the question who is superior to whom, and who is subordinate."[132]

Even a cursory inspection of the recollections of former POWs raises doubts whether many prisoners shared this opinion. Nevertheless, most POWs eventually participated in the reeducation program once the war in Europe had ended in May 1945, encouraged by hints that this would expedite their repatriation to Germany.[133] On their return to Europe, however, some 178,000 German prisoners were handed over to France, Great Britain, or other countries to do up to two more years of forced labor. The transfer came as a complete surprise for most of the prisoners who almost universally regarded it as "modern slave trade on the grandest scale."[134]

CONCLUSION

One of those handed over was Heinz Wittmann, who boarded the ship back to Europe in New York City on 9 July 1946. Forty years after the war, Wittmann recalled an announcement made via the public address system once the ship had left the harbor. The prisoners were given permission to clean or do other odd jobs for members of the crew, provided they were paid for their work. However, the prisoners were under no circumstances allowed to perform such services for African American crew members. According to Wittmann, he and his comrades were shocked by the announcement, not only because it contradicted the message of the reeducation program, but also because African Americans had often shown "warm sympathy" for the German POWs during their time in the United States.[135] Wittmann's experience is far from exceptional. Almost all former German prisoners of war in the United States claim that they had a good, if not excellent relationship with the African American population. Such statements should not be simply dismissed as a kind of political correctness. The good rapport with African Americans is mentioned by the overwhelming majority of German veterans

regardless of their personal background or political conviction. It was found in diaries during the war, remained a constant feature in postwar memoirs, and is supported by other sources.

German Prisoners of War are driven to work (NARA).

The story of the good relationship between the two groups gains further credibility through events in occupied Germany. As historian Maria Höhn has pointed out, German civilians also "experienced a certain kinship with the black GIs, convinced that black GIs, just like themselves, were treated as second-class citizens by the white Americans."[136] Many German soldiers who were captured and detained by U.S. forces in Europe likewise claimed that African American GIs "were our best buddies. They shared everything with us. They never had any trouble with us and we never had any with them."[137] A former SS Lieutenant Colonel recalled in an interview after the war that African American soldiers provided him with cigarettes instead of arresting him while he was on the run in Austria, despite identifying him as a member of the SS, and added, "I have talked with many comrades in all camps, they were better treated by Negroes than by whites. There was once a slogan which went: We are slaves over there, we [the Germans] are slaves here. This is what Negroes have reportedly said."[138] In a similar fashion, a former General of the Wehrmacht stated that some African American guards in Nuremberg "saw in us fellow sufferers" and therefore showed greater empathy for them than white GIs.[139]

By describing African Americans as exploited and discriminated against, as well as caring and friendly, the Germans constructed them as different from white Americans who were frequently portrayed as hypocritical, materialistic, and uncultured. These negative stereotypes had a long tradition in Germany and the Nazi propaganda deliberately tried to strengthen them during the war.[140] The Germans had to acknowledge the United States out-produced the Third Reich in both civilian as well as military goods. However, they remained convinced that at least German culture was far more developed than its American counterpart. Praising African Americans was a way of expressing such sentiments and should also be understood as a way of coping with defeat.

For African Americans, the influx of enemy POWs into the United States created new opportunities to highlight the contradiction between America's egalitarian creed and racial practice. African Americans had argued since the 1930s that southern society and Nazi Germany were not that different from each other, and the friendly reception many white Americans gave to German prisoners seemed to prove that point.[141] But the POWs' arrival also introduced a large number of European outside observers into many hitherto isolated rural communities long before television began broadcasting images of the civil rights struggle into foreign living rooms during the 1950s and 1960s.

This created a dilemma for the War Department. A shortage of unskilled labor meant that it could not afford to keep the prisoners locked up in their camps. Yet by putting these men into positions normally reserved for African Americans and treating them as whites of a lower order, the Army helped to undermine the racial status quo in the United States. Moreover, granting German prisoners white skin privileges also had negative consequences. At a time when the United States tried to portray itself as the complete antithesis of the fascist enemy, incidents like the one at the El Paso train station were highly embarrassing.

African American soldiers exploited this predicament during the war and continued to do so afterwards by stressing how liberating life was in occupied Germany. "At a time, when lynching was still all too common in the American South, Germany appeared, especially to those who grew up in the South, like a haven of racial tolerance." *Ebony* magazine summarized this experience and added that African American soldiers enjoyed "more friendship and equality in Berlin than in Birmingham or on Broadway."[142] In his autobiographical novel *Last of the Conquerors*, William Gardner Smith had an African American sergeant in Germany proclaim, "It's the first place I was ever treated like a goddamn man. . . . You know what the hell I learned? That a nigger ain't no different from nobody else. I had to come over here to learn that. I hadda come over here and let the Nazis teach me that. They don't teach that stuff in the land of the free."[143]

African American soldiers did, of course, also encounter widespread racism in occupied Germany, and their presence often triggered concern or even fear among the civilian population. However, these anxieties rarely translated into open hostility against individuals and were balanced by numerous positive experiences. As one African American veteran put it, "[b]efore going to Germany, I felt like a prisoner in the United States. Germany opened my eyes to the variety of reactions a black person could expect when dealing with whites. I was surprised at how friendly some white people were over there, especially older people."[144] An investigation by the U.S. military in 1952 revealed that most Germans considered African American GIs "friendly, fun-loving, and generous."[145] Such views mirrored those of German POWs during World War II, and African Americans in the United States who considered them "prisoners like us" might have found the interaction with them as liberating as many African American GIs found their interaction with the population in occupied Germany. Such individual experiences played as much a part in changing racial thinking as did those headline grabbing events of blatant discrimination which have, as noted at the beginning of this essay, attracted the attention of historians. If we want to understand how change became possible, we need to take them seriously and study their collective impact more closely.

NOTES

I would like to thank Maria Höhn and the anonymous reviewers for *The Journal of African American History* for their valuable comments on earlier drafts of this article.

[1]Private James Pritchett, Camp Livingston, LA, to Mr. Evans, 7 January 1944, Record corp (rc) 107, entry 188, box 186, Camp Livingston, Louisiana, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA). Emphasis in the original.

[2]Pritchett made similar accusations in letters dated 12 January 1944 and 14 January 1945. Both in Record Group rc 107, entry 188, box 186, Camp Livingston, Louisiana. See also Phillip McGuire (ed.), *Taps for a Jim Crow Army: Letters from Black Soldiers in World War II* (Lexington, KY, 1993).

[3]Martin Tollefson, "Enemy Prisoners of War," *Iowa Law Review* 32 (Nov. 1946): 51. George G. Lewis and John Mewha, *History of Prisoner of War Utilization by the United States Army 1776–1945* (Washington, DC, 1955), 90–91.

[4]To name but a few: Jack D. Foner, *Blacks and the Military in American History: A New Perspective* (New York, 1974), 153; John Morton Blum, *V was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (San Diego, CA, 1976), 190–91; Susan M. Hartmann, *The Homefront and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston, MA, 1982), 193, John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York, 1988), 396; Michael C. C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore, MD, 1994), 122; Numan V. Bartley, *The New South* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1995), 8; Stephen E. Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers: The U.S. Army from the Normandy Beaches to the Bulge to the Surrender of Germany June 7, 1944–May 7, 1945* (New York, 1997), 362–63; Maggi M. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women Remember World War II* (Lanham, MD, 2000), 118; Kenneth D. Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation: A Social History of Americans in World War II* (New York, 2008), 136–37.

[5]David Brown and Clive Webb, *Race in the American South: From Slavery to Civil Rights* (Edinburgh, 2007), 253. Clarence Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims: The Historical Experiences of Afro-Germans, European Blacks, Africans, and African Americans in the Nazi Era* (New York, 2002), 152.

[6]For a discussion of these letters see below as well as Matthias Reiss, "Icons of Insults: Prisoners of War in African American Letters during World War II," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 49 (no. 4, 2004): 539–62.

[7]Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, Suchdienst, *Zur Geschichte der Kriegsgefangenen*, 5 vols. (Bielefeld and Bonn, 1955–1963).

[8]Erich Maschke (ed.), *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, 22 vols. (Munich, 1962–1974). The volumes which dealt with German prisoners in American hands were: Hermann Jung, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in amerikanischer Hand: USA*, vol. 10, part 1 (Munich, Germany, 1972); and Kurt W. Böhme, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in amerikanischer Hand: Europa*, vol. 10, part 2 (Munich, Germany, 1973). The West German government, which set up and financed the Commission as well as the historians who worked for it, were well aware that they were dealing with a politically sensitive topic. See Rolf Steininger, "Some Reflections on the Maschke Commission," in *Eisenhower and the German POWs: Facts against Falsehood*, ed. Günter Bischof and Stephen E. Ambrose (Baton Rouge, LA, 1992), 170–80. Birgit Schwelling, "Zeitgeschichte zwischen Erinnerung und Politik: Die wissenschaftliche Kommission für deutsche Kriegsgefangenengeschichte, der Verband der Heimkehrer und die Bundesregierung 1957 bis 1975," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 56 (no. 2, 2008): 227–63.

[9]Matthias Reiss, *Die Schwarzen waren unsere Freunde: Deutsche Kriegsgefangene in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft 1942–1946* (Paderborn, Germany, 2002).

[10]For a review of the early works on German POWs in the United States, see Jake W. Spidle, "Axis Prisoners of War in the United States, 1942-1946: A Bibliographical Essay," *Military Affairs* 39 (April 1975): 61–66.

[11]See, for example: Edward John Pluth, "The Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States during World War II," Ph.D. diss., Ball State University, 1970; Judith M. Gansberg, *Stalag U.S.A.: The Remarkable Story of German POWs in America* (New York, 1977); Arnold Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War in America* (New York, 1979); Arthur L. Smith, *The War for the German Mind: Re-Educationg Hitler's Soldiers* (Providence, RI, 1996); Ron Robin, *The Barbed-Wire College: Reeducating German POWs in the United States during World War II* (Princeton, NJ, 1995).

[12]Morton Sosna, "Stalag Dixie," *Stanford Humanities Review* 2, no. 1 (1991): 38–64. Matthew J. Schott, "Prisoners Like Us: German POWs Encounter Louisiana's African Americans," *Louisiana History* 36 (Summer 1995): 277–90.

[13]See, for example, Ruth Beaumont Cook's monograph about Camp Aliceville, AL: *Guests Behind the Barbed Wire: German POWs in America. A True Story of Hope and Friendship* (Birmingham, AL, 2006), 503–62. The number of titles dealing with enemy POWs in specific American states is far too numerous to be listed here. See, for example, Robert D. Billinger's excellent books *Hitler's Soldiers in the Sunshine State: German POWs in Florida* (Gainesville, FL, 2000) and *Nazi POWs in the Tar Heel State* (Gainesville, FL, 2008).

[14]Harry P. Riconda, *Prisoners of War in American Conflicts* (Lanham, MD, 2003). Paul J. Springer, "American Prisoners of War Policy and Practices from the Revolutionary War to the War on Terror," Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 2006; Arnold Krammer, *Prisoners of War: A Reference Handbook* (Westport, CT, 2008). Robert C. Doyle, *The Enemy in Our Hands: America's Treatment of Enemy Prisoners of War from the Revolution to the War on Terror* (Lexington, KY, 2010); Stephanie Carvin, *Prisoners of America's Wars: From the Early Republic to Guantanamo* (London, 2010).

[15]Frank Biess, "Men of Reconstruction, the Reconstruction of Men: Returning POWs in East and West Germany," in *Home/Front: The Military, War, and Gender in Twentieth Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford, Eng., 2002), 335–58. Matthias Reiss, "Bronzed Bodies Behind Barbed Wire: Masculinity and the Treatment of German Prisoners of War in the United States during World War II," *Journal of Military History* 69 (no. 2, April 2005): 475–504; Bob Moore and Barbara Hately-Broad, eds., *Prisoners of War, Prisoners of Peace: Captivity, Homecoming and Memory in World War II* (Oxford, Eng., 2005); Barbara Schmitter Heisler, "Returning to America: German Prisoners of War and the American Experience," *German Studies Review* 31, no. 3 (2008): 537–56; Antonio S. Thompson, *Men in German Uniform: POWs in America during World War II* (Knoxville, TN, 2010); Matthias Reiss, "The Importance of Being Men: The Afrika-Korps in American Captivity," *Journal of Social History* 46 (Fall 2012): 23–47.

[16]For a survey of the literature on this topic see Manfred Berg, "American Wars and the Black Struggle for Freedom and Equality," in *The American Experience of War*, ed. Georg Schild (Paderborn, Germany, 2010), 133–54.

[17]This phrase was used so frequently that Schott used it as title for his article.

[18]Georg Simmel, "Exkurs über den Fremden," in *Soziologie: Untersuchung über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*, Georg Simmel (Leipzig, Germany, 1908), 509–12. A good translation can be found at Georg Simmel, "The Stranger," http://www.infoamerica.org/documentos_pdf/simmel01.pdf [accessed 7 June 2012]. "The Stranger" has had a tremendous influence of modern sociology and also on post-modern theory. See, for example, Donald N. Levine, Ellwood B. Carter, and Eleanor Miller Gorman, "Simmel's Influence on American

Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology* 81 (January 1976): 813–45, esp. 829–35; Zygmunt Bauman, *Life in Fragments: Essays in Postmodern Morality* (Oxford, Eng., 1995).

[19]Simmel, "The Stranger," 1.

[20]Ibid., 1–2.

[21]Ibid., 2.

[22]Sosna, "Stalag Dixie," 61, note 1.

[23]Gullion, who was Judge Advocate General at the time, was appointed over the objections of Fiorello LaGuardia. Stimson Diaries, Yale Microfilm Edition, reel 6, 30 July 1941. He was succeeded by his deputy Archer L. Lerch in June 1944 who remained in office until December 1945 when Blackshear M. Bryan took over. Provost Marshal General Office, "History: Corps of Military Police," published by The Military Police School (June 1948), 1–3, rc 389, entry 439A, box 13, "History of Corps of Military Police," NARA.

[24]The argument was already used before Pearl Harbor and also during the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans in 1942. The request for white-only troops to guard the latter was justified with "possible reprisal upon own national falling into hands of enemy countries." Handwritten notice in the files of the War Department General and Special Staff, dated 17 February 1942, regarding telephone conversation with Lt. Col. Blackshear M. Bryan, Chief Alien Branch. Signed "W," rc 165, entry 41, box 153, 15182—(1–20), NARA. Bryan would later become Assistant Provost Marshal General and Chief of the POW Operations Branch/Division. See also Memo for Major Gen. Idwal H. Edwards, G-3, from Truman K. Gibson, Acting Civilian Aide, 17 March 1943, rc 107, entry 188, box 206, Fort Custer Michigan (6), NARA.

[25]Use of Negro Troops in POW and Alien Enemy Guard Companies. Memo for PMG from Brig. Gen. Twaddle, Assistant Chief of Staff [ACoS], 11 Feb. 1942, rc 165, entry 12, box 16, 15 B (20600 to 20725), NARA.

[26]Authority to Activate MP Escort Guard Companies. To Commanding General [CG], Services of Supplies from Gen. Marshall, Chief of Staff [CoS], 29 April 1942. See also Activation of MP Escort Guard Companies. Memo for CoS from Maj. Gen. Eisenhower, ACoS, 18 April 1942. Both in rc 165, entry 418, box 833, OPD 322.999 MPC (Section I) (Cases I–57), NARA.

[27]Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York, 1986), 139; Ulysses Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, DC, 1994), 74–78.

[28]Use of Negro Troops in POW and Alien Enemy Guard Companies. Memo for PMG from Brig. Gen. Twaddle, ACoS, 11 Feb. 1942, rc 165, entry 12, box 16, 15 B (20600 to 20725), NARA.

[29]Personnel for MP Escort Guard Companies. Memo for ACoS, G-1 from Maj. Gen. Eisenhower, ACoS, 30 April 1942, rc 165, entry 418, box 833, OPD 322.999 MPC (Section I) (Cases I–57), NARA.

[30]Lewis and Mewha, *Utilization*, 80.

[31]Personnel for MP Escort Guard Companies. Memo for ACoS, G-1 from Maj. Gen. Eisenhower, ACoS, 30 April 1942, rc 165, entry 418, box 833, OPD 322.999 MPC (Section I) (Cases I–57), NARA.

[32]Personnel for MP Escort Companies. Memo for ACoS, Operations Division from Brig. Gen. James E. Wharton, Director [Dir.] of Military Personnel, 3 May 1942, rc 165, entry 418, box 833, OPD 322.999 MPC (Section I) (Cases I–57), NARA.

[33]Transfer of Certain Provisional POW MP Escort Guard Companies. Memo for Movement Branch, Plans Division, Army Service Forces (ASF), from Brig. Gen. Bryan, Dir. Aliens Division, 25 May 1943, copy in Provost Marshal General's Office, Military Police Division, Appendix.

[34]Labor of POWs. To CGs Army Ground Forces; Army Air Force and ASF, from Maj. Gen. Ulio, Adjutant General, 25 Aug. 1943, rc 160, entry 13, box 45, "383.6 Prisoners of War . . . September 1943," NARA. Delays in Movement of POWs. To CG, ASF, from Maj. Gen. T. A. Terry, CG 2nd Service Command [SvC], 1 July 1943, p. 2, rc 160, entry 21, box 3, "383.6 (Receipt)," NARA. For Record, from Maj. Sanders, 1st SvC, rc 160, entry 13, box 40, 370.093 Military Police, NARA.

[35]Activation of MP Escort Guard Companies. Memo for CoS, from Maj. Gen. Eisenhower, ACoS, 18 April 1942, p. 2 and Tab D: Consideration of Comments of ACoS, G-3, rc 165, entry 418, box 833, OPD 322.999 MPC (Section I) (Cases I–57), NARA.

[36]Memo to Maj. Gen. Idwal H. Edwards, G-3, from Truman K. Gibson, Acting Civilian Aide, 17 March 1943, rc 107, entry 188, box 206, Fort Custer Michigan (6), NARA.

[37]Creation of Negro Prisoner of War Escort Guard Companies. Memo for Truman K. Gibson, Acting Civilian Aide, from Major Gen. Idwal H. Edwards, G-3, 26 March 1943, rc 107, entry 188, box 206, Fort Custer Michigan (6), NARA.

[38]Memo to Major Gen. Idwal H. Edwards, G-3, from Truman K. Gibson, Acting Civilian Aide, 27 March 1943, rc 107, entry 188, box 206, Fort Custer Michigan (6), NARA.

[39]The Provost Marshal General objected strongly to this step. The surviving Escort Guard Companies were used to accompany POWs on transit to the camps. POWs Guards. To CG, 9th SvC, from Col. J. V. Walsh, Dir., MP Division, 20 June 1944, rc 160, entry 13, box 44, 383.6 "Prisoner of War—June 1944," NARA.

[40]See note no. 12.

[41]See, for example, "Summary Report on the Attitudes of German Ps/W towards the United States"; SHAEF, Psychological Warfare Division, Intelligence Section, 19 June 1945, rc 165, entry 179, box 711, no folder title, NARA.

[42]Earl R. Beck, "German Views of Negro Life in the United States, 1919–1933," *Journal of Negro History* 48 (January 1963): 22–32, esp. 30.

[43]"Ist er nicht eine lebende Anklage gegen ein Land, das ihm und seiner Rasse zuerst die Ketten der Sklaverei anlegte, dann angeblich die Freiheit gab, die im Grunde nichts ist als grenzenlose wirtschaftliche Not?" Bild 17: Negerhändler. Lichtbildreihe I Amerika, bearbeitet vom Amt Parteiamtliche Lehrmittel in Zusammenarbeit mit Heinz Halter (1943), Db04.07, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich. Other pictures showed African Americans General Benjamin O. Davis and Congressman Oscar de Priest.

[44]"Im Land des krassen Materialismus kümmert sich keine Behörde um die Ausgestoßenen des Schicksals. Wie die Nomaden durchziehen sie die Vereinigten Staaten zu Hunderttausenden. Häufig trifft man daher am Rande der amerikanischen Städte ein unvorstellbares Elend." August W. Halfeld, *Ich erlebte USA im Krieg* (Berlin, Germany, 1942), 124.

[45]"Dies sogenannte Land der Freiheit kannte ja noch Sklavenhandel und Sklaverei, als man in Europa nur mit Abscheu von derartigem sprach . . . schaurige Lynchjustiz," Colin Ross, *USA: Tornisterschrift des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht* 77 (Kolmar/Elsaß, 1943), 12–13.

[46]"[D]er bewundernswerten passiven Unüberwindlichkeit der schwarzen Rasse . . . Und deshalb konnten sie noch singen, konnten ein Lied singen, und das ist wohl die unamerikanischste Beschäftigung, die es gibt." Ernst Johann, *Das Land ohne Herz: Eine Reise ins unbekannte Amerika* (Berlin, Germany, 1942), 177; Philipp Gassert, *Amerika im Dritten Reich: Ideologie, Propaganda und Volksmeinung 1933–1945* (Stuttgart, Germany, 1997), 84, note 236.

[47]"Ohne dieses energische Vorgehen wäre es uns schlecht ergangen. Wir konnten hierbei erstmalig erleben, welches Mitgefühl uns die Farbigen Amerikaner entgegenbrachten. Erst unsere Erfahrungen[,] die wir in Amerika mit ihnen machten[,] lösten dieses Rätsel." Letter from Wolfgang R. to the author, 14 March 1997, 1.

[48]Das Bewachungspersonal—überwiegend Schwarze—forderte uns dann auf, unsererseits Steine zu sammeln und bei weiteren Attacken zurückzuwerfen. Dieser Aufforderung sind wir dann auch gerne nachgekommen. Dementsprechend hatten wir eine gute Meinung von diesen farbigen Amerikanern. Kurt W. L. to the author, 30 July 1996, 1.

[49]The German terms were "riesig" and "bullig." Klaus W., "Erinnerungen an meine Kriegsgefangenschaft," unpubl. memoirs, Düsseldorf, 1996, p. 2. Hans W., "Als Gefangener im Lande der Freiheit," Unpubl. memoirs, Sugenheim, 1998, 5 (copy in possession of the author).

[50]"von schwarzen Kellnern in tipp-topp weißer Berufskleidung serviert." Franz P., "50 Jahre später—Erinnerungen an meine Kriegsgefangenschaft," unpubl. memoirs, Essen, 1994, p. 13 (copy from Walter B., with permission from the author).

[51]Helmut Hörner, *A German Odyssey: The Journal of a German Prisoner of War* (Goldon, CO, 1991), 264.

[52]Heinz Dietrich W. to the author, 24 Sept. 1996, 2.

[53]Auffallend die riesigen Komplexe der Hochhäuser, der starke Autobetrieb und[,] trotzdem durch Beschreibungen schon bekannt, die grosse Anzahl der "Negerarbeiter bei den Bahnen." WKU-094, p. 25, B 205/v.225, Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv Freiburg (hereafter, BA-MA Freiburg).

[54]Josef Goertz, quoted in Patrick C. Miller, "Camp Clarinda: A POW Camp in Southwest Iowa," M.A. diss., Bowling Green, 1993, 37.

[55]Intelligence Activities at German POW Camps—Detection and Correction of Undesirable Activities. Address delivered by Col. George M. Chescheir, Commanding Officer, POW Camp Fort Benning, GA, 20 July 1944, rc 389, entry 452, box 1381, no folder name, NARA.

[56]"Peace Reigns at War Prisoners' Camp," *Tulsa Tribune*, 13 July 1943, 1. For more examples see Reiss, "Bronzed Bodies."

[57]Mrs. McKnight, quoted in Penny Clark, "Farm Work and Friendship: The German Prisoner of War Camp at

Lake Wabaunsee," *The Emporia State Research Studies* 36 (Winter 1988): 5–43, esp. 21. See also Patrick G. O'Brien, Thomas D. Isern and R. Daniel Lumley, "Stalag Sunflower: German Prisoners of War in Kansas," *Kansas History* 7 (Autumn 1984): 182–98, esp. 192.

[58]Private John W. Thomas, Camp Polk, LA, to the NAACP, 28 Dec. 1943, p. 1, NAACP Records, Group II, Box B-149, 'Soldier Complaints D 1942–49,' Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[59]Reiss, "Icons of Insults," 544–52.

[60]Private Bert B. Babero, Camp Barkeley, TX, to Truman K. Gibson, Civilian Aide, 13 Feb. 1944, p. 2, rc 107, entry 188, box 181, "Attitudes of Negro Soldiers," NARA.

[61]Summary of letter from John Hope Franklin, Professor of History, N. C. College for Negroes, Durham, NC, to General Passenger Agent, The Southern Railway, Washington, DC, 4 July 1945, rc 107, entry 102, box 87, "291.2 (Negroes) Jan. 1945)," NARA. Franklin vividly remembered the incident fifty years later in an interview. Peter Applebome, "Keeping Tabs on Jim Crow: John Hope Franklin," *New York Times Magazine*, 23 April 1995, 34–37, esp. 35.

[62]Percival L. Prattis, Executive Editor, *Pittsburgh Courier*, to Truman K. Gibson, Civilian Aide, 24 Aug. 1944, rc 107, entry 188, box 239, "Press *Pittsburgh Courier*," NARA.

[63]Letter Corporal Rupert Trimmingham, Fort Huachuca, AZ, to the editor, *Yank*. Printed in *Yank*, 28 April 1944, 14. Probably the same incident is described in *The Invisible Soldier: The Experience of the Black Soldier, World War II*, ed. Mary Penick Motley (Detroit, MI, 1975), 266–67, 326.

[64]"Mail Call," *Yank*, 9 June 1944, 14; and *Yank*, 28 July 1944, 14. Extracts from "Negro Press Trend" for Week of 3–8 April. War Department Advisory Committee on Special Troop Policies, Washington, DC, 21 April 1944, rc 211, entry 183, box 35, "ASW 291.2 Negro Troop Committee," NARA. See also Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 143: Racial Situation Annex, ASF, Headquarter [Hq.], 1st SvC, Boston, MA, 8 Nov. 1944, 1–2, rc 107, entry 189, box 262, "Extracts from Weekly Reports Intelligence Div., HQS, ASF 28 October–4 November 1944 Submitted 8 November 1944," NARA. Sosna, "Stalag Dixie," 53.

[65]"What the Negro Soldier Thinks About the War Department," *The Crisis*, October 1944, 316.

[66]*Pittsburgh Courier*, quoted in: Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 46: Racial Situation. ASF, Hq., 9th SvC, Fort Douglas, UT, 11 Nov. 1944, p. 10-11, rc 107, entry 189, box 262, Extracts from "Weekly Reports," Intelligence Div, HQS, A.S.F. 4–11 November 1944 Submitted 17 November 1944, NARA. See also the reports on the racial situation by the Director of Intelligence, ASF, from 20 Dec. 1944, 27 Feb. 1945 and 12 March 1945. All in: rc 107, entry 189, box 261, "Reports of Racial Situation," NARA.

[67]"Editor's Note," *The Crisis*, March 1945, 85.

[68]Carter Wesley, President, Informer Newspapers, to Truman K. Gibson, Civilian Aide, 31 Jan. 1945, rc 107, entry 188, box 214, MacDill Field, NARA.

[69]Weekly Racial Situation Report. For CG, 4th SvC, Atlanta, GA, from Col. James B. Carroll, Commanding Officer, MacDill Field, FL, 14 Feb. 1945, rc 107, entry 188, box 214, MacDill Field, NARA. See also Reiss, "Icons of Insult," 553–55. Lusane accepts the story as true, quoting William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* (Chicago, IL, 1994) as a reference, which is symptomatic for the way these anecdotes are validated through repetition; Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims*, 152.

[70]Alleged Racial Discrimination, Camp Ross, Wilmington, CA. S.L. Whitfield, Agent, SIC, NSC, 26 Aug. 1944, p. 3, rc 107, entry 189, box 261, no folder title, NARA.

[71]Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 118, Racial Annex. Hq., 3rd SvC, 1 Sept. 1944, 2, rc 107, entry 189, box 262, Extracts from "Weekly Reports," Intelligence Div., HQS, A.S.F. 19–26 August 1944 Submitted 1 September 1944, NARA.

[72]Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 133, Racial Situation Annex. Hq., 1st SvC, Boston, MA, 1 Sept. 1944, 1, rc 107, entry 189, box 262, Extracts from "Weekly Reports," Intelligence Div., HQS, A.S.F. 19–26 August 1944 Submitted 1 September 1944, NARA.

[73]"Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 35, Racial Situation." Hq., 9th SvC, Fort Douglas, UT, 26 Aug. 1944, p. 5, rc 107, entry 189, box 262, Extracts from "Weekly Reports," Intelligence Div., HQS, A.S.F. 19–26 August 1944; Submitted 1 September 1944, NARA. According to Keefer, the incident took place at Camp George Johnson near Fort Lawton. Louis E. Keefer, *Italian Prisoners of War in America, 1942–1946: Captives or Allies* (New York, 1992), 129.

[74]Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 34, Racial Situation. Hq., 9th SvC, Fort Douglas, UT, 19 Aug. 1944, p. 3, rc 107, entry 189, box 262, Extracts from "Weekly Reports," Intelligence Div., HQS, A.S.F. 19 – 19 August 1944 Submitted 23 August 1944, NARA.

[75]*The Crisis*, November 1944, 353.

[76]Anonym., Station Hospital, P/W Camp Papago Park, AZ, to Mabel K. Staupers, Executive Secretary, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. Date on cover letter to Civilian Aide 11 Aug. 1944, rc 107, entry 188, box 225, "Nurses (A.N.C.)," NARA. Black nurses also cared for German POWs in Camp Florence, Arizona, and Camp Ogden, Utah. The 168th Station Hospital in England was also "used wholly for the treatment of German prisoners of war. A number of these nurses felt that this was a discrimination. They felt that they "should at least be permitted to administer to our colored soldiers if not to our white personnel." History of a Special Section, Office of the Inspector General (29 June 1941 to 16 November 1944). Draft, no date, in *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces: Basic Documents,* vol. v, ed. Morris J. MacGregor and Bernard C. Nalty (Wilmington, DE, 1977), 451–79, esp. 467.

[77]"NAACP Outlines Stand on Army Nurse Draft Bill," *The Crisis*, February 1945, 56. See also Wilkins to John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, 9 Jan. 1945, rc 107, entry 188, box 225, "Nurses (A.N.C.)," NARA.

[78]Lena Horne and Richard Schickel, *Lena* (New York, 1986), 175. Lena Horne states in her autobiography that the incident took place in Fort Riley, KS. All primary sources, however, point to Fort Robinson. Alleged Non-Compliance with Recreational Facilities. Summary of Information, Intelligence Division, ASF, Domestic and Counterintelligence Branch, 28 Dec. 1944; Memo for the Deputy CoS for Service Commands. From Maj. Gen. Osborn, Dir., Information and Education Division, 1 Jan. 1945; Memo for Brig. Gen. Battley, Deputy CoS for Service Commands, from Truman K. Gibson, Civilian Aide, 4 Jan. 1945. All in: rc 107, entry 188, box 186, Camp Robinson, NARA.

[79]WKU-258, p. 76–77, B 205/v.242b, BA-MA Freiburg.

[80]Erwin Schulz in Lewis Carlson and Norbert Haase, *Warten auf Freiheit: Deutsche und amerikanische Kriegsgefangene des Zweiten Weltkrieges erzählen* (Berlin, Germany, 1996), 171.

[81]"Solange wir da waren in Amerika, haben wir die Negerarbeit gemacht. Die Sklavenarbeit. . . . Wir waren anstelle der Neger dort, nichts anderes . . . wir sind so wie die Neger dort drüben behandelt worden, nichts anderes." Harry S., interview with the author, 3 August 1996, audiotape (in Matthias Reiss' possession).

[82]Report on the Visit to Camp Huntsville, TX, 29 June 1943, by Willy Bruppacher and Emil Greuter, "Swiss Legation," 13, rc 59, entry 58D7, box 29, Huntsville, NARA.

[83]Use of POWs in Harvesting Peanuts in Georgia. Memo for Dir., POW Division, from Maj. Earl L. Edwards, Assistant Dir., POW Division, no date [Sept. 1943], p. 1, rc 389, entry 467C, box 1563, "Miscellaneous Reports," NARA.

[84]See, for example, "Wir in Amerika," *Der Drahtberichter* (Bragg, NC), 8 April 1945, 29–30; "Wir besuchen Kamerade bei der Arbeit," *Echo* (Maxey, TX), 21 August 1945, 15.

[85]"Wir waren praktisch genauso Underdogs wie die auch. Nicht, sie merkten irgendwie, nicht, wir waren ja unfrei, und man konnte nicht grade sagen, daß die frei waren. Also das war doch ein eigenartiges Verhältnis, aber das hat funktioniert." Günter M,. interview with the author, 1 June 1996, audiotape (in Matthias Reiss' possession). The author agreed to not include full names of those former POWs who were interviewed for this project.

[86]"Die Schwarzen waren unsere fellows, nicht war, das waren unsere Leidensgenossen, nicht wahr. Wir haben mit den Negern auf den Feldern und im Steinbruch. . . . Wir waren ihre Leidensgenossen. 'Bad time, prisoner time.'" Gerhard W., interview with the author, 21 August 1994, audiotape (in Matthias Reiss' possession).

[87]Billinger, *Nazi POWs in the Tar Heel State*, 194.

[88]"Und es kann gesagt werden, dass die farbigen Soldaten überhaupt ein besonderes Mitgefühl den Gefangenen aus Germany gegenüber an den Tag legten. Sie betrachteten diese dem Anscheine nach im geheimen als Leidensgenossen," Willy M., "Amerikafahrt Deutscher Landser: Ein Erlebnisbericht," Unpubl. Ms., Stuttgart, 1948 (copy from Erhard D.), 133.

[89]"Am Morgen wurden wir über die Bahngleise zum Bahnhofsrestaurant geführt und bekamen Frühstück—für damalige deutsche Verhältnisse erstklassig. Bedient wurden wir von einer hübschen schwarzen Kellnerin. Ich glaube, dort wurde mir zum ersten Mal zugeraunt: 'You are slaves, and we are slaves.' Zum letzten Mal sagte es während der Heimfahrt nach Europa ein Soldat vom Küchenpersonal unter vorgehaltener Hand zu mir." Martin Kornrumpf, *Mir langt's an . . . Großer Zeit" 1934–1945* (Schwalmstadt, Germany, 1995), 307–308.

[90]Hans W., "Als Gefangener im Lande der Freiheit," 31.

[91]WKG-123, "Reisebericht (Europa, Afrika, Amerika): Aufzeichnungen über Kriegsgefangenschaft in Tunesien, den USA und Großbritannien, 1943–1947," in *Aufzeichnungen über die Kriegsgefangenschaft im Westen*, ed. Kurt W. Böhme and Helmut Wolff (Munich, Germany, 1973), 71–186, esp. 149.

[92]Report of Incident. To CG, 4th SvC, Atlanta, GA, from Hq., POW Camp, Camp Butner, NC, 30 Jan. 1945, rc 389, entry 452, box 1370, 250.1 General P/W#2, NARA. Incident at Berlin, MD. Summary of Information, Intelligence Division, ASF, Domestic and Counterintelligence Branch, 12 June 1945, rc 107, entry 189, box 261, no folder title, NARA.

[93]Schott, "Prisoners Like Us," 286.

[94]A German prisoner working at the Station Hospital of Papago Park, for example, told a black nurse that "he hated 'Niggers,'" but was not punished by the Commanding Officer. Anonym., Station Hospital, P/W Camp Papago Park, AZ, to Mabel K. Staupers, Executive Sec., National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. Date on cover letter to Civilian Aide 11 Aug. 1944, rc 107, entry 188, box 225, "Nurses (A.N.C.)," NARA.

