
SOJOURNING
FOR FREEDOM

*Black Women, American Communism,
and the Making of Black Left Feminism*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Afro-American</i> (Baltimore)
ABB	African Blood Brotherhood
AFL	American Federation of Labor
AN	<i>Amsterdam News</i> (New York)
ANLC	American Negro Labor Congress
AYC	American Youth Congress
AYD	American Youth for Democracy
AWD	<i>Atlanta Daily World</i>
CAA	Council on African Affairs
CAW	Congress of American Women
CD	<i>Chicago Defender</i>
CIO	Congress of Industrial Organizations
Comintern	Communist International
CPA	Communist Political Association
CPUSA	Communist Party, USA
CRC	Civil Rights Congress
DW	<i>Daily Worker</i>
DWU	Domestic Workers Union
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FO	<i>Fraternal Outlook</i>
FR	<i>Freedom</i>
FSAA	Records Federal Surveillance of Afro-Americans (1917–1925) Records
HDH Papers	Hermina Dumont Huiswoud Papers
HL	<i>Harlem Liberator</i>
HTL	Harlem Tenants League
ILD	International Labor Defense

ITUC-NW	International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers
IWO	International Workers Order
LSNR	League of Struggle for Negro Rights
LTP Papers	Louise Thompson Patterson Papers
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAARPR	National Alliance against Racial and Political Repression
NACW	National Association of Colored Women
NC	<i>Negro Champion</i>
NCNW	National Council of Negro Women
NLPCW	National League for the Protection of Colored Women
NMU	National Maritime Union
NNC	National Negro Congress
NO	<i>New Order</i>
NTWIU	Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union
NUCFAD	National United Committee to Free Angela Davis
NW	<i>Negro World</i>
NWC	National Women's Commission
NWP	National Woman's Party
NYA	<i>New York Age</i>
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
PA	<i>Political Affairs</i>
PC	<i>Pittsburgh Courier</i>
PO	<i>Party Organizer</i>
PV	<i>People's Voice</i>
RA	The Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI)
SCHW	Southern Conference for Human Welfare
SNCC	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
SNYC	Southern Negro Youth Congress
SPA	Socialist Party of America
TL	<i>The Liberator</i>
TWWA	Third World Women's Alliance
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
WCEJ	Women's Committee for Equal Justice
WFDY	World Federation of Democratic Youth
WIDF	Women's International Democratic Federation
WP	Workers Party
WPA	Works Progress Administration
YCL	Young Communist League
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER 1

Black Communist Women Pioneers, 1919–1930

Grace Campbell showed herself an ardent Communist . . . Though employed by the City Administration, is frank in her disapproval of it and said the only way to remedy the present situation was to install Bolshevism in place of the present Government.

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, NEW YORK BUREAU FILE,
61-6864-1, 4 MARCH 1931

Grace P. Campbell was exhilarated. In May 1920, she spoke passionately at a rally in Harlem for a candidate of the Socialist Party of America (SPA) who was running for a seat in the New York State Assembly from the neighborhood's Twenty-First District. A government informant reported that she “made a few remarks upon the need of women waking up to the fact that they are being driven to prostitution and other evils by the low scale of wages. She promised to work hard among the women, not only of her race but all of the women.”¹ In addition to stumping for Socialist candidates, Campbell ran on the SPA ticket for a seat in the New York State Assembly for Harlem's Nineteenth District in November 1920. She was the “first colored woman to be named for public office on a regular party ticket,” according to *The Messenger*, an SPA-affiliated black radical newspaper co-founded by A. Phillip Randolph and Chandler Owen. They, too, stood for election on the SPA ticket for state office. The newspaper endorsed Campbell's candidacy, lauding “her pioneer [*sic*] social service work for colored girls” in Harlem.² On Election Day, she won nearly two thousand votes, more than any other

black SPA candidate, including Randolph and Owen. The impressive support for Campbell spoke to her reputation in Harlem as a trustworthy, able community organizer and social worker committed to fighting for the dignity, rights, and survival of black women, children, and the entire community. Her high profile in Harlem radicalism also caught the attention of authorities. In the years immediately after World War I, the Bureau of Investigation, the predecessor of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, meticulously monitored her left-wing activism.³

Campbell's active involvement in the SPA signified her pioneering role in Harlem's early twentieth-century radicalism. From World War I through the eve of the Depression, she was the most prominent woman in the Harlem Left. By 1923, she had joined the Workers (Communist) Party (WP). She was the first black woman to officially do so. But she was hardly alone. A small, dedicated cadre of Harlem women radicals enlisted in the Workers Party during the 1920s. These included Williana Burroughs, Maude White, and Hermina Dumont Huiswoud. Like Campbell, they earned reputations as well-respected community leaders. Combining a pragmatic approach to community work with a leftist, transnational political vision, they called for world revolution and focused special concern for black women's freedom. Passionately committed to the nascent Communist movement, early black women radicals saw it as a viable alternative to mainstream black protest organizations. Black left feminists embraced this conviction through the entire Old Left period.

Tracing these women's lives, this chapter focuses on the first generation of black Communist women who joined the Party immediately after World War I and prior to the social upheavals of the Depression. Trailblazers, they began formulating black left feminism. The first part of the chapter looks at their varied social backgrounds and journeys into the Communist Left, demonstrating how early black women radicals were hardly a monolithic group. Next, the chapter examines how these women often functioned as outsiders within the early Communist Left. Grappling with the Party's contradictions and neglect of black women's issues, these pioneers nevertheless pressed forward with their black left feminist agenda. They were at the frontlines of building left-wing movements in Harlem for the community's economic survival. Black women radicals understood how struggling for decent housing and jobs was vital to the well-being of Harlem residents. Rethinking Marxism-Leninism, they proffered early articulations of the "triple

oppression” paradigm, the thesis on black women’s superexploitation, and the vanguard center approach. They also embraced the “New Woman” ideal, a term referring to early twentieth-century American urban writers, suffragettes, journalists, educators, and bohemians who were less constrained by Victorian gender mores and domesticity and who pursued independent womanhood.⁴ This sensibility prompted some to challenge ideals of bourgeois respectability espoused by church, club, and Garveyite women. The latter part of the chapter looks at the importance of traveling to the Soviet Union in helping black Communist women rethink their place in the world and begin forging a “black women’s international.” Through their experiences in the early Communist Left, black women radicals began building a community and collective identity. Paving the way for black women who joined the CPUSA during its heyday in the 1930s and 1940s and anticipating the black feminism of the 1970s, the lives of first generation black Communist women speak to the radical aspects and ideological complexities of early twentieth-century black feminism.

Local and global events provided the background in which early black Communist women came of age, cultivated an oppositional consciousness, and enlisted in the Workers Party. They were born during the “nadir” in African American life (1880–1915). These years witnessed the consolidation of Jim Crow, the highpoint of lynching, and the beginning of the Great Migration, which, between 1910 and 1930, brought more than one million African Americans from the rural South to the urban North in search of a better life.⁵ During these years, nearly forty thousand people from the Caribbean arrived in Harlem.⁶ The New Negro movement (1890–1935) emerged in response to these events. Committed to “nation building,” New Negro protest organizations and intellectuals promoted “racial uplift ideology,” what the historian Kevin Gaines describes as a “black middle class ideology . . . that came to mean an emphasis on self-help, racial solidarity, temperance, thrift, chastity, social purity, patriarchal authority, and the accumulation of wealth.”⁷

Black women were visible in the New Negro movement. In 1893, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, the prominent Boston newspaper publisher and clubwoman, named her newspaper *Woman’s Era*, aptly capturing club and church women’s sentiment that the “race could rise no higher than its woman” and that women were best qualified to lead the race.⁸ Women’s clubs were at the forefront in agitating for the protection of black women

and crusading against lynching and Jim Crow. No organization was more visible in these campaigns than the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), the first national secular black women's organization, founded in 1896. Club and church women also vocally demanded equality with black men. However, by the early 1920s women's clubs had become increasingly elitist. Their growing concern with middle-class female respectability and attempts to police the behaviors of purportedly licentious, lazy black working-class people alienated clubwomen from the very communities they intended to uplift.⁹

Internationally, World War I marked the beginning of the end of European global supremacy. Unprecedented carnage on the battlefield, wartime migrations, strikes, and nationalist revolts in India, Ireland, and China weakened the European colonial grip on Africa and Asia. In 1917, the Russian Revolution established the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union. Two years later, Bolsheviks organized the Communist International (Comintern) to coordinate the world revolution from Moscow. Inspired by the Bolsheviks' success, short-lived Communist insurrections shook Western and Central Europe immediately after the war.¹⁰

The World War I era also witnessed a global black revolt as anti-colonial uprisings erupted in Africa and across the diaspora. In the United States, these global upheavals, together with massive wartime black migrations, a spike in lynching, the "race riots" in East St. Louis in 1917 and Chicago in 1919, and a national wave of strikes in heavy industries, spawned "New Negro radicalism," a more militant New Negro tendency. As a political and cultural movement composed of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), *The Messenger*, and other protest groups, as well as news and literary journals, New Negro radicalism linked black struggles for self-determination with postwar, anti-colonial struggles across the Global South.¹¹

The early twentieth century also proved to be an exciting and tumultuous moment for the U.S. Left. The Russian Revolution both inspired and divided American radicals. In the summer of 1919, two groups of left-wing militants held inaugural conventions, forming the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party of America respectively. Both organizations claimed to be the legitimate "Communist" party. Authorities immediately targeted both parties as part of a wider government crackdown—popularly known as the red scare—against left-wing organizations, civil rights and black nationalist

groups, and trade unions. Under this intense wave of government repression, both Communist groups functioned as underground organizations. Upon the urging of the Comintern, they merged in 1922, forming a unified, aboveground organization, the Workers Party of America. In 1929, it renamed itself the Communist Party, USA.¹²

Developments in the global Communist Left around the Negro Question and the Woman Question had lasting implications for framing discussions around race, gender, and class within the Workers Party. The Comintern's resolutions of 1922 and 1928 on the Negro Question were key in recruiting black men and women. The resolution of 1922 defined black struggles across the diaspora as key partners in the world revolution, while the resolution of 1928, commonly referred to as the "Black Belt thesis," declared the right of African American self-determination in the South.¹³ Soviet women's status also influenced U.S. Communists' thinking. In the years immediately after the Russian Revolution and into the 1930s, the ideal of "the new Soviet woman"—a modern, sexually liberated, revolutionary woman—generated immense interest in left-wing, bohemian, and even politically mainstream circles throughout the West.¹⁴ Soviet laws on women's rights, which on paper were some of the most progressive in the world, granted women full citizenship rights and legalized divorce and abortion (the first nation in the world to do so). Soviets initially adhered to a policy of tolerance toward homosexuals. A small group of Bolshevik feminists, such as Aleksandra Kollontai and Clara Zetkin, argued that women's sexual liberation and the "withering away of the bourgeois family" were vital both to women's liberation and to building a classless society. In 1919, Soviet officials established the Zhenotdel (Women's Department) to raise Soviet women's gender consciousness. In the following year, the Comintern founded the International Women's Secretariat to coordinate Communist women's work around the world.¹⁵

The world revolution failed to materialize immediately after the war, as Communists had predicted. So the Soviet Union went about constructing a socialist state in isolation. But Communists globally, including a small cadre of black women radicals in Harlem, remained confident that capitalism and imperialism were doomed. Informed by the early Communist Left's positions on race, gender, and class, together with their lived experiences, black women radicals forged their own left-wing politics. Viewing black women as the revolutionary vanguard, early black left feminists both contested and affirmed the politics of middle-class respectability espoused by church and

clubwomen, and rejected the pro-capitalist agendas of New Negro groups and the masculinist articulations of black self-determination advanced by the international Left.

The Social Origins of Early Black Communist Women

Several prominent first generation black Communist women enjoyed successful professional careers as social workers, teachers, and secretaries before joining the Workers Party. This pattern would continue through the entire Old Left period. These women were part of a new middle class that emerged across the African diaspora beginning in the late nineteenth century.¹⁶ Focusing on the uplift and protection of black women and children in the age of Jim Crow and European global supremacy, early black women radicals' work underscored how the New Negro movement was foundational to their political visions before and after they joined the WP.

No person better exemplified this than Grace Campbell, who was born in 1882 in Georgia. Her father was a Jamaican immigrant and teacher and her mother was a woman of mixed African American and Native American heritage from Washington, D.C. Her family eventually settled in Washington where she grew up. She apparently never traveled to Jamaica to visit her father's family. Following in her parents' footsteps, she graduated from the historically black Howard University in Washington. Like many black women reformers of the Progressive era, she never married or had children.¹⁷ By 1908, Campbell had made her way to New York. There, she began her distinguished career as a social worker, community activist, and civil servant. She joined the multiracial, mixed-gendered National League for the Protection of Colored Women (NLPCW), one of three organizations that merged in 1911 to form the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, later renamed the National Urban League.¹⁸ She also briefly sat on the committee's board. Given that a key tenet of turn-of-the-century black women reformers was their belief that women were best qualified to lead the race and taking into account their demand for equality with black men, her reform work surely helped to cultivate her feminist sensibility.¹⁹

Meanwhile, Campbell worked on multiple fronts in pursuit of uplifting black women and children. In 1911, she became the first black woman appointed as a parole officer in the Court of General Sessions for the City of New York. She worked as a jail attendant in the women's section at "the Tombs," New York's infamous prison, until her death in 1943. In 1915, she

established the Empire Friendly Shelter for Friendless Girls, a settlement home in Harlem for young, single black mothers. The home solidified her reputation as “one of the best known colored women in New York,” as the Harlem-based *New York Age* put it in 1924.²⁰

Like many of her better-known Progressive-era black female counterparts, such as Anna Julia Cooper and Alice Dunbar-Nelson, Campbell, at this point in her career, adhered to notions of bourgeois respectability. Often “sound[ing] uncannily similar to the racist arguments they strove to refute,” as the historian Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham explains, black middle-class reformers “tended to privatize racial discrimination—thus rendering it outside the authority of government regulation.”²¹ More significant, like other black women reformers, Campbell embraced conservative views toward domesticity and voiced alarm about the alleged sexual immorality of black urban working women.²² An interview in 1911 about her work in protecting young black women from prostitution and incarceration reveals these sentiments. She acknowledged that in contrast to white women, black women lacked protection. However, she charged that unscrupulous white employment agencies took advantage of the “temptations of innocent colored girls” newly arrived from the South by steering them into prostitution. While rejecting prevailing racist arguments stigmatizing blacks as innately prone to crime, she nevertheless asserted that “mental deficiency” among all races explained criminality.²³ Clearly, she subscribed to what Kevin Gaines observes as “the commonplace view that the impoverished status of blacks was a matter of moral and cultural deficiency.”²⁴ With her new politics, she began challenging bourgeois notions about respectability.