[95]See documents in rc 107, entry 188, box 190, Columbus ASF Depot, NARA.

[96]Charity Adams Early, *One Woman's Army: A Black Officer Remembers the WAC* (College Station, TX, 1989), 126.

[97]"Und wir haben es getan, weil wir gewöhnt waren, wenn wir mit einem arbeiten, denn haben wir uns auch zusammen unterhalten. Und, für sie war das schon etwas, daß sich Weiße, auch wenn es Kriegsgefangene waren, mit ihnen unterhalten haben. Das machte auf sie einen großen Eindruck." Fritz R. interview with the author, 14 June 1996, audiotape (in Matthias Reiss' possession).

[98]Reinhold Pabel, *Enemies are Human* (Philadelphia, PA, 1955), 137.

[99]"Ich habe mich schon mehrere Male mit Negern über diese Fragen unterhalten, und sie sind voller Hass gegen die Weissen, voller Erbitterung gegen die wirklich ungerechte Behandlung und gegen die schlechte Bezahlung. Sie sind aber auch voller Furcht, und sie erzählen ihre Leiden nur im Flüsterton"; WKG-123, "Reisebericht," 149.

[100]Reiss, *Die Schwarzen*, 269; Schott, "Prisoners Like Us," 288.

[101]Schott, "Prisoners Like Us," 278, 290.

[102]WKG-123, "Reisebericht," 149.

[103]Statement by Lillian Washington, 4 Oct. 1945, regarding an incident at Swift & Co., Salisbury, MD, 29 Sept. 1945, attachment to: Report of Incident. From Col. Eugene J. Fitzgerald, Commanding Officer, Camp Somerset, Westover, MD, 6 Oct. 1945, rc 389, entry 452, box 1370, 250.1 General P/W #2, NARA.

[104]Report of Incident. From Col. Eugene J. Fitzgerald, Commanding Officer, Camp Somerset, Westover, MD, 1 Oct. 1945, rc 389, entry 452, box 1370, 250.1 General P/W #2, NARA.

[105]See, for example: "Wir besuchen Kameraden bei der Arbeit," *Echo* (Maxey, TX), 21 Aug. 1945, 15. Schott, "Prisoners Like Us," 288–89. Wolfgang Hirschfeld, *Das letzte Boot: Atlantik Farewell* (Munich, Germany, 1989), 64–65, 177–78, 182–83. WKU-258, p. 91, B 205/v.242b, BA-MA Freiburg. Amandus V., interview with the author, 31 May 1996, audiotape (in Matthias Reiss' possession).

[106]Hein Severloh, quoted in Sosna, "Stalag Dixie," 50.

[107]Memo on POWs. From Frank Heyward, Jr., General Manager, Southern Pulpwood Conservation Association, Atlanta, GA, 18 Dec. 1943, p. 1, rc 389, entry 452, box 1371, 383.6, NARA.

[108]Sosna, "Stalag Dixie," 44. Handbook for Work Supervisors of Prisoner of War Labor, ASF Manual M 811, Hq. ASF, July 1945, 15, box 1, General Documents and Pamphlets, Farrand Collection, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

[109]Reiss, *Die Schwarzen*, 238–40.

[110]Sosna, "Stalag Dixie," 44. Schott, "Prisoners Like Us," 281.

[111]Report on the visit at Fort Benning and side camp Americus, GA, on 11–12 Dec. 1944 by Dr. Rudolph Fischer, Swiss Legation, p. 2, rc 59, entry 58D7, box 22, Benning, Georgia, NARA.

[112]POWs. No date [beginning of 1945], p. 1, rc 211, entry 115, box 44, "1B 10. Manpower Utilization (Prisoners of War)," NARA.

[113]Paul V. McNutt, Chairman War Manpower Commission (WMC), to Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War, 7 Jan. 1944, box 164, "Prisoners of War," Patterson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[114]Wilson, Deputy Dir. of Extension, to H. J. C. Umberger, Dir. of Extension, State College of Agriculture, Manhattan, KS, 19 Sept. 1944, p. 1, rc 33, entry 5, box 122, "Farm Labor II, Wages–Hours," NARA.

[115]Wilson, Deputy Dir. of Extension, to Fred G. Campbell, Representative, Office of Labor, Affairs of POWs, Omaha, NE, 19 Sept. 1944, p. 1, rc 33, entry 5, box 122, "Farm Labor II," NARA.

[116]Quoted in Thomas Becnel, *Labor, Church, and the Sugar Establishment* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1980), 85–6.

[117]Memo from B. F. Ashe, Regional Dir., WMC, to Lawrence A. Appley, Executive Dir., WMC, Washington, DC, 27 September 1943, p. 12, rc 211, entry 84, box 3, Region VII, NARA.

[118]First quotation, Schott, "Prisoners Like Us," 280. Second quotation: R. L. Adams, Bank of York, York, AL, to Pete Jarman, House of Representatives, Washington, DC, 28 June 1945, rc 211, entry 175, box 1, "POWs—Region VII," NARA.

[119]Report of Investigation of Use of POWs, Battey General Hospital, Rome, GA, 28 July 1945, 2, rc 389, entry 467C, box 1574, "IV Service Command Correspondence Transcripts," NARA.

[120]Quoted in "POWs Replacing Negroes: Memo for the Record," from Lt. Col. Catlin E. Tyler, Security and Intelligence Division, PMG Office, 23 July 1945, rc 389, entry 452, box 1372, 253.5 Gen P/W, NARA.

[121]The German POWs and Cummer Sons Cypress Company Operations [FL]. Memo from Edward C. Roe, Vice President and General Manager, 8 January 1946, p. 2, rc 389, entry 467C, box 1562, "Miscellaneous," NARA.

[122]Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, 30 March 1944, rc 615, entry 43, box 572, 383.6, NARA.

[123]Intellectual Diversion Program. To CGs, 1st–9th SvC and Military District of Washington, 9 Nov. 1944, rc 319, entry 47, box 941, 383.6, NARA.

[124]John W. Martyn, Administrative Assistant, to William Langer, U.S. Senate, 7 July 1945, rc 165, entry 43, box 581, "383.6 (1943) Parol POW," NARA. See also Matthias Reiss, "The Nucleus of a New German Ideology? The Re-education of German Prisoners of War in the United States during World War II," in *Prisoners of War, Prisoners of Peace: Captivity, Homecoming and Memory in World War II*, ed. Bob Moore and Barbara Hately-Broad (Oxford, Eng., 2005), 91–102.

[125]Special Projects Division, "Re-Education of Enemy POWs," unpubl. ms., Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, Washington, DC, 1945, 4.

[126]Letter from Alfons B. to the author, 30 June 1996.

[127]Robin, *The Barbed-Wire College*, 57.

[128]Heinz Wittmann, "Das zweite Gesicht der Niederlage: Wie deutsche Soldaten in amerikanischer Kriegsgefangenschaft den Krieg noch einmal verlieren," *Rheinpfalz*, 4 May 1985 (copy from the author).

[129]Intellectual Diversion Program. To CGs, 1st–9th SvC and Military District of Washington, Brig. Gen. Dunlop, Acting Adjutant General, 9 Nov. 1944, rc 319, entry 47, box 941, 383.6, NARA.

[130]Memo from State Department Concerning Censorship of Books for POWs. [Draft of] Memo for Gen. Bryan, from Lt. Col. Davison, Dir., Special Projects Division, 10 May 1945, 4, rc, 389, entry 459, box 1647, 461 General #15, NARA. Among the objected books were *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, William E. Woodward's *New American History* and Charles and Mary Beard's *Basic History of the United States* as well as books re-published by the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Young Men's Christian Association's War Prisoners Aid.

[131]Directions for the reviewing of books. Supplementary Memo No. 15. Attachment to: Criteria for the Selection of Books. Office Memo No. 15. From Major Davison, Chief, Special Projects Branch, 20 Oct. 1944, rc 389, entry 459A, box 1602, "008 Policy Questions," NARA.

[132]Henry W. Ehrmann, "An Experiment in Political Education: The Prisoner-of-War Schools in the United States," *Social Research* 14 (1947): 304–20, esp. 313.

[133]Archer Lerch, "An die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen," *Der Ruf*, 1 July 1945, 1.

[134]WKG-123, "Reisebericht," 157. A proposal to use German POW laborers for reconstruction work in Asia was, among other things, rejected because "the Commanding General of the China Theater raised the question that it might be psychological harmful to employ white prisoners of war in this fashion in Asia." "Answer to Congressional Question with Respect to the Use of POWs in the Pacific Area 'Clean Up,'" no date, 1. Attachment to Use of POWs in Pacific. Maj. Gen. I. H. Edwards, ACoS, G-3, 1 Sept. 1945, rc 165, entry 211, box 122, "January 1945 thru Dec., Volume I," NARA.

[135]Wittmann, "Das zweite Gesicht."

[136]Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002), 91.

[137]"Wie sich sehr bald herausstellte, unsere besten Kumpels. Sie haben mit uns alles geteilt. Sie hatten mit uns und wir mit ihnen nie Schwierigkeiten." Letter from Werner H. to the author, 8 Nov. 1996, 1.

[138]"Ich habe auch viele Kameraden i n allen Lagern gesprochen, die sind von Negern besser behandelt worden wie von Weißen. Es galt einmal der Slogan, der hieß: Wir drüben Sklaven, wir hier Sklaven. Das sollen Neger gesagt haben." WKU-227, interview transcript, January 1962, p. 48, B 205 / 240a, BA-MA Freiburg, Germany.

[139]"Eine Ausnahme bildeten teilweise die Schwarzen, die in uns auch unterdrückte Leidensgefährten erblickten." WKU-113, interview transcript, January 1961, 3, B 205 / v. 229, BA-MA Freiburg, Germany.

[140]Günter Moltmann, "Nationalklischees und Demagogie: Die deutsche Amerikapropaganda im Zweiten Weltkrieg," in *Das Unrechtsregime: Internationale Forschung über den Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 1, ed. Usula Büttner (Hamburg, Germany, 1986), 219–42.

[141]Larry A. Greene, "Race in the Reich: The African American Press on Nazi Germany," in *Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange*, ed. Larry A. Green and Anke Ortlepp (Jackson, MS, 2011), 70–87.

[142]Quoted in Peter H. Koepf, "An Unexpected Freedom: What black U.S. soldiers experienced in Germany after the war," Atlantic Times, April 2009, accessed 7 July 2011, http://www.atlantictimes.com/archive_detail.php?recordID=1706. See also Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany* (New York, 2010).

[143]William Gardner Smith, *The Last of the Conquerors* (New York, 1948), 57.

[144]Quoted in Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins*, 92 and 93.

[145]Ibid.

BOOK FORUM

INTRODUCTION: REFLECTIONS ON THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X

V. P. Franklin

The Journal of African American History's third "Book Forum" is devoted the recent books published on the life and legacy of Malcolm X.[1] Since his assassination on 21 February 1965, there have been numerous autobiographical and biographical accounts that describe the significant changes and transformations from "Malcolm Little to Detroit Red to Malcolm X to El Hadj Malik El Shabazz." In 1972 in *No Name in the Street,* James Baldwin revealed aspects of his personal relationship with Malcolm as a result of their many public appearances together; in 1973 journalist Peter Goldman published *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* offering a sober biographical portrait.[2] Since that time hundreds of essays, monographs, and biographies have appeared, and while certain claims have been made, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* remains a classic work of American autobiography and a source of inspiration and ideology for the millions who have made it a part of their intellectual lives.[3] While hundreds of books have appeared, the best introduction to Malcolm X is still *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.*

Malcolm's life and legacy are certainly open to interpretation and scholarly analysis utilizing *The Autobiography* and many other sources, and in this JAAH Book Forum recent interpretations are presented and scrutinized. Zachery Williams reviews the fourteen essays collected in Robert Terrill's *Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X* (2009) where the authors contemplate and reveal the "many Malcolms" who influenced people in various ways personally and ideologically. From Malcolm's influence on youth culture and the Black Arts Movement to his immersion in Afrocentricity and adoption of a global perspective, the essays use multiple disciplinary approaches to understanding Malcolm's influence in diverse areas of African American social and political life.

On the front page of the *New York Times* on 2 April 2011, the headline read, "On Eve of Life's Triumph, Malcolm X Biographer Dies." Manning Marable had been working on *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* for over twenty years, but he died just three days before its official publication. The early reviews were quite positive, which explains somewhat why it was awarded the 2012 Pulitzer Prize in

History. However, also from the beginning, reviewers such as Michiko Kakutani in the *New York Times,* 8 April 2011, complained about the speculation in crucial areas, and raised questions about Marable's reliance on police and FBI reports without providing corroborating evidence for the statements and perspectives included.

Philip M. Richards, a literary scholar, approaches Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* without the ideological baggage that historians may carry when formulating responses to what became a controversial new biography. Richards focuses on how Marable's biography portrays Malcolm as the "trickster-folk minister," a well-known figure in African American folklore who could "master his black peers and channel their collective strength into a political force." The folk myths about the triumphs of Brer Rabbit, John Henry, and Stagolee over larger and more powerful enemies apply in Marable's portrayal of Malcolm's life and legacy. Marable's reinvention follows a literary trope well-represented in African American literature, a characteristic, Richards argues, the biography shares with *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.*

The Black Scholar published a "Forum on Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*" soon after the book's publication in 2011. Christopher Strain reviews the articles published there and found that all four contributors viewed the book as "a serious but flawed piece of scholarship" and those who prematurely claimed the work "definitive" were public intellectuals prone to ready overstatement and hyperbole. Rather, the Marable biography, Strain advises, should be used "as a starting point for further inquiries into the minister, the man, and the myth."

Others, however, have not been as charitable and Monroe Little assesses the anthology edited by Jared A. Ball and Todd Steven Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention: Correcting Manning Marable's Malcolm X* (2012). The focus is on what Marable said about Malcolm that needs correction, and while Little found many of the criticisms well-founded, some essays lacked depth in the analysis and often replicated "the failings of the contemporary Internet-dominated public culture." As in Christopher Strain's essay, the quality of the discussion in each of the twenty contributions to *A Lie of Reinvention* is evaluated for its arguments and insights and Little concludes that the overall critique is "Lilliputian when it could have been Olympian."

By Any Means Necessary, Malcolm X: Real, Not Reinvented (2012), edited by Herb Boyd, Ron Daniels, Maulana Karenga, and Haki Madhubuti, is reviewed by Robert L. Harris who finds that, for the most part, the essays offer effective assessments of the "real" problems with Marable's interpretation in *A Life of Reinvention.* Harris notes that many of the thirty-five contributors to *By Any Means Necessary* point to specific statements and passages in Marable's biography where the conclusions are speculative and unsupported by the appropriate evi-

dence. These writers also conclude that *A Life of Reinvention* should be viewed as one contribution to the "continuing dialogue on the meaning and memory of Malcolm X."

Before his untimely death in April 2011, Manning Marable began working on *The Portable Malcolm X Reader* (2013), with Garrett Felber; and this anthology was to serve as a repository of primary source material to be used in that "continuing dialogue." W. Marvin Dulaney reviews this posthumous volume and concludes that given the mistakes and speculation in *A Life of Reinvention*, *The Portable Reader* "is probably more valuable as a resource on the life of Malcolm X than the actual biography." Dulaney assesses the wide range of primary sources included in *The Reader* from oral histories to FBI surveillance reports; and while some shed ample light on Malcolm's life and ministry, others do not. Marable and Felber address the phenomenon of "Malcolmism" and explain how Malcolm X became a "cultural icon" for many young people in the late 20th century. While some important documents are missing, the sources included in *The Reader* provide "a very good starting point" in formulating personal and collective meanings of the life and legacy of Malcolm X.[4] Some of these newer perspectives will be included in an upcoming Special Issue of *The Journal of African American History* in 2015.

NOTES

[1]The first "Book Forum" was on Mary Frances Berry's path-breaking account of the early reparations movement, *My Face Is Black is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (2005), see *Journal of African American History* (JAAH) 91 (Summer 2006): 305–27. The second Book Forum was on Bettye Collier-Thomas's magisterial *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice: African American Women and Religion* (New York, 2010), see JAAH 96 (Summer 2011): 349–83.

[2]James Baldwin, *No Name in the Street* (New York, 1972) and Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* (New York, 1973). In "The Confessions of James Baldwin" and "Malcolm X and the Resurrection of the Dead," I discuss the relationship that developed between Baldwin and Malcolm, see *Living Our Stories, Telling Our Truths: Autobiography and the Making of the African American Intellectual Tradition* (New York, 1995), 275–346.

[3]Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York, 1965).

[4]Another anthology, *Malcolm X: An Historical Reader*, edited by James L. Conyers and Albert P. Smallwood (Durham, NC, 2008), was to be included, but the person who asked to participate did not complete the assignment. The absence of women's perspectives in this book forum was completely inadvertent. Hopefully, the upcoming JAAH Special Issue on Malcolm X will rectify this deficiency.

REINVENTION AS REDEMPTION: THE MANY MEANINGS OF MALCOLM X

Zachery Williams

Robert Terrill, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. 208. Cloth $100. Paper $22.50.

The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X, edited by Robert Terrill, provides an insightful and wide-ranging look into the complex persona and legendary life of arguably the most emblematic civil and human rights leader in recent American history, Malcolm X. Early on in the introduction, Terrill establishes the overriding goal of the work: "By bringing together scholars from diverse backgrounds and academic disciplines, this volume is intended both to represent and to encourage the continuing, overlapping, and interdisciplinary interest in Malcolm that is helping to keep his legacy alive." Even in the 21st century, Malcolm X remains one of the most studied and debated historical figures. This volume clearly continues that tradition, carving new terrain in Malcolm X studies.

In terms of contributions to the growing body of literature in Malcolm X studies, Terrill's significant anthology, published two years before Manning Marable's critical and controversial biography, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (2011), stands as a testament to the depth and complexity of this dynamic leader, spokesperson, and intellectual and cultural icon. The contributors to Terrill's anthology, skillfully using both primary and secondary sources, effectively reorient the scholarly and public conversation about the life and legacy of Malcolm X. As with the Sankofa bird, we must reach back to earlier works such as Terrill's volume to properly contextualize the continuing evolution of Malcolm X studies as we effectively seek to ascertain the most fundamental and far-reaching meanings of Malcolm's social, political, religious, and cultural legacy. It is my understanding that there is not necessarily one Malcolm, but many, and potentially many more to emerge and be introduced to new and larger audiences. *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X* corroborates that conclusion.[1]

Extremely well written and argued, Terrill's edited volume deserves much more attention than it has heretofore received. If read in dialogue with other works in the canon of Malcolm X studies, *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X* will engender a balanced and nuanced discussion of the significant role of African

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American history and Black Studies in illustrating, correcting, and prescribing matters of both policy and practice as it relates to African American and Africana historical phenomena. This is the first volume that brings together in one place so many varied interpretations and analytical approaches to Malcolm's life and times. The volume's organization distinguishes it and leaves scholars and general readers alike refreshed and desiring more analysis utilizing this multidisciplinary approach.

The breadth and depth of this volume is impressive, even though a number of the subjects should be examined in greater detail, most notably Malcolm's relationship to both Islam and Christianity, the origins and evolution of Malcolm's generative black nationalism, and Malcolm X as a public intellectual. Framed within the context of recent interpretations of the meaning of Malcolm X, Terrill's anthology offers a compelling contribution to our bifurcated, contentious, and polarized debates around Malcolm's historical and contemporary significance.[2] I approach this review as a scholar-activist in the tradition of W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, and Manning Marable, who also functioned in the public policy arena. This interpretive frame influences my assessment of the book's arguments, themes, and larger significance to the discipline of Black Studies as well as African American policy history.

Encompassing biography, gender studies, religious studies, autobiography, literary analysis, social geography, policy history, as well as historical analysis, Terrill and a group of esteemed scholars offer insightful approaches for the study of a compelling Black Studies subject. Engaging in a collective interpretive approach applicable to any individual, movement, or organization, the scholars participate in a dialogue that offers constructive critical analysis that allows for a more complete understanding of what Manning Marable and others consider the functions of African American history: the social transformation of the lives of people of African descent. In reviewing this book, it becomes clear that many people with various social, political, and ideological agendas, complementary and competing, continue to lay claim to Malcolm's legacy. At the same time, given the plethora of interpretations spanning various genres and disciplines, one wonders where the real Malcolm begins and ends and where his claimants' vision of Malcolm fits in.[3]

Indeed, one might ask: Can any individual human being live up to the public expectations and critique in the course of their lives? If not, how do we treat studies of lives of historical figures we both emulate and critique? Perhaps, the real and imagined lives of Malcolm X say more about the times and the lives of his interpreters. How and when do we separate our personal expectations from those of the historical figures we interpret and critique? Had Malcolm not been so polarizing and mesmerizing a figure, would we hold him to the same standards as other major figures in African American history?

The chapters of the *Companion* focus on a variety of topics including Malcolm's relationship with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, the relationship between autobiography and identity, the "Hollywoodization" of Malcolm, black masculinity and womanist perspectives, the Black Arts Movement, and African American conservatism, Malcolm's contributions to youth culture, the rhetoric and communication patterns in Malcolm's speeches, geography and Malcolm's speech composition, social geography, Afrocentricity, and Malcolm in global perspective. To his credit, Terrill includes both well-known and emerging voices, and provides a significant contribution to our understanding of the impact of Malcolm's living legacy.

Claude Clegg, a biographer of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, offers a compelling examination of the complex relationship between "Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad." Clegg defines this relationship as "unique . . . in the history of African American leadership," and in doing so, he captures the dynamic of the spiritual, father/son relationship, while contrasting their political visions.[4] Clegg describes the impact of African American familial identity on an individual's sense of personhood.[5] The essay also contextualizes the problems of the sustainability and leadership facing African American organizations past and present, using the Nation of Islam as an important window into this intricate social and political landscape. Focusing on "personality politics" found in autocratic groups, Clegg identifies a major source of the tension and division within 20th century African American protest organizations.[6]

Alex Gillespie's chapter "Autobiography and Identity: Malcolm X as Author and Hero" examines the multifaceted portrayal of Malcolm X in *The Autobiography.* Tracing the extraordinary metamorphosis and reintegration of Malcolm X through his various identities, Gillespie highlights the positive dimensions of Malcolm's evolution, concluding that the late transformations eclipsed the earlier ones, offering new lessons, leaving in its wake an "emergent Malcolm X . . . likened to a butterfly escaping a cocoon."[7] Gillespie emphasizes the significance of social processes and the multifarious influences on how personhood is shaped simultaneously from the inside out and from the outside in.

James Smethhurst in "Malcolm X and the Black Arts Movement" argues persuasively that Malcolm held a "profound and complex influence" on African American artists. Malcolm's effectiveness as a theorist-activist-leader "was attributable to his 'verbal style,' evidenced by the mastery of a fusion and creative distillation of generations of both popular and mass vernacular culture."[8] Smethhurst documents Malcolm's influence upon the leading voices of the Black Arts generation. Malcolm's rhetorical artistry functioned as an inventive model of the black man as "artist-intellectual." This engendered in the artist-intellectual community the belief that to be truly "authentic," one had to be grounded in one's community. In addition, Malcolm's keen interest in what historian James C. Scott called

"hidden transcripts" of the everyday lives of the people in the community, enabled him to develop a strong constituency as he engaged in verbal battles with representatives of the mainstream media.[9]

Paralleling Smethurt's provocative chapter on the Black Arts Movement is Richard Brent Turner's discussion of "Malcolm and Youth Culture." Turner, a specialist on African American Islam, examines Malcolm's impact on African American university students, Muslim youth, and Hip Hop culture. Turner's emphasis on youth and religion and the phenomenon of Hip Hop speak to the persistence of Malcolm's legacy. Mark Lawrence McPhail probes the contours of Malcolm's influence on African American communication patterns, demonstrating that Malcolm's oratorical style effectively united the seemingly disparate elements in African American poetic articulation and rhetoric. Using Richard Lanham's notion of the "rhetorical ideal of life," McPhail hails Malcolm's use of language as a creative duality engaging form and strategy demonstrating "a style peculiarly African American, that relied upon the linguistic resources of each to create something entirely unique: a spiritually inspired rhetoric that expanded the rhetorical ideal of life in powerful and provocative ways."[10] Malcolm's evolution as a spokesperson and orator embodied a transformation that promoted a keener sense of a black humanity and provided an expansive and inclusive framework for social justice issues throughout the world. Malcolm achieves the universal, McPhail argues, by appealing to the particular, in his use of race and race history as "weapons of choice." In his rhetorical battles challenging racism and white supremacy, these communicative weapons are skillfully employed in the cause of human rights, justice, and equality.

In "Malcolm X and African American Conservatism," Angela Dillard assesses his influence on conservative figures and movements and concludes that Malcolm cast a wide political shadow through what she terms "the politics of appropriation." Given contemporary black conservatism's eclectic pantheon of heroes from Adam Smith and Booker T. Washington to Eldridge Cleaver and Clarence Thomas, attempts to appropriate Malcolm's ideology seem somewhat incongruent. The color-blind politics of the integrationists was countered by an acute race consciousness that eludes contemporary politicians of color.[11]

In assessing Robert Terrill's "Judgment and Critique in Rhetoric of Malcolm X," the often hurled, yet misplaced criticism of Malcolm as "all talk" comes under close examination. Terrill rightly attributes this mistaken characterization to a fundamental lack of understanding of the function of public address. In properly denoting this function to inform as prelude to active engagement, Terrill effectively contextualizes the contribution of Malcolm as a public intellectual to political discourse. Terrill examines the audience's engagement with the critical substance of Malcolm's speeches, revealing the constructive power of his invitation "to engage in a process of analysis and interpretation analogous to that which he performs."[12]

Jeffrey B. Leak's chapter "Malcolm X and Black Masculinity in Process" and Sheila Radford-Hill's essay on "Womanizing Malcolm X" are compelling and challenging to static conceptions of gender. Leak views Malcolm's *Autobiography* as a bridge to "concepts of black manhood," defined as having the material resources to sustain oneself and family, and "black masculinity," defined as using these resources to challenge the narrow, retrograde notions of black male identity. While I agree on the need for a gender analysis of the legacy of Malcolm X, I am not quite sure that this is accomplished by contrasting concepts of black manhood and black masculinity. To assume that black masculinity is free of problematic societal connotations associated with "black manhood" seems a false assumption. In many ways, contemporary scholars of gender and cultural studies have allowed the tropes of black masculinity to overshadow the earlier, more traditional conceptions of black manhood. While theory is useful, we must be careful of allowing theoretical conceptualizations to serve as historical interpretations of flawed, yet extremely important historical figures.

James Tyner in "Nightmarish Landscapes: Geography and the Dystopian Writings of Malcolm X" examines the centrality of Malcolm's social geography as he distilled ideas through the lens of "geographical imagination." Tyner argues for the importance of Malcolm's social critique in his successful altering of African Americans' perception of themselves and their environment, and thus the possibility of advancing their overall social condition. As Tyner points out, Malcolm excelled at "empowering his audiences to read, and to critique, the oppressive landscapes in which they lived their everyday lives."[13]

Molefi Asante's "Afrocentricity and Malcolm X" examines the African American leader's relationship to this cultural concept. Placing Africa at the center of his intellectual analysis, Asante believes that Malcolm possessed a keen ability to connect his audiences' understanding of the significance of Africa with their personal identifications as Africans. Malcolm, cast as an Afrocentrist, utilized the knowledge and practice of African history and culture in the reconstruction and development of a redemptive cultural construct that challenged the hegemony of white supremacy. Malcolm's influence on Afrocentrism and Pan Africanism is an indication of the substantive reach of his cultural analysis in African and African American life.

Kevin Gaines's discussion of "Malcolm X in Global Perspective" provides a look into the globalizing impact of both his contemporary work and enduring legacy. Indicating a theme running throughout this impressive volume, Gaines explains how the meaning of Malcolm's image and legacy is "in the eye of the beholder."[14] Gaines suggests that Malcolm's internationalism shaped not only his own intellectual evolution, broadening his worldview, but also guides the way he is remembered. Pointing to a Pan-Africanist perspective, Gaines demonstrates

how Malcolm combined a perceptive understanding of the significance of African independence movements to the ongoing development of a reconstructed African American nationalism. This was a reflection of the Pan African dimension in his political thought and identity, and demonstrated a keen ability to deftly connect the local and the global. Malcolm's "ideological breadth and scope" helped to reconfigure contours and parameters of African American nationality over and against the rigid societal and material constraints.[15]

The final essay, Wiliam Sales's "The Legacy of Malcolm X," highlights appropriately Malcolm's place in the genealogy of the African American protest tradition dating back to figures such as Martin Delany and Henry Highland Garnet. Sales asks us to wrestle with the enduring meaning of Malcolm's political thought on the advancement of the complex strands of African American political culture. Focusing on the activities of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Sales describes the approaches Malcolm employed in challenging rigid gender and ideological barriers in an attempt to carve out a sustainable independence that is the key to African American survival and collective empowerment. This boundary-breaking approach to achieving political and cultural independence, Sales notes, explains Malcolm's continuing political influence in diverse social locations such as academia and popular culture, as well as U.S. political culture. Knowing no bounds, Malcolm's breadth and depth of personality and politics defies his obvious limitations as a human being, even as it clearly highlights the ingenuity of his creative persona that refused to give in to the social and political forces constantly inveighed against him and his people.

Though brief, the summary offered by Sales of the reach of Malcolm's political thought demonstrates its connections to various social and political spaces. This chapter, as well as the overall examination of Malcolm's influence, effectively corroborates religious scholar James Cone's argument about the complex interrelationship between integrationism and nationalism within the broad sweep of African American intellectual history. In *Martin and Malcolm and America*, comparing Martin's dream with Malcolm's nightmare, Cone shows the contingent nature of African American thought and ideology. Rather than being static and rigid, African American thought is pragmatic, contextual, and dynamic, leading to shifting positions based on the overall goal of equality and social justice.[16]

It should also be noted that Terrill's *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X* also contributes to four very important, yet undervalued concepts found in Malcolm X studies: Manning Marable's notion of "living black history," Cornel West's concept of the "hermeneutics of history," Dwight N. Hopkins's notion of "being human," and Michael Eric Dyson's understanding of the myth and meaning of Malcolm X.[17] The concept of "being human" as offered by Hopkins provides a suggestive comparison with West's notion of Malcolm's usage of history as an inter-

pretive lens, as well as Marable and Horne's concern over the ongoing need to reassess the meaning of Malcolm, humanizing him while separating myth from fact.

In examining the scholarly value of the *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X*, one must ask the important question about its relevance to the mission of Black Studies as a discipline charged with engaging and connecting academic excellence and social responsibility. As Andrew Smallwood has argued, for many Malcolm X represents in and of himself an institutional embodiment of the discipline of Black Studies, and thus we must commit to analyze his life, work, and legacy as constitutive aspects of a discipline that itself still requires continuing examination of its critical mission. Terrill and his distinguished group of scholars should be commended for producing a volume that puts in dialogue the many sides of Black Studies through a figure who imperfectly and yet profoundly personified the depth and character of a discipline that should remain transformative.[18]

Terrill's *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X* helps us understand what political scientist Pearl T. Robinson defined as the power, pitfalls, and promise of the politics of knowledge.[119] With a figure as compelling as Malcolm X, any published work automatically touches off dialogue and debate, that hopefully culminates in a constructive engagement that ultimately helps transform black global reality for the better. Considering the courageous and combative example exemplified by Malcolm X and many of those who study him, it becomes clear that the contemporary debate should mirror the character of the subject as well as the larger society at that time. Malcolm's passionate and critical engagement with U.S. life and culture, his intense love for African American people and culture, as well as his own admission of the challenges of living out one's humanity in an oppressive environment demonstrates the need to continually grapple with the profound character and uniqueness of the African American experience. To do so authentically is the best tribute one can pay to Malcolm X.

NOTES

[1]Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (New York, 2011).

[2]There have been a few studies that provide brief examinations of Malcolm with respect to themes such as religion, that deserve more attention in the larger canon. Two that come to mind are Louis DeCaro, Jr., *On the Side of My People: A Religious Life of Malcolm X* (New York, 1997) and Riggins Earl Jr., *Dark Salutations: Ritual, God, and Greetings in the African American Community (*New York, 2001). Earl examines Malcolm and Martin as a part of what he calls "salutatory brothers of a new paradigm." Among the research areas in need of investigation with respect to Malcolm X is his intellectual thought. John J. Ansbro's *Martin Luther King, Jr: The Making of a Mind* (Maryknoll, NY, 1994), a comparable study on Martin Luther King Jr provides a model for what a similar study on Malcolm could reveal.

[3]Joyce A. Joyce, *Black Studies as Human Studies: Critical Essays and Interviews* (Albany, NY, 2004); Anthony Monteiro, "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Study of Black Humanity: A Rediscovery." *Journal of Black Studies* 38 (March 2008): 600–621.

[4]Ibid.; see also Robert E. Terrill, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X* (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 12.

[5]Claude Clegg, *An Original Man: The Life and Times of Elijah Muhammad* (New York, 1997).

[6]Terrill, *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X,* 22.
[7]Ibid., 26.
[8]Ibid., 78.
[9]James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT, 1992).
[10]Ibid., 113–14.
[11]To gain a better sense of Malcolm's relationship to competing political philosophies, see Angela Dillard's *Faith In the City: Preaching Radical Social Change in Detroit* (Ann Arbor, 2007) and *Guess Who's Coming To Dinner Now?: Multicultural Conservatism in America* (New York, 2002). Considering the comparisons of President Barack Obama to Malcolm X, owing to the employment of critical self-help discourse with predominately African American audiences, the elusive pinning down of definitive political stands on public issues demands more attention using the intriguing example of Malcolm X and his times. See, Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The Legacy of Malcolm X: Why His Vision Lives on in Barack Obama," *The Atlantic*, May 2011, 100–107.
[12]Terrill, *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X*, 125; Robert E. Terrill. *Malcolm X: Inventing Radical Judgment* (East Lansing, MI, 2004).
[13]Terrill, *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X*, 7; Tyner's larger work on the social geography of Malcolm X explores the manner in which Malcolm creatively appropriates social space to challenge white supremacy and leverage black nationalism's power and potential. James Tyner, *The Geography of Malcolm X: Black Radicalism and the Remaking of American Space* (New York, 2005).
[14]Terrill, *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X*, 159.
[15]A number of works have begun to explore Malcolm's Pan Africanist and global influences. John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times* (Trenton, NJ, 1991).
[16]James Cone. *Malcolm and Martin and America: A Dream or a Nightmare* (New York, 1992), 1–17.
[17]Manning Marable, *Living Black History: How Re-Imagining the African American Past Can Remake America's Racial Future* (New York, 2011); Cornel West, *Prophecy Deliverance: An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* (Louisville, KY, 1982); Dwight N. Hopkins, *Being Human: Race, Culture, and Religion* (Minneapolis, MN, 2005); Michael Eric Dyson, *Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X* (New York, 1996).
[18]Andrew Smallwood, "The Intellectual Creativity and Public Discourse of Malcolm X: A Precursor to the Modern Black Studies Movement," *Journal of Black Studies* 36 (November 2005): 248–63.
[19]Pearl T. Robinson, "Ralph Bunche and African Studies: Reflections on the Politics of Knowledge," *African Studies Review*, 51 (April 2008): 1–16.

MARABLE'S MALCOLM AND THE MYTH OF THE FOLK

Phillip M. Richards

Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*. New York: Viking Press, 2011. Pp. 591. Cloth $ 25.00.

Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention caps the tragically shortened career of Manning Marble with a major scholarly work. Every generation of African American, American, and possibly African historians will have its own version of Malcolm X. It is therefore fitting that Manning Marable, an exceptionally wide-ranging Black Studies scholar, should in his most ambitious book give us an exemplary synthesis of the field's various historical, political, religious, and sociological approaches to biography.

Marable explicitly shapes his historical narrative as the epic story of a recognizably African American figure: a combined trickster and evangelical preacher. Implicitly, Marable also willy nilly links this character with the paradigmatic black bad man: the image of swaggering black masculinity embodied in Stagolee, John Henry, or Bigger Thomas of Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940). *A Life of Reinvention* follows this character whose apotheosis parallels that of a John Henry figure rising to mythic status as he overcomes an oppressive Jim Crow South and northern racism. Like all myths, Marable's tale has a moral: it shows that a wily African American can claim heroic status in his own community. Drawing upon the folk's panoply of rhetorical, psychological, and social resources, this exemplary figure may, Marable's apologue insists, master his black peers and channel their collective strength into a political force.

On its face, Marable's rich narrative sustains its central theme, the adaptation of African American folk culture to the social realities of the urban North. Despite his suffering, Marable's Malcolm moved through a variety of shifting identities: hustling waiter, the pimp, the flamboyant lindy dancer, the shrewd strategist of organized crime who becomes a minister and heroic figure. Part of Malcolm's attractiveness in this story, as in John Henry or Stagolee, however, is the bad man's manipulation of an assumed moral, psychological, and intellectual weakness of women. These victims included lovers, prostitutes, fellow criminals, and even his wife Betty, according to Marable.

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Malcolm's protean personality further serves him as an evangelist for Elijah Muhammad. Here in another context—however religious—his language of conversion addressed his audience's worst elements, contemptuous of the inner-city lumpen and hardened to the fate of others. This personal ethos fuels his career first as an evangelist of convicts, then as a regional administrator of mosques, and finally as main spokesman for the Nation of Islam. Malcolm's dictum that black political gains must be achieved "by any means necessary" is especially telling in this regard. Long before his conversion, this strategy had sustained his life of crime.

Marable's interpretation of Malcolm as the wily folk preacher is suggestively elaborated by evidence in *A Life of Reinvention.* Like all great preachers, Malcolm observed his potential audience carefully and played upon their psychological vulnerabilities. And this shrewdness appears early on in his life before he became the archetypal black preacher. As a sandwich boy he humiliated an arrogant white man, manipulating him into stripping off his shirt—to the amusement of the largely white bystanders. Malcolm clearly acquired similar rhetorical skills from shopkeepers who lured unsophisticated black customers (whom he scorns) into buying trashy furniture at unreasonably high interest rates. Finally, he effectively promoted his career as a pimp with the insight that white servicemen's wives might be lured into prostitution through their sexual needs.

A Life of Reinvention suggests Malcolm's evangelism evolved not only from observing others, but also from his introspective focus on himself. Marable holds out the possibility that Malcolm's authority as the folk preacher derived at least partially from a sense of his own failings and these feelings—amplified by his narcissistic focus on himself—made him vulnerable to the Islamic evangelism he received during incarceration and finally to the powerful appeal of Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm's sustained call for working class African Americans to regain their dignity, gained its force from his own sense of the degradation implied in his failure to earn a dignified living as a young man on the East Coast. A similar impulse to his attacks on conspicuous consumption and dress may well have resulted from ambivalence about his own experience "in the life." Malcolm channeled the skills gained from observation of others into the effective recruitment of potential activists, ministers, and leaders. They like him were almost uniformly intelligent, charismatic, meticulous, and well organized. The leader's appeal also made him an extremely effective evangelist of prisoners and ex-convicts.

It is a tribute to the comprehensive character of Marable's biography that it transcends the celebratory myth of the folk in which the study is announced. No student of African American politics in the mid-20th century can ignore the powerful strains of authoritarianism in both the politics of Elijah Muhammed's Nation of Islam (NOI) and Malcolm as organizer as well as minister and beyond. This

authoritarianism appears not only in Muhammed's cultivation of a bevy of beautiful young women, but in his cultivation of former hoodlums to maintain organizational discipline as well as the intimidation and even elimination of enemies (both real and imagined). Indeed a seamless fabric of lethal, pre-meditated intimidation by violence persists through Malcolm's life as a young criminal, his early experience in NOI, his growing schism with Elijah Muhammed, and finally internal disputes within the young leader's own circle.

The NOI existed in a world of explosive terror that powerful leaders might harness in the short term, but which made sustained stability difficult and frequently required lethal force. The man most likely responsible for Malcolm's assassination ended up in prison on a wholly unrelated charge. The deepest problematic of Marable's account of a powerful charismatic, prophetic Malcolm X, may be that it failed to address the possibility that Malcolm's political goals in inner city America could not be wholly achieved in a volatile urban environment tolerant of extreme violence.

The exemplary trickster-folk minister has a dark side that African American Studies has been at pains to ignore. Within the mythical *lebenswelt* of African American folklore, this character often asserts his radical individuality through self-destructive activities of adultery, assaults on white men, and defiance of southern political authority. With a narcissistic disregard for others around him, he often ignores taken-for-granted political and social norms

This myth, which resonates with so much of the vision of Black Studies, represses its tragic features. Malcolm's revolutionary efforts for the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) made few provisions for their institutional reproduction and regeneration in the folk masses. The murder of Malcolm X by hired thugs displayed the NOI's tendency to maintain its institutional structures and ideological boundaries through powerful symbolic and physical acts. Ironically, it was the more ruthless Elijah Muhammed who succeeded in perpetuating NOI as a religious and cultural entity from generation to generation: a task at which Malcolm, the prophet, failed.

The radical masculinity that Ossie Davis celebrates in his account of Malcolm's black manhood could demean women, but also persistently disrupted black politics and society itself. In a powerfully suggestive epilogue, Marable celebrates Malcolm X as the progenitor of a black nationalism that would erupt in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and several Black Power groups including Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), and the Black Panther Party. Malcolm's authoritarian style and the crudely nationalist environment in which it took place also anticipate the dysfunctional politics of revolution which produced figures such as Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and H. Rap Brown. They too cultivated a hyper-masculine, misogynistic, authoritarian, and ultimately apoc-

alyptic politics that savaged black life and property, despite the minor concessions it won from white elites in the universities, government, and foundations.

One sees moreover a disturbing connection between the political Malcolm X and members of the early generation of African nationalists who would cultivate him abroad. They too would establish authoritarian states, mobilize violence against their enemies, and at times any political opponent. Significantly, their short-lived regimes would often be led by autocratic elites who battened on their countries' natural resources to the detriment of populations which continued to suffer immense poverty, malnutrition, poor health, and disorder. Their successors would often be open to the manipulations of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which stymied industrial and financial development of African states, while allowing the Western corporations free access to the immense material resources of the continent. This politics would lead ultimately to unstable societies lacking permanently established schools, universities, hospitals, social services, and local governments. Not surprisingly the ex-colonial powers and global elites would again assume control of the new nations' economic future.

At the heart of Marable's account of Malcolm X appears the origin of the leader's religious and intellectual quest in response to the anomic state of "wretchedness."[1] Marable sought a theological and spiritual resolution of this breakdown of will, normative value, and focused action. And this resolution emerged from a meditative, pietistic, and intellectual quest for the nexus of sacralized values such as truth, beauty, and justice which lie at the heart of those cultural traditions grounding any stable society. Sociologist Max Weber and the Weberian Edward Shils have identified the foundational nexus of normative values with charisma: the source of ultimate justifications for those taken for granted institutions, ways of life, and cultural phenomena.[2] It is this justification that underlies the resolution of conflicts, the creation and executions of legal systems, and the passage of cultural values from one generation to the next.

Malcolm X was clearly drawn not only to political and religious action, but also to sustained reflection on what sociologist Peter Berger described as ultimate values: values which for Weberian thinkers are the source of charisma.[3] Malcolm's life, the leader's attraction to ultimate concerns and charismatic value appears in his blocked ambition to become a lawyer, the wide-ranging reading of works concerning politics, the economics and the education of black people. And as this understanding grew so did his ability to understand the plight of African Americans in a global perspective, focused in particular on the new nationalist revolutions in Asia, Saharan, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Malcolm's evangelical rhetoric of shame on display in the speeches reflected a powerful intuition of anomie: the breakdown of structures of ultimate cosmic meaning that legitimize family and social and political life. W. E. B. Du Bois in

The Souls of Black Folk (1903) elaborated an exemplary version of this breakdown and disintegration under social pressures encountered in the Jim Crow North and South. In his account of the African American urban character of early 20th century U.S. society, Du Bois contributes to the sociology of knowledge by identifying competing mindsets. On the one hand, there were those who were "pessimistic, bitter, and vindictive."

> On the other hand, another type of mind, shrewder and keener and more tortuous too, sees in the very strength of the anti-Negro movement its patent weaknesses, and with Jesuitic casuistry is deterred by no ethical considerations in the endeavor to turn this weakness to the black man's strength. Thus we have two great and hardly reconcilable streams of thought and ethical strivings; the danger of the one lies in anarchy, that of the other in hypocrisy. The one type of Negro stands almost ready to curse God and die, and the other is too often found a traitor to right and a coward before force; the one is wedded to ideals remote, whimsical, perhaps impossible of realization; the other forgets that life is more than meat and the body more than raiment. But, after all, is not this simply the writhing of the age translated into black—the triumph of the Lie which to-day, with its false culture, faces the hideousness of the anarchist assassin.[4]

Du Bois's insight extended the observations of *David Walker's Appeal* in 1829 that defined this condition as "wretchedness": a broken will, emotional dislocation, and unfocused personal impulses. Describing a similar psychological condition in his *1845 Narrative*, Frederick Douglass found another precursor of anomie in enslaved plantation workers who fought over their respective owner's reputations, remained ignorant of their birthdates, and sang meaningless songs as they ran errands. To be sure, recent thinkers have stressed the way in which African American urbanites create cultures that enforce social norms. However, it is significant, that the much darker interpretation of African American culture under slavery, Jim Crow, and the northern cities appears in major black writers in a line before Malcolm X.

The most important element in Marable's biography is the backdrop that it provides for our literary understanding of *The Autobiography* and its rendition of the American spiritual quest.[5] Malcolm's *Autobiography* embodies the leader's journey from a parochial narcissistic selfhood to the sense of participation in a world-wide community of spirit. The resolution of the identity crisis that he experienced in prison integrated his personality around the themes of his past aspirations and present dislocation. This resolution was also a religious conversion experience by which he acquired a spiritual outlook with post-Kantian notions of a subjectively grasped God who transcended objective understanding of Him as a superhuman actor in history. Like other American religious thinkers, including Jonathan Edwards, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and William James, the Malcolm X of *The Autobography* comes to see God as an infinite omnipresent spiritual (as opposed to material) manifestation of being itself.[6]

This essentially religious vision suffuses the first section of *The Autobiography,* which depicts the fullness of life before conversion without the limitations of the prophet Elijah Muhammad's earlier doctrines or ideology. Malcolm here depicts African American life from perspectives both criticizing its wastefulness and celebrating its excesses as the lindy hopper and pimp. He is able at various times to scorn those playing the numbers, devote a long fascinating passage to an account of the number-running system, and finally recount the occasional pleasures to be had in the process. The vision of *The Autobiography's* opening chapters in its tolerance of contradictions also anticipates the expansiveness of the final sections of Marable's book, which describes Malcolm's visit to the Islamic world with a sense of unity of unlimited difference: his fellow pilgrims' varied colorings of eyes, face, and hair, and the varied physiognomic elements that so incisively define racial division in the United States.

Marable's biography ultimately gives us access to *The Autobiography's* depiction of the prophet's final humanizing goal: the assertion of the black man's identification with the universal body of the human considered in all of its rational, national, and cultural distinctiveness and its consequent social, political, and economic implications. Nationalist black revolution became for Malcolm the weapon with which the world's oppressed people raise themselves to human status through the elimination of white supremacy. Those who seek an exclusionary, separate black nationalism will upon reading this biography be shocked that Malcolm's revolutionary vision aimed at a leveled playing field, albeit understood far more broadly than many of his white and black contemporaries might understand.

NOTES

[1]For an account of anomie and its links to deviancy as understood by Robert Merton, see Marshall B. Clinard, "The Theoretical Implications of Anomie and Deviant Behavior," in *Anomie and Deviant Behavior: A Discussion and Critique*, ed. Marshall B. Clinard (Glencoe, IL, 1964), 37–97.

[2]Edward Shils, *The Constitution of Society* (Chicago, IL, 1982).

[3]Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York, 1967).

[4]W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903; reprinted New York, 2008), 203.

[5]Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York, 1965).

[6]Richard H. Neibuhr, *Radical Monotheism and Western Culture* (New York, 1970).

THE BLACK SCHOLAR FORUM ON MARABLE'S MALCOLM X

Christopher Strain

"A Forum on Manning Marable's Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention" in *The Black Scholar* 41 (Summer 2011): 2–32.

To say that a definitive biography has been written is to say that it is the best study of a person's life, effectively eliminating the need for future biographies about that individual. Such studies exhaust the historical record and choke off new scholarship. They are also quite rare. With any biographical subject, new evidence is revealed, new sources are discovered, and historical perspective constantly offers new angles of inquiry like a turning prism. Add to these the reality that influential leaders demand more—more attention, more respect, and more consideration—and the definitive biography of a figure like Malcolm X becomes quite elusive indeed. To write one is a singular achievement, like landing in the *Guinness Book of World Records*. Like a world record, however, it is also an ephemeral distinction, a high mark to be bested. Is Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (New York, 2011) such a book? It is a formidable work—the author's major opus, perhaps the best single study of Malcolm X to date. But rather than closing the door to new scholarship, it has instead created a clamor for more.

What is most amazing is not that Marable (finally) published this long-awaited and much-anticipated book, but rather that it took so long for a book of this breadth and scope to be written about one of the seminal figures in African American history. Other excellent books have been written by John Henrik Clarke, Peter Goldman, Bruce Perry, and E. V. Wolfenstein, among others. But none of these books was hailed upon publication as *the* definitive study of Malcolm X, as Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Cornell West, and Michael Eric Dyson—three celebrated voices in Afro-American Studies—promptly christened Marable's 594-page *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*.

Why so long for a "definitive" work on Malcolm X? The absence of a definitive biography is largely explained by the authority of Malcolm's own words in defining his persona and legacy. His speeches and sermons comprise a formidably authoritative body of work which, coupled with *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*

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("as told to" prize-winning author Alex Haley, who played a role in developing the text), dissuade others from speaking on behalf of the slain spokesperson and leader. It is not that there is no room for critical inquiry into the man; it is rather that Malcolm X himself often said it—whatever "it" happened to be—best. Scholars continue to debate whether *The Autobiography* is more Haley's or Malcolm's; regardless, other works on Malcolm sometimes languish in the shadow of this towering work in American letters.

Not so with Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*. So electric was this book upon release that, according to Herb Boyd, within two months of publication nearly one hundred scholar-activists had commented in print on the book. To date, an avalanche of reviews have been written. It has been reviewed in all major news publications, and academic journals such as *The Black Scholar* and *The Journal of African American History* have devoted substantial space to it, with reviews *of reviews* (such as this one) now coming to print. It has, according to some, regenerated the field of Black Studies.

The debate surrounding *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* has been spirited, to say the least, and the four reviews in *The Black Scholar*'s "A Forum on Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*" by Abdul Alkalimat, Herb Boyd, Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, and William Sales, Jr. are vociferous and uncompromising, with modifiers such as "cold-blooded," "egregious," "interesting," "unsubstantiated," "prodigious," "cogent," "vital," "truncated," and "inaccurate." Operative verbs include "marred" and "compromised"; operative nouns include "negation," "omission," and "error." The one word that recurs in the essays is "speculative" (or "speculation").

Abdul Alkalimat, who has counted Marable as a friend and compatriot, rips into *A Life of Reinvention* in the first essay "Rethinking Malcolm First Means Learning How to Think: What was Marable Thinking? And How?," easily the harshest of the four *Black Scholar* essays. Alkalimat offers a critique of *A Life of Reinvention* through the lens of dialectic materialism, offering a Marxist perspective. Noting that the book launched Marable "into the esteemed ranks of ruling class darling public intellectuals," the author takes Marable to task on everything from undocumented citations to "perspective," "philosophy," and "politics." It is a stinging appraisal. "We respect Marable and ourselves by taking him seriously and raising our critique to the highest level," he writes. "As on Malcolm, so on Marable on Malcolm"(2).[1]

Part of Alkalimat's beef stems from the perception that he was slighted by Marable, who failed to pay proper respects in the acknowledgments of *A Life of Reinvention*. Alkalimat accuses Marable of lifting sources from his website, "Malcolm X: A Research Site" (www.brothermalcolm.net) "without any attribution." While any responsibility for such misappropriation would ultimately lie squarely with Marable, it may be a cautionary tale in the inherent pitfalls of hav-

ing many hands—undergraduate research assistants, graduate students, editors, and so on—involved in researching and writing a text (too many cooks in the kitchen, as it were—though most scholars at smaller colleges would welcome such a problem); but, Alkalimat would likely see this assessment as too charitable. "Marable and I were among the five founders of the Black Radical Congress," he writes, "but this [misappropriation] was hardly the move of a comrade, or a brother, or an honest scholar" (6).

That said, it would be a mistake to view Alkalimat's critique as little more than a retributive strike: it does raise genuine concern about the community of mutual aid and respect within which scholars of Black Studies advance knowledge. Alkalimat suggests that Marable strayed from the community of African American intellectuals from which he originated, making Malcolm more palatable to the wide (i.e., white) audience that the prestigious Viking Press could muster. Alkalimat sees Marable, a once respected black scholar, as now operating outside the boundaries of the black intellectual tradition—oxygen-starved, perhaps, in the rarified air of Columbia University, so close to Harlem and yet so far away. "The perspective of Marable's book is not the Black Studies approach of respecting our own tradition," he writes. Such an assessment is problematic not because it is inaccurate (the charge may or may not be true), but because it assumes both a uniform starting point and a predictable path for the scholar of African American Studies. To presume there is a singular "Black Studies approach" to which one should adhere is a bit dogmatic, favoring the kind of orthodoxy that Alkalimat diligently labors against in his own scholarship and in his moderating of the H-AFRO-AM discussion board. Still, his point is well taken: Marable may have failed to acknowledge the other African American scholars on whose giant shoulders he stood.

The subtext here is also that Marable—the author of *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*: *The Second Reconstruction in America* (1984) who once thundered about *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (1983)—may have somehow softened within the ivy-clad halls of Columbia University, where he was M. Moran Weston/Black Alumni Council Professor of African American Studies. If that suspicion has been floated by certain critics, then it comes less from envy or sour grapes than from the high hopes placed on Marable: the founding director of Columbia's Institute for Research in African-American Studies (IRAAS), one of the nation's most respected African American Studies programs; a prodigious scholar; and—until his untimely passing on the eve of the release of *A Life*—a giant in the field of Black Studies. Expectations for this particular project were understandably substantial.

Calling *A Life of Reinvention* "compelling but flawed," Herb Boyd acknowledges as much in the second essay, "Malcolm and Manning," an even and balanced review. "[E]ven the most informed Malcolm X scholar will be amazed by the accumulation and the fresh analysis [Marable] applies," Boyd writes. "An

equal number will be disturbed by his focus and conclusions." Boyd sees a "tragic irony" binding the author and his subject, and explores the parallels between the two men in his brief review, which notes Malcolm's life not as a series of reinventions but rather as a steady evolution. Like Marable, Boyd seems to see Malcolm's story as a declension narrative. Noting shortcomings in the biography such as the salacious attention paid to Malcolm's sex life, the review also highlights the positive in the biography, noting, for example, the detailed analysis of Malcolm's last months in Africa. In many ways, Boyd, who also provides a remembrance of Marable in the same issue, offers the most charitable review of the four.

Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua offers another even-handed, yet unflinching review in "From Malcolm Little to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabbaz, A Life of Revolutionary Transformation: Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*." Cha-Jua finds the biography "meticulously researched" but also "replete with factual errors," on "empirical grounds… a tremendous accomplishment" yet in some ways also "disappointing" (14, 18, 22). Like other reviewers, Cha-Jua finds the way Marable "engages in meaningless speculation about personal sexual practices" tawdry; like Boyd, he finds elements to praise and to challenge:

> In many ways, *A Life of Reinvention* is as big as its subject, the world historical figure, Malcolm X. Yet, embedded within Marable's sometimes mesmerizing account of Malcolm's life story are factual errors, questionable interpretations, and from the standpoint of black intellectual traditions, missed opportunities. *A Life of Reinvention* richly deserves both commendation *and* condemnation (15).

Cha-Jua argues there is little remarkable in the thesis ("prosaic," he calls it) insofar as reinvention is a natural process in each person's life. One might further add that *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*—which reveals the many faces of Malcolm as Malcolm Little, Detroit Red, Malcolm X, and El Hajj Malik El-Shabbaz—is itself a chronicle of reinvention.

Cha-Jua finds Marable's effort to cut through "the myths and legends enshrouding Malcolm" admirable ("no one should want a hagiographic account of Malcolm's or anyone else's life," he writes), but conjointly finds Marable's effort to humanize Malcolm through sexual allegation misguided and peripheral (16). Ultimately Cha-Jua's verdict on *A Life of Reinvention* is mixed. On the one hand, the biography presents little new material, nothing in the way of enormous revelation—only "greater detail on things already known" (22). On the other hand, in raising more questions than answers, in energizing the field of Black Studies, and in marshaling a tremendous amount of information and sources, *A Life of Reinvention* just might change the way scholars research Malcolm X.

William W. Sales, Jr. focuses on Marable's critique of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* in the fourth and most pointed essay, "Manning Marable's Reinvention

of Malcolm X: The Biography that Hype Couldn't Save." Marable saw his biography as a corrective to *The Autobiography*, which he believed presented "the façade, not the real Malcolm"; he therefore took on "the task of offering an alternative and superior vision of Malcolm to that of the *Autobiography*"—an enormous task for any scholar (26–27). Like Abdul Alkalimat ("As on Malcolm, so on Marable on Malcolm"), Sales turns an unblinking eye on the biography and its author when he notes, "As Marable has demanded of Haley, we must also demand of Marable as we read this book" (27). Like Herb Boyd and Sundiata Cha-Jua, Sales sees the focus on Malcolm's private affairs as exploitative and distracting, asking, "[W]hy would Marable cast aspersions on Malcolm's morality with scant, little, or no documentation and meager discussion encompassing just several pages out of hundreds" (27)? It is a fair question. What point does "the truth," as Marable relates it, serve here? And can it even be called "the truth" if readers cannot retrace Marable's steps? The animadversion in *A Life of Reinvention* coupled with the author's tendency toward speculation, leads some readers to the conclusion that Marable has dragged Malcolm through the mud in the same way that the FBI besmirched Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Sales also finds fault with the way the book was researched and written. "The process that created this book," he writes, again echoing Alkalimat, "is not a model of the way black scholarship should advance" (28). Sales's essay makes it clear that Marable, in "hoarding sources" and "establishing exclusive access to new materials," offended many colleagues before the book was even released (28).

Such charges are serious and should not be minimized; nor should they be reason for dismissing the book outright. Clearly Marable's biography has been subjected to the kind of scrutiny rarely afforded academic texts. One is reminded of the reception of Michael Belleisles's *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture*, which generated controversy in 2000 by arguing that early Americans relied less on firearms than previously thought. Becoming part of the culture wars, *Arming America* was subjected to the fine-tooth-comb treatment—first by gun enthusiasts alarmed by the implications of Belleisles's thesis, and then by other historians alarmed by allegations of lazy scholarship.[2] The note-checking and cross-referencing of *A Life of Reinvention* is comparable; unlike Belleisles, however, no one has accused Marable of manufacturing evidence. A more fitting comparison might be to Eugene Genovese, author of *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1976), who morphed from a brilliant leftist historian into a no-less-brilliant neo-con pundit.[3] Longtime fans—and academia has fans as die-hard as any sports franchise—were dismayed by the aging Brooklynite's hard political turn to the right. But they were also challenged, wrenched from their comfort zones, as the former Marxist led them into new and uncomfortable territory where populist values (the ugly new kind, not the genuinely populist kind) thrive. His

intellect was too rangy to be content with the New Left, too big to be contained by any single ideology. Again the comparison is somewhat stilted: it is not that Marable became conservative as Genovese did as he grew older. It is rather that he, like Genovese, had a big, elastic mind, one that did not stay where other academics (judging by the abundance of hostile reviews) wanted it to be.

All four reviewers note that Marable may have been remiss in ignoring other biographies of Malcolm and the rich insights provided by other scholars. All four see the attention on Malcolm's private life as salacious and extraneous. And all four seem to view *A Life of Reinvention* as a serious but flawed piece of scholarship. Much of the criticism of the biography is warranted; some of it, however, has been more visceral than reasoned. Why? Because Malcolm X himself has heretofore escaped the kind of speculative exploration that Marable brings to bear. Whether such speculation is within the purview of academic researchers is debatable, but almost fifty years after his death, Malcolm X is in many ways still irreproachable, the "black and shining prince" of Ossie Davis's eulogy.

This deification fixes Malcolm in time in a way that precludes full understanding of who he was and where he was headed intellectually when he was cut down, leaving difficult questions that require a certain degree of conjecture. Was he transitioning into a civil rights activist? Perhaps—but he often seemed content in his role as malcontent. Was he changing into a catholic leader who recognized commonalities across racial and religious boundaries? Perhaps—but his anger toward whites was often just as palpable as it was when he first harangued "the blue-eyed white devil" from his pulpit in Harlem. In this light, Marable's attention to sex and infidelity can be interpreted as an attempt to humanize Malcolm, as a move away from hagiography (which happens to coincide with a paradoxical obsession with celebrity and the fallibilities of those we deem greater than ourselves). Perhaps that is why the references to sexual indiscretions are fleeting, more glancing blows than knockout punches; still, there are undoubtedly better ways for a biographer to counterbalance the accounts that only lionize, ways that employ contextualization rather than insinuation. One must also ask if allegations of a short-lived homosexual relationship really do anything to lessen Malcolm's legacy. Only in a world where homophobia still reigns supreme would a possibly historical fact such as this one be interpreted as an aspersion.

Part of the fear is that Marable has softened Malcolm X or "reinvented" him in the same way that Malcolm periodically reinvented himself. Marable's Malcolm sometimes seems more interested in reform than revolution—"a social democrat," according to Sales, "whose ideology presages and is fulfilled by the entry of African Americans into the electoral arena and the triumph of Barack Obama" (30). This concern about "reinventing" Malcolm (which to his credit Marable telegraphs in the title) is understandable. African American scholars, like

African Americans on the whole, *need* Malcolm X: the strong, hard-edged brother off the block who made it plain. Indeed, the United States itself still needs Malcolm—the angry conscience of a nation, the righteous critic, the dark alternative. America has its King, its Obama; but the Malcolm of popular imagination, as he is often remembered by both academicians and the general public, is not like these others. As Sales reminds us, "Malcolm X was no liberal" (29).

There are many mysteries of Malcolm, his life a Zen koan with its inherent twists and contradictions. He could not muster even begrudging respect for the tactics of the nonviolent movement, though he owed much of his public persona to it. He inspired many to pick up the gun, but he himself (at least after his Detroit Red days) never carried a firearm. He was a minister seemingly more interested in politics and current events than matters of the spirit. His scowl and smile were equally devastating. Part Douglass, part Garvey, and part Du Bois, he was wholly Malcolm X—and there is something incredibly alluring about the mystery behind the man, about the shadowy parts of his persona.

One wishes for a feminist (or at least female) perspective in *The Black Scholar*'s "Forum on Marable's *Malcolm X*" to illuminate a few of these shadows. Malcolm was no saint. In his teens and twenties he was a hustler and small-time crook who used and sold marijuana. Like modern-day rappers, he may have aggrandized his criminal exploits to gain street cred; like Trayvon Martin, he was not the hardened, violent thug that certain people (not least of all himself) sometimes made him out to be. That said, a female perspective might cast Detroit Red's pimping and Malcolm's alleged marital infidelity in a new light.

Few would dispute Marable's rightful place in the pantheon of African American historians. Nor, given the criticism in these four essays and elsewhere, would a careful scholar read the biography without a wary eye. It is perhaps better, therefore, to see Marable's *A Life of Reinvention* not as a definitive biography, but as a starting point for further inquiries into the minister, the man, and the myth who was and is Malcolm X. One must be willing to concede that Malcolm X, like those who study him, was human and fallible, but one must also concede that this human fallibility does not detract from the life's work of either the fallen minister himself or the researchers who would interpret that legacy.

NOTES

[1]"A Forum on Manning Marable's Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention" in *The Black Scholar* 41(Summer 2011): 2–32. Page numbers for quoted material are placed in parentheses in the text.

[2]For more on the Belleisles controversy, see Adam Winkler, *Gunfight: The Battle Over the Right to Bear Arms in America* (New York, 2011), 22–31.

[3]Douglas Martin, "Eugene D. Genovese, Historian of South, Dies at 82," *New York Times* (29 September 2012), available at http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/30/us/eugene-d-genovese-historian-of-south-dies-at-82.html?_ r=0.

WHAT MANNER OF MAN?

Monroe H. Little

Jared A. Ball and Todd Steven Burroughs, eds. *A Lie of Reinvention: Correcting Manning Marable's Malcolm X.* Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 2012. Pp. 315. Paper $18.95.

According to the publisher, *A Lie of Reinvention* is a collection of essays intended "to provide a necessary correction of Manning Marable's *Malcolm X*." Its editors and contributors "collectively claim" that Marable's biography of Malcolm X "is a self-negating testament against the man himself . . . a 600-page eulogy . . . to lay permanently to rest the Malcolm X that we knew and revered."[1] The list of contributors, gathered by the editors Jared A. Ball and Todd Steven Burroughs to critique Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (2011) and defend Malcolm's legacy, is impressive. It includes well-known artists, scholars, and activists, including Amiri Baraka, William Sales, Sundiata Cha-Jua, Mumia Abu Jamal, Karl Evanzz, William Strickland, and Zak Kondo; as well as a number of other "protectors of Malcolm's legacy" such as Margo Arnold (aka Crawford), Kamau Franklin, Rosemarie Mealy, Kali Akuno, Greg Thomas, Patricia Reid-Merritt, Eugene Puryear, Christopher Tinson, and Raymond Winbush. As with most anthologies of this type, however, the quality of scholarly analysis is uneven. While a few of these essays are well done, far too many were a disappointment to this reviewer.

I really wanted to like, even love this book. Indeed, after reading *A Life of Reinvention*, I concur with many of the criticisms the contributors leveled against Marable's so-called magnum opus, but there is too much repetition and not enough depth to most of the critiques. Just as troubling, however, are aspects of *A Lie of Reinvention* that undercut its purpose such as the mean-spirited, ad-hominum denunciations of Marable by more than a few of the book's contributors. Indeed, *A Lie of Reinvention* probably tells us as much about the failings of the contemporary Internet-dominated public culture and the decline in civil discourse, even among scholars and intellectuals, as it does about Marable's failings as a historian and biographer.

Ever since his tragic assassination in February 1965, the legacy of Malcolm X has been embroiled in controversy. Labeled a merchant of hate, black extremist,

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and rabble-rouser by the mainstream media, and harassed by the U.S. government while alive, the gun smoke had barely cleared in the Audubon Ballroom after his assassination when the struggle to claim his legacy began. Since his untimely death, he has been variously described as a separatist, militant, black nationalist, Marxist, Pan-Africanist, integrationist, and in Ossie Davis's oft-repeated encomium, "Our own black and shining Prince." Such characterizations or branding of Malcolm X may serve the needs of the various political camps both inside and outside black liberation struggles wishing to claim Malcolm's legacy as a legitimation of their own political activities. This rhetorical inheritance does little to help us better understand the ideological richness, political complexity, and contradictions of Malcolm X. Manning Marable set for himself a daunting task.