Not all early black Communist women were reared in middle-class families like Campbell, though many had achieved middle-class status by their early adult years. This was the case of Williana Jones (Burroughs), a committed Communist who spent nearly a dozen years in the Soviet Union over the course of her life. Born in 1882 in Petersburg, Virginia, to an ex-slave, she grew up in grinding poverty in New York. Despite such humble beginnings, Burroughs graduated from what is now Hunter College in 1902 and taught in New York public elementary schools. These accomplishments, together with her marriage in 1909 to Charles Burroughs, a postal worker and former student of W. E. B. Du Bois at Wilberforce University in Ohio, seemingly secured her place in the “talented tenth,” the term coined by black scholar activist W. E. B. Du Bois at the turn of the century describing a small group

of upwardly mobile, college-educated African Americans who he believed would uplift the race.²⁵

Hermina Dumont (Huiswoud), a radical activist and world traveler, hailed from a significantly different background than Burroughs. Dumont was born in 1908 in British Guiana and was raised in a modestly comfortable family. At the age of fourteen, she and her mother migrated to Harlem in search of a brighter future. Taking classes at Hunter College and City College, she worked as a secretary at the headquarters of the NAACP. By her early twenties, Dumont seemed well on her way toward becoming part of Harlem's elite. However, unforeseen events in the coming year would significantly alter her life trajectory.²⁶

The early years of Maude White (Katz), a Communist organizer whose career stretched into the 1970s, contrasted starkly from those of Campbell, Burroughs, and Dumont. White was born in 1908 and was reared in a large, working-poor family in the coal-mining town of McKeesport, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh. Despite growing up in poverty, she began moving up the social ladder during her teenage years. She graduated from high school and afterward worked as a teacher with the intention of uplifting the race. Within a few short years, her decision to enlist in the WP would take her far from McKeesport and into the center of the global Communist movement.²⁷

Radicalization and Joining the Workers Party

Black women were not blank slates when they joined the Workers Party. Nor were their journeys into the early Communist Left predestined or inevitable. But perhaps nothing better cultivated their oppositional consciousness than their experiences as black women living through the global crisis of the World War I era, their growing frustration with the political agendas of black middle-class reformers, and their interest in the fledgling Soviet Union. Early black women radicals followed multiple paths into the Workers Party, a trend that continued for decades to come.

Details about Grace Campbell's radicalization are sketchy. There is no document in the historical record explaining her entry into the WP. Multiple factors most likely explain her leftward turn. Through her daily encounters as a social worker, court attendant, and prison officer with some of New York's poorest black women, she undoubtedly came to recognize the connections between structural poverty, the trauma of migration, and the racialized and gendered nature of black women's oppression. As a migrant

herself, she could have related to the sense of dislocation that black women newcomers often felt upon arriving in New York.

Sexism within the New Negro movement seems to have been a factor in Campbell's radicalization. Kevin Gaines notes that "gender conflict exposed the contradictions of uplift's vision of progress, a middle-class vision structured in sexual dominance."²⁸ Such, apparently, was the case for Campbell. In 1913, the male-dominated leadership of the Committee on Urban Conditions among Negroes removed her from the group's board on the grounds of dereliction of duties. However, the historian Minkah Makalani suggests that this charge covered up the real reasons: Campbell's refusal to show proper deference to male leaders. If this was the case, her removal not only infuriated her, it also led her to search for more militant solutions for uplifting black people.²⁹

Living in Harlem during the World War I era, with its exciting confluence of people, ideas, and cultures from across the black diaspora, was critical to Campbell's radicalization. On the war's eve she befriended a small group of militant Harlem diasporan intellectuals who were committed to black liberation, socialism, and decolonization. Constituting the left-wing bloc within New Negro radicalism, this group included the journalist Cyril Briggs from Nevis; the bibliophile and orator Richard B. Moore from Barbados; the newspaper editor W. A. Domingo from Jamaica; the labor organizer Frank Crosswaith from St. Croix; the African American journalist A. Philip Randolph, and the bibliophile and orator Hubert Henry Harrison from St. Croix, known by his contemporaries as the "father of Harlem radicalism." The sociologist Winston James correctly notes that they were drawn to Marxism because "they saw the ideology as first and foremost, a means of solving the race problem."³⁰ All but Briggs joined the Socialist Party prior to the war. By the end of the war, however, Campbell and many Harlem leftists had begun rethinking their affiliation with the SPA. Discomfort with its class reductionist position on the Negro Question explains this. The SPA understood it primarily as an economic issue, ignoring the specificity of black racial oppression and how white workers often embraced racism and benefited materially and psychologically from it.³¹

As such, Harlem leftists organized new groups to pursue an independent black radical politics. The African Blood Brotherhood was the most important one in this regard. Alongside Briggs and Moore, Campbell was one of the "prime movers of the African Blood Brotherhood," a government infor-

mant accurately reported.³² Formed in 1919, the ABB was the first black radical organization of the twentieth century to formulate a coherent “radical conception of the relationship between race, class, nation, and socialist revolution,” observes Minkah Makalani.³³ Initially clandestine and independent of the Workers Party, the ABB’s revolutionary nationalist program called for black self-determination, the redemption of Africa, armed self-defense, black-white unity, support for trade unionism, and decolonization. In contrast to the SPA, the ABB viewed black liberation as central, not peripheral, to the global struggle against capitalism and imperialism.³⁴

The Communist International’s support for black self-determination and anti-imperialist politics surely was a key factor in attracting Campbell to Communism. Writing in 1959 to the historian Theodore Draper, Cyril Briggs made this case: “My interest in Communism was inspired by the national policy of the Russian Bolsheviks and the anti-imperialist orientation of the Soviet State birthed by the October Revolution.”³⁵ Briggs was referring to the resolution on the Negro Question issued at the Fourth Comintern Congress in Moscow in 1922. Defining black liberation as a key part of the global struggle against capitalism and imperialism, the resolution directed Communists to fight for black-white unity. This position rejected the Socialist Party’s class reductionist viewpoint on the Negro Question.³⁶ Given her central role in the ABB, Campbell undoubtedly shared Briggs’s sentiments. By bringing “international connections and a place for radical African Americans on the world stage,” notes the historian Mark Solomon, the Communist International provided Campbell, Briggs, and Harlem radicals with a sense of confidence owing to their knowledge that they had global allies supporting black liberation.³⁷ The resolution of 1922 also initiated a process in which black radicals looked to Moscow as a sympathetic arbiter in settling disputes with white Communists at home. As a result, Campbell, Briggs, Moore, and Lovett Fort-Whiteman, a Chicago-based activist, joined the Workers Party in 1923. Two years later, upon the Party’s directives, ABB leadership disbanded the organization. In its place, the WP formed the Chicago-based American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC), an organization Communists hoped would win blacks to the socialist cause.³⁸

Like the entire generation of the Old Left, the utopian aura surrounding the Russian Revolution attracted Campbell to Communism.³⁹ Campbell’s alleged remarks at a political forum in Harlem in June 1921 affirm this claim. A government informant reported: “[She] devoted about twenty minutes

condemning all other forms of government but the Soviet, which she claims is the only hope of the workingman.”⁴⁰

Campbell's belief that socialism held special promise for black women additionally drew her to Communism. A government agent reported she “conduct[ed] an active campaign [in generating interest in socialism] among the colored women.”⁴¹ She was not alone in viewing the Soviet Union as a beacon of hope for black women. Helen Holman, a black radical from St. Louis who was based in New York, did as well. Traveling into the Communist Party through the International Workers of the World, the Woman's Suffrage Party, and the Socialist Party, she became widely known in Harlem during the 1920s for speaking on street corners against black women's subjugation under capitalism and for praising Soviet family policies.⁴² Both Campbell's and Holman's strident support for black women's freedom and their efforts to link it to the Soviet Union shows how internationalism appealed differently to black women radicals than to their male comrades. For the former, the status of women globally was central to their global vision. The same was not true for black male radicals.

By any measure, Williana Burroughs followed a distinctly different road into the Workers Party than Campbell. While we can only speculate as to how Campbell's lived experiences radicalized her, Burroughs, later in life, claimed how her personal and professional encounters with racism, poverty, and sexism moved her toward the left. Growing up in abject poverty and teaching impoverished black elementary school students sparked her “growing consciousness . . . to help her oppressed race,” as she put it years later. She eventually lost her job on account of the New York public school's ban on employing married women. Her dismissal initiated a chain of events that radicalized the infuriated Burroughs.⁴³ In the coming years, she became a social worker. But she became distraught with the “essential futility of individual efforts while pressure from above was not lifted,” she later claimed.⁴⁴ In contrast to Grace Campbell's continued involvement in social work even after she embraced left-wing politics, Burroughs became disillusioned with the profession altogether. Frustrated and still searching for answers for uplifting black people, she joined the Socialist Party in the early 1920s. Like Campbell, the SPA's class reductionist position on the Negro Question disappointed Burroughs, prompting her to bolt from it. Impressed with its staunch anti-racist, anti-imperialist politics and captivated by the Soviet Union, she joined the ANLC in 1926 and the WP one year later.⁴⁵

Friendships with black militants and female networks also proved important in radicalizing black women. Hermina Dumont's future husband, Otto Huiswoud, a Communist born in Dutch Guiana and a prominent black spokesperson in the Communist International during the 1920s, introduced her to left-wing radicalism.⁴⁶ Before meeting him, she was uninterested in politics. But through him she met W. A. Domingo, Hubert Harrison, Richard Moore, Cyril Briggs, and Grace Campbell. Meeting her was critical to Dumont's radicalization. Like the dynamic civil rights activists Ella Baker and Fannie Lou Hamer of the 1960s, Campbell possessed the adept skill in politicizing young black people. Decades later, Dumont Huiswoud observed this point: "[Campbell] never wavered in her conviction and without proselyting [*sic*] . . . guided many towards political clarity." In the coming years, the two women became close friends.⁴⁷ In 1926, Dumont married Huiswoud, drawing her even closer to the Communist Left. Two years later, she joined the Workers Party, marking the official beginning of her lifelong commitment to left-wing radicalism, which lasted until her death in 1996.⁴⁸

For Maude White, her first introduction to left-wing politics came through her white high school English teacher, Eleanor Goldsmith, who was a Communist. She took an interest in her bright pupil. Accompanying Goldsmith to Party meetings in nearby Pittsburgh, White witnessed black Communists chair multiracial meetings and heard whites denounce racism and imperialism. She had never witnessed anything like this before. Convinced that white Communists were sincere in fighting against racism and imperialism, she enlisted in the Workers Party at the age of eighteen. Her desire to leave McKeesport also motivated her. She saw no future for herself in the town. And, she said later, "[I wanted] to do something for myself and for my people."⁴⁹ The Workers Party offered her an exciting new life, an alternative path to upward mobility, and personal freedom. In the coming years, other black women would join the Communist Left for similar reasons. Goldsmith recommended that White move to Chicago, where she could participate in party organizing on the Southside, the city's densely populated black neighborhood that was home to a vibrant cultural and radical political scene.⁵⁰

Black women radicals' decisions to join the Workers Party are all the more interesting in light of the Communist International's silence on issues facing women of color. The resolution of 1922 on the Negro Question framed black liberation in masculinist terms. Similarly, *Theses of the Communist Women's Movement*, issued by the Comintern in 1920, elided black women's issues,

articulating gender oppression narrowly in economic, deterministic terms. (This resolution served as the CPUSA's official line on gender oppression until the late 1940s.) Despite the latter resolution's call for championing gender equality, support for the Woman Question in both the Communist International and the CPUSA during these years lacked priority.⁵¹ The Workers Party's National Woman's Committee, later renamed the National Women's Commission (NWC), evidenced this pro forma recognition of the Woman Question. Founded in 1922 to coordinate "women's work," the poorly organized NWC exerted little real influence in the party's decision making.⁵² Moreover, the NWC initially overlooked black women's oppression. Still, black women radicals remained committed to the WP. Disgust with black women's marginal status globally, ardent opposition to European global empires, and enthusiasm for the Soviet Union apparently trumped whatever issues they may have had with the WP at the time. So while black women followed different paths into the Workers Party, they shared a similar belief that the international Left offered a powerful vehicle for freeing black people. Future black Communist women would draw similar conclusions.

Women and Formal Leadership in Black Left Organizations, 1919–28

With the exception of Grace Campbell, black women were conspicuously absent from formal leadership prior to the issue of the Black Belt thesis of 1928. Even in Campbell's case, she functioned as an outsider within the Communist Left. On the one hand, her work was critical to building black left organizations. She sat on the African Blood Brotherhood's executive board, the "Supreme Council," with Briggs, Moore, and Domingo, holding the title of director of consumer cooperatives.⁵³ On the other hand, her gender-specific involvement in the ABB exposed its masculinist framings of black liberation. For example, she was the only black woman on the group's board, even though women comprised a sizeable segment of the group's membership.⁵⁴ Her ABB comrades often relegated her to performing invisible, secretarial work. So while the ABB formulated path-breaking positions on race, class, and nationhood, the same cannot be said of its understanding of gender.⁵⁵

Minkah Makalani claims that Campbell protested her male comrades' sexism and black women's marginal place within the ABB during Supreme Council meetings. However, it is unclear what she specifically said and how her male comrades received her criticisms.⁵⁶ Black women were also marginal in the American Negro Labor Congress. Like its predecessor, the ANLC

privileged race, class, and nation over gender. Its leadership board included a handful of black women. Curiously, Campbell was never actively involved in the ANLC. Perhaps her frustration with her treatment in the ABB explains why.⁵⁷ What is certain is that black women's marginal positions within these organizations signaled the beginning of a pattern by which black left feminists often found themselves as outsiders within groups affiliated with the Communist Party.