While numerous writers have attempted to enhance our understanding of the man and his mission, beyond the portrait found in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, most of these monographs focus only on specific aspects of his life or only certain periods of his ministry and public career.[2] Manning Marable claimed that his first goal was "to go beyond the legend: to recount what *actually* [my emphasis] occurred in Malcolm's life." Marable also wanted "to present the facts that Malcolm himself could not know, such as the extent of illegal FBI and New York Police Department surveillance and acts of disruption against him, the truth about those among his supporters who betrayed him politically and personally, and the identification of those responsible for Malcolm's assassination." This is a very tall order, even for the most experienced and skilled biographer. Yet achieving "such complete knowledge," as the late Lewis Mumford cautioned, "is to aspire toward an unattainable goal."[3]

A Lie of Reinvention takes Marable to task for committing any number of errors of fact as well as interpretation in his biography of Malcolm X. While they do not, in my opinion, constitute anything approaching a "lie" as the title of the book charges, the mistakes are serious enough to raise questions about the quality of Marable's scholarship. This is the unifying theme in all of the rejoinders making up *A Lie of Reinvention*. I found the anthology's best essays were those by William Strickland, Sundiata Cha-Jua, and Eugene Puryear. For example, William Strickland argues that Marable's book can be faulted on any number of counts. Strickland identifies historical gaffes, endless non-sequiturs, key historical omissions, patchwork analysis utilizing others scholars' work without proper attribution, selective and questionable sources, and the facile character assassination of Malcolm, Betty Shabazz, Alex Haley, and others. Strickland goes so far as to assert that the book's multiple factual and interpretive blunders disqualify it "as a work of historical scholarship."[4]

While acknowledging Marable's prodigious research and his uncovering of new sources about Malcolm, Sundiata Cha-Jua contends that *A Life of Reinvention* "does

not represent a ground breaking paradigm shift," but merely "provides more detailed information about" Malcolm X "within a conventional interpretation." Most significantly, Cha-Jua observes that Marable failed to tap into the wealth of existing international resources that would further our understanding of the man's political and personal activities and did not "situate Malcolm within the intellectual and cultural context of his times."[5] Likewise, Eugene Puryear credits Marable with adding "texture and depth to several periods of Malcolm's life . . . but as an analytical work, it fails to deal adequately with Malcolm's political influences, his ideological development, and his evolving strategy for Black liberation." This problem, according to Puryear, is attributable to Marable's confused terminology and concepts, a confusion that led to his failure to situate "Malcolm X within the broader Black cultural experience," or "to frame adequately the [political] movement of which he was a part." The result is a book that raises "more questions than it answers."[6]

The essays by Patricia Reid-Merritt, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Kali Akuno, Kamau Franklin, Margo Arnold, and Christopher Tinson are equally critical of Marable's book. In Reid-Merritt's estimation, *A Life of Reinvention* is flawed on several counts including the claim that the undesirable characteristics acquired during Malcolm's early life—chronic liar, crook, disloyal friend and confidant, confused misogynist, poor father, husband, and sexual partner, closeted homosexual—"remained a permanent part of his personality." Marable smears Malcolm's legacy by revealing his secret meetings with the Ku Klux Klan, the hidden support for Barry Goldwater, and the insincerity in his dealings with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Ultimately, "Marable's reinvention of Malcolm X's life as a slickster hell-bent on getting something from or getting over on somebody," charges Reid-Merritt, "is this epic work's greatest misrepresentation."[7]

Abu-Jamal criticizes Marable's "signal failure to grapple with the impact and reality of COINTELPRO—especially the psychological costs of perpetual surveillance on Malcolm and his followers." In fact, as Abu-Jamal notes, the book's index does not even include a formal reference to "COINTELPRO," the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program, a surprising omission given our current knowledge about this sinister FBI program and its machinations leveled at 1960s African American political activists.[8] Kali Akuno excoriates Marable for failing to utilize important content in the Organization of Afro-American Unity's (OAAU) founding document, which most clearly reflects Malcolm's political philosophy and programmatic orientation at the time of his death. Akuno believes this not only results in misinterpreting and distorting Malcolm's links to black nationalist ideology, but also mischaracterizes as "race neutral" Malcolm's movement towards Pan-Africanism, Third World Internationalism, and Tri-Continentalism.[9]

Kamau Franklin accuses Marable of utilizing the work of authors Karl Evanzz and Zak Kondo, both of whom have written books about Malcolm's

assassination, without giving them proper credit. Franklin claims that *A Life of Reinvention* is no more than "an ivory tower assassination attempt on Malcolm X's meaning as an ideological force for Black self-determination." It represents "a dual attempt to transform Malcolm from a Black nationalist to a more academic-friendly, race neutral, social justice activist and to humanize him with titillation and conjecture."[10]

Margo Arnold and Christipher Tinson contend that not only does *A Life of Reinvention* fail to humanize Malcolm, but it also lacks the depth of analysis needed to understand the importance of black nationalist ideology. In Tinson's words, Marable mistakenly situates Malcolm X in a quintessentially American "liberal context of agitation, racial militancy, and reform" which obscures the significance of "his impact and ideas to the Black radical nationalist tradition" and dismisses "Black radical perspectives as out of step and irrational."[11]

The essays by Rosemari Mealy and Raymond Winbush are critical of Marable's failures as a researcher and the omission of women in Malcolm's life. Winbush contends that Marable relied uncritically on FBI files and utilized speculation and innuendo as source material. He finds it incomprehensible that Marable never interviewed the two women who figured most prominently in his life, Betty Shabazz and Ella Little Collins. Marable's failure to interview Betty Shabazz is the most troubling since both lived in New York City during at least part of the time that Marable was working on his book. Mealy faults Marable's omission of women from Malcolm's life story, especially how his political relationships with strong, assertive political women such as Grace Boggs, Selma Sparks, Vicky Garvin, and others influenced "his overall perspectives on the question of patriarchy."[12]

Greg Thomas specifically targets the sexual accusations and innuendos that Marable includes in *A Life of Reinvention* which many other contributors to this book also consider unsupportable. For Thomas these include the unrestrained, hostile, anti-Garveyite representation of Malcolm's father and mother; the condemnation of Malcolm as a young hustler, as well as the speculation about Malcolm's alleged homosexuality and adultery; the suggestions of sexual dysfunction in his marriage to Betty Shabazz; and the demonization of radical African American women affiliated with Malcolm's brand of revolutionary politics. Thomas charges that Marable employed his status and name as an established scholar at Columbia University to make a quick buck from his twenty-year research effort by exploiting the sensational at the expense of the scholarship or the relevance of certain topics. In the end, Thomas is dismissive of Marable's putative magnum opus. "This is not a biography," he writes. "If it must be classified as a book, instead of an operation or a maneuver, it would be more of a memoir . . . of somebody's *problem* with Malcolm X."[13]

A. Peter Bailey, by virtue of his role as a founding member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, has the most intimate knowledge of the people, events, and activities discussed in *A Life of Reinvention*. Bailey identifies several errors in the book, based on his recollection of his interview with Marable about his relationship with Malcolm. The most serious of the errors is Marable's attribution of responsibility for the firebombing of Malcolm's home in Queens, New York, and the discussion of a meeting of OAAU and Muslim Mosque, Inc. personnel to improve security at their programs and rallies. Bailey contends that Marable misquoted him in both instances. But what bothers Bailey as much as these factual errors is the tone of Marable's book, which not only portrayed Bailey's last meeting with Malcolm as confrontational and unpleasant, but also dismissed Bailey's own book on Malcolm—co-authored with Malcolm's brother Rodnell Collins—as "embellished and speculative."[14]

Several of the essays in *A Lie of Reinvention*, most notably by Amiri Baraka and Karl Evanzz, venture beyond a critique of the biography to a critique of Marable himself. Baraka alleges that Marable by virtue of his academic background and liberal, social democratic, political biases was incapable of constructing an accurate portrayal of Malcolm X. "Marable was opposed to the political logic of Malcolm's efforts to make revolution and even more dismissive of the Nation of Islam," declares Baraka. As a result, Marable failed "to understand the revolutionary aspects of Black Nationalism as a struggle for Self-Determination, Self-Respect and Self-Defense." This, according to Baraka, is the major disconnect in the book. The same type of speculative and psycho-biographical critique is utilized by Evanzz, Reid-Merritt, Abu-Jamal, Franklin, Thomas, and Arnold, with less aplomb than Baraka. Indeed, some of the efforts to explain Marable's motivation for writing the biography degenerate into little more than mean-spirited and facile denunciations. Mumia Abu-Jamal and Karl Evanzz attribute the book's failures to Marable's "bourgeois, Ivy League" life and background; Kamau Franklin condemns the book as "an ivory tower assassination attempt on Malcolm X's meaning"; and Margo Arnold infers that Marable was "simply a well-trained academic . . . neither radical, ferocious, nor revolutionary" who undercut efforts by Harlem's African American community to preserve the historical legacy of Malcolm X.[15] As critiques of Marable's book, however, they contribute little (if anything) to the insights provided by other contributors to Ball and Burroughs' volume and seem to be at variance with its stated purpose, namely "correcting *A Life of Reinvention's* factual and interpretative errors." Given their shallow, highly speculative nature, these statements contribute little to the reader's understanding of Manning Marable as a man or a scholar.

There are other problems with *A Lie of Reinvention* as well. Several of the essays are too brief such as Rosemari Mealy's; or too repetitive as in the case of

those by Akuno, Evanzz, Arnold, and Tinson. Three essays by Ball are no more than transcripts of radio interviews with Marable's critics, including Karl Evanzz who also contributes two essays to this collection. As such, they fail to provide the detailed, in-depth analysis needed to "correct" Marable's interpretations. Co-editor Burroughs admits as much in his concluding essay. "Ultimately, the biography that Marable wrote can only be countered by another, more definitive one." Burroughs concedes that *A Life of Reinvention* "is not that biography," but "a collection of notes for that future biography."[16]

Yet, in my view this volume fails to meet the goal of contributing to "that future biography." The editors' purpose would have been better served with half the number of contributors who were then given more space to develop their arguments. Indeed, it is telling that none of the contributors note that long before Marable's book appeared, many students and scholars had concluded after reading *The Autobiography* that Malcolm's hajj to Mecca had transformed him from a black separatist to an integrationist. Even if one's believes that this claim is preposterous, *A Lie of Reinvention* fails to address this supposition altogether. Does this phenomenon, eerily similar to Americans' tunnel vision about Martin Luther King, Jr. as little more than "a dreamer," represent the nation's reflexive attempt to deal with the unrelenting, transformative power of some African American leaders? Is this the only way that a white supremacist society such as the United States can incorporate a black leader like Malcolm X into its national historical narrative, or his biography into the academic canon and popular culture? Or, in the words of the poet Carl Wendell Hines:

> Dead men make
> such convenient heroes; They
> cannot rise
> To challenge the images
> We would fashion from their lives. . . .[17]

Perhaps a more serious failing of *A Lie of Reinvention* is the absence of any sustained effort, beyond Sundiata Cha-Jua's essay, to address the greatest problem with *A Life of Reinvention*: its failure to utilize a paradigm that interprets the meaning of Malcolm's life in a truly transformative way. This is surprising given the wealth of theoretical material that exists today, most notably from scholars such as Charles Mills, Thomas Holt, and others that provide a rich theoretical framework for understanding race, racism, Malcolm, and the black liberation struggle. For example, Charles Mills in *The Racial Contract* (1997) emphasizes the harsh realities of living in a white supremacist society where the polity is thought of in strictly racial terms. Thomas Holt in *The Problem of Race in the 21st Century* (2000) describes the historically contingent ways in which race, nationalism, and national identity "have

been intertwined and mutually imbricated throughout the modern era."[18] The process of nation building, the onset of imperial expansion and colonialism, and the institutionalization of white supremacy and racial oppression were not only simultaneous, but interrelated. "That race is everything, is simply a fact," wrote the Scotsman Robert Knox in 1850, and arguments for the necessity of racial struggle and "race war" against non-whites were presented as inevitable in white supremacist manifestos such as Lotharp Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy* (1920) that stoked fears of "a huge black army," threatening a "race war of revenge" led by "dusky Napoleons"; or as arch segregationist J. B. Stoner told a Jacksonville, Florida, crowd of Ku Klux Klan supporters on 3 May 1964 that, "The only good nigger is a dead nigger."[19]

Therefore, while not stated directly by the contributors to *A Lie of Reinvention*, the political system that Malcolm contested was quite explicitly predicated on the idea that whites everywhere had a common interest in maintaining global white supremacy against "colored insurrections" conceived of in racial terms; and during the era of global white supremacy characterized by racial slavery, imperialism, and colonialism, this solidarity was explicitly conveyed throughout the "white" nation. Viewed from this perspective, Malcolm's constant appeals for and efforts to achieve not only a black political solidarity in the United States, but to develop alliances with other oppressed non-white peoples through support for Pan-Africanism, Pan-Arabism, Pan-Asianism, Pan-Islamism were in no way "out-of-step" or "irrational." Nor were they non-racial. They were a perfectly logical political response by African Americans and other non-whites, declared Charles Mills, "to an already achieved white political unity, a Pan-Europeanism."[20]

Given this historico-political context, Marable's portrayal of Malcolm X's alleged political evolution from black separatist/nationalist to integrationist or liberal social democrat can be faulted on two counts. First, it obscures the nature of the political struggle in which Malcolm was engaged, one that more accurately fits Carl von Clausewitz's definition of "war." It is this conflict—this violent, bloody moral and political battleground—that led W. E. B. Du Bois to declare "To the Nations of the World," "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." It is the same conflict that Frantz Fanon described in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) as "a colonial world" divided between "two different species," a "governing race" and "zoological" natives. It is the same state of affairs that Malcolm X denounced as having "not only deprived us of the right to be a citizen, [it] has deprived us of the right to be human beings, the right to be respected . . . as men and women. . . ."[21]

Marable's mischaracterization of Malcolm X as quintessentially "American" poses yet another problem, one that extends far beyond the downplaying of the black nationalist tradition, as Christopher Tinson contends. The problem in trying

to assimilate African-descended people into the U.S. body politic is the deep encoding in the national psyche of the idea that, as novelist Toni Morrison pointed out, "Americanness" by definition means "whiteness." In the United States, where citizenship was historically limited to adult white males, African-descended people were denied recognition and participation in American society as citizens. Small wonder then that calls for a return to Africa and the formation of separate self-governing communities has such a long history among Africans in the United States from Paul Cuffe's and Martin Delany's calls for emigration to Africa in the early 19th century to the appeals of Marcus Garvey and Elijah Muhammed in the 20th.[22]

Manning Marable's claim that Malcolm was evolving into a race-neutral, liberal social democrat is untenable because the available evidence only suggests that in his post-hajj writings and actions he had moved away from the Nation of Islam's definition of race as a biological fact to a more postmodern notion of blackness as a social and political construct. Had he lived, perhaps Malcolm would have been able to act more decisively on his epiphany that "whiteness" is not really about color at all, but a set of power relations. This separation of whiteness as a racial classification from whiteness as a political system committed to white capitalist domination opened a space for whites to repudiate whiteness (and racial capitalism) and join the human race. This was Malcolm's advice to the young white college student when she asked how she could contribute to the struggle to end racial oppression.[23]

One last problem with *A Lie of Reinvention* is the apparent haste with which it was rushed to press. Perhaps this explains the many editorial errors it contains, the most glaring being the failure to include the essay by Kali Akuno in the volume's table of contents.[24] This is the type of error that the editors Ball and Burroughs should have corrected before the book was published.

A Lie of Reinvention is heavy on criticism; and yet for all that this book tries to accomplish, there is a certain disappointment. It does fill in certain gaps in Marable's research, corrects some errors, and challenges some conclusions. It does address problems with Marable's scholarship, but overall its attempt to correct Manning Marable's *A Life of Reinvention* is Lilliputian, when it could have been Olympian. The readers deserve more—and so does Malcolm X.

NOTES

[1]Jared A. Ball and Todd Steven Burroughs, eds. *A Lie of Reinvention: Correcting Manning Marable's Malcolm X* (Baltimore, MD, 2012), 1, 22.

[2]See, for example, George Breitman, *The Last Year of Malcolm X: Evolution of a Revolutionary* (New York, 1970); William W. Sales, Jr., *From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity* (Cambridge, MA, 1999); Jack Barnes, *Malcolm X, Black Liberation and the Road to Workers' Power* (New York, 2010); Marika Sherwood, *Malcolm X: Visits Abroad* (Los Angeles, CA, 2011); Clayborne Carson, *Malcolm X: The F.B.I. File* (New York, 2012); Rosemarie Mealy, *Fidel and Malcolm X: Memories of a Meeting* (Baltimore, MD, 2013).

[3]Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (New York, 2011), 12; Lewis Mumford, "The Task of Modern Biography," *The English Journal* 23 (January 1934): 9.
[4]William L. Strickland, "Remembering Malcolm: A Personal Critique of Manning Marable's Non-Definitive Biography of Malcolm X," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention,* 87, 100.
[5]Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, "A Life of Revolutionary Transformation: A Critique of Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention*, 161, 167, and 170.
[6]Eugene Puryear, "Its Not that Complicated—Malcolm X Was a Revolutionary: Confused Terminology, Concepts Mar Marable Biography," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention*, 188–89, 197.
[7]Patricia Reid-Merritt, "Malcolm X: What Measure of a Man?—Assessing the Personal Growth and Social Transformation of Malcolm X from an African-Centered Social Work Perspective," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention*, 29, 37.
[8]Mumia Abu-Jamal, "Manning's Malcolm—& Ours? (2.0)," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention*, 42
[9]Kali Akuno, "A Work of Negation: A Critical Review of Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention*, 48, 50.
[10]Kamau Franklin, "An Ivory Tower Assassination of Malcolm X," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention*, 55, 64.
[11]Margo Arnold, "Blues for Manning Marable"; and Christopher M. Tinson, "Manning Marable and the Triumph of American Liberalism in *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention*, 253, 276, 278.
[12]Raymond A. Winbush, "Speculative Nonfiction: Manning Marable's *Malcolm X*," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention,* 111; Rosemari Mealy, "An Incomprehensible Omission: Women and El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz's Ideological Development in *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*—A Brief Criticism," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention*, 120, 121.
[13]Greg Thomas, "Counterrevolution in the Flesh: The Sexual Politics of Manning Marable in Viking Press's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention,* 143.
[14]A. Peter Bailey, "Dealing with a Few Reinventions in Manning Marable's Book on Brother Malcolm," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention*, 50–53, 154, 155.
[15]Amiri Baraka, "Manning Marable's Malcolm X Book," and Karl Evazz, "Paper Tiger: Manning Marable's Poison Pen," Ball and Burroughs, *A Lie of Reinvention,* 207–08, 242; Abu-Jamal, "Manning's Malcolm," 43; Franklin, "An Ivory Tower," 55; Arnold, "Blues for Manning Marable," 257, 259.
[16]Burroughs, "Coda: Objectivity vs. Memory," 297.
[17]Carl Wendell Hines. In Ira G. Zepp and Melvin D. Palmer, eds., *Drum Major for a Dream: Poetic Tributes to Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Thompson, CT, 1977), 4.
[18]Charles Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca, NY, 1997), 41–89; Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Race in the 21st Century* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), 43.
[19]Robert Knox quoted in Patrick Bratlinger, "'Dying Races': Rationalizing Genocide in the Nineteenth Century." In Jan N. Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh, eds., *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power* (London, 1995), 47; Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy* (New York, 1920). See, Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, 2nd Edition (New York, 1997), Chapter 15; John Herbers, "300 at Klan Meeting Applaud Slurs on Negroes," *New York Times*, 4 May 1964, 25.
[20]Mills, *The Racial Contract*, 113.
[21]W. E. B. Du Bois, "To the Nations of the World" and "The Negro Problems," in David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois, 1868–1919: Biography of a Race* (New York, 1994), 639, 48; Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, 1968), 40–42; Malcolm X, 8 April 1964 speech, "Black Revolution," in *I Am Because We Are: Readings in Black Philosophy*, ed. Fred L. Hord (Amherst, MA, 1995), 277.
[22]Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, MA, 1992); Benjamin R. Ringer, *"We the People" and Others: Duality and America's Treatment of Its Racial Minorities* (New York, 1983), 109–11. See also Alexander Crummell, "The Social Principle Among a People and Its Bearing on Their Progress and Development," Thanksgiving Day sermon, Washington, DC, 1875. http://nationalhumanities center.org/pds/maai2/institutions/text1/crummell.pdf. (Accessed 15 June 2013).
[23]Mills, *The Racial Contract*, 106, 127.
[24]Akuno, "A Work of Negation," 47–53.

MALCOLM X: CRITICAL ASSESSMENTS AND UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Robert L. Harris

Herb Boyd, Ron Daniels, Maulana Karenga, and Haki Madhubuti, eds., *By Any Means Necessary Malcolm X: Real, Not Reinvented.* Chicago, IL: Third World Press, 2012. Pp. 280. Paper $ 25.00.

This incisive and insightful compilation from a range of perspectives addresses two key issues: how we should remember Malcolm X and the future of the black liberation struggle. As an informed reading public, scholars, and especially historians, we should be concerned about how Manning Marable, who labored long and fruitfully in the vineyard of African American and Diaspora history and politics, reached his conclusions about Malcolm X. Marable revealed in interviews and speeches that his goal in writing the biography of Malcolm X was to "humanize" him. Although many people had and still do place Malcolm X on a pedestal, do we need to "humanize" him, or do we need to understand him in the context of his time, which is supposed to be the aim of biography?

In 1988, while editing the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Papers at Stanford University, graduate students working on the project noticed similarities between Dr. King's dissertation and other works. Clayborne Carson, civil rights historian and editor of the King Papers Project, and his staff, then devoted two years to examining King's theological writings at Crozer Theological Seminary and at Boston University, among other works. Several King biographers, among them David Levering Lewis and David J. Garrow, had speculated that King borrowed from the work of others without attribution in his articles and books. But Carson did not rely on those speculations. He conducted thorough and incontrovertible research that uncovered a pattern of appropriating the ideas and words of others without proper citation that could only be labeled as plagiarism, a serious infraction for academic researchers. Despite these findings and in part because of the open and transparent way in which they were reported, Dr. King remains a hero, flawed but human, an example to all that we can achieve greatness without being perfect.[1]

Malcolm X's daughter, Ilyasah Shabazz, who has the final word in this comprehensive, multiple voiced, and superb assessment of Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*, criticizes "speculative historians" who would

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distort the truth about Malcolm X. The problem with Marable's treatment is not that he speculates on aspects of Malcolm X's life, but that he does so based on so little evidence, which in many instances is merely rumor or innuendo. He does not pursue the type of sound analysis as did Carson and the King Papers Project. The absence of solid evidence to back his assumptions has opened Marable to criticism, especially in his speculations about Malcolm's sexuality and his relations with his wife.

This is a major problem with the book as a whole. In *By Any Means Necessary Malcolm X: Real Not Reinvented*, Abdul Alkalimat informs us that "only about 20 percent of the 63 pages of footnotes come from primary sources" (xxvii).[2] This is a major disappointment with the book that promised so much and delivered so little. Todd Steven Burroughs, co-author of *Civil Rights: Yesterday and Today*, refers to Marable's book in "The Fault Lies Not in Our Stars, But in Our Biographers: Minutes to Midnight, Manning Marable Succumbs," "as a breakthrough—if that word is defined as an accomplishment of well-written compilation and commentary" (181). Like so much of Marable's other scholarship, it is a work of synthesis and interpretation, more than empirical research. Burroughs indicates that scrutiny of the footnotes indicates that the book, in the main, relies heavily on four previous studies: *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965), Peter Goldman's *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* (1973), Louis A. DeCaro's *On the Side of My People: A Religious Life of Malcolm X* (1996), and his *Malcolm and the Cross: The Nation of Islam, Malcolm X, and Christianity* (1998). Although most scholars rejected the unsubstantiated claims in Bruce Perry's *Malcolm X: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America*, especially about Malcolm X's sexuality, Marable repeats the allegations without much additional evidence.

Bill Fletcher, Jr., immediate past president of the TransAfrica Forum, pronounces Marable's methodology as sound. He observes that historians examine all available evidence and provide explanations. On the issue of Malcolm's alleged homosexual behavior, Fletcher argues in "Manning Marable and the Malcolm X Biography Controversy" that Marable used primary sources, Malcolm X's prison letters, and secondary sources, including testimony from Malcolm's nephew Rodnell Collins and Malcolm "Shorty" Jarvis, Malcolm's crime partner. But according to Kelly Harris in "Manning Marable: Humanizing Malcolm, or Denigrating Legacies?," Karl Evanzz, author of *The Judas Factor: The Plot to Kill Malcolm X* (1992), revealed that Collins based his comments solely on the word of "Shorty" Jarvis. Fletcher is right to point out that this matter is a very minor part of the story and takes up only a few pages, but both Fletcher and Marable fall into the fallacy of "post hoc, ergo propter hoc" in confusing a speculative assertion with a cause.

In terms of methodology, historians seek to avoid conclusions drawn from "whole cloth" and try to tease out explanations taken from many strands that make

up the narrative. Two major informants on Malcolm's alleged rocky relationship with Betty Shabazz are questionable. Amiri Baraka seriously questions the integrity of Charles Kenyatta as a source in "Manning Marable's Malcolm X Book." Moreover, Minister Louis Farrakhan, who earlier was accused of giving the implicit order to murder Malcolm X, certainly had personal motives for diminishing Malcolm's "manhood." Given Marable's critique of Minister Farrakhan and the Million Man March in his book *Black Leadership*, I am surprised that Minister Farrakhan consented to an interview. Marable variously considered Minister Farrakhan anti-Semitic, homophobic, and misogynistic, and labeled his socio-economic and political program as similar to that of Booker T. Washington.[3] Many of the contributors to *By Any Means Necessary*, most notably political scientist Errol A. Henderson in "A Toothless Pursuit of a Revolutionary's Truths," assert that Marable chose to interview Malcolm X's enemies, especially to support some of the most contentious claims. Moreover, Marable did not interview individuals such as Maya Angelou, James Boggs, Grace Boggs, Albert Cleage, Harold Cruse, Milton Henry, Warith Deen Muhammad, Betty Shabazz, and above all, John Henrik Clarke, a close observer and confidant of Malcolm X. In "Malcolm X: Reinvention of African-Centered Service and Sacrifice," curator Diane D. Turner and librarian Aslaku Berhanu at Temple University's Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection, suggest that Marable would have benefitted from scrutinizing Betty Shabazz's essay, "Malcolm X As Husband and Father," published in Clarke's *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times* (1990).

Several contributors to this important conversation with the subtitle "Malcolm X: Real, Not Reinvented," take issue with the term "reinvention." Civil rights leader Ron Daniels asserts that Malcolm's life was one of "transformation," not "reinvention"; that "reinvention . . . suggests a conscious effort to remake oneself, like an artist, entertainer or performer eager to maintain one's marketability" (5). But that seems to be Marable's point when he refers in an interview with the *International Socialist Review* (January 2009) to Malcolm X's "artful creative reinventions."[4] Black Studies scholar-activist Maulana Karenga in his essay on "The Meaning and Measure of Malcolm X," quotes *The Autobiography* where Malcolm X declared, "my whole life had been a chronology of—changes. . . . I have always been a man who tried to face facts and to accept the reality of life as new experiences and new knowledge unfolds it" (344). Marable's notion of "reinvention" makes Malcolm X sound superficial. Moreover, Marable almost dismisses *The Autobiography* as unreliable. He calls it in the *International Socialist Review* interview a memoir, more than an autobiography, that was recounted through the filter of Alex Haley, who Marable characterizes as a Republican, integrationist, and defender of United States military power. Marable proclaims that he had to deconstruct the autobiography to write the biography. In lectures and

interviews about the book prior to publication, Marable made much about the missing chapters from *The Autobiography*. But as Kelly Harris notes in her contribution, Marable had only fifteen minutes to review the chapters in the possession of Detroit lawyer Gregory J. Reed, who purchased them at an auction of Alex Haley's papers. Yet, Marable continued to tease prospective readers with references to the missing chapters.

In many respects, Marable projected himself as the authority on the life of Malcolm X and that we can now rely on his biography rather than Malcolm's autobiography. Wil Haygood, author of biographies of Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Sammy Davis Jr., and Sugar Ray Robinson, in an otherwise glowing homage to the book, concludes in "Marable's Malcolm X" that he "challenges Malcolm's autobiography, but offers no real surprises" (161). Gregory Reed, who owns the missing chapters of *The Autobiography*, allowed an interview by Bryonn Bain, author and playwright, to be published in *By Any Means Necessary.* Reed, who has a book in preparation entitled "Malcolm X: the Lost Chapters—'Best Interests of Humanity,' A Poetic Anthology," corrects the record pointing out in *By Any Means* that there are actually five, rather than three unpublished chapters, as claimed by Marable. There is the "Introduction" by Malcolm X, and chapters titled "The Negro," "Twenty Million Muslims," "The End of Christianity," and a chapter on the character "Laura," Malcolm X's white "companion and friend," as described by Reed. To protect her identity, Malcolm used a fictional account of their relationship. Reed notes that this is the only chapter in the original materials that is fictive. Reed also reveals that Alex Haley had a psychoanalysis performed on Malcolm X that is part of the "censored" epilogue. Reed's book, if it contains the materials described, is likely to generate as much controversy as Marable's work. In large part the authors of the trenchant essays in *By Any Means Necessary* suggest that the authoritative biography of Malcolm X is still to be written. But they do give Marable credit for the hard, time-consuming, and persevering work of more than twenty years in producing his book.

Artist and astrologer Amir Bey takes "A Look at the Book" and concludes that *A Life of Reinvention* is the most complete study of Malcolm X to date, based on the time invested in researching and writing it and in its voluminous source materials. Bey identifies many materials that were not previously available such as Malcolm's "detailed diaries," correspondence with Elijah Muhammad, interviews and oral histories with his brothers, close associates, and Louis Farrakhan, as well as the documents from the FBI and New York City police intelligence agents. Political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal calls the book Marable's masterwork, but cautions against over-reliance on FBI and police files, as do several other contributors who question taking such material at face value without further corroboration. And some of them fault Marable for not sufficiently interrogating his sources.

According to Rhone Fraser in "Marable's Revolutionary Malcolm," Marable acknowledged that the FBI and the New York Police Department "planted letters meant to corroborate Malcolm's supposed rumor mongering" about Elijah Muhammad (145). Everything in these "official" records needs to be reviewed with healthy skepticism. To what extent did they release records to let us know what they want us to know?

There can be little doubt that Malcolm X had a profound influence on the generation of African Americans that came of age during the early 1960s. In *By Any Means Necessary*, Haki Madhubuti writes movingly about Malcolm's "personal demeanor, his intelligence, self-discipline, study habits, seriousness, respect for family, political and cultural awareness, frugality, honesty, strength in the face of evil fire, work ethic, boldness, humility, trustworthiness, preparedness, selflessness, and most of all, winning attitude and integrity. . . ." (xv). Imam Al-Hajj Talib Abdur-Rashid, spiritual leader of the Mosque of Islamic Brotherhood in Harlem, contemplates "The Meaning of Manning Marable's Biography" and praises the book for giving a clear and detailed social, political, economic, and cultural context in which Malcolm X was born and lived. Imani Perry defends "Marable's Malcolm X" and describes it as a "masterpiece of meticulous detail and powerful social history."

While *A Life of Reinvention*, as does any bonafide biography, probes the life and times of its subject, I must question the work as "powerful social history." In his contribution to *By Any Means Necessary*, Black Studies scholar Molefi Asante offers "An Afrocentric Take" and suggests that "What would have been useful is for Marable to advance the idea that with the *Age of Malcolm* [emphasis added] a new epoch began in the conception of a national culture causing a far-reaching revolution in the traditional views held by members of African American institutions" (57). The framework of an "Age of Malcolm" as a way to better understand his times did not seem to work, nor does the biography provide a "powerful social history." Unlike the "Age of Booker T. Washington" in which Washington dominated the stage, although certainly with other actors, Malcolm X did not influence the motion of history during his time for most African Americans. Malcolm did have a strong influence after his death on the Black Power Movement from 1966 to 1975, but until the last two years of his lifetime, it is difficult to separate his life and thought from that of Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam.

Many of the contributors to *By Any Means Necessary* make much of Malcolm's emphasis on human rights rather than civil rights. This either/or dichotomy, similar to Malcolm's reference to the "House Negro" versus "Field Negro," begs further examination. African American leaders during the 1950s and 1960s were very mindful of their struggle for human *and* civil rights. In Birmingham, Alabama, when Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and other African

American ministers formed an organization in 1956 to replace the NAACP that had been banned by the state legislature, they named it the "Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights." In 1960 African American students in Atlanta, Georgia, as they mobilized for a direct action campaign, formed the "Committee on Appeal for Human Rights" and published in newspapers their manifesto "An Appeal for Human Rights." In many of his speeches, Dr. King often made reference to African Americans' "God-Given human rights." Moreover, Malcolm X was not the first black leader to consider an appeal to the United Nations. The National Negro Congress in 1946, the NAACP in 1947, and the Civil Rights Congress in 1951 issued appeals to the United Nations on the basis of human rights. What was different in 1964 as Malcolm X contemplated a petition to the United Nations was that about a third of the member states were from the African continent or the Caribbean.

Malcolm X spent the last year of his life traveling abroad and seeking international support, especially among African and Muslim nations, for the black freedom struggle in the United States. In "Unearthing Meaning in Marable's Malcolm X," Peter James Hudson observes, "Marable's reconstruction of Malcolm's engagement with Africa may be the most important and long-lasting aspect of this new biography" (189). With judicious use of Malcolm's diaries and research abroad, especially in newspapers, Marable provides the type of historical research and analysis that he often does not provide in the earlier sections of the book. Although Molefi Asante and Maulana Karenga question Marable's interpretation of Malcolm's black nationalist ideology, Pan-Africanism, and unfolding ideas about black radicalism, I believe Marable offers us great insight into Malcolm X grappling with the way forward for African-descended people nationally and internationally.

Most of the contributors also give Marable credit for his reconstruction of the assassination. Marable reported that he and his staff spent seven years trying "to develop a forensic accounting of the murder." They pretty much determined how the murder took place, but could not determine who gave the order. Here, Marable is more circumspect than in other parts of the book and concludes, "There was no classic conspiracy, no direct collusion, but rather a convergence."[5] The FBI, New York Police Department, and factions within the Nation of Islam and Malcolm X's newly formed Muslim Mosque, Inc. and Organization of Afro-American Unity had reasons and the means to eliminate Malcolm X. The government agencies made the assassination possible and might have implicitly encouraged others to carry it out. Marable has called for a thorough investigation of the assassination.

In *By Any Means Necessary*, coming from different perspectives, Ron Daniels and Bill Fletcher recommend a continuing dialogue on the meaning and memory of Malcolm X. Daniels considers the controversy over Marable's work as a teach-

able moment to relate Malcolm's life and legacy to the needs of today's black freedom struggle. For Daniels, hopefully this controversy will bring Malcolm X to the attention and the consciousness of many more people, especially the youth, as a cultural, educational, and political tool to stop the implosion taking place in many inner-city areas. Although there are streets, parks, schools, and sporadic commemorations for Malcolm X, there is not the infrastructure for advancing his ideas similar to the Martin Luther King holiday or the King Center for Non-Violent Social Change in Atlanta. Moreover, the organization that Dr. King helped to found, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, still operates, while Malcolm's organizations no longer exist. Fletcher explains how to use *A Life of Reinvention* in discussing the future of black radical politics, and suggests that it is a way to honor both Marable and Malcolm X.

For me, there is still a story to be told about how and why *A Life of Reinvention* won the Pulitzer Prize for "History" in 2012. The publisher entered it in the category of "Biography," but for some reason the Pulitzer Prize jurors moved it to the History category, which is to recognize a "distinguished and appropriately documented book on the history of the United States." Unlike Taylor Branch's 1989 Pulitzer Prize winning *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years*, Marable's *A Life of Reinvention* does not offer us the same breadth and depth for understanding the history of the United States, let alone African American history, during Malcolm's lifetime. The 2012 Pulitzer Prize for "Biography" went to the doyen of United States historians of the Cold War era, Yale University's John Lewis Gaddis for his magisterial *George F. Kennan: An American Life*. I question why they did not move Gaddis' book to the "History" category. It would have been just as appropriate as *A Life of Reinvention.*

NOTES

[1]Clayborne Carson, et al., "Martin Luther King, Jr. as Scholar: A Reexamination of His Theological Writings," *Journal of American History* 78 (June 1991): 93–105.

[2]Herb Boyd, Ron Daniels, Maulana Karenga, and Haki Madhubuti, eds. *By Any Means Necessary Malcolm X: Real, Not Reinvented* (Chicago, IL, 2012). Page numbers for quoted material are placed in parentheses in the text.

[3]Manning Marable, *Black Leadership: Four Great American Leaders and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York, 1999), 97–110.

[4]"The Missing Malcolm: Manning Marable Interviewed by Simon J. Black," *International Socialist Review* No. 63 (January 2009).

[5]Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (New York, 2011), 466.

DOCUMENTING THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF MALCOLM X

W. Marvin Dulaney

Manning Marable and Garrett Felber, eds., *The Portable Malcolm X Reader.* New York: Penguin Classics, 2013. Pp. 656. Paper $22.00.

In 2011 Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* was published and in 2012 the book won the Pulitzer Prize for History. Despite the accolades that his book received from the "mainstream media" and others, a number of African American scholars responded to it in journals and anthologies that castigated him for writing a book of sensationalism, speculation, and lies about Malcolm X. Just before the book's publication Manning Marable died and he could not answer the critics.[1] In 2010 before his passing, however, Marable asked Garrett Felber, one of his research assistants on the Malcolm X Project at Columbia University, to coedit a book of documents that would serve as the companion to the biography. *The Portable Malcolm X Reader* is the result of that effort.[2]

Having read Marable's Pulitizer Prize-winning book and being disappointed by some of the conjecture about various parts of Malcolm X's life that Marable presents, as well as his speculation about Malcolm X's possible homosexual relationship with a rich white man, I was anxious to read the current book to see the documents and sources that Marable used to support his biography. *The Portable Reader* disappoints in that regard. But it is probably more valuable as a resource on the life of Malcolm X than the actual biography. Using a chronological format, Marable and Felber provide 570 pages of documents and sources that were collected, assembled, and used to write the biography. They include government documents, newspaper and magazine articles, oral history interviews, selected speeches, correspondence, court transcripts, prison records, and most chillingly, surveillance reports on Malcolm X from FBI files and the New York City Police Department's (NYPD) Bureau of Special Services (BOSS).

The volume is organized into three parts. The first part provides readers documents on the life of Malcolm X from his birth in 1925 to his assassination in 1965. Marable and Felber also introduce each set of documents with an explanation and a short analysis of their meaning in Malcolm X's life. The second part of the book consists of oral history interviews conducted by Manning Marable with

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four people who knew or worked with (and against) Malcolm X. The final part provides readers six articles that sample the various ways that historians, writers, and activists have approached the life and significance of Malcolm X in history. Manning Marable writes the final article in this part himself in order to sum up the meaning of Malcolm X's life in United States history, his impact on American popular culture, and on the struggle of African Americans for social and political justice in the United States. Marable also assesses his own twenty-five-year effort to write Malcolm X's biography. This closing article mirrors much of what Marable wrote in the epilogue of the 2011 biography.[3]

The first part of *The Portable Reader* is the most important because it contains a vast collection of primary sources on the life of Malcolm X, his family, the Nation of Islam, and the events that influenced and shaped his life. Marable and the Malcolm X Project at Columbia University spent over twenty years collecting these sources. Some of their sources have never been seen by other scholars and writers, and as Marable writes in the last chapter of the reader, no other scholars or writers sought to find these documents because they accepted *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* as the essential text on Malcolm X's life; or because his family, friends, and government agencies restricted or prevented their use.

Predictably, Marable and Felber present the documents in such a manner that they follow the essential story that most people know who have read *The Autobiography*. For example, there is a police report that documents the burning of the Little family home in Lansing in 1929 and a newspaper article about the death of Earl Little in 1931. There is a 1950 newspaper article from the *Boston Herald* that tells how Malcolm Little and other inmates in the Massachusetts State Prison who had converted to Islam demanded jail cells facing East to facilitate their prayers and how they refused to eat pork. There is a plethora of newspaper articles about Malcolm's emergence as the leading minister in the Nation of Islam (NOI), his marriage to Betty X Sanders in 1958, his role in police brutality cases involving members of the Nation of Islam in New York City, Los Angeles, and Rochester, New York; and even a partial FBI transcript of the 1959 CBS News Program on the Nation of Islam, "The Hate That Hate Produced." These documents form the largest part of the book (over 400 pages) and provide a chronological record of the public life of Malcolm X.

Marable and Felber also provide the reports from the FBI's and the NYPD's BOSS unit's surveillance of Malcolm X. Clayborne Carson has previously published a volume of the FBI's files on Malcolm X that documents how the FBI spied on him from 1953 to his assassination in 1965.[4] Unlike Carson's book, which just lists the FBI reports with no comment or context, Marable and Felber place the surveillance and spying within the context of Malcolm's daily life. Thus, the reports of the spies and agents of the FBI and BOSS literally match every

move that Malcolm made. Every time he gave a speech; every time he participated in a meeting, protest demonstration, or religious service in the NOI mosques; and when he made a major life decision or action, the FBI and BOSS surveillance reports mirrored the newspaper accounts and other public records of his actions. The reports reveal more about the fears and insidiousness of the NYPD and FBI leadership than they do about Malcolm X. Marable notes in his final essay that he was able to access only about 2,300 pages of the 50,000 pages collected on Malcolm X during the FBI's twelve-year surveillance. Only a fraction of the 2,300 pages are included in this book. Yet, they reveal quite clearly how obsessed the NYPD and the FBI were with containing the progressive ideas and actions of Malcolm X.

Unlike the first part of the book, where Marable and Felber allowed the documents to tell the story of Malcolm X's life, the oral history interviews in the second part are a major disappointment. Ironically, Marable and Felber chose to introduce this section with an interview conducted by Marable with a NYPD police officer named Gerry Fulcher who served in the BOSS unit. Fulcher listened to the illegally wiretapped phone conversations in Malcolm's office at the Hotel Theresa for eight hours a day for four months, just before his assassination in February 1965. Despite having access to Malcolm's private phone conversations, Fulcher's interview actually reveals that he knew nothing about him! Fulcher also did not know anything about the plans for the assassination of Malcolm X because he had left his post when it occurred and had not heard anything about it in the days leading up to it. Marable asked Fulcher direct questions about the assassination, but Fulcher could only speculate because he was not included in the investigation and his NYPD bosses did not want to follow the normal investigative procedures and were engaged in a possible conspiracy. Otherwise, he had no insights to offer on the assassination of Malcolm X.

Only one of the four interviews in the second part of the book offered any insight into the life and times of Malcolm X. Both of the interviews with two of Malcolm's lieutenants and followers in the Nation of Islam, James 67X Shabazz and Thomas 15X Johnson, were full of obfuscation and non sequiturs. I was left wondering why such insignificant and uninformative interviews were even included in the reader. But Marable's interview with Herman Ferguson, a New York City activist, member of Muslim Mosques, Inc., and chair of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) was very insightful and presented an important picture of Malcolm X and his attempt to "turn the corner" from the Nation of Islam and to become more open to working with civil rights organizations. Ferguson made two very interesting points about Malcolm's leadership after his departure from the Nation of Islam: he cited his willingness to appoint women to leadership positions in the OAAU and his failure to attract large numbers of African Americans

to join the new group. On the first point, Ferguson described how Malcolm X had problems with some of the male members of the OAAU because he believed in rewarding women in the organization with leadership positions because of their hard work. Given Malcolm's background in the Nation of Islam, where women were always relegated to a subordinate position and were not given any leadership positions except in the Muslim Girls Training (MGT) and General Civilization Classes (GCC), this was a very progressive move for him. According to Ferguson, Malcolm X was ahead of his time in treating women in the OAAU as equals with the same capabilities for leadership as the men in the organization. Even more insightful was Ferguson's acknowledgement that while people loved to hear Malcolm's speeches and would turn out in the thousands to hear him, not many were willing to make the commitment to join the OAAU and actually take a stand with the organization. According to Ferguson, "once you became a known member of Malcolm's organization, you stood out like a sore thumb. You could be a Panther, you know. It was easier to be a Black Panther than to be a Malcolmite."[5]

One of the issues that Marable addresses in the third part of the book is the phenomenon of "Malcolmism."[6] This part of the reader consists of six strong and insightful essays by James Baldwin, Eldridge Cleaver, Ted Vincent, Robin D. G. Kelley, Farah Jasmine Griffin, and Manning Marable. Each writer examines and analyzes Malcolm's life from his or her own perspective. All of the articles contribute to our understanding of why Malcolm X was/is such an important figure in American history as well as in the African American experience. Although all of the articles were written for other publications, they provide important examples of the scholarship that has been written on Malcolm X. According to Marable, by 2002 scholars, writers, and filmmakers had written and produced 930 books, 360 films and Internet resources, 350 sound recordings, and thousands of articles and essays on Malcolm X.[7] These six articles provide readers an understanding of Malcolm X from the perspectives of his leadership style and personality (Baldwin), the impact of his assassination on his followers and supporters (Cleaver), his class consciousness (Kelley), his attitudes toward women and the issue of misogyny (Griffin), and the activism of his parents (Vincent).

Manning Marable's concluding essay sums up his forty-year intellectual engagement with the life of Malcolm X. In addition to addressing the phenomenon of "Malcolmism" and its reemergence among young people in the 1990s and how it has made Malcolm X an American cultural icon, Marable provides readers some important historiographical, research, and archival insights about studying the life of Malcolm X. His essay was written in 2005, but it serves as a better explanation than the "Epilogue" in *A Life of Reinvention* of the historiographical issues, research problems, and resistance that he encountered when he first started his work on the life of Malcolm X. He points out that since most people accept-

ed *The Autobiography* as the definitive story of Malcolm's life, historians and other researchers had not done the actual documentary research to examine the story and to critique and verify it. Marable also provides a critical analysis of the problems that he encountered finding and accessing the personal papers of Malcolm X, gaining access to the papers of Alex Haley, tracking down and finding members of the Nation of Islam, Muslim Mosques, Inc., and the OAAU who would provide him interviews about Malcolm X, and gaining access to the records of the Nation of Islam. Marable recounts this information to inform readers of the difficulty of doing critical research on such a powerful icon in U.S. cultural and intellectual history. Thus, as a historian, I can understand, as his critics charge, why there were so many instances of conjecture and speculation in Marable's biography of Malcolm X. In some cases, Marable did not have the evidence to draw more accurate conclusions.

Overall, scholars and lay people will find *The Portable Malcolm X Reader* a very good resource for primary documents on Malcolm X. Although Marable and Felber have left out some of the more important documents that I would have included such as Malcolm's May 1963 *Playboy Magazine* interview and his letters from Africa to members of the OAAU during his two trips there in 1964, the reader provides a very good starting point for other historians to research the life of Malcolm X and to critique how Manning Marable used these sources to write his biography. With this book Marable and Felber have started a new discussion about the "real" Malcolm X and provided historians and others the sources to write about him more accurately.

NOTES

[1]Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (New York, 2011); Jared A. Ball and Todd Stevens Burroughs, eds., *A Lie of Reinvention: Correcting Manning Marable's Malcolm X* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 2012); Cristine Salazar, "Manning Marable, Author of Long Awaited Biography of Malcolm X, Dies at 60," *Washington Pos*t, 2 April 2011, http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2011-04-03/local/35262097_1_malcolm-x-biography-latest-book-civil-rights, accessed 10 July 2013.

[2]Garrett Felber, "Preface," to *The Portable Malcolm X Reader*, ed. Manning Marable and Garrett Felber (New York, 1913), xix.

[3]Marable, "Epilogue: Reflections on a Revolutionary Vision," *A Life of Reinvention*, 479–87.

[4]Clayborne Carson, *Malcolm X: The FBI File* (New York, 1992).

[5]Marable and Felber, *The Portable Malcolm X Reader*, 463.

[6]As far back as 1970 at Central State University in Ohio, my friends and I were calling ourselves "Neo-Malcolmites" to counter the cooptation of Malcolm X by African American moderates on our campus who were trying to make him an "integrationist." Of course, as Manning Marable points out, like many of our generation, the basis of our calling ourselves "Malcolmites" stemmed from our reading of *The Autobiography* and listening to his classic speeches: "Message to the Grassroots" and "Ballots or Bullets." Both speeches are included in this reader.

[7]Marable and Felber, *The Portable Malcolm X Reader,*

ESSAY REVIEW

"WHEN THE REVOLUTION COMES": NEW PERSPECTIVES ON BLACK STUDENT ACTIVISM AND THE BLACK STUDIES MOVEMENT

Jonathan B. Fenderson

Diane Brady, *Fraternity*. New York, NY: Spiegel and Grau, 2012. Pp. 242. Cloth $25.00.

Ibram Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965–1972*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Pp. 256. Paper $27.00.

Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012. Pp. 366. Cloth $34.95.

"When the revolution comes, guns and rifles will be taking the place of poems and essays," declared the Last Poets in 1970, "Black cultural centers will be forts supplying the revolutionaries with food and arms, when the revolution comes!"[1] Serving as both social commentators and literary wordsmiths, the Last Poets accurately captured the explosion in black student activism that rocked U.S. college campuses in the 1960s and 1970s and ultimately altered the disciplinary boundaries of knowledge production around the globe. In the poem, the Last Poets described a world where pistols, carbines, soul food, and spoken word existed alongside well-worn issues of the *Liberator*, *The Black Scholar,* and the newly developed Black Studies courses; a world in which revolution was imminent and African American students were part of the vanguard. It is this world that authors Diane Brady, Ibram Rogers, and Martha Biondi attempt to recover, explore, and unpack in their monographs on the Black Studies Movement and black student protests in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

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Before assessing the contributions of these three texts, it is important to consider the existing scholarship on "Black student power" on college campuses; and to identify how these three studies fit into the extant body of scholarship.[2] In reviewing the literature, one can identify three distinct waves. The work of participant-observers, journalists, and early advocates and opponents of Black Studies constitute the initial wave. It is made up of memoirs, institutional reports, journal and magazine articles, monographs, and anthologies containing student demands, speeches, firsthand accounts, and other primary source documents.[3] The works in this first wave appeared in the early 1970s, around the same time that black student takeovers became routine events covered on nightly TV news programs. At times, subsequent scholars have used this first wave of work as primary source material and supplements to archival research.

The second wave of Black Studies scholarship that framed the way we think about the origins of the field came in the form of introductory texts, journal articles, and investigative journalism. For years Maulana Karenga's *Introduction to Black Studies* (1983) and Talmadge Anderson's *Introduction to African American Studies* (1993) provided the metanarrative for Black Studies's emergence.[4] As introductory texts these works rightfully sought to explain the origins of Black Studies, rooting the enterprise in the interconnected black student, free speech, anti-war, anti-colonial, and Black Power movements. The second wave also included underappreciated texts such as Tim Spofford's *Lynch Street: The May 1970 Slayings at Jackson State College* (1988).[5] This wave of research was published at a time when neither Black Power nor Black Studies were very popular academic topics, and, for the most part, traditional scholars avoided touching either topic with a ten-foot pole. This has completely changed over the last decade, in which Black Studies has garnered relative acceptance and Black Power has been rebranded as part of a new academic craze and publishing-industry trend, propelling new scholarship forward.

The contemporary third wave of scholarship on black student activism and the university is made up of detailed campus case studies, personal recollections, and broader narratives stemming from in-depth archival analysis of several campuses. This wave commenced with the widely overlooked publication of Richard McCormick's *The Black Student Protest Movement at Rutgers* (1990) and has since proliferated with case studies of the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Illinois, Cornell, Columbia, and San Francisco State, among others.[6] Some of these same works have incorporated a comparative analysis to deepen our understanding of particular institutions or regions.[7] And still others have combined (auto)biographical, social, and intellectual history to underscore the roles played by individual powerbrokers and activist collectives.[8] This third wave also includes important documentaries and innovative films, including Niyi Coker's *Black Studies U.S.A.* (2005); Ernest Allen's *Look Back and Wonder: The Genesis of Afro-American*

Studies at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (2008); Bestor Cram and Judy Richardson's *Scarred Justice: The Orangeburg Massacre, 1968* (2009); and most recently, Kevin Everson and Claudrena Harold's *Sugarcoated Arsenic* (2013).[9] Special issues of several journals have also focused particular attention on the issue, including *The Journal of African American History*.[10] Needless to say, this third wave has complicated how we both approach and think about this period of African American history.

The three texts under consideration in this essay sit firmly within this third wave, though they represent distinct approaches.[11] The first book, Diane Brady's *Fraternity*, focuses on the College of the Holy Cross, the small Jesuit liberal arts institution in central Massachusetts's Worcester County. The narrative is constructed around the lives of five African American men, and it is representative of the case study approach to documenting black student activism. Moving beyond the individual institution, Martha Biondi's *The Black Revolution on Campus* examines a handful of college campuses, including a two-year college, historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), and a small group of predominantly white institutions, situated in various parts of the United States. Though Biondi and Brady grapple with a different number of institutions in their respective projects, both offer a synecdochic analysis allowing the small sample (one school or small number) to represent the larger field and movement in its totality. *The Black Campus Movement* by Ibram Rogers is the first study of its kind to offer a more sweeping narrative encompassing the national landscape, the first to take on such a scholarly feat. In terms of the ongoing scholarly conversation about black student activism and Black Studies, the three texts offer both a chorus and contestation of ideas, adding valuable contributions to the historical record.

LIBERAL CATHOLIC BROTHERHOOD

As a result of shortsighted marketing aimed at a narrow target audience, Brady's *Fraternity* is the kind of book that slips past historians and scholars interested in this area. Published by Random House's subsidiary, Spiegel and Grau, the book has been promoted to a popular (white) reading public that does not necessarily include historians of the African American experience, Black Studies scholars, or other academics. This is also reflected in the narrative that the book offers, which is one of unquestioned liberalism, white paternalism, and the benefits of black compliance. The protagonist in Brady's story is Father John E. Brooks, a white Jesuit priest whom the author touts as a conscientious, passionate, and resourceful advocate for social justice and racial reform. According to Brady, Brooks understood the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to be a window of opportunity to "stop talking about the need to bring more black students to Holy Cross and just make it hap-

pen."[12] A few days after King's death and by decree of Father Raymond Sword, the school's president, Rev. Brooks found himself driving up and down the eastern seaboard, literally handpicking black male high school graduates deemed worthy of enrolling in Holy Cross. The recruitment project, which was not unanimously accepted by the faculty and unknown to the student body, was one of the college's first attempts to address the issue of institutional racism.

With the white priest residing at the center of the story, Brady recounts the experiences of five of Holy Cross's first black recruits: Theodore Wells, who would emerge as a prominent lawyer; Stanley Grayson, a former vice president of Goldman Sachs and finance commissioner under Mayor Ed Koch in New York City; Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist Edward P. Jones; Edward Jenkins, former professional football player turned prosecutor and law professor; and the extremely conservative and taciturn Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. For Brady, the story of these men serves as "a triumphant testament to the power of education and mentorship, and a compelling argument for the difference one [white] person can make in the lives of others" (read: destitute, downtrodden, and needy black males).[13] In other words, the hallmark of the story resides in the accomplishments of the young men, and the way the priest's sacrifice, investment, and guidance served as the catalyst for their "success." Not only is the white priest's supernal ascent as "friend, uncle, priest, father, saint, and Good Samaritan," problematic and suggestive of a certain burden described by the 19th century poet Rudyard Kipling, but Brady never really interrogates or troubles the notions of "success" and "accomplishment" that drive the narrative.[14] Are these measures of "success" and "accomplishment" tied solely to the men as individuals, their small brotherhood of five, or do they reflect the collective ethos and broad community sensibility that energized black student power in the 1960s? In other words, is there an alternative way to measure "success" other than professional advancement?

Even with these shortcomings, the work offers important historical insight into this explosive period. *Fraternity* is the first text to really offer a detailed account of black student protest at a small liberal arts college in the Northeast. What comes into view is an administration that operated in a vastly different manner than the managers of Columbia, Ole' Miss, San Francisco State, or Jackson State University. Unlike so many institutions that assumed a belligerently conservative stance, the Holy Cross administration attempted to chart a self-interested posture aimed at enacting manageable reform while sustaining the perceived integrity of the institution. It is not clear whether or not this position was born of altruistic liberalism or pragmatic conservatism among white administrators, though Brady is convinced that it was the former. As a result, she ends up telling the story of college officials who, for the most part, were willing to hear out and concede to black student demands. Brady credits much of the cooperative spirit to

the behind the scenes work of Rev. Brooks, who eventually served as the college's president, though his predecessor Rev. Sword could be credited with initiating the amicable, and at times tense, relationship between the administration and new crop of black students. More to the point, this amenable interaction sustained the school through demonstrations against the ROTC and the Vietnam War, a subsequent black student walkout in 1969, and a building occupation in 1971 demanding African American faculty and Black Studies courses. And even though African American students were obviously at the forefront of demands for institutional change, Brady emphasizes Brooks and the other administrators' shrewd managerial skills. She opts for a top-down approach, insisting that it was the college's leaders who initiated the change. In her assessment, it was the white patriarchs who demonstrated the dogged determination to see the racial reform project through, even as wild and unruly African American students attempted to derail an institutional train steadily moving toward the racial promised land. In this sense her work differs from the other two studies under review that emphasize African American students' efforts to change U.S. higher education through intellectual critique, collective mobilization, and strategic protest.

One of the most interesting themes that emanates from Brady's analysis arises in a somewhat unintentional manner. *Fraternity* raises questions about the ideological journey of some of the students who were a part of this incredible generation. It draws our attention to the ways that some rebellious black students in the 1960s took advantage of the opportunities opened up by protest to move into the U.S. ruling class. Though all of the young black men in this inaugural class at Holy Cross did not graduate or cultivate lucrative careers, several did. And ironically, some of the same students who participated in anti-war rallies, advocated for Black Studies, fought on behalf of black workers, and condemned institutional racism morphed into conservative public officials, litigators for finance capitalism, and proponents of actions that rolled back many of the progressive policies instituted during the 1960s and 1970s. One might ask: How did the collective mobilization of African American students in the 1960s and 1970s produce both a Stokely Carmichael/Kwame Ture and a Clarence Thomas? How does the same southern black community cultivate both a Condoleeza Rice and an Angela Davis? What accounts for the rightward drifts of Eldridge Cleaver, Floyd McKissick, and other Black Power advocates whose radical politics were repudiated between then and now?[15] To be certain, biographical works have proven to be useful in answering these questions; and Brady's *Fraternity* contributes to the scholarship addressing these issues.[16]

Overall, *Fraternity* is an easily accessible text. Even in the absence of extensive footnotes or transformative scholarly interventions, the work adds to our understanding of this dynamic period by focusing our attention on a type of institution that has not been scrutinized thus far in the literature. Relying primarily on

the student newspaper, *The Crusader*, and the papers of both John Brooks and the Holy Cross black student union, Brady fills in gaps with a handful of interviews, biographies, and popular historical narratives. Though she covers the most tumultuous years from 1968 to 1972, she leaves room for future scholars to add to the story. For example, Holy Cross admitted its first women students in 1972. How many of these women were African American and how did their presence impact the nature of student protest on campus? And although she mentions the young black men's relationships to black women students on other campuses in the vicinity, she never asks how these relationships affected the men's desire for institutional change. Nor does she fully describe the ways the students from Holy Cross interacted with students at nearby Clark University and allied with them during walkouts and other campus protests. These issues will have to be taken up by future researchers. Nevertheless, Brady has provided us with a beginning that is well worth reading.

BLACK POWER ON CAMPUS

In both its scope and approach, Ibram Rogers's study is unlike any produced thus far in the literature on the Black Studies Movement or black student protest in U.S. higher education. In preparation for constructing this national narrative, Rogers consulted papers scattered across almost two hundred different college archives and research facilities, scoured an equal number of campus and community newspapers, and conducted a number of interviews, some of which have appeared in Black Studies journals.[17] Containing an introduction, eight chapters and an epilogue, *The Black Campus Movement* covers black student activism from the 1920s through the early 1970s, and opens with a chapter sketching out the origins of black higher education. Borrowing his approach from Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Rogers describes what he terms "the long black student movement."[18] For Rogers the long movement began with "New Negro" campus protests in the 1920s, waning in the early 1930s. He uses a binary "campus and community" approach to focus on the late 1950s "off campus civil rights crusade," and then returns to on campus protests in 1965 where activism extended beyond "the Black Campus."[19]

The long movement approach adopted by Rogers has rightly been criticized for compressing significant differences, changes, and diversity over time and space.[20] And since Rogers clearly articulates these differences and changes—as they existed ideologically, tactically, and spatially—it leads one to question the utility of his long movement approach.[21] What does the long movement approach to student activism teach us about the specific struggles for Black Studies and black student empowerment in the 1960s, beyond the fact that students of previous generations also rebelled? How were the strategies and goals the same or different? Did the

1960s and 1970s students understand themselves to be part of a longer continuity? And perhaps most importantly, as Sundiata Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang asked, "[W]ere the ideologies, discourses, and long-range objectives the same," simply because the respective struggles shared a common institutional terrain?[22] Needless to say, the adoption of the long movement approach undermines Rogers's attempts to define the period from 1965 to 1972 as being qualitatively different from earlier periods of black student unrest. He draws this distinction even though there already exists in the scholarship a consensus that 1960s black student activism was qualitatively different from earlier years of student protests. Rogers's misstep is that he attempts to illustrate this difference by disentangling "this social movement from other threads of activism during the Black Power Movement," a gesture that makes it quite possible to drain the meaning out of, what historian Stefan Bradley aptly referred to as "Black student power." If we try and disentangle black student activism from "other threads" of the Black Power Movement, we run the risk of removing it from its larger social and cultural context, and impose limitations on our ability to conceptualize it as "the intellectual arm of the Black Power movement," as anthropologist Johnetta Cole so eloquently described it.[23] This is why several scholars have argued against the move to disentangle the threads, and argued for understanding the Black Studies Movement as an extension of Black Power and fundamentally tied to other social movements—Women's Liberation, antiwar, Chicano Liberation, "Red Power."[24] And though Rogers calls for an isolated view, he never quite achieves it. Thus neither the long movement approach, nor the strategy to isolate the students from the broader social context, serve as Rogers's most productive interventions, though there are several in the study.

In many ways Rogers's book covers the most expansive assemblage of college campuses examined in any single volume to date. The sheer breadth of Rogers's work is remarkable as he seamlessly weaves together the stories of student activism across numerous campuses, while pointing out the significance of black student newspapers, key conferences, and traveling activists such as Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael. His broad national lens affords him the ability to identify regional variations, and pinpoint pivotal and intense moments in movement activity. He also recounts the range of campus organizations, student demands, forms of protest, and administrative responses, making it clear that each encompassed great variety. The book spotlights some of the most repressive and violent responses on the part of administrators and local police, including the murder of students at South Carolina State, Jackson State, and North Carolina A&T, which coincided with the well-known case of Kent State University.

Rogers makes both temporal and spatial interventions by tracing the origins of the 1960s black student activism to 8 March 1965—the day after Bloody Sunday when nonviolent marchers were attacked on the Pettus Bridge in Selma,

Alabama—and the beginning of the movement at Hampton Institute, University of Kansas, and Tuskegee Institute in the following weeks.[25] This is significant because it means that neither the events at San Francisco State College in 1967 and 1968, or the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968 mark the origins of the movement as cited in the first and second wave of literature on black student activism. More importantly, rather than the 1954 *Brown* decision or the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Rogers argues that black student protest forced change in the racial constitution of U.S. higher education.[26] In other words, it was Black Power protest that led to the proliferation of black bodies—in the form of additional students, professors, administrators, staff and other workers—on college campuses. According to Rogers, this increase in numbers was the chief goal of the movement and it had deep implications for the culture and intellectual landscape of American universities.

These interventions notwithstanding, the comprehensive survey Rogers offers often leaves the reader eager for more detailed excavations of individual campus protests. No single text can cover all of the activities and Rogers made a decision to offer a national overview made up of individual incidents and local protests, which he handles quite well. Given this broad sweep in *The Black Campus Movement,* this does not allow Rogers to cover in great depth any single campus, leaving plenty of room for future research. At the same time, this work is often sociological in its approach, creating different categories for various types of protest activity. It also offers theoretical concepts for studying the history of African American education such as "moralized contraption," "standardized exclusion," "ladder altruism," and "masked and normalized whiteness." Thus, *The Black Campus Movement* adds to the literature on black educational history.[27] These interdisciplinary interventions represent the unique insights of a scholar grounded in Black Studies, who is willing to engage various bodies of knowledge and make contributions across disciplinary boundaries. Rogers's *The Black Campus Movement* may represent a touchstone for future researchers interested in more localized or regional aspects of this larger story. As a monograph, it will be used and interrogated for some time to come.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

According to the promotional blurb, Martha Biondi's *The Black Revolution on Campus*, is "the definitive account of an extraordinary but forgotten chapter of the Black freedom struggle."[28] Even before examining the text, such an assertion immediately leads the reader to ask questions about the terms "definitive" and "forgotten chapter." First, is it accurate to suggest that this period of the black freedom struggle has been "forgotten," given that there have been successive waves of scholarship

on the topic, with at least ten book-length studies published on the subject, several journal "special issues," a few documentary films, and numerous commemorative events in the last ten years? Whose work gets silenced or rendered invisible when such assertions are made? Does it not lead to some scholars' works being ignored, while others are held up as the singular contributors to the field? Does the process of writing history have to be coupled with induced amnesia, or is it possible to write history without effacing the scholarship that precedes one's own? What is at stake when such acts of erasure go unchallenged and turn into prevailing scholarly presumptions, made possible by mendacity or denial? Acts of erasure of this type represent a form of epistemic violence, where the limb is severed from the larger body of scholarly work. The book is framed incorrectly as a project of heroic recovery—singular, unparalleled, "definitive." While this is certainly not the case, *The Black Revolution on Campus* does contribute to our understanding of 1960s black student activism and the rise of Black Studies, and deserves close examination.

Comprised of eight chapters, neatly resting between the introduction and conclusion, *The Black Revolution on Campus* is part social history and part intellectual history. Echoing the work of Rogers, Biondi's first chapter charts the shifts in black student consciousness and situates the roots of the movement at HBCUs. She focuses on Texas Southern University, South Carolina State College, and Howard University, adding a bit of flesh to the slimmer narratives offered by Rogers and earlier researchers. She also uses the chapter to set up a somewhat oversimplified account of the conflict between male black nationalists and black women, which she repeats throughout the text. In addition to the point about the movement's origins, her major argument in the first chapter is that "students fought for the survival of Black colleges in this era of desegregation. . . . [And that] struggles at HBCUs brought into sharp relief the twin targets of Black Power: white control and integrationist Negro leadership."[29] Chapter two revisits the frequently told story of black student protest at San Francisco State. The justification for revisiting this well-tread historical landscape is her contention that "no historian has written about this enormously significant story."[30] And though Biondi adds some new details and interesting interpersonal perspectives, the overall narrative on San Francisco State remains unaltered.

Shifting the focus to schools in the Chicago area, the third chapter adds much needed institutional diversity to the discursive structure. Focused on the well-known struggle at Northwestern and the lesser-known confrontation at Malcolm X College (formerly Crane Junior College), this chapter breaks new ground by drawing our attention to the two-year community college. Through the discussion of Northwestern and Malcolm X College, Biondi sets out to emphasize two points: that African American students shifted the institutional conversations about diversity from a "colorblind" to a "race conscious" approach; and that "students' desire to

'give back' to the community was more than just rhetoric."[31] The fourth chapter shifts to City College of New York, located in Harlem, and Brooklyn College, where African American and Puerto Rican students led protests to remake and expand the admissions policies, thus opening up these institutions to a much larger array of city residents. According to Biondi, the student coalition helped make higher education a right, rather than a luxury, essentially opening the door for a "generation of lawyers, civil servants, teachers, artists, and social workers in New York City," who otherwise may have had limited opportunities for economic advancement.[32]

Returning full circle, chapter five revisits the HBCUs, and the campuses of Howard University, Vorhees College in South Carolina, North Carolina A&T in Greensboro, and Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Biondi argues that "Black students wanted to save public Black institutions from being 'integrated' into white-run universities, and generally strengthen, upgrade, and modernize HBCUs, making them exemplars of Black self-determination."[33] While the first half of the chapter examines the possibility of "integration," or the fear thereof, she does not provide convincing evidence that black students' protests were motivated by fears of HBCUs *becoming* predominantly white institutions.[34] Most black student protesters argued that HBCU's were *already* under the rule of white hegemony, though managed by African American administrators who were often seen as lackeys of the white power structure. As historian Derrick White argues, the students and militant faculty members believed that "HBCUs needed to reform their structures to become relevant to Black communities, promote Black curriculum, and reduce or eliminate White financial controls."[35] In terms of historical excavation, Biondi covers much of the same ground as Ibram Rogers. In the end, both authors leave plenty of room for further research on Black Studies at HBCUs in general, and the pivotal "Toward A Black University" conference at Howard University in November 1968 in particular.

Collectively the subsequent chapters, six through eight in *Black Revolution on Campus* shift the focus away from student activism, and examine the public discourse, administrative issues, institutional structure, community engagement, and the trajectory of Black Studies scholarship. Chapter six opens with an attempt to address the idea of a "black perspective" and then quickly shifts to the debates over professionalization, institutional structure, and the role of student activism in bringing about changes at Harvard University. Biondi notes that black faculty members replaced student activists as the vanguard of Black Studies as the project moved from protest to institutionalization. And more importantly, this transition to institutional incorporation often entailed a decline in the commitment to the black community and political engagement. Biondi dubs it a "counterrevolution" when Harvard required that Afro-American Studies majors take on a second major; and that the faculty in the program hold joint appointments with universi-

ty departments.[36] However, Biondi overlooks actions at Yale University a year earlier that provided the blueprint for this dual major approach.

Ironically, one of the major strengths of the *Black Revolution on Campus* is when the discussion moves to off-campus activities and tells the stories of the *Black Heritage* television series in 1969, the short-lived Black Academy of Arts and Letters (1969), East Palo Alto's Nairobi Schools, the Institute of the Black World (IBW), and the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU). Wrestling with five geographically dispersed projects, the chapter is almost bursting at the seams. Biondi asserts that, "the off-campus legacies of the Black student and Black Studies movement illustrates the formation and evolution of an African-American-influenced, activist public sphere in the 1970s."[37] And we could even push her argument further to see this not simply as an African American-influenced public sphere, but a key moment in the historic trajectory of the black counterpublic(s).

In the subsequent chapter Biondi suspends her historical arc to focus on intellectual production, and in particular takes on Afrocentricity, gender issues, and the geo-politics of Black Studies.[38] She also examines issues of disciplinarity and epistemology, demonstrating her difficulty in distinguishing between scholarly production, on the one hand, and efforts at ordering and structuring knowledge, on the other. This oversight allows her to turn some key Black Studies scholars into straw men. For example, she uses a single quote from the *Chronicle of Higher Education* to summarize the positions put forward by economist James B. Stewart, but never engages his numerous books or articles on the nature of Black Studies as a discipline.[39] The chapter also reveals Biondi's disdain for Afrocentricity as a concept and idea, and engages in the routine and unremarkable act of publicly thrashing male Afrocentrists, without really engaging their more complex analyses of historical and social phenomena, or the work of their black female counterparts.[40] Instead, she relies on superficial binaries and "othering" to create a wide "chasm . . . between Afrocentric teachers and writers and more mainstream African American Studies scholars."[41]

At this point there is no need to defend Afrocentrists who can certainly stand up for themselves, but to interrogate an historical account that characterizes a relevant school of thought as monolithic, static, tangential, or somehow detrimental to a robust Black Studies project.[42] Whether or not one subscribes to Afrocentricity, it is a living part of the black intellectual tradition. Mao Tse-Tung's maxim "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" seems apropos here.[43] Aside from her discussion of Afrocentricity, the chapter ultimately stitches together various arguments made by earlier scholars. Regarding the geographical expanse of Black Studies, she leans heavily upon the writings of St. Clair Drake, Robin D. G. Kelley, and others.[44] On the topic of gender, Biondi argues that African American women's critical thought helped propel Black

Studies forward; a sound observation that is not at all novel. Several scholars have made this point before, including Darlene Clark Hine, Delores Aldridge, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Laverne Gyant, and even Henry Louis Gates Jr.[45] Overall, the intellectual history offered in this chapter does not exhibit the same strengths found in some of the others.

One final point that is related and worth scrutinizing is Biondi's treatment of black women and black nationalism. Throughout *Black Revolution on Campus*, Biondi rightfully critiques the sexism and patriarchy (and we could add homophobia) present in some expressions of black nationalism, an historical reality that should not be ignored. However, in rushing to make this criticism, Biondi seems to assume that black women were not nationalists, or that all black nationalists were men, which leads to the erasure of black nationalist women. For example, in her discussion of the African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA), she fails to mention key women in the organization such as Charsee McIntyre, Gerterlyn Dozier, Nancy Arnez, and Barbara Wheeler. Biondi also ignores women such as Barbara Sizemore who played central roles in off-campus educational reform and Black Studies community projects.[46] Unfortunately, when we write about black nationalism historically as an all-male project, then we magnify the marginalization of black women across time and space. By pursuing this skewed approach, Biondi misses the opportunity to expand upon the important work of Ula Taylor, Tony Martin, and Gerald Horne by reaffirming that black women's activism and black nationalism are not mutually exclusive domains.[47] Indeed, there were numerous black women activists and scholars who considered themselves "nationalist." Unfortunately, Biondi is complicit in silencing their voices and omitting them from the historical record. The complexities of African American history compel us to document the lives and contributions of these women, whether or not we agree with their political ideologies.