For Campbell, the most accessible way of influencing early black left organizations was from behind the scenes. Her apartment in Harlem served as the ABB Supreme Council's meeting place as well as the office of Briggs's Crusader News Service and the distribution center for the *Crusader*, the ABB's official periodical. Her home remained a busy hub of radical political activity into the 1930s.⁵⁸

The use of Campbell's home for political gatherings is telling. Underscoring how she extended the domestic sphere into political work, her leadership style often utilized the "motherist frame," what the black feminist theorist M. Bahti Kuumba describes as a discourse and practice based on normative gender ideologies that "stressed the need to fight for equality and justice with the characteristics associated with being good mothers."⁵⁹ Dumont Huiswoud's recollection of Campbell's interactions with her colleagues fits this description: "I remember her graying hair and jet-black beady eyes that glistened and twinkled as if she were perpetually enjoying something amusing. No wonder that her home was always full of visitors. She kept a permanent open house, offering food and shelter to whomever knocked on her door." Her interactions as a parole officer with women inmates shed additional light on her maternalist leadership style. Dumont Huiswoud described Campbell as a "very quiet-spoken lady." She was able "to assert her authority and command respect from the toughest woman delinquent simply by her motherly appearance and abundance of patience."⁶⁰ This gendered description of her interactions with female parolees is revealing. Unmarried, middle-aged, black, and female, Campbell may have consciously constructed and strategically performed this matronly persona to exert influence with women, to challenge the sexist agendas of some black male leaders, and to exercise influence in male-dominated political spaces that understood motherhood as the only way women could assert claims to political leadership. In this regard, her actions resembled those of her contemporary, Amy Jacques Garvey, Marcus Garvey's second wife and a major pan-African thinker and

activist in her own right. Throughout her involvement in the UNIA, Jacques Garvey understood that her political influence within the male-dominated Garvey movement rested on her ability to mediate her leadership claims through her status as Garvey's wife and as the mother of his children.⁶¹

Campbell's location behind the scenes in black left organizations also may have been a function of her own pragmatic decision to protect her good-paying civil service job from political scrutiny as a red scare swept across the nation. Government informants infiltrated the ABB, attended meetings at Campbell's home, and documented her every move. It is unknown whether she knew exactly how close government informants had gotten to her. But given this moment of intense government repression against black and left-wing organizations, it seems difficult to imagine that she was unaware that authorities were watching her and the ABB. Campbell was not the only black woman radical closely monitored by the state during the early 1920s. Authorities also surveilled Helen Holman. Government authorities carefully watched black women radicals from the Old Left's very beginning, with Holman and Campbell possibly serving as a template for future surveillance of black Communist women.⁶²

Black women's marginalization within the early black Left also helps explain why it made few inroads with black women and why it remained comparatively small compared to the UNIA. Both the black Left and the Garvey movement (UNIA) formulated phallogentric understandings of black liberation, but Garveyite women found unique ways to lead the UNIA and to articulate "community feminism," what Ula Taylor described as a feminist politics combining black nationalism with racial uplift that recognized the unequal gendered relations of power and promoted black women's empowerment.⁶³ Due to the efforts of the UNIA's co-founder, Amy Ashwood (Marcus Garvey's first wife), the organization's constitution mandated that each local division would elect a "lady president" who would oversee women's activities. The UNIA also established the Black Cross Nurses, a women's auxiliary modeled after the Red Cross, giving black women a direct hand in nation building. Amy Jacques Garvey's "Our Women and What They Think" newspaper column discussed black women's involvement in global pan-African struggles, frequently criticizing men, in her view, for not doing their part in elevating the race. Garveyite women encountered considerable sexism within the movement. Yet this did not deter a cadre of talented black women leaders, such as Amy Ashwood Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey, and Henri-

etta Vinton Davis, from gaining international fame within the organization. In contrast to the UNIA, no such group of women leaders emerged in the ABB or in the ANLC. Nor did these organizations establish women's auxiliaries. So despite its masculinist limitations, the Garvey movement was far more successful than its left-wing counterparts in creating formal structures that provided black women opportunities for uplifting the race and voicing their issues. The Communist Left's failure to address these issues would continually pose serious challenges for Communists during the entire Old Left period.⁶⁴

Community Work, 1919–28

While black women remained largely excluded from formal leadership of early black left organizations prior to the late 1920s, their community work provided them with unique opportunities for shaping Harlem radicalism and diffusing left-wing ideas into the neighborhood. One of the most significant ways they did this was through “stepladder” speaking. Grace Campbell, Elizabeth Hendrickson, a Communist community organizer born in the Danish Virgin Islands, and Helen Holman were widely known stepladder orators, gifted speakers who stood atop crates and stepladders along Harlem's main thoroughfares and busiest street corners.⁶⁵ With fiery oratory, they electrified crowds, sometimes for hours, on wide-ranging topics from history, politics, and culture. Harlem street corners, the historian Irma Watkins-Owens observes, “became the most viable location for an alternative politics and the place where new social movements gained a hearing and recruited supporters.”⁶⁶

Black Communist women's presence on the stepladder circuit was a transgressive move. By positioning themselves on top of stepladders, pamphleteering, or speaking individually with pedestrians, they stepped into a masculine political terrain. Black men of various ideological persuasions dominated the Harlem stepladder scene. Jockeying with other speakers for the people's ear, male orators' rhetoric and body language often exuded a muscular black nationalism.⁶⁷ By advocating women's equality and praising Soviet family policy, black women radicals offered an alternative to masculinist framings of black liberation. It is unknown how Harlem residents responded to these women's street corner orations. But given their years of experience as community organizers, black leftist women surely knew how to perform in male-dominated political spaces in ways that both affirmed

and challenged their socially ascribed roles as mothers and wives for making radical political demands. Sidewalks also provided early black women radicals with a political education. It was on the streets where Harlem residents often first learned of breaking news. By speaking on street corners, black women radicals came to know the pulse of the community. So while the early WP offered them few formal venues to lead, Harlem sidewalks afforded black Communist women physical and discursive space for developing, refining, and diffusing their black left feminist sensibility and for expanding their networks in the community.⁶⁸

Black women were critical to building community among Harlem's small group of left-wing radicals. Campbell, with Richard Moore and W. A. Domingo, was a charter member of the Harlem Unitarian Church (HUC), established in 1920 and pastored by the Jamaican immigrant E. Ethelred Brown, who was widely known for his strident socialist, anti-colonial politics. The "first black liberal Christian church in the United States," the HUC, according to the historian Juan Floyd-Thomas, promoted "social activism and communal outreach to bridge the gap between religion and radicalism within a black culture of opposition."⁶⁹ Like other Unitarian churches, the HUC rejected evangelism, religious creeds, and traditional gender and social conventions. The church's mission apparently spoke directly to Campbell. Reared in a staunch Catholic family, she became an atheist as an adult.⁷⁰ This move may have come from her burgeoning black left feminism and associations with black and white religious free thinkers in New York, the epicenter of early twentieth-century U.S. radical secularism.⁷¹ Viewing religious orthodoxy as critical to maintaining the racial, gender, and class status quo, she apparently believed that a progressive social ministry was essential for improving the lives of black people. To be sure, Campbell, with Moore, Domingo, Hermina Dumont Huiswoud, Otto Huiswoud, and Hubert Harrison, regularly attended services at the church, revealing how they saw no contradiction in believing in socialism, embracing free thought, and attending church services. Given its religious unorthodoxy, the HUC's membership paled in comparison to Harlem's larger black churches. But it provided an important sense of community to Harlem radicals. The church also linked them to a thriving, multiracial community of free thinkers in New York.⁷² That Campbell and Dumont Huiswoud actively participated in the HUC and associated with Harrison, Moore, and Domingo, who were notorious in Harlem for their atheism, is significant. These women's radical secularism

speaks to how they rejected many of the political ideas and cultural mores embraced by Garveyite, club, and church women, few of whom embraced free thought.⁷³

This was further evident in early black Communist women's New Woman sensibility and their seeming comfort with what the cultural scholar Christine Stansell has termed "sexual modernism." The term describes practices and ideas that rejected heteronormative, Victorian, middle-class morality by redefining sex inside and outside of marriage through the rejection of women's domesticity, the advocacy of birth control, and support for women's wage work to ensure their economic independence.⁷⁴ The "new Soviet woman" and the sexual radicalism associated with Communism also informed early black left feminists' transgressive gender and sexual politics. Little is known about Campbell's sexual politics and inner life. But her active involvement in the early Harlem Renaissance through the *Crusader* located her in a dynamic black cultural movement that was, as the literary scholar Henry Louis Gates notes, "surely as gay as it was black, not exclusively either of these."⁷⁵ She was a close friend of Claude McKay, the Harlem Renaissance novelist from Jamaica "whose bi-sexuality bisected his Marxist engagement," the cultural scholar Gary Edward Holcomb observes.⁷⁶ Through the *Crusader*, she associated with a coterie of Harlem and downtown white radicals and bohemians, including the future Communist Party leader Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who championed sexual modernism, socialism, and free thought. Campbell's involvement in the Socialist Party in New York located her in communities of radical women, many of whom were gay and bisexual, self-identified as "feminist," and agitated for birth control, free love, and gender equality.⁷⁷

Similarly, Helen Holman surely would have encountered sex radicals in New York through her affiliations with the International Workers of the World, the Woman's Suffrage Party, the Socialist Party, and the early Communist Left. We cannot say for certain whether Campbell and Holman were involved in lesbian relationships or supported the radical positions around women's emancipation that were espoused by some U.S. and Soviet feminists. But we can safely assume, given their active involvement in left-wing movements and their vocal praise for Soviet women's status, that early black women radicals were not afraid of being publicly associated with sexual modernism. In doing so, their stance resembled those of black female working-class urban blues singers like Gertrude "Ma" Rainey and Bessie

Smith, whose lyrics, performances, and lifeways powerfully articulated an alternative consciousness that celebrated social, moral, and sexual values outside of bourgeois respectability and American mainstream culture.⁷⁸

Black Communist women's staunch support for the Soviet Union and their strident anti-capitalist politics stood as the most significant political differences between them and their non-leftist New Negro female contemporaries. For example, Amy Jacques Garvey expressed ambivalence toward the Soviet Union. In an obituary of V. I. Lenin, printed in her "Our Women and What They Think" column in the *Negro World* on 2 February 1924, she bluntly called Soviet Russia's economic experiment "a failure."⁷⁹ Yet, Jacques Garvey was aware of Soviet women's enhanced rights. Writing in 1926, she declared how "the much despised Soviets challenge the white world to exemplify equal rights of women in politics and industry. . . . The Reds have sense enough to realize that if the mothers of men are not treated fairly men are but limiting their own progress and development."⁸⁰ On these points, black Communist women undoubtedly would have agreed. Jacques Garvey, however, opposed socialism and trade unionism during the earlier part of her career. Instead, like most UNIA officials, her vision was pro-capitalist. And given the UNIA's embrace of prevailing ideas about women's and men's "natural" roles, Garveyites would have wanted little to do with the sexual radicalism popularly associated with the Soviet Union and American Communism. These contrasts reveal the different ideological underpinnings of Garveyite and black Communist women's feminisms. A pan-African, black nationalist, pro-capitalist perspective informed Garveyite women's community feminism, while a revolutionary black nationalist, anti-capitalist outlook that was open to sexually transgressive ideas and practices informed black Communist women's burgeoning black left feminism. While these feminisms at times overlapped, their divergence helps explain the different political trajectories that Garveyite and Communist women followed during the 1920s.⁸¹

The Black Belt Thesis

The Sixth Communist International Congress in Moscow in 1928 marked a turning point in the Communist movement's position on the Negro Question and subsequently in its relationship with black women. Convinced that global capitalism was entering its final crisis—or "third period"—the Comintern promoted a sectarian, revolutionary, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist

agenda. The resolution of 1928 on the Negro Question was key to this new line. Co-authored by the black Chicago Communist Harry Haywood and the Siberian Communist Charles Nasanov, the Black Belt thesis directed American Communists to champion racial equality, with special focus on fighting against lynching and Jim Crow. Calling for the elimination of “white chauvinism” within the WP and for black-white unity, the resolution encouraged the Party to increase its rhetorical attacks against Garveyites, the NAACP, and prominent black ministers as “misleaders” and “betrayers of the Negro people.”⁸²

The Black Belt thesis contained major implications for the party’s thinking on race and gender. As Robin Kelley observes, the resolution promoted a “language of masculinity” that not only prioritized black liberation “over women’s struggles, but essentially precluded a serious theoretical framework that might combine the ‘Negro’ and ‘Woman’ questions.”⁸³ Despite its masculinist stance, the thesis nonetheless broke new ground in regard to black women. The Black Belt thesis was the first Comintern resolution that specifically discussed black women. Emphasizing that they “constitute[d] a powerful potential force in the struggle for Negro emancipation,” the resolution declared black women as “the most exploited” segment within the labor force.⁸⁴ The Black Belt thesis had little else to say about black women. Still, black Communist women seized upon it to demand a greater voice within the WP and to begin theorizing on the nature of black women’s multiple oppressions in Party-affiliated periodicals. Black women radicals also used the Black Belt thesis to gain institutional support from Party officials for their community work. In doing so, black Communist women began carving out their own space in the Communist Left, enabling Harlem Communists for the first time to build mass movements in the neighborhood on the eve of the Depression. This was most evident in the Harlem Tenants League.⁸⁵

The Harlem Tenants League

The Harlem Tenants League (HTL) stands as the most important site of black Communist women’s activism and the WP’s most successful mass campaign in the neighborhood prior to the stock market crash of 1929. Formed in January 1928 and initially affiliated with the Socialist Party, Richard Moore, Grace Campbell, and Hermina Dumont Huiswoud wrestled for control of the HTL on behalf of the WP. Its leadership included Richard Moore (president), Elizabeth Hendrickson (vice-president), Grace Campbell (secretary),

Hermine Dumont Huiswoud, and Williana Burroughs. That women figured so prominently in the HTL's leadership reflected their longstanding concern for black people's economic survival and black women's exploitation. Committed to the survival and sustenance of the neighborhood, the HTL organized demonstrations and rent strikes, blocked evictions, and demanded the enforcement of housing regulations. Casting a transnational frame, the HTL linked poor housing to broader struggles against global white supremacy, capitalism, and imperialism.⁸⁶

The HTL's initial success generated nationwide attention within the Workers Party and in Harlem. A report issued by the CPUSA's Negro Department in 1929 praised the HTL as an "instrument for stimulating the struggle of the Negro masses against high rents, vile housing conditions, segregation, etc." across the country.⁸⁷ The HTL served as an important model for the Party-led Unemployed Councils formed in late 1929, which emerged as the backbone of Depression-era Communist mass movements across the United States. The *Daily Worker* and *Amsterdam News* ran front-page stories about HTL protests. The group's success helped spark a wave of community forums in Harlem sponsored by women's clubs, fraternal groups, and churches on the high cost of living in the neighborhood. Clearly, the HTL had an impact on life in Harlem.⁸⁸