Biondi's *Black Revolution on Campus* broadens the scholarly record on the history of Black Studies by highlighting some of the important intellectuals and activists who emerged—Charles Hamilton, Toni Cade Bambara, Ewart Guinier, Walter Rodney, John Henrik Clarke, and Vincent Harding—along with the student protesters. This is important and along with Derrick White's *Challenge of Blackness*, it is one of the few studies of black student activism to attempt to combine the intellectual and social history.[48] In the end, Biondi, Brady, and Rogers, should be commended for their contributions to a rapidly expanding field of scholarly research.

The three works under review trace a history that began over four decades ago when Black Studies emerged as a corrective to centuries of neglect, distortion, and erasure of African American life and culture from the established disciplines. Collectively they record the story of early advocates who protested for Black

Studies as a platform for intellectual engagement and a way to bridge the town and gown divide. This new social and intellectual enterprise was forged in an era of worldwide revolution and intrinsically tied to, and motivated by, the ongoing black liberation struggles connecting the four corners of the African Diaspora to the emergent and newly independent nations on the African continent. At the center of these narratives is a group of young people who came of age during the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, and others who had studied earlier in (in)formal spaces with St. Clair Drake, Sterling Brown, Margaret Burroughs, Darwin Turner, Elma Stuckey, and other scholar-activists. These black students saw the need for their mentors' important scholarly and popular studies to be recognized as "legitimate" and equally important as the scholarship then emanating from the hallowed halls of academe. The elder scholars had introduced these students to a rich body of knowledge on African and African American life and culture produced by Anna Julia Cooper, W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, Zora Neale Hurston, Charles S. Johnson, Richard Wright, Richard B. Moore, and many others.

For these students, the struggle moving forward was not only about recovering and respecting the existing black intellectual tradition, but also forcing the U.S. academy to recognize it and provide resources to preserve and expand it. The students recognized that such a project would require knowledgeable bodies, in the form of sensitive and informed professors, and adequate institutional and intellectual spaces—Black Studies departments, research centers, and cultural programming. In this respect, Rogers and Biondi are correct; the Black Studies Movement precipitated the racial, ethnic, and gender reconstitution of U.S. higher education and ultimately altered the disciplinary boundaries of knowledge production around the world. And whether it was as a result of altruistic white liberalism, as Diane Brady suggests, or the shrewd political maneuvering captured in the works by Rogers and Biondi, there is no doubt that U.S. college campuses and the related scholarly areas of study have changed, and the American academy is qualitatively different from what it was in the first half of the 20th century. Yet the broader landscape that these students struggled so valiantly to change still remains in desperate need of social transformation. With racist violence and economic disparities still very much a part of the U.S. and global social order, many of us on campus continue to wonder, what exactly will we be doing when the revolution comes.

NOTES

[1]The Last Poets, "When the Revolution Comes" from *The Last Poets,* Vinyl, 3, Douglass, 1970.

[2]I am borrowing Stefan Bradley's phrase, "black student power," as a way to talk about black student activism during the Black Power era. Stefan Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia: Black Student Power* (Urbana, IL, 2009).

[3]Jack Bass and Paul Clancey, "The Militant Mood in Negro Colleges" *Reporter* (16 May 1968) 21–23; James McEvoy and Abraham Miller, *Black Power and Student Rebellion: Conflict on the American Campus* (Belmont, CA, 1969); Roger Fischer, "Ghetto and Gown: The Birth of Black Studies" *Current History* 57 (November 1969):

290–94, 299–300; William H. Orrick, *Shut It Down! A College in Crisis: San Francisco State College, October 1968–April 1969; A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (Washington, DC, 1969); *Black Studies: Myths and Realities* (New York, 1969); Harry Edwards, *Black Students* (New York, 1970); Lawrence de Graff, "Howard: the Evolution of a Black Student Revolt" in *Protest! Student Activism in America,* ed. Julian Foster and Durward Long (New York, 1970): 319–44; Earl Anthony, *The Time of the Furnaces: A Case Study for Black Student Revolt* (New York, 1971); George Napper, *Blacker Than Though: the Struggle for Campus Unity* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1973); William Barlow and Peter Shapiro, *An End to Silence; the San Francisco State College Student Movement in the '60s* (New York, 1971); Immanuel Wallerstein and Paul Starr, *The University Crisis Reader: The Liberal University Under Attack, Vol. 1* (New York, 1971); Immanuel Wallerstein and Paul Starr, *The University Crisis Reader: Confrontation and Counterattack, Vol. 2* (New York, 1971).

[4]Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles, CA, 1982); Talmadge Anderson, *Introduction to African American Studies: Cultural Concepts and Theory* (Dubuque, IA, 1993).

[5]Tim Spofford, *Lynch Street: The May 1970 Slayings at Jackson State College* (Kent, OH, 1988).

[6]Richard McCormick, *The Black Student Protest Movement at Rutgers* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1990); Donald Alexander Downs, *Cornell '69: Liberalism and the Crisis of the American University* (Ithaca, NY, 1999); Joy Ann Williamson, *Black Power on Campus: the University of Illinois, 1965–75* (Urbana, IL, 2003); Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore, MD, 2007); Wayne Glasker, *Black Students in the Ivory Tower: African American Student Activism at the University of Pennsylvania, 1967–1990* (Amherst, MA, 2009); Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia.*

[7]Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies;* Joy Ann Williamson, *Radicalizing the Ebony Tower: Black Colleges and the Black Freedom Struggle in Mississippi* (New York, 2008); Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia*; Jeffrey Turner, *Sitting In and Speaking Out: Student Movements in the American South, 1970–1970* (Athens, GA 2010).

[8]Noliwe Rooks, *White Money/Black Power: The Suprising History of African American Studies and the Crises of Race in Higher Education* (Boston, MA, 2006); Houston Baker, "On My First Acquaitance with Black Studies: A Yale Story" in *A Companion to African-American Studies*, ed. Lewis Gordon and Jane Gordon (Malden, MA, 2006) 3–19; George Henderson, *Race and the University: A Memoir* (Norman, OK, 2010); Derrick E. White, *The Challenge of Blackness: The Institute of the Black World and Political Activism in the 1970s* (Gainesville, FL, 2011).

[9]*Black Studies, U.S.A.* (2005) directed by Niyi Coker; Ernest Allen, *Look Back and Wonder: The Genesis of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts* (2008) directed by Ernest Allen; Bestor Cram and Judy Richardson, *Scarred Justice: the Orangeburg Massacre, 1968* (2009) directed by B. Cram and J. Richardson; *Sugarcoated Arsenic* (2013) directed by Kevin Everson and Claudrena Harold.

[10]V. P. Franklin, "The History of Black Student Activism" [Special Issue]. *Journal of African American History* 88 (Spring 2003): 100–221; Jonathan Fenderson, Kabria Baumgartner and James Stewart, "Expanding the History of the Black Studies Movement" [Special Issue]. *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (March 2012): 1–178; Itabari M. Zulu, "Leadership in Africology" [Special Issue]. *Journal of Pan African Studies* 5 (October 2012) 1–124.

[11]Diane Brady, *Fraternity.* (New York, 2012); Ibram Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965–1972* (New York, 2012); Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley, CA, 2012).

[12]Brady, *Fraternity*, 22.

[13]Ibid, book jacket.

[14]Ibid, 192; Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden" *McClure's Magazine* 12 (February 1899).

[15]Ashley Lavelle, "From 'Soul on Ice' to 'Soul for Hire'?: The Political Transformation of Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver" *Race & Class* 54(55) 2012, 22–74; Devin Fergus, *Liberalism, Black Power, and the Making of American Politics, 1965–1980* (Athens, GA, 2009); and Cedric Johnson, *Revolutionaries to Race Leaders: Black Power and the Making of African American Politics* (Minneapolis, MN, 2007).

[16]There are a few other works that also utilize (or trouble) an (auto)biographical approach to the history, see Houston Baker, "On My First Acquaitance with Black Studies," 3–19; Henderson, *Race and the University*; Bernard Bell, "Passing on the Radical Legacy of Black Studies at the University of Massachusetts: The W. E. B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies," *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (March 2012): 89–110; Jonathan Fenderson and Candace Katungi, "Committed to Institution Building: James Turner and the History of Africana Studies at Cornell, An Interview," *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (March 2012): 121–67; and Michael Thelwell, "History and Memory: The Tyranny and Prejudice of Experience," *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (March 2012): 111–20.

[17]Ibram Rogers, Remembering the Black Campus Movement: An Oral History Interview with James P. Garrett, *Journal of Pan African Studies* 2 (2009): 30–41.

[18]Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 4 (March 2005): 1233–126.

[19]Rogers, *Black Campus Movement*, 49. Rogers's title is somewhat misleading because the study includes black student protests on predominantly white campuses as well.

[20]Sundiata K. Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, "The Long Movement as Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies," *Journal of African American History* 92 (March 2007): 265–88.

[21]Rogers, *Black Campus Movement*, 3.

[22]Cha-Jua and Lang, "The Long Movement as Vampire," 274.

[23]Johnetta Cole, "Black Studies in Liberal Arts Education" in *The Black Studies Reader*, ed. Jacqueline Bobo, Cynthia Hudley and Claudine Michel (New York, 2004), 26.

[24]Ibid, 26; St. Clair Drake, "What Happened to Black Studies?" *New York University Education Quarterly* 10 (Spring 1979): 9; Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*; Al Colon, "Black Studies: Historical Background, Modern Origins, and Development Priorities for the Early Twenty First Century," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 27 (Fall 2003) 145–56; Peniel Joseph, "Dashikis and Democracy: Black Studies, Student Activism, and the Black Power Movement" *Journal of African American History* 88 (Spring 2003): 182–203; Bradley, *Harlem Vs. Columbia*; Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*; Fenderson, Stewart, Baumgartner, "Expanding the History of the Black Studies Movement: Some Prefatory Notes," *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (March 2012): 1–20; Mark Chiang, *The Cultural Capital of Asian American Studies: Autonomy and Representation in the University* (New York, 2009); Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York, 1997); Daryl Maeda, *Chains of Babylon: The Rise of Asian America* (Minneapolis, MN, 2009); Ernesto Chavez, *¡Mi Raza Primero!: Nationalism, Identity and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966–1978* (Berkeley, CA, 2002).

[25]Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement*, 91.

[26]Ibid, 4.

[27]James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988); and William Watkins, *White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865–1954* (New York, 2001).

[28]Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus*, book jacket.

[29]Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus*, 33.

[30]Ibid., 7.

[31]Ibid., 89 and 111.

[32]Ibid., 140.

[33]Ibid., 142.

[34]While several public HBCUs were becoming predominantly white in student enrollment by the late 1960s, this did not serve as a major motivation for the protests at the institutions Biondi examines. See V. P. Franklin, "Another Shade of *Brown*: The Integration of White Students in All-Black Colleges and Universities, 1954–1960," in *African American Education: Race, Achievement, and Social Inequality,* ed. Walter Allen and Margaret B. Spencer (Greenwich, CT, 2002), 65–76.

[35]Derrick White, "An Independent Approach to Black Studies: The Institute of the Black World (IBW) and its Evaluation and Support of Black Studies," *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (March 2012): 75.

[36]Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus*, 181–84.

[37]Ibid., 242.

[38]The title of the chapter is borrowed from St. Clair Drake's article by the same name. St. Clair Drake, "What Happened to Black Studies?," 9–16.

[39]Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus*, 242; For a primer on James Stewart's work, see: James Stewart, *Flight in Search of Vision* (Trenton, NJ, 2004); Talmadge Anderson and James Stewart, *Transdisciplinary Approaches and Implications* (Baltimore, MD 2007).

[40]Marimba Ani, *Yurugu: An African-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior* (Trenton, NJ, 1994); Clenora Hudson-Weems, *Africana Womanism: Reclaiming Ourselves* (Troy, MI, 1994); Ama Mazama, *The Afrocentric Paradigm* (Trenton, NJ, 2002); Molefi Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia, PA, 1998).

[41]Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus*, 247.

This does not reflect the more meticulous critical analysis of afrocentricity done by scholars like Melba Boyd, Patricia Hill Collins, Perry Hall, Tunde Adeleke, Algernon Austin, Sidney Lemelle and E. Frances White, who

either ground their analysis in texts or interrogate afrocentricity as a popular social phenomenon. See: Melba Boyd, "Afrocentrics, Afro-elitists, and Afro-eccentrics: The Polarization of Black Studies Since the Student Struggles of the Sixties" in *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American,* ed. Manning Marable (New York, 2000): 204–09; Patricia Hill Collins, *From Black Power to Hip-Hop: Racism, Nationalism, and Feminism* (Philadelphia, PA, 2006): 75–94; Perry Hall, *In the Vineyard: Working in African American Studies* (Knoxville, TN, 2004); Tunde Adeleke, *The Case Against Afrocentrism* (Jackson, MS, 2009); Algernon Austin, *Achieving Blackness: Race, Black Nationalism, and Afrocentrism* (New York, 2006); Sidney Lemelle, "The Politics of Cultural Existence: Pan-Africanism, Historical Materialism and Afrocentricity" in *Imagining Home: Class, Culture, and Nationalism in the African Diaspora,* ed. Sidney Lemelle and Robin D.G. Kelley (New York, 1994): 331–50; E. Frances White, *Dark Continent of Our Bodies: Black Feminism and the Politics of Respectability* (Philadelphia, PA, 2001).

[42]The more interesting questions, especially in regard to black intellectual history, would have been to query the shared assumptions and ideological underpinnings of Afrocentricity and certain articulations of Black feminist thought. The overlap and shared intellectual interconnection is quite evident in Asante's notion of "location" and feminist ideas of "standpoint theory." This overlap and common intellectual ground is what gives room, in part, to Patricia Hill Collins early idea of an Afrocentric feminism, which she later revises, expands and develops in subsequent editions of *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment.* However, in order to trace this history, it would require a willingness on Biondi's part to seriously engage the expansive ideas and writings of black (studies) intellectuals, with whom she may not want to cede ground to or openly acknowledge. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment,* 2nd Edition (New York, 2000); Molefi Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea.*

[43]Mao Tse-Tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," *People's Daily* (19 June 1957).

[44]St. Clair Drake, "Black Studies and Global Perspectives: An Essay," *Journal of Negro Education* 53 (Summer 1984): 226–42; James Turner, "Africana Studies and Epistemology: A Discourse in the Sociology of Knowledge," in *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues in Africana Studies: Selected Papers from the Africana Studies and Research Center's Tenth Anniversary Conference, 1980,* ed. James Turner (Ithaca, NY, 1984), v–xxv; John Henrik Clarke, "Forward" in *African World History Project: the Preliminary Challenge,* ed. Jacob Carruthers and Leon Harris (Los Angeles, CA, 1997), xvii; Lisa Brock, Robin Kelley and Karen Sotiropoulos, "Transnational Black Studies" [Special Issue] *Radical History Review* 87 (Fall 2003): 1–143; Jonathan Fenderson, "The Black Studies Tradition and the Mappings of Our Common Intellectual Project," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 33 (Spring 2009): 46–58.

[45]Darlene Clark Hine, "The Black Studies Movement: Afrocentric-Traditionalists-Feminist Paradigms for the Next Stage," *Black Scholar* 22 (Summer 1992): 11–18; Beverly Guy-Sheftall, "Black Women's Studies: The Interface of Women's Studies and Black Studies" *Phylon* 49 (Spring-Summer 1992): 33–41; Laverne Gyant, "The Missing Link: Women in Black/Africana Studies" in *Out of the Revolution: The Development of Africana Studies,* ed. Delores Aldridge and Carlene Young (Lanham, MD, 2000), 177–89; *Henry* Louis Gates, Jr., "Introduction: Tell Me, Sir, . . . What Is 'Black' Literature?" *PMLA* 105 (January 1990): 14. Biondi also draws extensively from Deborah Gray White's *Telling Histories*, which she incorrectly cites as "Living Histories." Deborah Gray White, *Telling Histories: Black Women Historians in the Ivory Tower* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008).

[46]Barbara Sizemore, *Walking in Circles: The Black Struggle for School Reform* (Chicago, IL, 2008).

[47]Ula Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey: The Life and Times of Amy Jacques Garvey* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002); Gerald Horne, *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois* (New York, 2002); and Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, Feminist, and Mrs. Garvey No. I* (Dover, MA, 2007); "*The Black Scholar* Interviews: Queen Mother Moore," *The Black Scholar* 4 (March–April 1973): 47–55; Kwasi Konadu, *A View from the East: Black Cultural Nationalism and Education in New York City* (Syracuse, NY, 2009).

[48]Derrick E. White, The Challenge of Blackness; Claudrena Harold, "'Of the Wings of Atalanta': The Struggle for African American Studies at the University of Virginia, 1969–1995," *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (March 2012): 41–69.

SPECIAL REPORT

JOURNEY TO MY ETHIOPEAN HOMELAND

Nubia Kai

Ethiopia is the grandmother of all nations; cradle of civilization; site of the oldest humanoid, Dinkenesh (Lucy); guardian of the ark of the covenant; land of the Queen of Sheba, the Solomonic dynasty; and known for the miraculous rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. Psalm 68, 30–32 proclaims: "For Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God . . . O sing praises unto the Lord." Ethiopia is renowned for its unique history, its early conversion to Christianity, its mountainous beauty, but little is known about its peoples' capture and enslavement during the transatlantic slave trade.

This is my story or rather the story of my great, great, great-grandmother who was captured from the Kafa Kingdom in southwest Ethiopia, and somehow after an exceedingly long journey landed in the state of Georgia. I was forty-five years old when I learned from my cousin that our family had descended from the Kafa. Yulonda Morgan, my first cousin on my father's side, had been doing research on our family's history. We had an amazing great-grandmother, Hattie Steele, who lived to be 110 years old. She had a photographic memory, was a schoolteacher educated at Clark Teacher's College and a virtual library of information. Yulonda asked Grandma Hattie where we had come from in Africa, and she told her we had come from the Kafa people.

Knowing that I was doing research on the origin and migration patterns of African ethnic groups, Yulonda called me and asked me if I knew anything about the Kafa. Frankly, I had never heard of them. I was familiar with many ethnic groups in West Africa, but the Kafa did not ring a bell. I was astonished, of course, to find out that our great-grandmother knew the details of her African heritage. I had taken my daughter to meet Grandma Hattie when she was eight and Grandma Hattie 108. She shared many many stories with us about the periods of slavery and Reconstruction and the harsh life in the Jim Crow South, and how she was forced by Georgia state law to leave the teaching profession when she married my grandfather who was twenty-five years her senior. It never occurred to me to ask her

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about where we had come from in Africa because I presumed, that like most African Americans, she didn't know.

Yulonda, who was raised by our great grandmother until she was eight years old, knew the depth of her wisdom and knowledge and had the insight to ask her the question we all yearn to know: Where do we come from? Grandma Hattie Steele not only knew where we came from, she described the Kafa as brown skinned, tall, and very intelligent. A gracious, dignified, brilliant and deeply spiritual woman, she had the bearing of an African queen and made an indelible impression on everyone who met her.

Immediately, I went to the Library of Congress to see what I could find on the Kafa. To my surprise, I read that they were a people who lived in the highlands of southwest Ethiopia, the region where coffee was first discovered growing wild in the forest. A shepherd noticed that the sheep he was tending became giddy and hyperactive when eating the beans from the *buno* plant, and his curiosity led him to roast the beans and distill it into a drink. *Buno*, the word for coffee in the Kafa language, became a favorite drink in Ethiopia, but to the rest of the world the name of the Kafa kingdom itself, the place of its origin, became the name for coffee/café.[1]

What's more the Kafa were originally Nubians who migrated from the northern Sudan to southwest Ethiopia around the 9th century BC.[2] This revelation was particularly fascinating to me because my name is Nubia, a name given to me by a close friend during the cultural revolution of the 1960s, and which at the time infuriated my family who felt that I had rejected my family name. I tried to explain to them that Nubia was our real family name, since most groups of tall Africans located in every part of the continent trace their ancestry either directly or indirectly back to the Nile Valley civilizations. However, I had no idea how direct the Nubian lineage was.

After traveling several times to the West African countries of Senegal, Gambia, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea, and Cote D'Ivoire to do research, I decided it was time to go to East Africa to study the migration pattern from East to West. In 1987 I had attended the famous Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations (ASCAC) conference in Cairo, Egypt, then spent an additional five weeks in Upper Egypt and the Sudan, but that had been the extent of my travel in East Africa. It was time to go back, this time to Ethiopia, a country I had always longed to visit and now had to see for myself: the land where my ancestors once lived.

On 5 July 2008 the Ethiopian airline left Dulles Airport outside of Washington, DC. It took sixteen hours and forty minutes to arrive at the capital city of Addis Ababa, a busy bustling city of three million people located in the central Ethiopian highlands. Mulugeta, a tour guide I had contacted through a friend

in the United States, met me at the airport and took me to Leah's Guest House in the Boli district, a few blocks from the airport. I am basically a backpack traveler, and in West Africa I usually stayed with families who refused to take money for lodging or food. I knew many Ethiopians in the United States; I didn't know any in Ethiopia. In West Africa this had never been a problem. Senegalese, Guineans, Malians, Ghanians, Bukina Bey that I knew in the United States were always eager to offer me accommodations with their families in their respective countries, but the protocol for Ethiopians was different; they didn't accept third-party introductions from people they didn't know, which made me a little apprehensive about traveling there. Leah's House, was surprisingly very reasonable. I paid 80 *birr* per day, approximately $9.00 in U.S. currency.

Most of the residents of Leah's House in Addis Ababa were Rastafarian expatriates, members of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, the Nyabinghi, and other Rasta groups from the Caribbean and Great Britain who had repatriated to Shashamene, the land allotted by Haile Selassie in 1948 to Africans from the Diaspora for their contributions to the defense of Ethiopia during the Italian occupation, 1935–1941.

Little is known about this history and the selfless sacrifice made by African American men who paid out of their own pockets to go to Ethiopia and fight against the fascist armies of Mussolini.[3] This Italian invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935 generated the largest Pan-African protest in history. After receiving news of Benito Mussolini's aggression, African and African American churches and organizations, organized under the auspices of the NAACP and the Ethiopian World Federation, raised over ten million dollars for Ethiopia's defense. African American men volunteered by the thousands to go to fight in Ethiopia, but were deferred by the U.S. position of neutrality. Once the United States joined the allied forces, African Americans from throughout the Diaspora did not hesitate to enlist in a war they had long wanted to fight to protect their African homeland.[4] Because of their contributions, Emperor Haile Selassie donated the land of Shashamene, a four-hour drive south of Addis Ababa, to Africans from the Diaspora. The first families to take up residence in Shashamene were Jamaicans. Later the Rastafarians settled there, and many of the Rastafarians who lived in Shashamene would stay at Leah's House when they came to Addis Ababa.[5]

I had talked to Washington, DC, based Ethiopian filmmaker Haile Gerima about research sources in Ethiopia. He suggested that I should get in touch with his sister, Selome Gerima. I called Selome the day after I arrived in Addis Ababa and she asked me what was my mission in Ethiopia, and what I wanted to do. I told her I came to do research at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies on ancient Ethiopian history and culture dating back to 3000 B.C.E., during the period when Ethiopia was ruled by women and called Punt, but more importantly, I wanted to go to the Kafa region to learn about Kafa life and culture. When she inquired further about why I

wanted to go to Kafa, I related to her what my great-grandmother Hattie had said about our Kafa origins.

It just so happened that a close friend of Selome, Dr. Kassu Yilala, the minister of Public Works and Urban Development, was at her house and overheard the conversation. Surprised and excited about the news that a descendant of the Kafecho (the word for a Kafa person) had come back to see her people, Dr. Yilala talked to me briefly about my great-grandmother's story of our Kafa ancestry. Immediately he called two Kafa government officials, Berhanu Adello, the director of the Prime Minister's Office, and Berhanu Haile, the zonal administrator of the Kafa region. They called me at the guest house and invited me to a conference on Kafa culture that was taking place in Bonga, the capital of the Kafa region. I told them I had already purchased a non-refundable ticket to fly to Jimma on 11 July 2008 and I wasn't prepared to leave before that date.

My only intention was to get information on the Kafa at the University of Jimma and peek from behind the bushes at the people. What actually happened was totally unexpected—the most spiritually moving and memorable experience of my life. The plane was four hours late; I arrived in Jimma around 4:00 p.m. As soon as I stepped off the plane some of the attendants greeted me by name. "You must be Nubia," they said. "Yes, I'm Nubia." "Welcome home," they exclaimed with huge smiles. "They are waiting for you." I came around to the entrance of the small airport and saw four tall men standing and waiting. "Welcome Nubia," they exclaimed, apparently recognizing me by my height, long dreadlocks, and West African style of dress. We shook hands eagerly and did the customary four kisses on the cheek, a typical greeting in Ethiopia and many other African countries. The men were Samson Melese, the assistant zonal administrator, Yacob Woldemariam and Assafa Yesho from the Kafa Development Association, and the driver, Tesfaye Gebre.

After four hours of waiting for the plane to arrive, they were all hungry, so we went to a restaurant in Jimma, ate a delicious Ethiopian meal, then headed out in two Land Rover government cars to the capital city of Bonga. Elated that I had come to Kafa, they told me that this was a historic event because it was the first time anyone had heard of a Kafa descendant from America coming back to Ethiopia. They were not even aware that Kafa people were taken during the Atlantic slave trade, although they were well aware of a large and lucrative trade in coffee, gold, ivory, and slaves situated in Bonga.

It was a two and a half hour drive from Jimma to Bonga. We drove on a rocky gravel road through a breathtakingly beautiful mountainous area surrounded by lush green forests. Kafa is bordered by the Gojab River. When we reached the river they suggested that I get out of the car and walk across the bridge. They took pictures, and a crowd of children gathered to watch. As I walked across the bridge

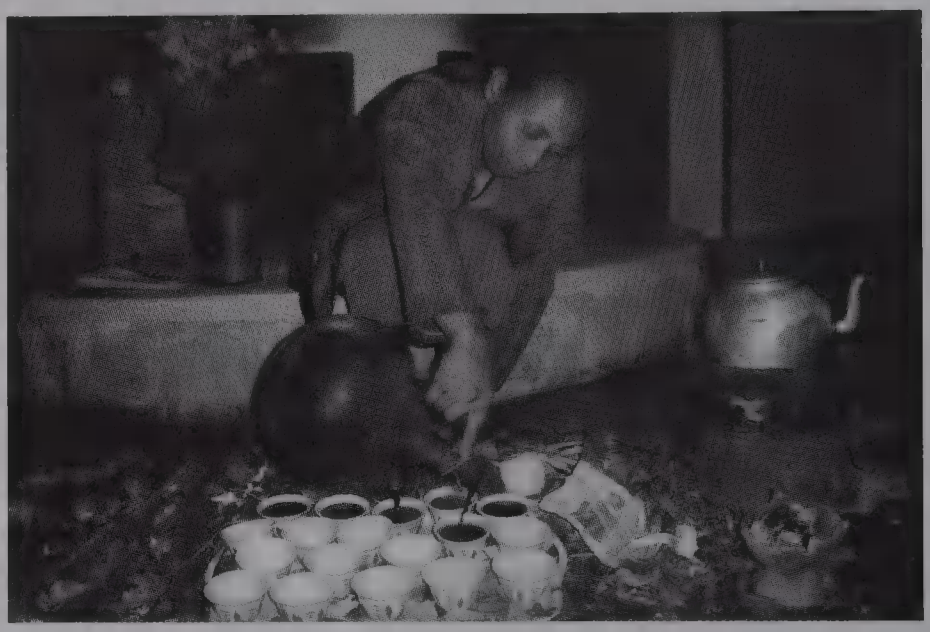
into Kafa country I was suddenly overcome with emotion. Tears started pouring down my face, for it dawned on me that I had entered the space where my great, great, great-grandmother walked, worked, played, worshipped, spoke in the Kafa language as a free woman before a cruel fate swept her away forever. I sensed a panorama of terrible events that she endured: abduction, the horrors of Maafa (the Middle Passage), enslavement in America, whippings, beatings, rape, insults, humiliation, endless, grueling labor. Yet, here I was some two hundred years later, walking the grounds where she walked a free woman again. Tears streamed down my face, tears of abundant joy, of gratitude, of pain, of utter relief, a catharsis of emotions poured out of me like the Blue Nile waterfalls.

My weeping startled the Kafecho men who accompanied me. "Don't cry," they said. "You mustn't cry." I was too choked up to tell them that I wasn't crying because I was sad; on the contrary, I was happy, happier than I had ever been in my life. My grandmother's prayer that she be liberated and returned to her homeland was at last answered through my presence in her country.

By the time we reached the guesthouse where I was to reside, I looked back and saw a caravan of white government Land Rovers driving up. The officials of the Kafa region had planned a lavish reception for me. Dozens of Kafecho entered the guesthouse and greeted me with passionate hugs and kisses and unforgettable words of welcome. They embraced me as if my great, great, great-grandmother herself had returned home. Imagine meeting a mother you have never seen or being reunited with the love of your life you thought had long ago died in a war or discovering your kidnapped child was alive and well and coming home to you at last. The reception at the guesthouse was that kind of emotionally charged reunion. Some of the Kafa men bore an uncanny resemblance to men in my family. Once I saw them, I felt for sure I was with family.

Nearly all of the guests were officials from the regional government, which is perhaps why they were all men except for one lone sister who was the director of the Department of Women's Affairs. The regional government officials made sure to invite persons who were fluent in English. It was not difficult to navigate through Ethiopia speaking English. While Amharic is the national and official language, English is the language of instruction at the high school and university levels, and it's rare to meet an Ethiopian under forty who does not speak English. Samson, the assistant zonal administrator, gave a speech during the coffee ceremony emphasizing the historical importance of my journey to Kafa and how honored and pleased they were to know that they had family rooted in the United States. He hoped that this would be the beginning of a mutually beneficial relationship between my family and the Kafecho. When they asked me to give a speech about my impressions I was still weeping and could barely speak; I blurted out as audibly as possible, "Praise the Lord! Praise the Lord! Praise the Lord!

God is good, and God is just." I found myself going back to church, and what I managed to say probably sounded more like a sermon or an animated religious testimonial, but then, that's how I felt, as if all the blessings from heaven had poured down on me, anointing me in divine light and love.



Welcoming coffee ceremony—Kafa woman pouring coffee in Addis Ababa. Photos by Nubia Kai.

The love that emanated from the Kafecho was vibrant, genuine, tangible; it was all in their luminous faces and eyes and the admiration of their smiles. Clearly this was a hero's welcome home, and for what? For just showing up? I felt a little ashamed of the accolades I received since I had done nothing to deserve a hero's welcome. After all, it was my distant ancestor who was the hero, the one who managed to survive the most horrific transoceanic journey in history and the most brutal, dehumanizing treatment of human beings ever recorded to live to tell her children about it. Yet never forgetting her proud heritage in Africa, she related that story to them as well. I was simply her representative, a living, human monument of her courage, her tenacity, her sacrifice, her faith, her strength of heart and will, her prayer for deliverance. Oh, what a blessed evening, an evening that was only the beginning of a five-day sojourn of continuous sight seeing, touring, learning, exchanging and sharing information, and being showered with that wonderful Kafa hospitality.

The regional government of Kafa paid for everything, my lodging, food, transportation, and security. Yacob and Assafa from the Kafa Development Association stayed at the guest house with me the whole time. Everyday they had a program

planned for me. I visited the Kafa Historical Museum, the Agricultural Research Center, the Regional Government Office, the Department of Education, the Department of Health, historic sites like Mankeri where coffee was first found growing wild; Andracha, the site of the king's palace when Kafa was an independent kingdom; and Teefa, the marketplace where coffee, gold, ivory, and in the past enslaved laborers were sold. They took me to the bamboo forest, a tea plantation, and to Boka, a village outside of Bonga, where the people cried when they told them my story.

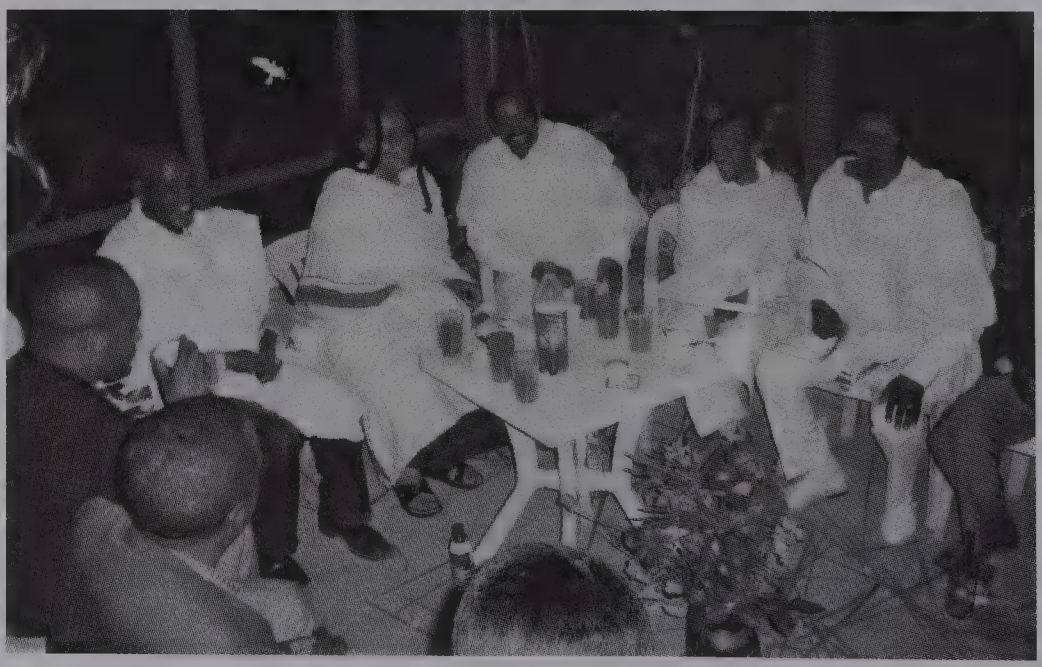
Nubia Kai visiting the Kafa village of Boka.

On my last day in Bonga, I decided to venture out on my own by foot. That's how I usually travel whenever I go to places where I haven't been before. I walked down the dirt road observing the awesome scenery, the stately mountain range, and the beautiful Kafa people tending their sheep and cattle. It is not unusual to find yourself walking along the road with a pack of bulls. Bulls are not enclosed in fences in that part of Ethiopia, and people seem to relate to them the way Americans relate to their dogs.

After walking about two miles I arrived at the center of the town and the marketplace. I walked around the market and slowly attracted a crowd of children who knew by my long dreadlocks and dress that I was a foreigner. I purchased a few tapes and posters then I went to an Internet café to check my e-mail. I returned to the guesthouse in time for the going away party the regional government planned for me.

The guests started arriving at 7:00 p.m. at the elaborately decorated guesthouse. Flowers and palm fronds were strewn over the floors and tables. The party was opened with a prayer from an Ethiopian Orthodox priest, then there was a coffee ceremony and dinner. After dinner they rolled out a table full of gifts. I was presented with kilos of coffee, raw honey harvested from the forest, traditional Kafa dress which I wore during the remainder of the ceremony, a traditional pillow and mat, a bed spread and pillow cases, books, cassette tapes of Kafa music, DVDs on Kafa culture, and the mayor of Bonga presented me with a key to the city. Dr. Mebratu, President of Mizam-Tepi University, Assafa from the Kafa Development Association, and the Dean of Bonga Teacher's College spoke about the significance of my visit to Kafa. The dean of the college broke down crying before he gave his speech.

Again, I couldn't help but cry except that this time my tears were fueled from sheer gratitude for the incredible generosity, love, and kindness of the Kafecho who accepted me as family on the merit of the oral tradition. They did not have to acknowledge me or my family because I said my great-grandmother told us we were Kafa, but they did. And this time they cried; the same Kafecho men who told me I shouldn't cry, cried like I had cried when I first arrived in Kafa. I spoke about my impressions of the Kafecho, the sites I had visited, and my commitment to the advancement of the Kafa people. When the party was over, a broadcast journalist and producer from a popular news program, *120*, interviewed me, Assafa, and Dr. Mebratu for a show about my return to Kafa that was to be aired in about two or three weeks.



Nubia and Kafa officials at the going away celebration in Axum.

The next morning they drove me to Jimma Airport. After waiting for three hours, the pilot announced that the flight had been cancelled due to mechanical problems. I stayed in a hotel overnight accompanied by Assafa and left for Addis Ababa the next day. I arrived in Addis Ababa on Thursday, 17 July and called the director of the Prime Minister's Office, Berhanu Adello, who told me he was planning a banquet for me on Saturday in which the Kafecho who lived in Addis Ababa would attend.

The banquet was held in my honor at the Ethiopia Hotel. Members of the parliament, ministers, ambassadors, businessmen, attorneys, scholars, the most well-to-do Kafecho whose positions situated them in the capital city were present. I was pleased to finally meet in person the men responsible for this generous reception. The zonal administrator, Berhanu Haile, looked just like my cousin, Bernard Steele. What was most surprising was their youthfulness. I was looking for men closer to my age or older, but they were in their late thirties. For relatively young men, they had an impressive list of accomplishments. Finally, I spoke with tears in my eyes thanking them for their magnanimous hospitality and compassion. Even though Yacob warned me that the Kafecho were not particularly interested in poetry, I read a poem anyway in commemoration of my Kafecho ancestor.

The next day I left Addis Ababa and flew to Bahir Dar, one of the historic sites in the north. A quaint, peaceful city, it is located at the southern tip of Lake Tana, the largest lake in Ethiopia and the source of the Blue Nile. Among the Ethiopians it is considered a sacred lake probably because of the many islands in the lake that house Ethiopian Orthodox monasteries. Another island, Tana Kirkos was the place where the ark of the covenant was first brought after Menelik, son of Solomon and Queen Makeda (the Queen of Sheba) took the ark from Jerusalem. Mary, the Virgin Mother, brought Jesus to that island when she was seeking refuge from King Herod's edict to execute all baby boys; she spent one month at Tana Kirkos and twelve days on a tiny island called Debra Mariam.

I went on a boat tour to the twin islands that according to legend had miraculously separated into two islands when a bitter dispute erupted between the male and female priests. One island held the Meskel Kibra Intons Iyesus Monastery for women priests, and the Gibran Gabriel Monastery twelve kilometers away was reserved for males only; women were not allowed to visit this monastery. We visited the island of Debra Mariam that had a distinct aura of tranquility and sanctity. I buried a photograph of my best friend, Ibn Pori, (who had a severe hemorrhagic stroke) outside the small Ethiopian Orthodox Church on the island. It is believed that if you bury a photo of someone and pray for them at a sacred site the prayer will be answered. I prayed for Ibn's full recovery and returned to the motorboat.

As soon as we docked at the port of Bahir Dar, my tour guide met me and we drove about twenty-five kilometers to the Blue Nile Falls in the village of Tissisat.

July is the peak of Ethiopia's long rainy season. It rained everyday, and trudging over mud and slippery rocks up a steep incline was not exactly my idea of fun. Had I known beforehand that I had to walk nearly three miles over treacherous terrain, I wouldn't have gone to the Blue Nile Falls, but when I finally arrived, sweating, gasping for air and leaning heavily on the two tour guides who escorted me, I was elated. The falls were truly fabulous, and to witness the rusty brown beauty of the gushing waters was worth every agonizing step it took to get there.

Early the next morning I left the hotel for the airport on route to Gondar. Situated 748 kilometers from Addis Ababa, Gondar is famous for its magnificent palaces that were built by Emperor Fasilidas and his successors in the 17th century. The first and largest palace was built by Fasilidas, then his imperial successors followed suit and built palaces within the 70,000 square kilometer complex. Not far from the palace, Fasilidas constructed an enormous swimming pool where water was drained from a nearby river, and a small palace was built near the center of the pool. It was an astounding site, because we usually think of swimming pools as a modern invention, but Ethiopian architects were building swimming pools in the 1600s. After leaving the site of the swimming pool, we went to the Debra Berhan Selassie Church, renown for its spectacular religious paintings that cover every inch of wall space.

Nubia in front of the Our Lady Mary of Zion Chapel that houses the Ark of the Covenant in Axum.

On July 24th I took an early flight to Axum, the northernmost site along the historic route located seventy-five kilometers south of the Eritrean border. I met

up with Dr. Edonna Alexandria, an African American woman and professor at the University of Axum, whom I had met earlier in Addis Ababa, and who invited me to stay at her home when I came to Axum. Axum is a very traditional town of 20,000 people that has some of the oldest sites in Ethiopia. Ruins of the palace of the Queen of Sheba, the tombs of King Kaleb and his son, King Gabriel Meskel, dating back to the 6th century, and the massive pre-Axumite obelisks 100 ft. in height and carved with symbolic designs and inscriptions are the main tourist attractions. The most significant site in Axum is Our Lady Mary of Zion Chapel where the Ark of the Covenant is said to be housed. I talked to the guardian of the ark about my best friend, gave him my friend's photo, and asked him to pray for him. He gave me a bottle of holy water and told me to bathe my friend with the holy water for seven days. Axum was awesome, spiritual, serene, and indisputably as holy as Ethiopians claim it is.

The flight to Lalibela was cancelled due to bad weather; I ended up spending three days in Axum instead of two days. I flew to Lalibela on 26 July to see the marvelous rock hewn churches sometimes called the 8th wonder of the world. Built in the early 12th century by Emperor Lalibela, the designs of these eleven churches were reportedly revealed to Lalibela in a vision. Lalibela's mission was to create a New Jerusalem so that Christian pilgrims would not have to make the difficult journey through the Sudan and Egypt to get to the holy land. Carved out of a solid mountain, these churches are believed to be constructed from human and superhuman forces; the scope, workmanship, and concept of these edifices are as phenomenal as the Lalibela landscape.

The following day I was sitting in front of the Lalibela Hotel waiting for the tour guide to take me to the airport when a young man ran out of the restaurant. "Professor Nubia, Professor Nubia you're on television." I had never seen this young man before, and I couldn't figure out how he knew I was a professor. "Come and see." I followed him across the yard into the restaurant, and there I was along with Yacob Woldemaviam, Assafa Yesho, Samson Melese, and the other Kafa officials visiting the museum, the hospital, the bamboo forest, Mankeri, Boka village, and other sites in the Kafa region. The editors of the TV show, *120*, had pieced together excerpts from the video footage taken during my stay in Kafa and constructed it into a narrative. I thought that only the interview was to be aired.

Although the program was done in their national language, Amharic, I could tell they had done a good job. The people in the restaurant paraphrased a translation of the narrative. The show opened with a brief introduction of African Americans of international stature—Colin Powell, Condolezza Rice, and Barack Obama—then they talked about the intrinsic human quest to know who you are, where you come from, and how I had made that search and successfully rejoined

my ancestors who welcomed me home with open arms. That was the gist of the story. At the same time—and what was for me the most important point of the program—the narrative contravened and dispelled the misconception and standard discourse that no captives from Ethiopia ended up in the Atlantic slave trade.[6] Ethiopians grew up learning this in school; however, the narrator explained that there was a prosperous, international slave market in Bonga that was the major site for slave trafficking in Ethiopia. Arabs, Portuguese, and Ethiopians traded heavily in the region bringing slaves to the port of Tanjura on the Red Sea and then shipping them to the Middle East, India, or around the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa to the Americas.[7]

When England abolished the slave trade in 1807, many American slavers in their attempts to evade the British patrols used smaller Yankee clipper ships to sail around Cape Town, South Africa and traded along the east coast of Africa. Consequently, many of the captives transported to the Americas from East Africa came during the late 19th century international slave trade.[8] One Kafecho scientist who saw the news show told me that since DNA testing is now used to determine a person's ethnicity, they have already found eighty-four African Americans whose ancestry has been traced to Ethiopia. The notion that no Ethiopians were brought to America was laid to rest that day.

By the time I arrived at Lalibela Airport several people who had just seen the TV show approached me with joy and excitement. "Aren't you the professor we just saw on television?" "Yes," I replied. "Oh, congratulations!" "We are so happy for you." "Welcome to your homeland!" "We are proud of you!" More and more people gathered around shaking my hand, hugging me, and taking pictures with me.

When I returned to Addis Ababa I received similar reactions everywhere I went. "We saw you on television and were thrilled to hear your story!" "Oh, what an honor it is to meet you!" "Congratulations! God has brought you back to us." "Welcome home." "You are our big sister!" The television program was viewed by millions of Ethiopians. Now I was welcomed not only by the Kafecho, but by Ethiopians all over the country.

Selome Gerima took me to Boli Airport on 29 July as I prepared to leave Ethiopia for the United States. I left glowing and tearful, full of wonderful memories I would never forget and am still stunned by all the amazing events that took place. By the time I arrived in the United States, I had turned sixty years old. My birthday is 30 July, and my journey to Ethiopia had been my greatest birthday gift.

What did this journey really mean? It would take perhaps another sixty years to figure it all out. During the nineteen hour flight back to the United States I had plenty of time to think about it. I thought about the Kafa people, their kindness, their felicity, their dignity, and carefree spirits, the way they seemed to smile and laugh with every cell in their body. Yet, I was saddened when I thought of my fam-

ily in the United States, how the centuries of cruelty and oppression had robbed so many of us of this spirit of joy, had made many of us mistrustful, caustic, uptight, and sometimes selfish.

But even through all that was lost—land, autonomy, identity, human rights, ethnic solidarity—we are still blessed; we are still alive and capable of living a spiritually fulfilling life. I realized that the triumphant return to Ethiopia was not about me, but about my family, my friends, my people. It was the Lord's love and justice proclaiming its truth to the world. I remembered when Alex Haley traced his ancestry to the Mandingo people of Gambia, how we were all thrilled and inspired by his discovery, because we knew finding our African roots was possible. With DNA testing it is possible for anyone to trace their ancestry.

One thing for sure I learned is that time is relative, and history is in our blood, in our genes, in our collective memory; it does not go away or disappear because we are forced to forget it or choose to ignore its existence. Every diabolical scheme used over the centuries to keep us from knowing who we are was subverted the moment I crossed the Gojab River to Kafa. I say this was a national victory.

NOTES

[1]Max Gruhl, *The Citadel of Ethiopia: The Empire of the Divine Emperor*, Trans. Ian Morrow and L.M. Sieveking (London, 1935) 171.

[2]Ibid., 361–62.

[3]Ayele Bekerie, "Ethiopia and Black America: The Forgotten Story of Melaku and Robinson," *Tadias Magazine* 24 August 2008; accessed 15 October 2012.

[4]Joseph E. Harris, *African-Americans Reactions to War in Ethiopia, 1936–1941* (Baton Rouge, 1994).

[5]Community Development Foundation, Inc., "The Shashamene Settlement," www.shashamene.org/history.html (accessed 12 November 2013).

[6]*120,* Ethiopian National Network, Addis Ababa, 27 July 2008, Television.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, *Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1969) 244–45; Edward Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves: Changing Pattern of International Trade in East Central Africa to the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1975); William G. Clarence–Smith, ed., *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1989).

BOOK REVIEWS

Daniel Rasmussen, *American Uprising: The Untold Story of America's Largest Slave Revolt*. New York: HarperCollins, 2011. Pp. 276. Cloth $26.99. Paper $15.99.

Early on 8 January 1811, in the wake of the Epiphany, or Kings' Day, and the beginning of the carnival holiday cycle, a group of enslaved Africans and African Americans on the "German Coast" of the Mississippi River in St. Charles and St. John Parishes above New Orleans, organized a rebellion. Before the revolt was over, local militia and soldiers from the U.S. Army killed about 150 rebels. It was the single largest slave rebellion in the United States, with more participants than any other, but it is also the least documented and understood. For example, Gabriel's rebellion in Virginia in 1800 includes testimony from the rebel leaders, but we know almost nothing about the leaders of the revolt in Louisiana. We should not be surprised because there was a longstanding policy by authorities not to publicize slave rebellions any more than necessary, a tradition in which Gabriel's revolt was the exception. Thus, we cannot determine exactly what the rebels in 1811 had in mind, although they were certainly headed toward New Orleans, the regional center of the plantation regime, when the soldiers stopped them.

Whereas only three white people died at the hands of the rebels, the soldiers killed scores of insurgents in the final battle, and captured dozens more, who endured a brief secret trial before the executioners shot them and set their heads on pikes up and down the highway. That was to serve as a warning to other would-be rebels. The authorities made a point to thank certain free men of color for their contributions to putting down the rebellion. The best introduction to the revolt is an essay by Junius Rodriguez, "Rebellion on the River Road: The Ideology and Influence of Louisiana's German Coast Insurrection of 1811," included in *Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America,* edited by John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harrold (1999). Rodriguez provides a thoroughly documented account (including the statistics noted above). Rodriguez shows that the rebels may not have had a revolutionary ideology, but they had a profound effect on the planter class in the slave states, who gave up their illusion that they could depend on their enslaved workers not to rebel. Robert L. Paquette puts the event in its larger context in his essay "Revolutionary Saint Domingue in the Making of Territorial Louisiana," in *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean* (1997), edited by David Barry Gaspar and David P. Geggus.

Albert Thrasher, an ambitious amateur historian, published in 1996 a fine collection of documents from various sources on what he termed the "Deslondes uprising," named for its leader, Charles Deslondes, but it is not readily accessible, even in university libraries. Like Rodriguez or Paquette, Thrasher saw the event as another in a long revolutionary tradition, that series of slave rebellions beginning with the American Revolution in the 1770s and the Haitian Revolution in the 1790s. What these revolts had in common was an ideological assertion to the natural right to freedom. Unfortunately, there is only indirect evidence of a connection between the German Coast rebels and the intensely ideological Haitian revolutionaries since Deslondes and other conspirators were recent arrivals from San Domingue in Louisiana, along with wealthy planters who had escaped with their human property. The Louisiana rebels did not appear to be as politically aware as those in San Domingue, but that could be because the planters suppressed news of the event precisely because of the rebels' dangerous political arguments. It seems that we must remain uncertain about the true ideological content of the 1811 rebellion.

To these bare facts, Daniel Rasmussen has brought a lively imagination. A good storyteller makes this book a short and easy read. However, historians will have difficulty taking the work seriously. The actual political forces at play receive little attention. The scholarly apparatus is not complete enough for those who would check the author's sources. There are numerous key citations to a mysterious "database" that is nowhere itemized in the text. The bibliography includes sources that are not cited in the notes. Rasmussen does not take up the arguments offered by Rodriguez or Paquette, or mention one possible direct connection with the Haitian Revolution I suggested in *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718–1819* (1999). It was reported in the New Orleans press just as the uprising broke out that Haiti's President Alexandre Pétion had beaten in a pitched battle André Rigaud, the mulatto leader who represented the interests of the planter class. Rigaud had returned from exile to make one last attempt to overthrow the populist and antislavery republic being forged by Pétion and the African rebels. Both men were of mixed ancestry, but they fought over whether to rule the republic by authoritarian dictates or democratic-republican law. In other words, the Louisiana rebels interpreted the news to mean that the African revolutionaries in Haiti had triumphed once again over the forces of reaction. Perhaps the slave rebels sought to achieve the same results in Louisiana.

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Bob Petersen, *Peter Jackson: A Biography of the Australian Heavyweight Champion, 1860–1901.* Jefferson: McFarland, 2011. Pp. 260. Paper $39.95.

Peter Jackson was arguably the greatest fighter of his generation. Although racism prevented him from fighting for the American Heavyweight Championship, between 1886 and 1892 the St. Croix native won the Australian Heavyweight Championship, Colored Heavyweight Championship, and the championship of England. Despite Jackson's success in the late 19th century, there are only a handful of works about his career. By focusing on Jackson's life in the Caribbean, Australia, the United States, and London, England, boxing historian Bob Peterson has written a well-researched book that is the most informative work about the champion pugilist. Bob Petersen relies on newspapers and other primary sources to successfully retell the story of the "Black Prince."

Petersen's biography is the first modern work to provide an accurate depiction of Jackson's life before his prizefighting career. The "Black Prince" frequently claimed that he was born on 16 July 1861; however, based on baptismal records, the champion's true birth date is 23 September 1860 in St. Croix. Like many black men in the Caribbean who struggled to find adequate work, Jackson eventually left home to work as a seaman. Using old interviews from Australian newspapers, Petersen describes Jackson's maritime experiences in India, New York, and eventually Sydney, Australia, where he quit the seas to become a prizefighter.

By painstakingly combing through local newspapers, Petersen provides a detailed account of Jackson's Australian experiences. Focusing mainly on his life in the sporting culture and his pugilistic career in Sydney, Jackson learned the manly art from African American bare-knuckle fighter Harry Sallars and ex-Australian champion Larry Foley. In 1886 he defeated champion Tom Lees in thirty rounds for the Australian Heavyweight Championship. At that time Australia did not have the same racial restrictions as the United States where white American champions denied Jackson a shot at a championship fight. It was not until 1908 when champion Tommy Burns fought Jack Johnson that the color bar was lifted in the United States. It would have been helpful for Petersen to provide an in-depth discussion of comparative race relations in the various nations at that time. However, Peterson limits the narrative of Jackson's life and career.

Hoping for a fight with American champion John L. Sullivan, Jackson left Austrialia for San Francisco, California, in 1888. In his first important contest he defeated Boston's George Godfrey for the "Colored Heavyweight Championship." Afterward, Jackson sparred with African American men, but did not participate in a "prizefight" with his black opponents. Jackson understood that promoters were willing to pay more money to see interracial fights. Fans in the United States and England clamored to see Jackson in action, especially against

champion John L. Sullivan, but Sullivan drew the color line. To drum up support for a Sullivan fight, in 1889 Jackson embarked on a boxing tour from San Francisco to New York and then to London. Wherever he went, the African Americans organized benefits in his honor. His pugilistic success and respectability made Jackson a hero, and African American leaders such as Frederick Douglass publicly celebrated the champion. In London, fans and even royalty swarmed him. Unfortunately, Petersen does not provide a detailed analysis of his reception in many places that compares Jackson's treatment with that of African Americans who were not celebrities.

When Jackson eventually returned to San Francisco he battled Jim Corbett in an epic sixty-one round draw in 1891. This fight immediately made Corbett the top-ranked white fighter and he parlayed this into a match with John L. Sullivan for the championship. However, after Corbett defeated Sullivan in 1892, Corbett decided against another bout with Jackson. Petersen provides some of his best analysis using the press accounts of the attempts to arrange a rematch between Corbett and Jackson. Corbett used the press to constantly goad Jackson into believing the two would eventually have another fight. Corbett once suggested they meet in Jacksonville, Florida; however, Jackson refused to go to the U.S. South because he feared for his life. Jackson grew tired of Corbett's games and eventually gave up all hope of a rematch with Corbett. Aside from the victory over Frank Slavin in London for the English Heavyweight Championship in 1892, Jackson did not fight again until 1898. Waiting for a rematch with Corbett eventually derailed Jackson's career.

Petersen does an excellent job of describing Jackson's life outside of the ring. Because of his prowess and gentlemanly temperament, Jackson became an instant celebrity in many parts of the United States. People came out in droves just to see and be near the champion. The newspapers frequently commented about Jackson's fine clothes and mastery of the English language. Jackson was an intelligent and well-read man and enjoyed quoting Shakespeare. He actually wanted to play Othello on the stage; however, he had to settle for "Uncle Tom," one of the few roles assigned to African American men. Unfortunately, Jackson also lived the life of a sporting man and nearly drank himself into poverty. When he returned to the ring in 1898, the older and slower Jackson suffered two vicious knockouts, effectively ending his career. His losses in the ring coincided with a long battle against tuberculosis, a struggle Peterson meticulously details. The great pugilist battled the disease for several years until his death in 1901.

While Peterson's biography is informative, it clearly was written for a boxing audience. Petersen prefers covering minute details of Jackson's daily life and his boxing matches over the larger social and political context that historians would prefer. Offering a narrative of Jackson's public life, as he terms it, left little room

to explore broader racial and gender issues. To be sure, he touches on these topics, but quickly returns to Jackson's story. In the end, this is a well-researched study for anyone wanting intriguing details about Jackson's life, and in that regard the book is a success.

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Arthur Remillard, *Southern Civil Religions: Imagining the Good Society in the Post-Reconstruction Era*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011, Pp. 234. Cloth $59.95. Paper $24.95.

In *Southern Civil Religions: Imagining the Good Society in the Post-Reconstruction Era*, Arthur Remillard demonstrates that several social groups labored—often at odds with one another—to define a region in the midst of rebirth, the Wiregrass South, the area that includes north Florida, southwest Georgia, and southeast Alabama. These groups—Progressives, African Americans, Roman Catholics, and Jews—established values and enforced religious sanctions upon people in the region. By focusing on place-making rituals and tactics, Remillard provides an informative view into how certain groups navigated a war-torn South full of possibility for those disempowered by the old South as well as those who were privileged by the former ways of operating.

In *Southern Civil Religions*, Remillard acknowledges that morals, values, beliefs, and symbols develop and sustain social groups. These rich, shared rules and traditions, what he terms civil or social religions, were powerful, providing motivation to participate (sometimes violently) in public life. Unlike the current situation when Robert Putnam and other scholars argue that public participation and social capital has been spent, Remillard presents a wealth of examples of people who shaped their communities in the image of their strongly held beliefs and diverse social groups in the region attempted to construct a social hierarchy in isolation of each other. Remillard does not advance one version of the "good society" over another. Instead, he provides a complex and realistic view of social life during that time period.

A second focus is on those who felt they were losing power, God-given privileges, and their place in the social hierarchy. Those seen as model citizens by nativists and "old timers" were the heroes of the Old South who demonstrated a reverence for tradition. Catholics, old-timers, and newcomers to the region came into conflict with each group attempting to advance "diverse and competing ideal visions of society" and drawing "ideological lines between those who they

believed were good for society and those they believed were not." Remillard focuses attention on the importance of "mutual opposition" and uncertainty that shaped the social landscape in Wiregrass country.

Remillard argues that southerners crafted moral codes as an outgrowth of their religious beliefs. Those struggling to rebuild a post-Reconstruction South saw the changes in the region as God's push to become stronger, more powerful than before. Some claimed that their region could become "the Eden of America," an "exceptional" place which would be the envy of the United States. Conversely, according to Remillard, African Americans used their belief in a "higher power" to explain their place in the "New South" since they believed that God's hand was critical in the establishment of their new found freedoms. Their particular version of the "good society" envisioned a state in which "unity, peace, and prosperity" were to be maximized, while "conflict and strife" were minimized. Given these diverse and oppositional perspectives, only the most skilled politicians and diplomatic leaders could bring together several social groups while marginalizing others.

Southern Civil Religions includes demographic information on the region and archival data to document the persistent and dominant values held by powerful as well as marginal stakeholders. The chapters provide detailed accounts of the experiences of each social group. While the chapters deal with individual groups and can stand alone as articles, this diminishes the continuity in the discussion of the central themes. Given the Wiregrass groups under examination, Remillard provides information that leaves the impression that each group is somewhat monolithic. There is little discussion of intragroup variation and divisions. There is some mention of diversity among white social groups such as the strains in the relationships between the rural whites and the elites and the entrepreneurs in Florida, but even there, we do not get a complete picture of the people working to establish their version of the good society. This issue of intersectionality or diversity becomes even more glaring when examining the plight of African Americans in the region. Thus when addressing the concerns of African Americans during this tumultuous period, what were the opinions of those of different classes, ages, and sexes? How did the most marginal or radical within this group engage in the task of place-making?

This missing information may be due to the limited archival data consulted. After all, often the voices of those on the margins are preserved only through oral history, instead of letters to newspapers and political leaders and other published sources. Putting the limitations of sources aside, Remillard does seem aware that a diversity of the voices from within the various groups is important and notes that "There were, though, other groups in the South with unique moral visions for society. If there was one civil religion after Reconstruction, it had many forms, and even the smallest populations influenced the most powerful groups." In *Southern Civil Religions* Remillard captures the many struggles and compromises

made by ethnic and religious communities entering new unchartered territories in the post-Reconstruction Wiregrass South.

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Shawn Leigh Alexander, *An Army of Lions: The Civil Rights Struggle Before the NAACP*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. Pp. 382. Cloth $49.95. Paper $27.50.

Shawn Leigh Alexander's *An Army of Lions* is an exploration of the early efforts to create a national civil rights organization before the founding of the NAACP in 1909. It serves as an extended example of African Americans' agency at a time when their civil rights were constantly under assault, demonstrating the resolve of many prominent African Americans to resist. In telling the story of these early civil rights organizations, Alexander reveals the struggles to capture the attention, and the wider support, of the African American masses. It is also Alexander's contention that even in their struggles, and their failures, the Afro-American League, the Afro-American Council, the Committee of Twelve, and the Niagara Movement laid the groundwork and developed critical strategies that were later adopted by the NAACP. In addition, Alexander delves into the complexity of the issues facing African Americans during the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th. *An Army of Lions* reveals the internal conflict among African Americans as they tried to determine the best course of action to stop the increasing attempts to deny them their full citizenship rights. This study tracks the evolution of these groups chronologically, emphasizing their strategies, their successes and failures, the disputes that developed among the leaders, and the events surrounding the demise of these organizations.

Alexander emphasizes African American resistance to racial discrimination by highlighting the actions of groups and individuals. He indicates that the Afro-American League developed a strategy to confront de facto and de jure segregation through legal challenges in the courts and this was later adopted by other civil rights groups. The Afro-American Council, formed in 1898 after the dissolution of the league, advanced this strategy by creating a legal bureau, which allowed them to pursue litigation more aggressively across the nation. In the early 1900s the council expanded its focus and attacked new voting restrictions passed by many southern legislatures and the loopholes created such as the "grandfather clause" that allowed illiterate whites to continue to vote if their grandfathers had voted before 1867.

Other key tactics utilized by the Afro-American Council included the lobbying of state and federal officials to uphold and protect African American citizenship rights, offering proposals for anti-lynching legislation, and meeting with Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt to encourage them to address the growing racial discrimination and violence. Alexander also discusses the Afro-American Council's literary bureau, which disseminated documents and various published materials nationwide to educate the American public about African Americans' struggles. These actions by the Afro-American Council met with mixed results, but Alexander provides details about the multifaceted approaches to African American advancement.

Another key theme in *An Army of Lions* is the points of contention among the members of these equal rights organizations. Although the goals of these leaders were to end overt discrimination and help African Americans gain their rights, Alexander describes their inability to gain consensus on how to meet these objectives. At the heart of this growing conflict was the polarization within the Afro-American Council between those who supported Booker T. Washington's moderate and less confrontational approaches or the more militant actions championed by W. E. B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and others. The last three chapters describe in detail the widening rift between these two camps, which culminated in the more radical faction denouncing Booker T. Washington, leaving the council, and forming a new group, the Niagara Movement, which was intended to be more assertive in its demands for change. The splintering of the council weakened the overall movement as they competed for mass support.

Alexander argues that the infighting was the result of the increasing frustration many felt over the council's slow progress. In many ways, these frustrations stemmed from the council's inability to inspire and connect with the African American masses. Alexander shows that the Afro-American Council, and the Afro-American League before it, failed to educate African Americans about their mission, to publicize the legal challenges being implemented, or to keep people informed about the status of these important cases under litigation. This led to a lack of moral and financial support for the work undertaken by these groups. Without desperately needed financial contributions, these organizations were unable to generate the funds needed to aggressively attack the discriminatory practices. As a result, the league and the council were forced to fund their legal challenges in a piecemeal fashion. The lack of support from the African American masses limited their progress and exacerbated the frustration felt by council members.

An Army of Lions is not without flaws. Alexander often uses the critiques of the council offered by W. Calvin Chase, the editor of *The Washington Bee*, in order to provide a dissenting voice. But a wider range of African Americans critical of the Afro-American Council would have made this discussion more convincing. If

there were no other important critics outside of the council, then a more extensive analysis of Chase's motives, personal or political, should have been included. But this is a minor issue and *An Army of Lions* is an important contribution to the historiography of African American political and legal activism. It offers insights into the social and political actions pursued by many prominent and not-so-well-known African Americans engaged in the struggles against racial discrimination and Jim Crow practices before the founding of the NAACP.

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Renée Ater, *Remaking Race and History: The Sculpture of Meta Warrick Fuller*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. Pp. 200. Cloth $49.95.

In *Remaking Race and History: The Sculpture of Meta Warrick Fuller*, Renée Ater crafts a fascinating biography of the artist and considers her public sculpture for the Jamestown Tercentennial (1907), National Emancipation Exposition (1913), and America's Making Exposition (1921). The book is a welcome addition because until recently early 20th century American sculpture has been neglected in art history, and few art historians have approached figurative sculpture critically in terms of race and gender. The expositions that Ater examines have likewise received little scholarly treatment. Ater supports her analysis by consulting the artist's personal papers and a broad array of publications from the period, especially exposition brochures, newspapers, and journals. Ater supplements these materials with secondary sources to situate Meta Warrick Fuller's sculptures within the "ideology of racial uplift" operating within the three expositions.

Some explanation of the range of evolutionary theories, which sanctioned legal segregation and undergirded Progressive era calls for social reform, would have enhanced Ater's analysis. Readers also would have benefited from a discussion of contemporary scientific treatises on race to understand the difficulties Fuller encountered when she "materialized the black body" and represented a "black physiognomy." Nonetheless, the book is a valuable contribution to the history of early 20th century American art that signals areas for future scholarship. The book is well organized, with ample reproductions and a good index and bibliography.

A particular strength is the opening chapter where Ater considers Meta Warrick Fuller a "'multitudinous individual' living a rich and complicated life." Ater presents a fascinating examination of Fuller navigating competing roles as a member of the "talented tenth," a creative artist, a suffragette, and a politically engaged sculptor. Ater aptly describes how assimilationist notions of respectability and modesty

affected the sculptor's aspirations to conform to the ideal, middle-class black woman conflicted with fashioning herself as a creative artist. The sculptor's three years of artistic training in Paris proved crucial to her career. There Fuller developed her aesthetic and modeling technique, which engaged symbolist theories of art and was especially indebted to the work of Auguste Rodin. As Ater notes, Fuller received initial success when her sculptures were exhibited at L'Art Nouveau Bing Gallery in 1902 and at the 1903 Paris Salon. Fuller also made the acquaintance of Thomas J. Calloway and W. E. B. Du Bois, with whom she visited the 1900 Exposition Universelle, and both men helped her to obtain the three exposition commissions that constitute the major subjects of analysis.

Fuller initially resisted Du Bois's recommendation that she direct her artistic endeavors toward representing "Negro types." However, in the three expositions the artist altered her sculptural practice to fulfill the requirements of each commission. Industrialist Thomas Calloway hired the sculptor to create a series of dioramas for display in the "Negro Building" at the Jamestown Exposition in 1907. In fourteen dioramas with 130 two-foot-high painted plaster figures, Fuller narrated "the progressive development of the race": psychologically through facial expressions, culturally via clothing and objects, socially in scenes depicting labor and education, and physically through changes in skin tones. Ater attends to how the dioramas fit into multiple and competing artistic discourses, offering a rich historical analysis of how Fuller's work portrayed the savagery-to-civilization narratives espoused by white southerners and accommodationists. Polemical debates on education and competing notions of racial advancement that divided Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois and their followers are discussed in this chapter and more fully in the next that deals with Fuller's sculpture to commemorate the semi-centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

In *Emancipation* (1913), commissioned by Du Bois, the sculptor returned to her aesthetic preference for generalized, suggestive figures. Ater analyzes this work in terms of 19th century precedents on this theme by sculptors John Quincy Adams Ward and Edmonia Lewis. Ater demonstrates how in Fuller's sculpture of two standing youths, the artist reinvented the theme by dispensing with the convention of the kneeling pose and eliminating other features. Freeman H. M. Murray's text *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture* (1916), on which Fuller collaborated, could be utilized further for additional insight into how the artist's language of personification intertwines with signifiers of race. Freeman Murray was well versed in contemporary art criticism and anthropological racial theories, citing works by leading researchers of the era to refute claims that a fixed system of proportions, head shape, and bodily forms constitute the "Negro type." The sculpture's two youthful figures could also be considered in relation to the theories of recapitulation and adolescence promoted by psychologist G. Stanley

Hall, with whom Solomon Fuller (the sculptor's husband) was long acquainted. Ater suggests such a racial context when she speculates that Du Bois may have disapproved of Fuller's work for suggesting an "atavistic African past."

Du Bois's dissatisfaction with *Emancipation* did not stop him from commissioning Fuller to produce another sculpture for the America's Making Exposition in 1921, the topic of chapter four. Although Du Bois gave the artist explicit instructions for producing the sculpture, Fuller did not adhere to them when she created the female allegorical figure, Ethiopia. To achieve a stunning effect of transformation, Fuller combined Beaux Arts naturalism and Egyptian sculptural traditions. Ater argues that Fuller modeled the facial features of Ethiopia after her own visage, a difficult claim to assess since there is little discussion of the artist's approach to portraiture. However, Ater provides a compelling account of how the sculpture functioned within the exhibit intended to "symbolize the origin of the race in Africa and its progress in America" and its association with the performance of "The Seven Gifts of Africa to America," a pageant written by Du Bois. Overall, *Remaking Race and History* is a complex and richly detailed work that deserves the attention of scholars of the Progressive era.

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Koritha Mitchell, *Living With Lynching: African American Plays, Performance, and Citizenship, 1890–1930*. Champaign: The University of Illinois Press, 2011. Pp. 251. Cloth $40.00. Paper $28.00.

Koritha Mitchell has written an intriguing book that offers a new interpretation of 19th and 20th century dramatists' works that she identifies as "lynching plays." Mitchell examines the works of Angelina Weld Grimkè, Alice Dunbar Nelson, Mary Burrill, Georgia Douglas Johnson, Myrtle Smith Livingston; and two male playwrights G. D. Lipscomb and Joseph Mitchell. The plays are her primary sources that demonstrate an intentional and focused literary and dramatic response by these artists to the crime of lynching. Downplaying the actual ugliness of lynching, these plays detail the immediate and long-term effects of the vigilante actions on the families and communities. They also identify lynching as horrifying acts of terrorism directed at the African American population.

Mitchell focuses on the work by four women—Grimkè, Dunbar-Nelson, Burrill, and Johnson—whom she identifies as the founders of the "lynching dramas." Mitchell argues that the overarching aim of these plays was to confront the horror of lynching through theatrical works that highlighted African Americans'

responses and perspectives. The dramatists placed the home and family relations at the center of their plays. From these domestic spaces they explored the effects of lynching and many whites' belief that African Americans were a problem that could only with dealt with through violent and brutal repression. Given whites' attitudes, the strength of the family and stability of the community were central to African Americans' survival. Families had to find ways to handle the loss of fathers and sons, endure the grief of being unable to seek justice for their loss, and withstand the psychological, emotional, and economic damage that resulted.