Rather than calling for uplifting black communities, the HTL spoke directly to black working-class women's concerns. Since many Harlem women were their family's breadwinners and responsible for homemaking, they were well attuned to cost-of-living issues. The group counted perhaps as many as five hundred people, most of whom apparently did not join the WP. Politicized by socially ascribed roles as mothers and homemakers, women historically have dominated consumer movements. Given this, it seems likely that most HTL members were women. Plus, Grace Campbell and the other female HTL leaders likely tapped their immense female social networks in the neighborhood in building the organization. If this was the case, it suggests that working-class Harlem women, not men, were the first to answer the Party's call and to take part in Communist-led mass actions following the Black Belt thesis. To be sure, black women radicals' involvement in the organization demonstrates how they recognized the connections between black women's exploitation, consumption, unemployment, and racial discrimination, thereby challenging Marxist-Leninist notions that the shop floor constituted the key site for producing class consciousness and for ini-

tiating transformative change. The HTL also provided black women radicals with a sense of community. For the first time in the Communist Left's short history, black women in the early Party came together within a WP-affiliated organization, enabling them to exchange ideas, to agitate collectively on behalf of the community, and to forge a collective identity based on their shared radical outlooks.⁸⁹

In addition to fighting for better housing, early black Communist women in Harlem focused their work on organizing black female domestic workers. That the bulk of African American women wage earners toiled in domestic service helps explain why Communists hoped to build inroads with this constituency.⁹⁰ But Communists were not the first people to agitate on behalf of black household workers. Since the nineteenth century, women's clubs, protection societies, church auxiliaries, and black domestic workers themselves had identified household workers' economic exploitation and sexual harassment in white homes as one of the most pressing issues facing the "race" and sought to empower household workers.⁹¹ Nannie Helen Burroughs, the founder of the National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington, D.C., and the most prominent advocate for black domestic workers in the Progressive era, preached the gospel of self-help, respectability, and professionalism for uplifting black household workers. But black women radicals' positions contrasted from these mainstream approaches. For them, domestic workers' struggles were part of the larger, worldwide struggle against capitalism, imperialism, and white supremacy, with unions constituting a key piece in household workers' liberation. Over the next three decades, the unionization of black women domestics emerged as a pillar of their black left feminist agenda.⁹²

The Party's first efforts in organizing black women domestic workers occurred in the 1920s. The American Negro Labor Congress's newspaper, the *Negro Champion*, publicized the Harlem Women Day Workers League, a domestic workers union. While its exact relationship to the WP is unclear, the group reportedly counted one hundred members. Fanny Austin, a domestic worker, dynamic labor organizer, and Communist, led the organization. The group signaled Harlem Communists' belief that unionization, not bourgeois respectability, offered exploited black domestic workers the best protection.⁹³

Black Communist women seized upon the initial success of Party-led mass initiatives in Harlem to demand a greater voice within the WP. In 1929,

Hermine Dumont Huiswoud, Williana Burroughs, and the Harlem community activists Belle Lamb and Fanny Austin were elected to the Workers Party's Negro Department.⁹⁴ At a Negro Department meeting in June 1930, Lamb called for the WP's National Women's Commission to appoint a black woman to its board and urged that "Negro women comrades be drawn more into the fore of women's work."⁹⁵ However, these recommendations were not implemented. It seems that the Party leadership's belief that black women were marginal to the world revolution—after all few actually were in factories—explains why black women's issues remained largely neglected during these years.

While the Comintern encouraged the Party to focus its attention on the Negro Question like never before, it also proved to be a disruptive force in these matters, with devastating implications for the HTL and Grace Campbell. Following the Sixth Congress in 1928, Moscow instructed the Party to dissolve internal factions based largely in foreign-language federations and neighborhood groups, concentrating instead on organizing industrial workers. A segment of Party leadership, including its chairperson Jay Lovestone and his followers, who became known pejoratively as "Lovestonites," refused to comply with these directives. They did so because they believed that the Comintern had no right to impose its views on the Party's majority. A Party leadership faction led by the future CPUSA head William Z. Foster, who remained loyal to the Comintern line, silenced the opposition, expelling them in June 1929.⁹⁶

Campbell sided with the Lovestonites. In doing so, she found herself on the losing side of a bitter Communist power struggle. Party officials quickly turned against her. In keeping with its practice of publicly assailing Communists who fell out of favor with Party leadership, in October 1929 the *Daily Worker* published a scathing article attacking her and the HTL leader Ed Walsh as "renegade" Lovestonites. Ironically, Campbell's old friend Cyril Briggs wrote the article. He singled her out as the leader of a furtive plot "to disrupt and destroy" the HTL by allegedly forging an "open alliance" with landlords against tenants. He added that she had refused to take part in HTL demonstrations for fear that they "would jeopardize her job" as a civil servant.⁹⁷ Unfortunately, the historical record does not reveal her side of the story.

By any measure, Campbell must have been shocked by these charges, especially coming from her old friend. To be sure, she left the HTL. By late

1929, the group split into two rival, mutually antagonistic groups, with both claiming to be the legitimate organization. It also divided old friends. Moore led the Party-backed group. Campbell led the other. This infighting crippled both groups, driving away most of their members and foreshadowing harsh internecine disputes that would paralyze countless future black left campaigns.⁹⁸

The HTL's collapse marked a key turning point in Campbell's relationship with the Communist Left. Eventually settling her differences with Briggs and Moore, she continued working with them in the coming years.⁹⁹ But the damage was done. She never again benefited from the prominence within the Party that she had once enjoyed. Given the severity of the attacks against her, she seems to have rethought her relationship to the Communist Party, surely questioning its sincerity in fighting for black liberation. Her prominence in the Communist movement since the early 1920s offered her little protection when she crossed the party line. She was a black woman who worked largely behind the scenes and was not married to an influential black Communist male leader like Hermina Dumont Huiswoud was. The HTL's collapse not only marked a turning point in Campbell's affiliation with the Communist Party but also the destruction of a promising mass organization led largely by black women, highlighting their precarious position in the Communist Left as outsiders within.

Early Black Left Feminist Writings

First-generation black Communist women agitated on multiple fronts. One of these was journalism. While often excluded from the leadership of Communist-affiliated movements, they found a voice through writing. From the very beginning, black left literary feminism challenged the Party's positions on the Negro Question and the Woman Question that elided black women from discussion. More significantly, black Communist women's journalism proffered early articulations of the "triple oppression" framework and the thesis on black women's superexploitation that was popularized in the Communist Left two decades later by Claudia Jones. While they never used the terms "superexploitation" and "triple oppression" in their writings, early black left feminists clearly understood the uniquely cruel, interlocking oppressions experienced by black women under capitalism. Laying the groundwork for future theoretical discussions in the Communist Left on race, gender, and class, early black left literary feminism provides insight

into black women radicals' emergent collective identities and oppositional consciousness before the Depression.

Illustrating black women's marginalization in the early Communist Left, a white Communist, Jeanette Pearl, wrote the first article about black women, published in the *Daily Worker* in 1924. Her short article, "Negro Women Workers," condemned the brutal exploitation of black women industrial workers and their exclusion from organized labor. However, she did not issue a call for the Workers Party to unionize black women or to recruit them into its ranks. Nor did she discuss how the interplay between race, gender, and class positioned African American women at the bottom of the U.S. labor force. The article's vagueness and the Comintern's inattention to black women were indicative of how Communist leadership at this moment understood all working women as white and all blacks as men.¹⁰⁰

Early black left literary feminism would challenge these conclusions. Grace Campbell's journalism proves this point. In a two-part series published in April 1925 by the *New York Age's* weekly column, "Women in Current Topics," she examined how race, gender, class, and cultural biases shaped black women's relation to the criminal justice system.¹⁰¹ That her articles appeared here and not in the *Daily Worker* either shows how she had to look outside of the Communist Left to have her work published or how she hoped to reach a broad audience in anticipation of the Popular Front strategies of the 1930s in which Communists downplayed Marxist rhetoric to build left-liberal alliances. Neither article mentioned the Workers Party or her involvement in it. Yet, her arguments show the influence of Marxism-Leninism in framing her thought and her efforts in incorporating race and gender into her leftist political critique.

Underscoring how community organizing and journalism mutually informed each other, Campbell's first article, "Women Offenders and the Day Court," drew from her experiences as a social worker and court attendant. It discussed how gendered cultural biases and legal double standards led to the unjust prosecution and denigration of women charged with prostitution.¹⁰² Her second article, "Tragedy of the Colored Girl in Court," best highlighted the break in her earlier thinking about black women and crime. The article focused on young black women's imprisonment for prostitution. While she continued voicing her long-standing belief that black women were the least protected group, she now rejected prevailing ideas that immorality and personal irresponsibility explained poverty and criminality. Instead, she argued

that the interplay between race, class, gender, and state power explained the high black female incarceration rate for prostitution. While “the economic problem [could not] be looked upon as the sole factor in the question of prostitution among colored girls,” she emphasized that poverty and wage disparities between black and white women were nevertheless “a prime factor in [black women’s] fall.”¹⁰³ Black women, she charged, became prostitutes because they had few viable economic options. Given these conclusions, she understood how the capitalist process exploited black women’s location as mothers by forcing them into prostitution in order to survive and to provide for their children.¹⁰⁴

The criminal justice system and cultural biases were additional factors Campbell identified for explaining the high rate of black female incarceration. Calling attention to sentencing disparities between black and white women for prostitution, she noted that courts convicted black women at higher rates and sentenced them to longer prison terms than white women—even white repeat offenders. She attributed these sentencing disparities to the racial biases of white judges who viewed black women as more prone to criminality than white women. She criticized the New York Commissioner of Corrections for instating a *de facto* policy of racial segregation within prisons and incarcerating first-time black women offenders in older, more densely populated jails with “hardened offenders.” So at this point in her life, Campbell believed that black women’s high rate of incarceration was the logical outcome of structural inequalities, a racist, sexist criminal justice system, and cultural biases that targeted and marked unprotected, poor, urban black women as deviant and criminal.¹⁰⁵ These arguments prefigured those made by Angela Y. Davis, Ruthie Wilson Gilmore, and other critics of the late twentieth-century “prison industrial complex.”¹⁰⁶ They reject, as Gilmore puts it, “the expanding use of prisons as catchall solutions to social problems.” Appreciating the relationship between prisons, structural inequalities, racism, public policy, and U.S. empire, Gilmore, Davis, and other critics of the prison industrial complex call for its abolition.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, Campbell understood how prisons were critical to positioning black women at the bottom of American society and to (re)producing and maintaining racialized, gendered, and classed social hierarchies.

In drawing these conclusions, Campbell implicitly argued that only the complete destruction of interlocking systems of domination could realize black women’s liberation. In doing so, she challenged a fundamental as-

sumption of Marxism-Leninism that white male workers in the advanced industrial sectors constituted the most exploited segment of the working class and thereby its revolutionary vanguard. She rejected the Communist Left's tendency to portray working-class women as white. These positions did not make it into the African Blood Brotherhood's program or into the early WP's program, revealing again how the black Left and the early WP neglected black women's special issues.¹⁰⁸ Campbell's conclusions also rejected common beliefs within women's clubs that black women's alleged immorality explained their poverty and delinquency and that adherence to middle-class respectability could protect black working-class women. Indeed, women's clubs had moved toward the right in the postwar years; Campbell had moved toward the left.

It is not clear what specific events prompted Campbell to rethink her earlier views on prostitution. But certainly her emerging black left feminism, together with her observations as a professional reformer of poor black women's plight, helps explain her new outlook. It is unfortunate that she did not have more opportunities to flesh out these ideas. Perhaps like Ella Baker, the endless demands of political organizing prevented Campbell from sitting down to write her political philosophy. Nonetheless, these two articles provide an important glimpse into the evolution of her prescient thinking.

Following the Party's adoption of the Black Belt thesis, the Communist Left saw a proliferation of writings by black women radicals examining black women's exploitation and militancy published in the *Negro Champion*. For example, Fanny Austin's article "Women Day Workers" argued that black women household laborers were "amongst the most exploited sections of the working class."¹⁰⁹ Bell Lamb's article "Negro Women in Industry" echoed Grace Campbell's writings by arguing that black women worked as domestics and in menial industrial jobs not "for pleasure but to prevent actual starvation or prostitution." Despite their exploited status, Lamb emphasized how black women "through [their] hard industrial experience developed a considerable degree of class consciousness and thus became material for the foundation of a labor movement along with white men employed in the industrial world." For Lamb, black women were essential to the socialist project.¹¹⁰

In addition, early black left feminist writing criticized the racism and sexism within the Communist Left. This was most evident in Maude White's probing article of 1932, "Special Negro Demands," which was published in the Party-affiliated *Labor Defender* magazine.¹¹¹ The article was about black

women textile workers and their complex relationship with the Communist-affiliated Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union (NTWIU). Communists had hoped to gain control of New York's massive textile industry through the NTWIU from American Federation of Labor (AFL) rival unions and to organize a feminized workforce in an industry notorious for its racial discrimination and demanding work regimen in which black women held the most menial jobs.¹¹² Challenging the union to practice what it preached on the issue of black-white unity, White argued that the NTWIU's ability to address "the complaints and grievances of the Negro workers" represented a "sure test of our understanding of the Negro question in the trade union movement." For White, black women textile workers, in essence, constituted the most exploited segment of the workforce due to their race, gender, and class. However, white male Communist trade unionists' racism and sexism prevented them from appreciating black women's exploitation and from tackling these issues. White workers, she asserted, enjoyed some benefits from black women's marginal status, namely a "psychological wage" of what today would be called "whiteness."¹¹³ But this sense of racial superiority was ultimately deleterious for white workers' long-term interests, for it prevented them from uniting with the most militant segment of the working class: black women. These conclusions underscore how she, like other early black Communist women, already had begun refashioning the Negro Question and the Woman Question by centering black women's issues and unequivocally challenging their white comrades' racism and sexism.¹¹⁴ Moreover, this stance rejected masculinist interpretations of black liberation by calling attention to the gendered nature of black women's oppression. Taken together, early black left literary feminism viewed black women as the revolutionary vanguard, thereby defying the Workers Party's official positions on revolution, race, gender, and class.