Angelina Grimkè's 1914 play, *Rachel* is identified as the first theatrical response to lynching. Mitchell describes the play as an effort by Grimkè to persuade white audiences that African Americans possessed the same "universal values." She presented an image of African Americans who cared for their children, expressed romantic love and affection, and grieved over the unjust loss of family members. In contrast, Dunbar-Nelson's 1918 play, *Mine Eyes Have Seen,* was written specifically for African American audiences. It speaks directly to them and expresses her belief that African Americans were not attacked because they were considered "brutes" without compassion or positive family values. Lynching was the white response to African Americans' success against overwhelming odds. It was because they were able to support and nurture their families, despite the chaos and opposition from whites, that they are attacked.

Dunbar-Nelson also explores the role of African American soldiers who were willing to die to protect a country that would not protect them. Mary Burrill's 1919 play *Aftermath* offers a more sustained examination of African American men's participation in the military. Burrill added a layer of tension when she had her work published first in *The Liberator,* the white leftist magazine. This provided an opening for community discussion of socialism and its relevance to the African American community. The African American lawyer was often a character featured in lynching plays, and many times the achievements of local black professionals served as a trigger for white mob action. Myrtle Smith Livingston's main character in *For Unborn Children* (1926) is a lawyer who is killed by the mob because he has achieved high status. In Georgia Johnson's *A Sunday Morning in the South* (1924), the central figure wants to be a lawyer. The prolific Johnson's other plays, *Blue Blood* (1926), and *Plumes* (1927), depict mothers as protector of the family and its men.

Mitchell also takes up the issue of gender differences in the writing of lynching plays. With these differences comes the introduction of male characters not possessing the sterling qualities of good character, devotion to family, and complete honesty. The works of G. D. Lispscomb and Joseph Mitchell have male figures negatively affected by lynching. These playwrights convey the idea that even the escape from lynching can change how African American men function within the family and the community. Men who escaped lynching can retreat into a place of internal

destruction that affects the family by eating away at the love, compassion, and anything else of value. Weak men who cower before lynch mobs also place the family in turmoil and distress by their actions. This perspective focuses on feelings about the loss of manhood when men live in fear of lynching.

Those plays performed in safe African American spaces became weapons that were used to counter negative beliefs and images of African Americans. These dramatic works examined by Koritha Mitchell represent a body of literature that spoke directly to the horror of lynching and its immediate and long-term effects on African American families and communities. They also present a more complete picture of those families and communities and in doing so confirmed their importance. To be sure, the playwrights wanted white audiences to witness the humanity of persons they chose to view as unworthy of life and a humane death.

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Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson, *Dreams and Nightmares: Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and the Struggle for Black Equality in America*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. Pp. 208. Cloth $22.00.

Over the past several decades, black social movement scholars have expanded our knowledge about understudied activists who shepherded African American freedom struggles, especially at the local level. Nonetheless, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X persist as dual icons of the modern black freedom struggle, in part because they have so handily embodied the movement's contrasting approaches—liberalism versus black nationalism, integration versus separatism, and nonviolence versus self-defense.

The two only met once in a brief and superficial encounter, yet as historian Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson contends in *Dreams and Nightmares,* the two leaders' overall relationship was dense and deeply anchored in African Americans' competing desires from the 19th century to fully enter, and fundamentally retreat from, the American body politic. This is the essential conflict that social critic Harold Cruse identified at the heart of African American history and politics in *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (1967). As abolitionist Frederick Douglass was to emigrationist Martin R. Delany, and integrationist W. E. B. Du Bois to accommodationist Booker T. Washington, so too was Martin to Malcolm, according to Waldschmidt-Nelson. The divergences between Malcolm and Martin were evident in their starkly different family backgrounds and upbringing, the trajectories of their public lives, and the content and tone of their major pronouncements such as

King's "I Have a Dream" speech and Malcolm's "Message to the Grassroots." The organizations with which they were affiliated also differed in orientation. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference was a vehicle for politicizing and mobilizing black clergy to bring their congregations into the protests, while in Malcolm's case the Nation of Islam formally prohibited secular political activity, a mandate against which Malcolm eventually rebelled.

At the same time, however, Waldschmidt-Nelson asserts that counterpoising Martin and Malcolm has perpetuated a false dichotomy that effaces their many points of connection. Both eschewed financial gain and "the comforts of a regular family life," and constructed political lives rooted in religious faith and personal sacrifice. Building on the work of scholars such as theologian James H. Cone, Waldschmidt-Nelson argues that over the course of their short, yet remarkable careers, the two activists achieved a striking degree of political convergence, evident in Malcolm's growing nonracial worldview and King's increasingly systematic critique of the U.S. nation-state at home and abroad. As other scholars in the field have done, Waldschmidt-Nelson rightly challenges the idea that black political thought can simply be reduced to a strict distinction between integrationism and separatism. Rather than distinct ideologies, they have often been strategies employed by different, even antagonistic, political currents. Indeed, black liberals could endorse armed self-defense, supposedly associated with "separatists," while nationalists could advocate nonviolent courses of action typically ascribed to "integrationists."

By the same token, Waldschmidst-Nelson often oversimplifies black political thought. The broad continuities she envisions between Douglass and Delany, Du Bois and Washington, and Martin and Malcolm discount how the unique conditions of a given historical moment shape ideologies and practices in response to an immediate social and political context. From this standpoint, even similar forms of black politics, such as integrationism and nationalism, have been articulated in very dissimilar ways across time, making it difficult to sustain the long comparisons made by the author. Moreover, Waldschmidt-Nelson overstates the specific convergence between Martin and Malcolm. It is true that Malcolm rejected the racialist doctrines of the Nation of Islam, and Martin began to fundamentally question the core assumptions of American liberalism. But Malcolm remained a black nationalist, even though as William W. Sales, Jr., and others have noted he became more revolutionary, internationalist, and Pan-Africanist in this orientation. And notwithstanding King's own mounting criticisms of U.S. capitalism and militarism, there is no evidence that he ever abandoned his commitment to nonviolent direct action, or jettisoned the belief that American society was redeemable.

The two men may have pursued a common goal of "freedom, equality, and social justice for people in America regardless of their skin color, race, or religion,"

but are we to conclude that these general principles would have had comparable meanings to a liberal integrationist and a black nationalist, however left-leaning they both may have been at the end of their lives? The fact that they died three years apart in a period of rapid transformation within the movement and in the broader U.S. society further confounds any judgment that they were reaching a synthesis. African American political praxis has indeed been more complex than an integrationist-separatist split; but it is for this very same reason that scholars should be attentive to the real ideological differences that have existed and evolved among black freedom movement activists.

These points aside, *Dreams and Nightmares* is well written, concise, smartly organized, and highly readable. Chapter one, which briefly sketches the history of African American oppression in the United States, uses economy and skill to establish a strong historical foundation for interpreting King and Malcolm's intertwined lives. In addition, the inclusion of a comprehensive chronology gives the book convenient points of historical reference across the two men's lifetimes and beyond. This is not only a cogently structured, accessible work for specialists in the field and graduate students, but it is also suitable for undergraduates, high school courses, and general readers.

Clarence Lang
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Manning Marable and Elizabeth Kai Hinton, eds., *The New Black History: Revisiting the Second Reconstruction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Pp. 326. Paper $28.00.

Roughly a year after he died, Manning Marable posthumously won the Pulitzer Prize in April 2012 in the category of "History" for his well-researched and widely debated biography *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (2011). Though *A Life of Reinvention* is arguably his magnum opus and last major book-length contribution to African American historiography, months after the controversial biography was released, Marable's and Elizabeth Kai Hinton's edited volume *The New Black History: Revisiting the Second Reconstruction* was published. Included in this anthology is one of Marable's last essays, a dense piece that takes on the herculean task of surveying more than a century of radical black social and political thought. With an attention-grabbing title, this volume is published in Palgrave Macmillan's "The Critical Black Studies Series," which usually includes articles originally published in *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture and Society* and "designed for university course adoption, as well as general readers

and researchers." In the volume's "Foreword," Zaheer Ali contends that the essays in *The New Black History*, were written "by both more established as well as up-and-coming scholars," problematize and expand "our understanding of the black freedom movement's spatial and chronological reach, as well as its ideological diversity," while symbolizing "a passing of the torch from Manning Marable to the next generation of scholars to continue his critical examination of the past in order to envision a more just future."

The New Black History is divided into four parts and contains sixteen chapters by fourteen scholars. Beyond the very brief "Foreword," there are no introductory remarks that summarize or contextualize the numerous essays. While instructors in African American history courses could contextualize the essays for their students, an introductory essay would have been useful. Instead, in the first chapter "Black Intellectuals and the World They Made," Marable offers reflections on more than a century of "articulate, capable leaders, activists, and intellectuals" who collectively contributed to "the racial liberalization in U.S. politics." In concise intellectual biographies, he briefly summarizes the contributions of well-known abolitionists, key black leaders of "the nadir" (unsurprisingly highlighting W. E. B. Du Bois), and a roll call of "black radicals" and scholar-activists, including Hubert H. Harrison, Marcus Garvey, Cyril V. Briggs, Claude McKay, A. Philip Randolph, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, Amy Jacques Garvey, C. L. R. James, George Padmore, Oliver C. Cox, Aime Cesaire, Bayard Rustin, Robert Franklin Williams, James Forman, Angela Y. Davis, Cedric Robinson, Leith Mullings, and bell hooks.

Acknowledging that slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, World War I, the Great Depression, and "the rise of the Nazi menace" shaped cohorts of black intellectuals, he posits that from 1945 until 2010, "there were three distinct generations of African American activists and intellectuals." Marable's first generation of post–World War II era black "activists and intellectuals" came of age during the Civil Rights–Black Power era; members of his second generation were born between 1946 and the early 1960s and were molded by key events from the early 1970s until the early 1990s; and members of Marable's third generation, Hip-Hop generation thinkers, were born (most likely borrowing from Bakari Kitwana) between 1964 and 1985 and were most profoundly shaped by monumental events of the new millennium. Who Marable decides to showcase in each generation could certainly be debated, especially "the Hip-Hop generation of intellectuals." Nevertheless, his conceptualization of African American activists and intellectuals could serve as fruitful points of departure for further discussions of what was once oversimplified as constituting "Negro thought."

The three essays in part one, "Disrupting Regional Boundaries," call for reappraisals of the traditional periodization of the Civil Rights–Black Power movement, the southern-centric approach to Civil Rights Movement historiography,

and the origins of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California. Revisiting and historicizing the 1957 "Little Rock Crisis" from the context of urban redevelopment strategies, John A. Kirk, expert on the civil rights campaigns in Arkansas, argues that Little Rock's "most decisive response to *Brown v. Board of Education* was in fact the pre-emptive strategy of slum clearance and urban redevelopment in the early 1950s rather than the massive resistance of the later 1950s." Lisa Yvette Waller's essay moves away from the civil rights historiography's focus on the South and "explores the early efforts of the Reverend Milton A. Galamison and the Parents' Workshop for Equality in New York City Schools to organize for public school integration in the 1960s." These efforts were pivotal in gradually allowing the integration of New York public schools. Donna Murch acknowledges that the Black Power era is part of a distinct historical continuum in the Bay Area (including migration patterns and police repression), but maintains that the Black Power demands as well as the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense are best understood as direct outgrowths of black student activism at Merritt College and the University of California, Berkeley beginning in the early 1960s.

The five essays in part two, "Transnational Dimensions," introduce various case studies that underscore the global implications and black internationalist tradition of African Americans' struggles during the Civil Rights–Black Power Movement. Challenging Harold Cruse's 1967 iconoclastic dismissal of playwright Lorraine Hansberry, Rebeccah Welch argues that during the 1950s and 1960s, especially after her 1959 classic *A Raisin in the Sun*, Hansberry embraced an often outspoken internationalist, Pan-Africanist, and radical discourse to address racial oppression at local, national, and global levels. "Hansberry's effort to raise the struggles of the oppressed to the world stage marks an important and under-examined chapter in the history of black politics and culture," Welch asserts. Echoing Timothy Tyson, in his first essay Robeson Taj Frazier explores Robert Franklin Williams and Mabel Williams's global networking and "transnational and international work" in Cuba, China, and Tanzania. In his second and longer essay in part two, Frazier scrutinizes the transition of the Congress of African People (CAP) from a cultural nationalist organization to a black Maoist movement. For Frazier, "CAP's ideological transformation in 1974 provides a unique and multifaceted illustration" of what he calls "identity formation" as well as "the changing dynamics of black radicalism."

Disputing the dominant and oversimplified trends in describing the actions, lives, and thoughts of African American expatriates as well as the dynamics and reverberations of the African American freedom struggle in Europe, Brenda Gayle Plummer compels her readers to truly re-think the "African American-European nexus." Flipping the script on traditional African diasporic historiography, she posits that, "the civil rights and Black Power movements also provoked political debate and action that European activists used to interpret and affect conditions in

their own countries." Her expansive exploration of the interactions and relationships between African Americans and Europe and Europeans is complex and nuanced. "This essay will disappoint those seeking a crude cause-and-effect link between European and African American insurgencies, as well as those who assume that the connection did not rise above rhetoric," Plummer concludes. "A complex reality suggests many eddies and byways in the relationship." This essay would be ideal for scholars seeking to theorize African Americans and transatlantic history. Expanding upon what he dubbed "Rainbow Radicalism" in his book *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* (2004), Jeffrey Ogbar examines the Asian Student Movement as an ideological descendant of the Black Power movement's radicalism. "Asian American radicals merged ethnic nationalist rhetoric with a struggle that emphasized class conflict and interracial coalitions," Ogbar declares. The Black Panther Party "served as a paradigm of radical ethnic nationalism and a vanguard party for the revolutionary nationalist movement."

The four essays in part three, "Disrupting Internal Boundaries," call for reconceptualizations of the Black Power era by critically probing the movement's historical roots and strategies as well as select individual and organizational movers and shakers. In his first essay in this section, Peniel E. Joseph repeats the main argument of his 2006 narrative of the Black Power era: the necessity of unpacking "the connections between civil rights and Black Power radicalism." In his second essay in this section, Joseph assesses the complexity of Stokely Carmichael/Kwame Ture, "one of the most obscure icons of his generation." According to Joseph, Ture is an ideal figure for historical analysis because he provides a "unique prism to view issues of race, war, and democracy in the United States at the local, national, and international level." In his contribution Simon Wendt, author of *The Spirit of the Shotgun: Armed Resistance and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (2007), underscores the need "to probe the evolution of self-defense tactics in the civil rights and Black Power eras." Elizabeth Kai Hinton uses the early activism of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) to illuminate how "major transnational corporations and labor unions responded to Black Power." The value of this essay is the notion that radical labor groups such as DRUM have not traditionally been placed within the pantheon of Black Power era progenitors.

Part four "Struggling for Community Control and Autonomy," includes four essays. Stephen Lazar highlights Septima Clark's monumental contributions to the Citizenship Education Program of the Highlander Folk School, the Southern Christian Leadership Council, and the "organizing tradition" of black grassroots leadership. Nishani Frazier recasts the Congress of Racial Equality's multifaceted Black Power outlook from 1966 until 1969, focusing on Cleveland's Target City Project. Zachary Gillan portrays Floyd McKissick's understudied, Booker T. Washington-like Soul City, North Carolina, as a nuanced expression of black eco-

nomic nationalism and power. Russell Rickford considers Black Power through the lens of black educational thought and activism, namely how various groups—from concerned parents to theorists—grappled with shifting ideologies of integration, autonomy, and black cultural distinctiveness at the dawn of the Black Power era. Readers are introduced to lesser-known, influential grassroots educational activists from Harlem, San Francisco, and other cities.

The New Black History's diverse collection of sixteen essays address a wide range of individuals, topics, phenomena, and events in African American history during what Manning Marable first dubbed "the Second Reconstruction" in his 1984 book *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945–1982*. This anthology is one study in a dynamic assemblage of anthologies published since the dawning of the new millennium that embrace the notion of "the long Black Power movement," blur the once widely-accepted lines drawn between the civil rights and Black Power eras, and introduce new historical markers and engines, thus further complicating and extending the ever-growing historiography of the 1960s and 1970s. Similar volumes of this type include *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights–Black Power Movement* (2001); *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles Outside the South, 1940–1980* (2003); *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America* (2005); *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights–Black Power Era* (2006); and *Want to Start a Revolution?: Radical Black Women in the Black Freedom Struggle* (2009). As one who regularly teaches undergraduate and graduate classes on 20th century African American history, I can envision assigning *The New Black History* and certainly recommending it to those interested in researching post–World War II African American life and history.

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Rev. Jerome G. LeDoux, S.V.D., *War of the Pews: A Personal Account of St. Augustine Church in New Orleans*. Donaldsonville: Margaret Media, Inc., 2011. Pp. 398. Paper $22.00.

Rev. Jerome G. LeDoux, S.V.D., pastor of St. Augustine Roman Catholic Church in New Orleans, Louisiana, from 1990 to 2006 admits at the outset that this work is a "personal" as opposed to "academic" history. "*War of the Pews* is heavily historical in content," Rev. LeDoux writes, "but it is clothed in the fanciful description and dialogue of people such as Jeanne Marie Aliquot, Theophile Talebo, Marcel Dupré, Marteh Fortiere, Henriette Delille, Juliette Gaudin, Homer

Plessy," and others. "Thus," he adds, "hard history is the payload, while modified imagination is the delivery system." Without the support of primary and secondary sources, however, the "modified imagination" comes close to producing historical fiction, thus threatening the overall value of this work. One could easily forgive Rev. LeDoux's use of imaginative dialogue and anecdotes if the historical figures had previously received scholarly attention. But of the seven people listed above, only Henriette Delille and Homer Plessy, by far the best known of those listed, have received limited historical analysis. Although the others were extremely important to the development of the New Orleans Afro-Creole community, they remain obscure, even after they are discussed in *War of the Pews.*

In its structure and content, *War of the Pews* resembles the 19th century religious memoir such as Daniel Payne's *Recollections of Seventy Years* (1888). A mix of history and personal memory, *War of the Pews* chronicles Rev. LeDoux's tenure as pastor of St. Augustine Church, considered the oldest black Catholic congregation in the United States. And it is in this capacity that *War of the Pews* adds to the historiography of the unique and understudied black Catholic community of New Orleans. The first five chapters detail Rev. LeDoux's experience as the congregation's leader during and immediately after Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Like many of his congregants, he refused to leave his church and the city, even after the first mandatory evacuation in its 294-year history. Rev. LeDoux brilliantly describes the importance of St. Augustine to its community not only as a church, but as a cultural marker, a monument to the Afro-Creole community that found protection, and a certain degree of freedom, in the institution since its construction in 1842. From its genesis in the heart of the largest free black neighborhood in the slaveholding South to its near death at the hands of a "perfect storm," St. Augustine, Rev. LeDoux tells us, represented a sense of belonging, a sense of constancy, and comfort to "the needy, the helpless, and near hopeless people of a storm-blasted city [with] few lighthouses of hope."

But the compelling, emotional narrative of his post–Katrina experience quickly fades into a sweeping polemic against the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, President George W. Bush, Federal Emergency Management Administration Director Michael Brown, Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert, and, most prominently, Archbishop Alfred Hughes of New Orleans. Continually interrupting the third-person narrative with multiple-page quotations of his own personal recollections, Father LeDoux attacks Archbishop Hughes at great length for promoting a plan to "cluster" St. Augustine parish with nearby St. Peter Claver Church in the spring of 2006. Under the newly revived plan called "Catholic Life 2000," St. Augustine Church would remain a house of worship, but St. Augustine parish would cease to exist as an independent entity. This threat of "execution" and the long and ultimately successful campaign launched by Rev. LeDoux and his parishioners to save their parish's independence is the climax of the *War of the Pews* to which the book's title refers.

Although the idea of a "war of the pews" is a central theme in Rev. LeDoux's narrative, and, as he argues, the central theme of the entire history of St. Augustine Church and the colored Creole community that built it, his failure to support his historical memoir with other forms of documentation ultimately diminishes the book's academic value. LeDoux successfully tells the story of this "war" from the enslavement of Theophile Talebo, an African who, legend has it, saved Jeanne Marie Aliquot from drowning in the Mississippi River, which led to her dedication to providing a Catholic education of free colored girls. Rev. LeDoux relates the story of Henriette Delille and Juliette Gaudin, two well-connected, yet renegade Creoles of color who founded the Sisters of the Holy Family order at St. Augustine in 1842 in spite of strong opposition in the white-dominated Catholic Church and the Creole community. He also describes the segregation practices in Roman Catholic churches, and St. Augustine's transition from a black to a white congregation following *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, and its eventual return to an African American Catholic parish.

It takes over a hundred pages, however, for Rev. LeDoux to reach any of this "hard history," and even then it is interrupted by lengthy "imaginative" dialogue that derails the otherwise compelling and historically important account. Between unidentified "slaver thugs" screaming "Ay, caramba!" and a colorful description of enslaved Africans in Congo Square "doing skits" of Toussaint L'Ouverture's successful slave rebellion in St. Domingue, Rev. LeDoux provides the first published glimpse of an important story that needs to be told. The idea of making "war" the central theme in the history of the New Orleans Afro-Creole community is provocative and original; and its use to describe the battle between white and black, Anglo-American and Creole New Orleanians over St. Augustine's storied pews highlights French-speaking Afro-Creoles' struggles for belonging in the increasingly Anglo-dominated Crescent City. But the literary style of *War of the Pews,* which undoubtedly will serve future historians well as a contemporary account of the African Americans' religious struggles following Hurricane Katrina, leaves a large historiographical gap in its wake.

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Amos Yong and Estrelda Y. Alexander, eds., *Afro-Pentecostalism: Black Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in History and Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 2011. Pp. 260. Cloth $80.00. Paper $30.00.

In little more than a century, Afro-Pentecostalism has grown from a marginalized branch of Protestantism to an essential and hugely influential part of African American religious life, especially with regard to the worship styles and music. The fourteen scholars in Yong and Alexander's anthology use history, ethics, theology,

religious studies, and cultural anthropology to explore how African American Pentecostalism has engaged and should continue to engage with the broader religious and secular world. *Afro-Pentecostalism* begins with Cecil M. Robeck's examination of this movement's origins in early 20th century Los Angeles, where poor African Americans helped create the most racially mixed churches in the region, despite being overlooked by more prosperous African Americans in other denominations. David D. Daniels III explains how early Afro-Pentecostalism both supported and challenged elements of black civil society such as newspaper publishers, political groups, and fraternal lodges. Through church publications and other sources, he contends that Pentecostals were actually more active in movements such as pacifism and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association than most other African American Christian denominations.

Valerie Cooper places early Pentecostalism on a long axis of black women's religious leadership that dates back to 19th century evangelists such as Jarena Lee and Sojourner Truth. Cooper traces its origins to the eschatological perspectives generated by the Civil War and the violent disruptions of the post–Reconstruction era. Clarence Hardy describes how "church mothers" wielded power by carving out a separate woman's space and using their influence over the male leadership. Their involvement in urban public spaces, Hardy argues, also challenged contemporary conceptions of black female respectability. Craig Scandrett-Leatherman takes this gendered lens in a different direction, arguing that although slavery and lynching disrupted traditional African manhood rites, the dancing and conscientious objection of Pentecostal leader Charles Harrison Mason helped to create new rites "performed as an alternative to practices of either acquiescence or violence." In the last historical essay, Louis B. Gallien, Jr. examines the lives and musical styles of Sam Cooke, Donny Hathaway, and Marvin Gaye, arguing that their Pentecostal roots, their personal conflicts over singing secular music, and exploration of the sacred and the sexual shaped their popular music careers.

Cheryl Sanders's ethical critique of the "prosperity gospel" contrasts the tradition of Pentecostal social engagement with the present-day tendency of some ministers to emphasize "God's will for the believer to become wealthy" and to avoid social issues, except for those of the Christian right. Leonard Lovett uses personal autobiography, which he describes as central to African American intellectual and religious traditions, to explore his life-long journey in Pentecostalism and the academy. William C. Turner, Jr. argues that Pentecostalism has restored the Holy Spirit to a central place in African American Christianity, but also holds less orthodox beliefs about "the Spirit" and the Holy Trinity. Turner calls for greater interaction with the broader black theological tradition, especially black liberation theology, because this would enrich the understanding of pneumatology, the study of the Holy Spirit, and enhance the liberationist possibilities of Pentecostal churches.

The theological analysis continues with Frederick L. Ware, who asserts that Pentecostal beliefs about the apocalyptic end-times have hindered the adherents' ability to explore the deeper causes of African American oppression and should be replaced by "more social and this-worldly conceptions of salvation." Ogbu U. Kalu places early 20th century Pentecostal evangelism in Africa within the larger history of African American missionary work and argues that it helped to foster Pan-Africanism and nationalism. *Afro-Pentecostalism* concludes with Dale T. Irvin's study of Pentecostalism and black theology in a global context, which like the earlier chapters promotes the potential benefits of a dialogue among the various denominational traditions.

Taken together, these disparate perspectives seek to address the common perception that Afro-Pentecostalism is anti-intellectual, avoids social activism, embraces the prosperity gospel, marginalizes females, and does not engage with other Christians. Although *Afro-Pentecostalism* examines some of these criticisms, it also convincingly shows the strong tradition of Pentecostal involvement in the Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, and other social movements. The contributors do not entirely agree on the strength and historical or theological roots of this tradition, but this helps to highlight the long struggle among Pentecostals over how to interact with the larger world. At the same time, there are some questions that remain largely unanswered. The introduction stresses the Pentecostal influence on African American worship styles, but little more is said about this in the chapters that follow.

While identity markers such as race, nationality, and gender are given significant attention, the reader is left wondering about the role of class identity and regional differences within Pentecostalism. Both may be key to further understanding the overall movement, since it began in the American West among southern migrants, spread to northern cities, and presently includes highly educated members (such as the contributors) and proponents of the prosperity gospel. Although the essays are generally accessible to a broad audience as well as specialists from various disciplines, William Turner employs terms likely to be familiar only to fellow theologians. And Louis Gallien's essay would benefit from a fuller exploration of the connections between Cooke, Hathaway, and Gaye's religious turmoil, and the expectations of their families and religious communities, and the challenges of being popular recording artists. These minor concerns aside, *Afro-Pentecostalism* is an excellent interdisciplinary study of the past, present, and future of the African American Pentecostal movement, demonstrating that it is far more than what many other black Protestants have perceived it to be.

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Call for Papers

"Gendering the Carceral State: African American Women, History, and Criminal Justice"

The *Journal of African American History* (JAAH) is planning a Special Issue on the historical experiences of black women in the criminal justice system. Over the last few decades, the U.S. prison system has witnessed unprecedented expansion, with the number of state prisoners moving from 200,000 in the late 20th century to just over two million in the early 21st. African Americans have been disproportionately represented in the prison population, accounting for roughly 40 percent of the total prison and jail population. A growing body of work has begun to examine mass incarceration, currently and historically. However, the focus is often on the experiences of African American men.

This Special Issue of the *Journal of African American History*, to be edited by Kali N. Gross and Cheryl D. Hicks, seeks scholarly essays documenting the historical experiences of African American women in the carceral state. Essays focusing on a broad cross-section of issues such as crime, violence, policing, poverty, shifting laws, and penal reform in relation to African American women are welcome.

Among the topics to be considered in this Special Issue of the JAAH are: 1) disproportionate arrests and incarceration rates; 2) juvenile justice; 3) gendered and/or sexual violence; 4) regulation of black female sexuality; 5) the impact of poverty, racism, and stereotypes on the policing and incarceration of black women; 6) the impact of legislation, especially drug laws, on black women and their families; and 7) international comparisons of the impact of carceral practices on women in various locations in the African Diaspora and Africa.

Essays should be no more than 35 typed, double-spaced pages (12 pt. font), including endnotes. The JAAH uses the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 16th edition (Chicago, IL, 2010) for citations. Guidelines for manuscript submissions are available in *The Journal of African American History* and on the JAAH website http://www.jaah.org/.

Submitted essays will be peer reviewed. Your cover letter should include the title of your essay, name, postal address, e-mail address, phone number, and fax number. Your essay should begin with the title of the essay and should NOT include your name.

Please send four (4) hard copies of your manuscript to:

Kali N. Gross and Cheryl D. Hicks, Guest Editors
c/o V. P. Franklin, Editor
The Journal of African American History
University of California, Riverside
GSOE—1207 Sproul Hall
900 University Avenue
Riverside, CA 92521

E-mail: vpf1019@aol.com or jaah@jaah.org

Submission Deadline: 15 January 2014

INDEX TO VOLUME 98

The Journal of African American History

Volume 98, No. 1 **Winter 2013**

Special Issue

"Women, Slavery, and the Atlantic World"
Brenda E. Stevenson, Guest Editor

BOOK REVIEWS

Volume 98, No. 2 **Spring 2013**

Special Issue

"African Americans, Police Brutality, and the U.S. Criminal Justice System: Historical Perspectives"

Guest Editor Clarence Taylor

SPECIAL REPORTS

ESSAY REVIEW

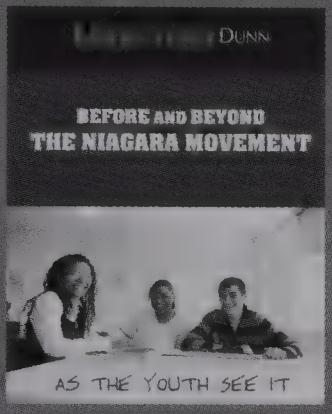
BOOK REVIEWS

Volume 98, No. 3 **Summer 2013**

Volume 98, No. 4 **Fall 2013**

Human Rights Educational Publishing

BEFORE AND BEYOND THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT: AS THE YOUTH SEE IT



Before and Beyond the Niagara Movement: As the Youth See It offers comprehensive lessons and materials suitable for use in classrooms, study groups, and youth programs interested in engaging the African American past. Beginning with the 1905 Niagara Movement in which African American leaders pledged support for equal citizenship rights for people of African descent, these lesson plans allow young people to learn "key concepts" from the past and to apply them to their own lives and circumstances. The curriculum includes handouts and documents for the development of a clear understanding of how social change occurred historically as well as the important lessons that can be applied to our current conditions. Focusing specifically on the application of strategies and practices modeled by the youth of Kiamsha, an organization devoted to youth empowerment, ***Before and Beyond*** allows educators and youth groups to build upon and apply these lessons from the past. The inclusion of a DVD, along with the lesson plans, handouts, and other materials, provides an opportunity for young people to "learn by doing" and to engage in activities that make the past come alive. ***Before and Beyond*** offers a unique and exciting set of historical lessons that help the youth of today plan for a better tomorrow.

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Linda Vaughn, Principal of Johnny N. Allen
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"A wonderfully rich and comprehensive resource for teachers seeking to explore the roots of the Niagara Movement and its substantial impact on the history of African Americans and the nation. Among teacher resources on the subject, *Before and Beyond the Niagara Movement* stands alone in its depth and coverage and marriage between content and pedagogy. Truly a must have resource for students and teachers of the African American experience."
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The Department of History and the Institute for Research in African-American Studies (IRAAS) at Columbia University seek to hire a distinguished scholar at any rank from tenure-track assistant professor through full professor with tenure in the field of twentieth century African-American History, to begin 1 July 2015.

Candidates must have an established record of scholarship, teaching, and service. Teaching responsibilities will be divided between the History Department and IRAAS.

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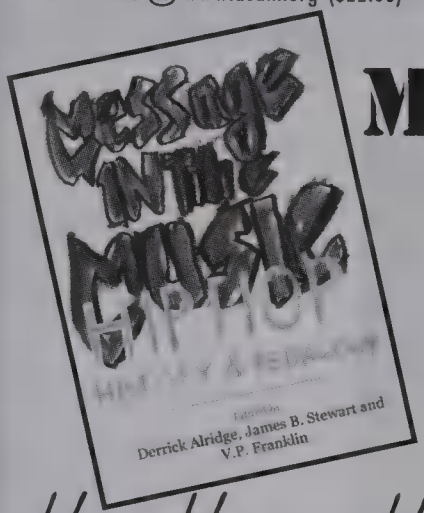

MESSAGE IN THE MUSIC

KRS-ONE
Mos Def
Jill Scott
Common
Kweli
Goodie Mob
Queen Latifah
Lauryn Hill
Ice Cube

Hip-Hop, History, and Pedagogy

EDITED BY: Derrick Alridge, James B. Stewart, and V. P. Franklin

MESSAGE IN THE MUSIC brings together wide-ranging, critical, and detailed essays that examine Hip Hop as one of the most influential cultural phenomena of the past half-century. Written by historians, social scientists, literary critics, and educators, the essays examine the current state of Hip Hop, investigate its historical and philosophical linkages to previous African American social and cultural movements, and explore the ways it may be employed as an emancipatory pedagogy for youth in the United States and around the world. By re-engaging ongoing debates in Hip Hop while offering fresh insights from young scholars across a variety of disciplines and perspectives, this collection has much to offer academics, students, teachers, and parents.

Message in the Music is a thorough and comprehensive text on Hip Hop and education. It goes beyond the didactic "how to" discussion about Hip Hop and education and examines Hip Hop as a complex genre of popular music that has captured the attention and imagination of the world. This complexity, illustrated in the chapters that make up this volume, not only address Hip Hop's pedagogical utility, but also situates it within a Black historical and cultural context and challenges us to think about race, class, gender within a larger global and diasporic context. Any scholar who is serious about Hip Hop will want to read this book.

– Adrienne Dixon, Ohio State University

This is a potent, penetrating, progressive, and interdisciplinary collection of essays from a diverse group of established and emerging Black/African Studies scholars. In these pages are some of the most insightful analyses of Hip Hop's relationship to the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, the Blues and R&B music, gender and nationalist politics, narrative and mise-en-scene convergence with blaxpolitation films…and glorification of misogyny and lumpen behaviör. Message is the state-of-the-art of Hip Hop anthologies.

-- Sundiata Cha-Jua, University of Illinois

Contributors

Derrick Alridge, R. Diane Bartlow, Bernard W. Bell, Bryan R. Bracey, Ayanna F. Brown, Sakile K. Camara, Charise Cheney, Aimee Meredith Cox, Pero Gaglo Dagbovie, Lesley Feracho, V. P. Franklin, Ronald L. Jackson II, Bettina L. Love, Edward Onaci, Kerri Reddick-Morgan, Layli (Phillips) Maparyan, Paula Marie Seniors, Dionne Patricia Stephens, James B. Stewart

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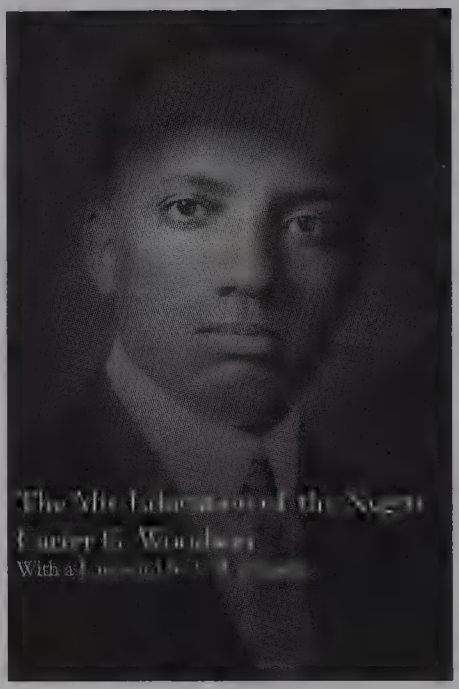

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Cover Image: Malcolm X in Chester, PA, in April 1964, supporting protests over the desegregation of the public school system. Photo by Jack T. Franklin (Courtesy of the Jack Franklin Collection, the African American Museum in Philadelphia).

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