The Communist Left did not widely publicize these writings during the 1920s, showing again how black women's issues remained on the WP's margins. Still, early black left feminist writing should not be dismissed. These works provide insight into black women radicals' conversations with one another, suggesting that they began seeing themselves as a group sharing common concerns about black women's marginal place inside the workplace, in the Communist Left, across the globe, and in the vanguard of the world revolution. Their ideas would serve as the basis for future discussions among black left feminists.

Early Soviet Encounters

As the first generation of black Communist women agitated in Harlem, some also traveled overseas in pursuit of their left-wing agendas and global allies. No destination was more important for early black left feminists than the Soviet Union. Maude White, Williana Burroughs, and Hermina Dumont Huiwoud spent extended time there. They traveled to the Soviet Union out of disgust with American racism and in “search of the Soviet promise of a better society.”¹¹⁵ They were hardly the first African American women activists to travel outside U.S. boundaries in the hope of internationalizing the response to Jim Crow and living free of American racism. These motives had underpinned the travels of black women activists such as Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Mary Church Terrell since the nineteenth century.¹¹⁶ Like the more famous black male radicals Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Paul Robeson, who took the “magic pilgrimage” to the Soviet Union during the Old Left period, traveling to the Soviet Union was an exciting opportunity for black women radicals to observe the making of a socialist society.¹¹⁷ However, traveling to the Soviet Union had special importance to black Communist women.

Sojourning to the Soviet Union was crucial in cultivating black left feminism. The Soviet Union served as a political terrain where black Communist women forged their “New Woman” sensibility and a “black women’s international” that was committed to building transnational alliances with women from around the world. Spending extended time in the Soviet Union provided black women radicals with an exhilarating moment of self-discovery and personal freedom. Transformed by their Soviet experiences, they returned home more committed than ever to fighting for black freedom, black women’s dignity and rights, and socialism.

Grace Campbell never visited the Soviet Union. Perhaps her concern for safeguarding her civil servant positions from political scrutiny and her complicated relationship with Communist leadership explains why. However, Maude White spent three exciting years in the Soviet Union, an experience critical to the making of her long career as a Communist leader. She had no intention of traveling to the Soviet Union when she first arrived in Chicago in 1927. Soon after her arrival, Party officials recognized her leadership potential. They encouraged her to apply for a scholarship to study at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV), an ideological

institute in Moscow founded to train Communist cadres from the colonial world and nationally oppressed people. She won the scholarship and arrived in the Soviet Union in December 1927.¹¹⁸

Initially apprehensive about living in the Soviet Union, White soon thrived there. Young and idealistic, she was now at the epicenter of the world revolution. Decades later she described her stay in the Soviet Union as “very stimulating.”¹¹⁹ She found her voice in the Soviet Union. Attending the KUTV was the highlight of her experience. The institute schooled her in Marxism-Leninism, the national question, imperialism, party building, and organizing. Holding the distinction as the first African American Communist woman to attend the KUTV, she was one of the sixty to ninety black people from the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa who studied between 1925 and 1938 at the KUTV and the International Lenin Institute, a select school for training future Communist cadres from around the world. Many KUTV graduates would later become internationally renowned leaders, including Ho Chi Minh, Deng Xiaoping, and Jomo Kenyetta.¹²⁰ White sat in on lively discussions on the Black Belt thesis at the Comintern’s Sixth Congress in 1928. She traveled across the Soviet Union and “was struck by [its] diversity of peoples and cultures” as she remembered.¹²¹ Often a point of curiosity among Soviet people, many of whom had never seen a black person before, she still felt a sense of camaraderie with them due to what she perceived as their commitment to anti-imperialism, anti-racism, and international solidarity.¹²² White never commented on her personal life in the Soviet Union. But she was in her early twenties and thousands of miles from her family and friends. She resided in Moscow, then the center of Bolshevik feminist discussions on women’s rights and sexual liberation. It seems hard to imagine that she was unaware of these conversations and that they did not influence her behavior as well as her thoughts.

Ultimately, White returned to New York in early 1930 having been changed by her Soviet experiences. Timid and politically unsophisticated before her trip, she was now a well-trained, confident, cosmopolitan revolutionary. She could not have come home at a more tumultuous time. The United States was in the grip of the Depression, with Communists at the forefront in building mass movements around jobs, social relief, and housing. Recognizing the propaganda value of having a black woman trained in the Soviet Union at the front lines of Communist-led struggles, Party officials immediately assigned her to the Unemployed Council and to the Needle

Trades Workers Industrial Union. White claimed that she was aware of the Party's intentions of using her for promoting its mantra of black-white unity. However, she was unfazed by this move. After visiting the Soviet Union, she wanted to do everything she could for the Party. Most of all, it seems difficult to imagine how her Soviet encounter did not influence her cutting-edge labor journalism of the early 1930s. Her trip bolstered her confidence. Given that few of the American Communists had ventured to the Soviet Union, she probably felt that she had the Soviets' backing as she unapologetically railed against her white American comrades for their racism and sexism.¹²³

Similarly, Hermina Dumont Huiswoud's three-year stay in the Soviet Union enhanced her burgeoning black left feminism. In 1930, she and Otto Huiswoud departed for the Soviet Union. The Comintern assigned him to the Anglo-American Section of the Red International of Labor Unions in Moscow. Similar to Maude White's Soviet experience, living in the Soviet Union was a period of intellectual growth and self-discovery for Dumont Huiswoud. During these years, the Huiswouds were often apart, with Otto traveling around the world on behalf of the Communist International. Hermina remained in the Soviet Union. Being childfree and physically separated from Otto gave her time to pursue her own relationship with the Communist International. While Otto received no special training, Hermina completed a fourteen-month program at the Lenin Institute. There, she learned Russian and German. After graduating, Soviet officials assigned her to be an interpreter at the institute. This was a thrilling job. She came to know foreign dignitaries and Communists from around the world, including the famous Spanish Communist leader, Dolores Ibárruri, and Lenin's widow, Nadezda Krupskaya, demonstrating how the Soviet Union provided Dumont Huiswoud with unique opportunities to meet radical women from around the world.¹²⁴ Upon the Huiswouds' return to the United States in 1938 after living in the Soviet Union and later in Belgium and France, Dumont Huiswoud was even more committed to socialism and black liberation.¹²⁵

For Williana Burroughs, traveling to the Soviet Union was also critical to bolstering her commitment to Communism and her sense of independence. She made her first of four visits to the Soviet Union in 1928 upon an invitation to serve as an official delegate to the Sixth Comintern Congress. She traveled to Moscow with her two youngest children, ten-year-old Charles and seven-year-old Neal. Her husband remained at home. While all accounts describe him as progressively minded, he appears neither to

have joined the Workers Party nor to have shared his wife's passion for the Soviet Union.¹²⁶ After arriving in Moscow, Burroughs participated in discussions on the Negro Question at the Sixth Comintern Congress. She criticized the WP for its "under-estimation" of women's work, particularly of black women's issues, illustrating how black Communist women shrewdly took their grievances with U.S. Communist Party officials to Moscow for redress.¹²⁷ One year later, she returned to the Soviet Union and spent ten months there. Again, she left her husband at home. For a woman who was the daughter of an impoverished ex-slave, being courted by Soviet officials and given the opportunity to lead the global Communist movement must have been powerfully affirming.¹²⁸

Burroughs's Soviet encounters had major implications for her children as well. In a bold move, she decided, upon the urging of the Soviet commissar of education, to enroll them in an elite boarding school near Leningrad for children of Soviet and foreign Communist officials before she returned to New York in 1928. Although she had not traveled there for that purpose, the Soviet Union's commitment to black self-determination and internationalism intrigued her. She wanted her children to grow up in a society free of American racism. Her children remained in the Soviet Union for the next fifteen years. Upon her return to the Soviet Union in 1930, she entrusted them to her good friend, Hermina Dumont Huiswoud, who became a surrogate mother to Burroughs's children. Dumont Huiswoud also became good friends with Maude White, demonstrating how the Soviet Union helped black women radicals forge networks between themselves and women revolutionaries from around the world.¹²⁹

For early black women sojourners to the Soviet Union, seeing the world's first socialist nation in action and exchanging ideas with revolutionaries from around the world inspired them and enhanced their sense of transnational citizenship. Courted and treated with respect by Soviet officials, black women radicals returned home determined to fight for racial equality and black women's freedom. The Soviet Union provided a terrain where black left feminists formed a small community. Believing passionately in Communism and black liberation, they shared a belief in women's independence from traditional domestic responsibilities as mothers and wives. Living in the Soviet Union, spending significant time apart from their husbands and, in the case of Burroughs, her children, and working on behalf of the Communist International bolstered these women's sense of confidence and pur-

pose as black women and as revolutionaries. By taking part in the construction of the new socialist world, they were becoming new women as well. The Soviet promise would continue to captivate black women radicals for years to come.

As the United States plunged into economic depression, the Harlem Communist Party counted probably less than a dozen black women members. Despite their small numbers, they were vital to building the first Communist-led movements in Harlem and to formulating black left feminism. Drawing from knowledge they had acquired as community leaders and professional reformers before enlisting in the Workers Party, their activism set the stage for black women who joined the CPUSA after 1930. Like their successors, this first generation of black women who enlisted in the Workers Party did so in part out of frustration with the sexism within traditional black protest groups and the middle-class agendas of the church, women's clubs, and professional reformers. Without question, the international Left's militant anti-racist, anti-imperialist program and global circuitry, as well as the "Soviet promise" of creating a new world, offered black women radicals a powerful alternative to mainstream black protest groups for agitating for the full freedom of black people globally. Joining the Workers Party and in some cases traveling to the Soviet Union transformed black women radicals' lives. They often challenged the bourgeois variants of respectability espoused by church, Garveyite, and clubwomen. Initiating a conversation that lasted for decades, black left feminists began to reframe Marxism-Leninism by viewing black women as the global vanguard. Black women radicals began to form a community and collective identity. Despite their enthusiasm for the Communist cause, black women in the early Party, most notably Grace Campbell, sometimes functioned as outsiders within the Communist Left. Nonetheless, they wrestled with sexism, racism, and sectarianism within the WP and sought to make it their own. This determination was critical to providing the Party with its initial footholds in Harlem by the beginning of the Depression. Growing interest among black intellectuals and everyday people in the Soviet Union, the Depression, and, above all, the Scottsboro case would enable the Communist Party to expand its presence in black communities and to recruit a new generation of black women.

NOTES

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Introduction

1. Quoted in Barton, "Revolt of the Housewives," 18–19; *DW*, 4 June 1935.
2. *DW*, 4 June 1935; Audley "Queen Mother" Moore, interview by Mark Naison, 12; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 136; McDuffie, "Long Journeys," 206–7.
3. *DW*, 4 June 1935.
4. *Ibid.*, *AN*, 28 May 1938, May 3, 1947; Audley "Queen Mother" Moore, interview by Mark Naison, 1972, 12; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 149–50.
5. I should note that many of the women discussed in this book deliberately did not use their married names throughout their lives. To honor these decisions, I will use the surname they used during the historical moment under inquiry or when I directly quote or cite an interview conducted with them later in life. I will employ a similar system in the case of Audley Moore, who had adopted the title "Queen Mother Moore" by the late 1950s.
6. In this book, the term "Communist Left" describes a broad array of organizations and individuals that associated with and to varying degrees supported the program of the Communist Party. Similarly, the term "black Left" refers to a wide range of protest organizations with ties to the Communist Party.
7. Washington, "Alice Childress, Lorraine Hansberry, and Claudia Jones," 185, 193–98.
8. "Combahee River Collective in Guy-Sheftall, *Words of Fire*, 231–40; Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*, 11–14; Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins."
9. Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 106–12; Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*, 121–24.
10. Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 7–8; Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 53–81, 117–42.

11. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 2nd ed.; Guy-Sheftall, *Words of Fire*.
12. For discussions of masculinist articulations of black freedom, see Estes, *I Am a Man!*; Lubiano, "Black Nationalism and Common Sense"; R. M. Williams, "Living at the Crossroads"; E. White, "Africa on My Mind."
13. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, 210–11; Hine, "African American Women and Their Communities in the Twentieth Century," 15–16.
14. Hine, "African American Women and Their Communities in the Twentieth Century," 1–23.
15. Mutua, "Introduction," xi.
16. For a small sampling of this work, see Collier-Thomas, *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice*; Giddings, *Ida*; Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*; U. Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*; Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*; Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 21–211; Rief, "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally"; Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do*; E. Brown, "Womanist Consciousness."
17. This book joins a growing body of literature on black women's encounters with the U.S. Communist Party and the international Left. See Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*; Harris, "Running with the Reds"; Gore, "From Communist Politics to Black Power"; Welch, "Spokesman of the Oppressed?"; Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 97–113; Horne, *Race Woman*.
18. McDuffie, "Long Journeys," 9; Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 29–95.
19. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 2, 3. The work of the historian Kevin K. Gaines also provides a useful foundation for uncovering these connections. He argues that "the origins of black feminism existed in a symbiotic relationship to a black radical culture of internationalism, largely based in northern black urban centers such as Harlem and Chicago." Gaines, "From Center to Margins: Internationalism and the Origins of Black Feminism," 294.
20. Marx, *Capital*, 1: 188–246, 655–67, 772–802, 3: 958–61, 971–91.
21. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 42.
22. *Ibid.*, 38, 39.
23. Those in the Communist Left referred to the peak years of anti-Communist repression, roughly 1951 through 1956, as the "McCarthy period." Taking a cue from the historian Ellen Schrecker, I use the term "McCarthyism" broadly in referring to postwar anti-Communist hysteria and state repression against Communists and suspected Communists. Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, ix–xx.
24. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 131–233.
25. Thompson, "Toward a Brighter Dawn"; Cooper, "The Negro Woman Domestic Worker in Relation to Trade Unionism"; Jones, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!" *Political Affairs* reprinted the article as "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of Negro Women," 53, no. 3 (March 1974): 28–42.
26. James, "Resting in Gardens, Battling in Deserts," 4.
27. Gore, Theoharis, and Woodard, Introduction to *Want to Start a Revolution?*, 5, 13–14. The sociologist Belinda Robnett coined the term "bridge leadership" in her

- monograph, *How Long? How Long? African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*, 19–35.
28. McDuffie, “I wanted a Communist philosophy, but I wanted us to have a chance to organize our people,” 181–95.
 29. McDuffie, “The March of Young Southern Black Women,” 85–89.
 30. Harris, “Running with the Reds,” 32.
 31. Quoted in Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 8.
 32. *Ibid.*, 1–9; For additional discussions of black women and respectability, see Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 185–229; Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing*; E. White, *Dark Continent of Our Bodies*.
 33. S. Hall, “The Work of Representation.”
 34. Richardson, “A Black Woman Speaks of White Womanhood, of White Supremacy, of Peace”; McDuffie, “A ‘New Freedom Movement of Negro Women,’” 85–86.
 35. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 2nd ed., 69.
 36. hooks, *Black Looks*, 4.
 37. Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 185–229.
 38. Gore, Theoharis, and Woodard, *Want to Start a Revolution?*; Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 106–12; Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*, 121–24. For additional discussions of intergenerational exchange between black radicals who came of age before and after the McCarthy period, see Young, *Soul Power*; Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement*; Wilkins, “Beyond Bandung.”
 39. Scharf and Jensen, *Decades of Discontent*; Rupp and Taylor, *Survival in the Doll-drums*.
 40. Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*, 77.
 41. Springer, *Living for the Revolution*; Nadasen, *Welfare Warriors*; Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*. For additional investigations of black women’s engagement with “second wave feminism,” see S. Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions*; Valk, *Radical Sisters*.
 42. Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*, 16.
 43. Ward, “The Third World Women’s Alliance,” 121.
 44. Quote appears in Premilla Nadasen’s section, “Black Feminism—Waves, Rivers, and Still Water,” in the article by Laughlin et al., “Is It Time to Jump Ship?,” 98.
 45. Quoted in Dubois, “Eleanor Flexner and the History of American Feminism,” 84; Swerdlow, “The Congress of American Women”; Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*; Landon Storrs, “Left-Feminism, the Consumer Movement, and Red Scare Politics in the United States, 1935–1960.”
 46. Cobble, *The Other Women’s Movement*, 3.
 47. The term is credited to the political scientist Cedric J. Robinson’s magnum opus, *Black Marxism*. Robinson understands the black radical tradition as a shared revolutionary consciousness and vision rooted in African-descended people’s ontological opposition to racial capitalism, slavery, and imperialism. In drawing

- these conclusions, Robinson understands black radicalism and Marxism as “two programs for revolutionary change,” appreciating the latter, despite its universalist claims, as “a Western construction—a conceptualization of human affairs and historical experiences of European peoples mediated, in turn, through their civilization, their social orders, and their cultures.” Marxism, in Robinson’s view, remains grounded to its own detriment in the racialism deeply embedded within Western civilization. For these reasons, Marxism fails to understand the histories of black resistance and complexities of black life. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 1, 2.
48. Boyce Davies, “Sisters Outside”; Gaines, “Locating the Transnational in Postwar African American History”; Saunders, “Woman Overboard.”
 49. Boyce Davies, “Sisters Outside,” 218.
 50. Gaines, “Locating the Transnational in Postwar African American History,” 197.
 51. Saunders, “Woman Overboard,” especially 209–15.
 52. Boyce Davies, “Sisters Outside,” 221; Gaines, “Locating the Transnational in Postwar African American History,” 201–2; Saunders, “Woman Overboard,” 215–16.
 53. I am borrowing the term “freedom dreams” from Robin D. G. Kelley’s insightful study, *Freedom Dreams*.
 54. For works on collective identity formation, see Rupp and Taylor, “Forging Feminist Identity in an International Movement”; Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 1–4, 122–30; Taylor and Whittier, “Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities.”
 55. Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 2.
 56. Chela Sandoval, quoted in Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 14. See also, Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*, 53–61.
 57. Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 1–4, 122–30.
 58. For additional insightful discussions of the gendered and sexual contours of black internationalism, black nationalism, and pan-Africanism, see Stephens, *Black Empire*; Holcomb, *Claude McKay, Code Name Sasha*; Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*, 64–90; Boyce Davies, *Black Women, Writing, and Identity*; E. White, “Africa on My Mind.”
 59. Boyce Davies, “Sisters Outside”; Gaines, “Locating the Transnational in Postwar African American History,” 195–96; Saunders, “Woman Overboard,” 209–16.
 60. Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 243, 244. Recent scholarship has extended Edwards’s analysis of black internationalism. West, Martin, and Wilkins, *From Touissant to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution* is but one example. “At the core of black internationalism” they argue, “is the ideal of universal emancipation, unbounded by national, imperial, continental, or oceanic boundaries—or even by racial ones” (xi). However, women’s voices, gender, and sexuality are largely absent in their understanding of black internationalism.
 61. Edwards’s omission of black women’s involvement in the “black international” is curious in light of how his book does look at Afro-Caribbean women’s central role in leading Parisian black literary groups that embraced a radical diasporic vision. Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 119–86.

62. Quoted in Carew, *Blacks, Reds, and Russians*, 1, 3.
63. Matusevich, "Journeys of Hope," 61.
64. In her introduction, Carew acknowledges that her book focuses primarily on the experiences of fourteen black American male travelers to the Soviet Union. See Carew, *Blacks, Reds, and Russians*, 7. K. Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain*; Holcomb, *Claude McKay, Code Name Sasha*.
65. Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana*, 25–26, 76, 202.
66. Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations," 27.
67. My thinking here is informed by Rebecca E. Welch's insightful essay "Gender and Power in the Black Diaspora," 310.
68. Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, xii–xv.
69. For a few examples, see Palmer, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left*; Barrett, *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism*; Storch, *Red Chicago*; Klehr and Haynes, *The Soviet World of American Communism*.
70. Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*. It should be noted that Cruse's thesis lives on. See Arnesen, "'No Graver Danger.'"
71. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*; Horne, *Black and Red*; Painter, *The Narrative of Hosea Hudson*; Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*; Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 100–33; Bush, *We Are Not What We Seem*, 102–39; Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire*.
72. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, xiii–xiv; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 38–51, 68–91.
73. Mishler, *Raising Reds*, 2.
74. Collins, *Fighting Words*, 3–10.
75. Ransby, *Ella J. Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 4; Lee, *For Freedom's Sake*, 85–102.
76. McDuffie, "Long Journeys," 21–40, 154–71, 204–16, 233–36, 323–40, 401–11, 483–88; Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 7–21.
77. J. Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past"; E. Gilmore, *Defying Dixie*; Theoharis and Woodard, *Freedom North*; Gore, Theoharis, and Woodard, Introduction to *Want to Start a Revolution?*, 1–11.
78. Cha-Jua and Lang, "'The Long Movement' as Vampire"; Lieberman and Lang, *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement*, 1–12.
79. I am borrowing the term "personal costs" from Lee, *For Freedom's Sake*, ix.
80. Jones, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!"; McDuffie, "A 'New Freedom Movement of Negro Women,'" 83–88.
81. McDuffie, "A 'New Freedom Movement of Negro Women,'" 95–97; Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 99–166.
82. For debates about the usefulness of the CPUSA and Communist International records archived at The Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI) in Moscow and now largely available at the Library of Congress in Washington, see Haynes, "Reconsidering Two Questions"; Schrecker and Isserman, "The Right's Cold War Revision."

83. Louise Thompson Patterson's unpublished memoir, Louise Thompson Patterson Papers.
84. Barrett, "Was the Personal Political? Reading the Autobiography of American Communism," 404.
85. Claudia Jones to William Z. Foster, 6 December 1955, Howard "Stretch" Johnson Papers; Welch, "Gender and Power in the Black Diaspora," 76–77.

1. Black Communist Women Pioneers

1. Robert A. Hill, *Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Papers*, 4: 688.
2. *The Messenger* (November 1920): 138.
3. McDuffie, "[She] devoted twenty minutes condemning all other forms of government but the Soviet," 229; Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 30–32, 151–52, 153–54.
4. Stansell, *American Moderns*, 7–8; White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 112–15.
5. Trotter, *Great Migration in Historical Perspective*, 1, 2.
6. Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 154.
7. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 14.
8. Quoted in White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 24.
9. *Ibid.*, 21–55, 56–86; Giddings, *Ida*; Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 11–48; Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*; Harris, "Running with the Reds"; Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do*.
10. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, 171–85; Rod Bush, *We Are Not What We Seem*, 90–120.
11. Perry, *Hubert Harrison*, 1: 243–80; Kelley, "But a Local Phase of a World Problem," 1055–66; Bush, *We Are Not What We Seem*, 90–120.
12. Palmer, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890–1928*, 87–134; Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, 171–72, 269–75.
13. "Theses of the Fourth Comintern Congress on the Negro Question," in Degras, *The Communist International, 1919–1943*, 1: 398–401; "Resolution of Communist International, October 26, 1928," in *The Communist Position on the Negro Question* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1934), 56–64; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 17–21, 40.
14. W. Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution*; Halle, *Woman in Soviet Russia*; Carleton, *Sexual Revolution in Bolshevik Russia*, 5–11.
15. W. Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution*, 1–253; Carleton, *Sexual Revolution in Bolshevik Russia*, 3, 6, 19–112; D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 56.
16. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 175–184.
17. White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 89.
18. Paris and Brooks, *Blacks in the City*, 4; Minutes of 8 November 1911, 11 September 1912, 3 June 1912, NLPWCW meetings, L. Hollingsworth Wood Papers, box 53, NLPWCW Minutes, Treasurer's Reports, Receipts, 1911–1913 folder; Citation Cer-

- tificate of Death, No. 13623, Grace Campbell, 9 June 1943, the City of New York, Department of Records and Information Services; Hicks, "Confined to Womanhood," 75–76.
19. White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 39.
 20. Quoted in *NYA*, 6 September 1924; Hicks, "Confined to Womanhood," 77–80; Grace Campbell, Death Certificate; *Savannah Tribune*, 19 August 1911, reprinted in Tuskegee Clipping File, reel 1, 53–353 (microfilm); U.S. Fourteenth Census 1920, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com>; Hicks, "Confined to Womanhood," 75–76.
 21. Quoted in Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 203; Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 11–48.
 22. Gross, *Colored Amazons*, 87.
 23. *Savannah Tribune*, 19 August 1911.
 24. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 31.
 25. *DW*, 29 December 1945, in Williana Burroughs, NY Bureau File, 100-390-21, FBI.
 26. Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 5–7.
 27. Maude White Katz, interview by Ruth Prago; Solomon, "Recovering a Lost Legacy," 7.
 28. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 136.
 29. Makalini, "For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere," 125; Hicks, "Confined to Womanhood."
 30. W. James, "Being Red and Black in Jim Crow America," 54.
 31. Hubert H. Harrison broke from the SPA in 1917 due to his discomfort with the wide-spread racism within the organization and its class reductionism of the Negro Question. He pursued his revolutionary nationalist vision in his newly formed, Harlem-based Liberty League. However, A. Phillip Randolph, Chandler Owen, and Frank Crosswaith remained in the SPA. Perry, *Hubert Harrison*, 1: 220–327.
 32. Robert A. Hill, *Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Papers*, 4: 688.
 33. Makalani, "For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere," 2.
 34. At its peak in 1923, the ABB claimed thirty-five hundred members in the United States and the Caribbean. Its strident anti-capitalism and its call for forging alliances with the nascent Communist Left and with white trade unionists distinguished the ABB's program from those of the Garvey movement (UNIA) and of the NAACP. The ABB initially also sought to work with the Garvey movement. However, relations between the ABB and UNIA quickly deteriorated due to mutual suspicion and Briggs's ill-conceived, failed effort to highjack the UNIA convention of 1922. Russian State Archive (hereafter RA) 515/1/37; Makalani "For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere," 57–168.
 35. Cyril Briggs to Theodore Draper, letter, 17 March 1958, Theodore Draper Papers, box 31, folder Negro-Briggs, Cyril.
 36. "Theses of the Fourth Comintern Congress on the Negro Question," in Degras, *The Communist International*, 1: 398–401; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 17–21.

37. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 4–5, 8–21.
38. *Ibid.*; RA 515/1/575/35–55; Makalani, “For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere,” 207–29.
39. Hobsbawm, *Revolutionaries*, 3.
40. Robert A. Hill, *Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Papers*, 4: 688.
41. P-138 to Bureau of Investigation, 4 March 1921, RG 65, BS 202600-667-307, FSAA Records, reel 7, 304.
42. Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 79, 93; RG 65 Casefile OG 76064, FSAA Records, reel 9, 864–865; U.S. Fourteenth Census, Helen Holman, <http://persi.heritagequestionline.com>.
43. In 1925, the school board reinstated her job after it lifted the ban on employing married women teachers. Subsequently, she began teaching high school in Queens. *DW*, 1 May 1934.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*; *HL*, 18 November 1933.
46. Huiswoud was one of two black people to attend the inaugural convention of what became the Workers Party. In 1922, he attended the Fourth Comintern Congress in Moscow, participating in the deliberations on the Negro Question with Claude McKay. Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 11–14, 89–90, 99–108.
47. “Some Women I Have Known Personally, Campbell, Grace,” in Hermina Dumont Huiswoud Papers (hereafter HDH Papers), box 1, Essays on Women folder.
48. Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 154.
49. Maude White Katz, interview by Ruth Prago; Solomon, “Recovering a Lost Legacy,” 7.
50. D. Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*; Storch, *Red Chicago*.
51. Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 15.
52. RA 515/1/631/28–29; RA 515/1/362/7; RA 515/1/362/11, 33; *DW*, 29 November 1929; Shapiro, “Red Feminism,” 55–59.
53. Robert A. Hill, *Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Papers*, 4: 688.
54. Makalani, “For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere,” 120.
55. RG 60, Casefile 198940–283, 27 January 1923, FSAA Records, reel 15, 469; RA 515/1/37/11–12; *AN*, 23 February 1927; Makalani, “For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere,” 169–89.
56. Makalani, “For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere,” 120–123, 128.
57. RA 515/1/575/35–49; 515/1/575/68; 515/1/575/61; 515/1/720/3–4; *NC*, 3 November 1928.
58. “Some Women I Have Known Personally, Campbell, Grace,” in HDH Papers, box 1, Essays on Women folder; Makalani, “For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere,” 85.
59. Kuumba, *Gender and Social Movements*, 56–57.
60. “Some Women I Have Known Personally, Campbell, Grace,” HDH Papers, box 1, Essays on Women folder.

61. U. Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*, 41–90, 144–45; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 173–92; Lee, *For Freedom's Sake*, 86–102.
62. Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 26, 30–32; Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 79, 93; RG 65 Casefile OG 76064, FSAA Records; U.S. Fourteenth Census 1920, Helen Holman.
63. U. Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*, 64.
64. *Ibid.*, 64–90; McDuffie, “[She] devoted twenty minutes condemning all other forms of government but the Soviet,” 234–35.
65. Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 71, 79, 93.
66. Quoted in *ibid.*, 92; P-138 to Bureau of Investigation, 11 June 1921, RG 65, BS 202600-667, FSAA Records, reel 7, 343–344; Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 53–54.
67. Joseph, *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour*, 12, 17–18; Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 58–59.
68. My thinking on this matter is informed by the historian Ula Y. Taylor’s insightful article “Street Strollers.”
69. Floyd-Thomas, “Creating a Temple and a Forum,” 4, 7; Ethelred Brown, “A Brief History of the Harlem Unitarian Church,” 11 September 1949, E. Ethelred Brown Papers, box 1, folder 8.
70. Brown, “A Brief History of the Harlem Unitarian Church,” E. Ethelred Brown Papers, box 1, folder 8; “Some Women I Have Known Personally, Campbell, Grace,” HDH Papers, box 1, Essays on Women folder.
71. Scharfman, “On Common Ground,” viii, 3.
72. *Ibid.*, 3.
73. Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 69–70; Christian, “Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association,” 163–65; Martin, *African Fundamentalism*.
74. Stansell, *American Moderns*, 225–72.
75. Gates, “The Black Man’s Burden,” 129.
76. Holcomb, *Claude McKay, Code Name Sasha*, 4. McKay briefly enjoyed prominence in the global Communist Left due to his attendance at the Fourth Communist International Congress in Moscow in 1922. There, he helped draft the resolution on the Negro Question. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 40–42; McKay, *The Negroes in America*.
77. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 74; Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870–1920*, 246–87; D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 229–35.
78. A. Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*.
79. *NW*, 2 February 1924.
80. *NW*, 6 January 1926.
81. McDuffie, “[She] devoted twenty minutes condemning all other forms of government but the Soviet,” 234–35.
82. “Resolution of the Communist International, October 26, 1928” in *The Communist Position on the Negro Question*, 57, 60, 62; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 68–91.

83. Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 114.
84. "Resolution of the Communist International, October 26, 1928," 62.
85. Makalani, "For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere," 252.
86. Constitution, Harlem Tenants Association, Richard B. Moore Papers, box 5, folder 10; *NC*, 20 April 1929; *AN*, 5 June 1929; Makalani, "For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere," 263–64.
87. Following the issue of the Black Belt thesis, the Party formed the Negro Department, a national commission charged with overseeing Communist "Negro work." RA 515/1/1685/21–22.
88. *NC*, 20 April 1929, 25 May 1929; *DW*, 22 November 1929, 1 June 1929; *AN*, 5 June 1929, 12 June 1929, 16 January 1929, 23 January 1929; Makalani, "For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere," 261–64.
89. Makalani, "For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere," 261–64.
90. M. Anderson, "The Plight of Negro Domestic Labor."
91. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom*, 74–97; Coble, *Cleaning Up*, 223–50.
92. Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 211–29.
93. *NC*, 8 August 1928; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 100.
94. RA 515/1/1685/21–22, 31–40.
95. RA 515/1/1685/32.
96. Palmer, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890–1928*, 316–49.
97. *DW*, 30 October 1929.
98. *AN*, 1 January 1930; *DW*, 11 September 1929; *Liberator*, 7 December 1929, 14 December 1929; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 99–100; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 24.
99. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 100; Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 178.
100. *DW*, 16 February 1924.
101. *NYA*, 18 April 1925, 25 April 1925.
102. *NYA*, 18 April 1925.
103. *Ibid.*
104. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 38–39.
105. *NYA*, 18 April 1925.
106. Quoted in R. Gilmore, *Golden Gulag*, 5; A. Davis, *Abolition Democracy*.
107. R. Gilmore, *Golden Gulag*, 5.
108. Makalani, "For the Liberation of Black People Everywhere," 128; Shapiro, "Red Feminism," 55–59; RA 515/1/360/1–14; RA 515/1/360/83–87.
109. *NC*, 8 August 1928; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 100.
110. *NC*, 8 August 1928.
111. M. White, "Special Negro Demands," 11. The NTWIU was affiliated with the Communist-affiliated Trade Union Education League (TUEL), later renamed the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL).

112. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, 254; NC, 23 February 1929.
113. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 700; Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*.
114. M. White, "Special Negro Demands," 11.
115. Carew, *Blacks, Reds, and Russians*, 1, 3.
116. Giddings, *Ida*, 283–304; Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 72–99; Rief, "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally."
117. Quoted in Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 91; Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 143. Claude McKay coined the term "magic pilgrimage" in reference to those blacks who endeavored to travel to the Soviet Union during the early 1920s. The term is quoted in K. Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain*, 14.
118. Maude White Katz, interview by Ruth Prago; Solomon, "Recovering a Lost Legacy," 7; McClellan, "Africans and Black Americans in the Comintern Schools, 1925–1934."
119. Maude White Katz, interview by Ruth Prago.
120. *Ibid.*; Brocheux, *Ho Chi Minh*, 36–37; Horne, *Mau Mau in Harlem?*, 10, 90, 98; Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 191; Haywood, *Black Bolshevik*, 155–65.
121. Maude White Katz, interview by Ruth Prago.
122. *Ibid.*; Solomon, "Recovering a Lost Legacy," 7.
123. *Ibid.*
124. "Some Women I Have Known Personally," "Mme Litvinov," HDH Papers, box 1, Essays on Women folder; Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 191.
125. Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 192–224.
126. PV, 5 January 1946; Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 190–91; Joyce Moore Turner, e-mail message to author, September 8, 2008.
127. RA, 495/37/68/45.
128. Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 149.
129. *Ibid.*, 143.

2. Searching for the Soviet Promise

1. Carew, *Blacks, Reds, and Russians*, 115–39.
2. Quoted in L. Patterson, unpublished memoirs, "Chapter on Trip to Russia—1932," Louise Thompson Patterson Papers (hereafter LTP Papers) 2002, box 20, folder 2, 47; K. Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain*, 22.
3. Miller, *Remembering Scottsboro*; Howard, *Black Communists Speak on Scottsboro*; Goodman, *The Stories of Scottsboro*; Carter, *Scottsboro*.
4. Thompson, "My Southern Terror," 327.
5. Greenberg, *Or Does It Explode? Black Harlem in the Great Depression*, 42–64.
6. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 185–206; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 78–80.

7. Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 66.
8. Watts, *God, Harlem U.S.A.*
9. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 19–22.
10. White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 69–169; Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey*, 248–56.
11. Carter, *Scottsboro*, 3–50; Herndon, *Let Me Live*.
12. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 126–65.
13. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 233–75; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 95–165.
14. Carew, *Blacks, Reds, and Russians*, 1, 3, 4.157–83.
15. Thompson took the last name of her stepfather, Hadwick Thompson, with whom she lived during her early childhood years. MaryLouise Patterson, interview by author.
16. “Louise Alone Thompson Patterson: A Celebration of her Life and Legacy,” program of memorial, 25 September 1999, n.p. in possession of author; Louise Patterson, interview by Ruth Prago, tape 1. Louise Thompson Patterson was one of the first African American women to graduate from Berkeley; MaryLouise Patterson, interview by author.
17. *CD*, 8 September 1928, 3 March 1929, 9 September 1933; Martin and Martin, “Thyra J. Edwards,” 163–64.
18. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 43.
19. L. Patterson, “Chapter 3, Harlem in the 1920s,” draft in unpublished memoir, 17–18, 27; Louise Patterson, interview by Ruth Prago, tapes 1, 2, 3.
20. T. Patterson, *Zora Neale Hurston and a History of Southern Life*, 32–49; *AN*, 29 December 1934; L. Patterson, “Chapter 3, Harlem in the 1920s,” draft in unpublished memoir.
21. Hirth, *Gay Rebel of the Harlem Renaissance*.
22. Brown and Faue, “Revolutionary Desire,” 281; Thyra Edwards to Etha Bell, 14 April 1934, Thyra Edwards Papers, Chicago History Museum, Chicago, IL, box 1, folder 1.
23. Evelyn Crawford, telephone interview by author. Crocco and Waite, “Education and Marginality”; Horne, *The End of Empires*, 96–100.
24. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 6 August 1989, 37–38, LTP Papers, box 28, folder 25; Congregational Education Society, “Annual Report, 1931–1932” (Boston: Congregational House, n.d.) in Congregational Education Society Records, 1816–1956, box 1, subseries A, folder 8; *CD*, 15 November 1930.
25. *CD*, 28 November 1931, 19 November 1932; Martin and Martin, “Thyra J. Edwards,” 165–68.
26. Quoted in *AN*, 23 December 1931; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 68.
27. *AN*, 17 February 1932, 15 June 1932; RA 515/1/2734/43–44.
28. The International People’s College, “IPC — The General Picture,” <http://www.ipc.dk/en/ipcingeneral.asp>; *CD*, 13 October 1934; *AN*, 11 October 1933; *PC*, 31 March 1934.

29. Louise Thompson Patterson to Mama Thompson [Louise Toles], letter, 4 July 1933, LTP Papers, box 2, folder 9; Matusевич, "Journeys of Hope," 61.
30. Quoted in L. Patterson, "Chapter on Trip to Russia—1932," draft in unpublished memoir, 10–12; Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes*, 1: 242–45.
31. AN, 23 November 1932.
32. CD, 16 June 1934. Chatwood Hall was the pseudonym of Homer Smith.
33. Carew, *Blacks, Reds, and Russians*, 125.
34. The script of *Black and White* traced the black freedom struggle from the Middle Passage to the contemporary Jim Crow South. In the film's climactic scene, the Red Army, which had been contacted by radio by local black workers in Birmingham, Alabama, arrived there and fought side by side with black and white workers in defeating white bosses. After reading the script, a befuddled Hughes concluded that it was "the kind of fantasy that any European *merely* reading cursorily about the race problem in America, but knowing nothing of it at firsthand, might easily conjure up." Quoted in Hughes, *I Wonder as I Wander*, 77.
35. Carew, *Blacks, Reds, and Russians*, 125.
36. The film's cancellation made international headlines, deeply dividing the cast into two hostile factions. *Ibid.*, 115–39.
37. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview by Ruth Prago, tape 3.
38. CD, 16 June 1934.
39. AN, 23 November 1932.
40. *Ibid.*; K. Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain*, 86–148.
41. Thyra Edwards to Etha Bell; Brown and Faue, "Revolutionary Desire," 273.
42. Elliot, *Women and Smoking Since 1890*; Mitchell, "The 'New Woman' as Prometheus."
43. Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West."
44. Brown and Faue, "Revolutionary Desire," 273.
45. Aptheker, *Intimate Politics*, 103.
46. Hughes's sexuality remains shrouded in mystery and controversy. For recent scholarly discussions of Hughes's transgressive sexuality and controversies surrounding it, see S. Vogel, "Closing Time"; Ponce, "Langston Hughes's Queer Blues"; Marshall, *Triangular Road*, 24–27.
47. Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes*, 1: 196.
48. Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 130–38.
49. W. Goldman, *Terror and Democracy in the Age of Stalin*, 20–25; W. Goldman, *Women at the Gates*, 33–42; D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 56.
50. AN, 23 November 1932.
51. Dennis, *The Autobiography of an American Communist*, 117–18.
52. Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism*.
53. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 81–91, 103–4.
54. CD, 16 June 1934.
55. Louise Thompson Patterson to Mama Thompson, letter, 24 August 1932, LTP Papers, box 2, folder 9; Hughes, *I Wonder as I Wander*, 169–74.

56. Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism*, 3.
57. "To the Workers and Peasants of Uzbekistan Socialist Soviet Republic," 5 October 1932, LTP Papers, box 2, folder 14; Hughes, *I Wonder as I Wander*, 101–89.
58. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 100; Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 123–58.
59. Northrop, *Veiled Empire*, 14–24, 285.
60. "'Western' feminist discourses," Mohanty writes, have tended to construct non-"Western" women as an undifferentiated mass of oppressed, backward, timeless women and "Western women as secular, liberated, and having control over their own lives." Mohanty et al., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, 74; Said, *Orientalism*. For additional discussions of the multiple meanings of veiling and its complex relation to decolonization and modernity, see El Saadawi, *The Hidden Face of Eve*; Frantz Fanon's classic but controversial chapter "Algeria Unveiled" in his *A Dying Colonialism*, 35–68; Moallem, *Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister*, 20–29, 40–49.
61. Louise Thompson Patterson, unpublished memoirs, "Chapter on Trip to Russia—1932," 52–53.
62. Edgar, "Bolshevism, Patriarchy, and the Nation," 252.
63. *Ibid.*, 257; Northrop, *Veiled Empire*, 9, 33–68, 183–85, 320; Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan*.
64. Northrop, *Veiled Empire*, 13.
65. *Ibid.*, 69–101; Edgar, "Bolshevism, Patriarchy, and the Nation," 261–66.
66. Edwards, "The Uses of Diaspora," 66.
67. Grewal and Kaplan, *Scattered Hegemonies*, 1–33; Mohanty et al., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, 51–80; K. Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain*, 106–8.
68. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 14 May 1987, LTP Papers, box 27, folder 20, 22.
69. *CD*, 8 August 1936, 3 October 1936.
70. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 31 August 1989, LTP Papers, box 32, folder 12, 1, 31. Denning, *The Cultural Front*, 13.
71. The idea for the demonstration did not originate with the Party. Instead, William H. Davis, the editor of the *Amsterdam News*, issued the call for a massive march on Washington immediately following news that local Alabama courts in early April 1933 had reconvicted the Scottsboro defendants and resentenced them to death. For African Americans and the Communist Party, the verdict was especially shocking given how Ruby Bates, one of the two white women allegedly raped by the defendants, recanted her accusations from the bench. Davis's call received spontaneous support from the Harlem community. Thompson, however, soon wrestled control of the protest from Davis on behalf of the CPUSA. As a result, Davis and other more politically moderate black leaders publicly withdrew their support for the action. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 80–82.

72. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 14 May 1987, 28; AN, 19 April 1933; "On to Washington!" flyer, n.d., Clarina Michelson Papers, box 3, folder 5; "Instructions for Marchers to Washington," Clarina Michelson Papers, box 3, folder 5; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 70–73, 76–78, 85.
73. Thompson, "And So We Marched"; *Washington Times*, 9 May 1933, in LTP Papers, box 12, folder 11; Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 31 August 1989, 7; AA, 6 May 1933; *NYT*, 7 May 1933; *NYA*, 20 May 1933; AN, 17 May 1933; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 187–88, 240.
74. Harris, "Running with the Reds."
75. Quoted in Miller, Pennybacker, and Rosenhaft, "Mother Ada Wright and the International Campaign to Free the Scottsboro Boys, 1931–1934," 413.
76. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 6 August 1989, 11.
77. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 18 March 1990, LTP Papers, box 28, folder 28, 17; T. Walker, *Pluralistic Fraternity*, 1–35.
78. Louise Patterson, interview by Ruth Prago, tape 4; Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 14 May 1987, LTP Papers, box 27, folder 20, 27; Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 69.
79. Thompson, "My Southern Terror," 327–28.
80. *The Complete Report of Mayor LaGuardia's Commission on the Harlem Riot of March 19, 1935*, 7–18; Louise Patterson, interview by Ruth Prago, tape 4; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 140–41.
81. *The Complete Report of Mayor LaGuardia's Commission on the Harlem Riot of March 19, 1935*, 24; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 144–45.
82. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 145.
83. *Ibid.*, 119, 136.
84. Audley Queen Mother Moore, interview by Ruth Prago, 23 December 1981, 4.
85. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 117–18, 120–22, 132; Audley Queen Mother Moore, interview by Ruth Prago, 2–3.
86. Harold, *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South, 1918–1942*, 29–60.
87. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 123.
88. Rolinson, *Grassroots Garveyism*, 131–38.
89. Martin, *Race First*, 151–73; Thomas Warner, interview by author, January 18, 2002; Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 126. Queen Mother Moore claimed that she became acquainted with Garvey and frequently attended Black Star Line meetings as his guest of honor. Archival evidence, however, has yet to confirm her claims. Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 7.
90. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 126–27; Audley "Queen Mother" Moore, interview by Mark Naison, 3 May 1974, 7; Coble, *Cleaning Up*, 51–76.
91. Quoted in Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 132–33; Audley "Queen Mother" Moore, interview by Mark Naison, 7.
92. Thomas Warner, interview by author.

93. *HL*, 14 October 1933.
94. White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 69–169; Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey*, 248–56; Watts, *God, Harlem U.S.A.*, 113–16.
95. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 258.
96. Audley “Queen Mother” Moore, interview by Mark Naison, 3; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 136.
97. U. Taylor, “Street Strollers.”
98. Audley “Queen Mother” Moore, interview by Mark Naison, 12.
99. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 135; Audley Queen Mother Moore, interview by Ruth Prago, 9.
100. RA 515/1/3196/31–37; RA 515/1/3817/84–93.
101. “Audley Moore,” FBI, New York Bureau File 100-13205, 15 May 1943, 1–3; Harlem Division of the Communist Party, *A Political Manual for Harlem*, 16.
102. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women’s Oral History Project*, 132; Audley Queen Mother Moore, interview by Ruth Prago, 7–8; Harlem Division of the Communist Party, “A Political Manual for Harlem,” 15.
103. Audley Queen Mother Moore, interview by Ruth Prago, 8, 9.
104. RA 515/1/3817/38–48; Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, 77; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 164–84.
105. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 190–91.
106. *HL*, 3 July 1934; Solomon, “Rediscovering a Lost Legacy,” 9.
107. *AN*, 28 July 1934, 30 May 1936.
108. *DW*, 1 May 1934.
109. “William Burroughs” file, J. Edgar Hoover to Special Agent in Charge, New York, New York, 15 August 1940, FBI, Bureau file 100-390-1 and 100-390-5, 23 May 1941; *PV*, 5 January 1946, in the FBI files, “Burroughs” file number illegible.
110. Theodore Bassett, interview by Mark Naison, 15 December 1973, in Mark Naison Personal Collection, transcript in author’s possession.
111. RA 515/1/3811/103.
112. Consumer movements led by the CPUSA in Harlem were part of a nationwide effort by the CPUSA’s New York-based United Council of Working Class Women to galvanize economically distressed communities into action around the high cost of living. Orleck, *Common Sense and a Little Fire*, 215–40; RA 515/1/3976/31–33; RA 515/1/3988/18–19; *AN*, May 3, 1947, 7 June 1947.
113. William Fellowes Morgan Jr. to A. L. King, 10 November 1938; “Can You Afford to Be Shortweighted,” flyer, n.d., both in UNIA, Central Division Records, 1919–1959, reel 4, box 11, folder e42; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 82–91.
114. *DW*, 4 June 1935; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 149–50; Orleck, *Common Sense and a Little Fire*, 215–40.
115. *AN*, 28 May 1938; Horne, *Cold War in a Hot Zone*, 29–40.
116. *AN*, 30 April 1938; “Audley Moore,” FBI, New York Bureau, File 100-13205, 15 May

- 1943, 1; Harlem Division of the Communist Party, USA, *A Political Manual for Harlem*, 16; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 263–68.
117. “Audley Moore,” FBI, New York Bureau File 100-13205, 9 December 1941, 1; Harlem Division of the Communist Party, USA, *A Political Manual for Harlem*, 15–16.
118. Orleck, *Common Sense and a Little Fire*, 218.
119. *Ibid.*, 215–22, 236–40; R. Y. Williams, *Politics of Public Housing*, 54–56; Nadasen, *Welfare Warriors*; Boris, *Home to Work*.
120. *DW*, 3 September 1937.
121. Charney, *A Long Journey*, 102; *DW*, 3 September 1937; *AN*, 24 July 1937, 16 October 1937; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 215–19, 259–60, 264–65; Audley Moore, Rose Gauden, Bonita Williams, and Helen Samuels to Earl Browder, Earl Browder Papers, reel 5, series 2, item 118, *Negroes*, 1929–1945.
122. It should be noted that high membership turnover rates were common in the Party as a whole. Ottanelli, *The Communist Party of the United States*, 42; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 68.
123. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 264; Charney, *A Long Journey*, 7–10, 83–121.

3. Toward a Brighter Dawn

1. Quoted in Penny Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 19; Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 109–28.
2. Dubois, “Eleanor Flexner and the History of American Radicalism”; Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*; Storrs, “Red Scare Politics and the Suppression of Popular Front Feminism.”
3. Here I am borrowing the term “cultural front” from Michael Denning. He understands the cultural front as a counter-hegemonic, social democratic culture forged by artists, intellectuals, and writers inspired by the insurgent Popular Front of the 1930s and 1940s. At the heart of the cultural front, Denning argues, was the concept of the “laboring of American culture.” The term refers “to the pervasive use of labor and its synonyms in the rhetoric of the period,” the “proletarianization,” of American popular culture, the “new visibility” of cultural industries during these years, and a social democratic ethos promoting anti-Fascism, international solidarity, civil rights, women’s rights, and the CIO’s industrial unionism. Although he focuses close attention on the contributions of black radicals such as Langston Hughes, C. L. R. James, and Richard Wright to the cultural front, black women radicals are conspicuously absent from Denning’s discussion. Denning, *The Cultural Front*, xvi, xvii, 46–47, 310–12, 452–54, 460–62.
4. *Ibid.*, 3–50.
5. In all, 817 delegates from 585 organizations representing three million members of trade unions, women’s clubs, church groups, and fraternal organizations gathered at the National Negro Congress’s opening convention in Chicago on

- 14–16 February 1936. Gellum, “Death Blow to Jim Crow,” 26–85; Mullen, *Popular Fronts*; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 231–310.
6. White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 110–41.
 7. Boris, *Home to Work*, 209; Foley, *Radical Representations*, 213–46; Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 24; Gosse, “To Organize in Every Neighborhood, in Every Home,” 132–34; Brown and Faue, “Revolutionary Desire,” 273–302.
 8. L. Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 283–89; Zieger, *The CIO*, 42–65.
 9. W. Scott, *Sons of Sheba’s Race*, 3–37, 106–20; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 138–40, 195–96.
 10. Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, 13–464.
 11. Brandt, *Black Americans in the Spanish People’s War against Fascism, 1936–1939*, 4–5; Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 136–37.
 12. DW, 30 March 1937; Brandt, *Black Americans in the Spanish People’s War against Fascism, 1936–1939*, 8–12; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 193–97.
 13. Claudia Jones to William Z. Foster, 6 December 1955, in Howard “Stretch” Johnson Papers; Barrett, “Was the Personal Political? Reading the Autobiography of American Communism,” 404.
 14. Jones to Foster, 1.
 15. *Ibid.*, 1, 2; Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, xiii, 69. Despite Jones’s claims that her father edited the *West-Indian-American*, no archival record has been found to verify this claim.
 16. Jones to Foster, 1.
 17. *Ibid.*, 3; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 138–40, 195–96.
 18. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 134–35.
 19. Jones to Foster, 3.
 20. *Ibid.*; Dorothy Burnham, interview by author, 11 June 1998.
 21. Dorothy Burnham, interview by author, 10 April 1999.
 22. Ginger Pinkard, telephone interview by author, 15 September 2002.
 23. Dorothy Burnham, email to author, 26 May 2006.
 24. C. May, “Nuances of Un-American Literature(s),” 17.
 25. For an insightful discussion of the meaning of black people changing their names, see Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*, 8–9; Shakur, *Assata*, 185–86; Painter, “Representing Truth”; Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, 199.
 26. Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?*, 11.
 27. “Claudia Jones,” FBI, Washington Bureau 100-72390-33, 16 July 1947.
 28. B. Johnson, “*I Think of My Mother*,” 79–87.
 29. Quoted in Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998. *Northern Virginia Sun*, 10 February 1970, Esther I. Cooper Papers, box 4, Death of Esther Cooper folder.
 30. D. Scott, “An Interview with Esther Jackson,” 2–3; Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 2 April 1998 (hereafter Jacksons, interview, 2 April 1998).

31. Jacksons, interview, 2 April 1998; R. Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young*, 134–87.
32. Esther Cooper Jackson, telephone interview by author, 17 November 2002.
33. James Jackson and Esther Cooper Jackson, interview by Louis Massiah, 2 June 1992; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 202.
34. D. Scott, “An Interview with Esther Jackson,” 4; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 205.
35. Esther Cooper Jackson, telephone interview by author, 17 November 2002.
36. E. Jackson, *This Is My Husband*, 5–20; Jacksons, interview, 2 April 1998; J. Richards, “The Southern Negro Youth Congress,” 27–48.
37. Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*, 49.
38. *Ibid.*, 102–52.
39. Quoted in Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998, 6; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 204.
40. Brandt, *Black Americans in the Spanish People’s War against Fascism, 1936–1939*, 18; Negro Committee to Aid Spain, *A Negro Nurse in Republican Spain* (New York: Negro Committee to Aid Spain, 1938), Thyra Edwards Papers, box 2, folder 2; Patai, “Heroines of the Good Fight,” 80, 87–88.
41. *DW*, 29 September 1937.
42. Brandt, *Black Americans in the Spanish People’s War against Fascism, 1936–1939*, 18, 33–37.
43. Quoted in August, “Salaria Kea [*sic*] and John O’Reilly”; Salaria Kea [*sic*] O’Reilly, interview by John Gerassi, 7 June 1980.
44. Quoted in August, “Salaria Kea [*sic*] and John O’Reilly”; The Negro Committee to Aid Spain, *A Negro Nurse in Republican Spain*, 3–7; Salaria Kea [*sic*] O’Reilly, interview by John Gerassi, 7 June 1980, 1–6.
45. RA 515/1/3810/204; RA 515/1/4050/17–18; *NO* (May–June 1938): 19–20, (March 1936): 11, (April 1938): 13; Keeran, “National Groups and the Popular Front,” 23; *AN*, 15 February 1936.
46. *AN*, 13 November 1937.
47. The Negro Committee to Aid Spain, *A Negro Nurse in Republican Spain*, 7.
48. Quoted in Louise Thompson Patterson’s unpublished memoirs, draft of chapter 7, *LTP Papers* 2002, box 20, folder 6, 2.
49. *Ibid.* 2, 3.
50. *CD*, 18 December 1937, 25 December 1937, 1 January 1938; *AA*, 11 December 1937.
51. Quoted in August, “Salaria Kea [*sic*] and John O’Reilly”; The Negro Committee to Aid Spain, *A Negro Nurse in Republican Spain*, 7–10, 13–14.
52. Hughes, *I Wonder as I Wander*, 327–393.
53. *Ibid.*, 319, 332–65; *NO* (November 1937): 19; Louise Thompson Patterson, unpublished memoirs, draft of chapter 7, 2–3.
54. Louise Thompson, “Black Warriors,” *LTP Papers*, box 13, folder 11; *ADW*, 11 October 1937; Negro Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, *A Negro Nurse in Republican Spain*, 9–11.
55. Commission de Verification des Mandats; “Manifesto of Second World Congress against Racism and Anti-Semitism,” both in *LTP Papers*, box 13, folder 12; Louise

- Thompson Patterson, unpublished memoirs, draft of chapter 7, 2–3; *AN*, 17 September 1937.
56. American League against War and Fascism, press release, 20 February 1937, 1, box 1, AWALF, 1937 folder, American League for Peace and Democracy Collected Records, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Penn.
 57. Louise Thompson Patterson, unpublished memoirs, draft of chapter 7, 2–3.
 58. *CD*, 1 January 1938.
 59. Salaria Kea [sic] O'Reilly, interview by John Gerassi, 7 June 1980, 9–12.
 60. Salaria Kee O'Reilly, "Passing Through" (n.b.), International Brigades Association archives, Marx Memorial Library, London, box D-2: D/1 <http://irelandscw.com/misc-KeeMemoir.htm>; *AN*, 13 November 1937; *CD*, 18 December 1937, 12 February 1938; *NO* (April 1938): 13, (May–June 1938): 26.
 61. *NO* (November 1937): 19; "Talk of Louise Thompson for the Reception Dinner at the Hotel Commodore," Oct. 6 [1937], LTP Papers, box 20, folder 17.
 62. "The Negro Ambulance Fund for Republican Spain," flyer, Thyra Edwards Papers, scrapbook, folder 2.
 63. *Ibid.*; *NO* (November 1937): 19; *CD*, 18 December 1937; *AN*, 28 May 1938; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 197.
 64. Salaria Kea [sic] O'Reilly, interview by John Gerassi, 7 June 1980, 38–70; Brandt, *Black Americans in the Spanish People's War against Fascism, 1936–1939*, 18, 33–37.
 65. Negro Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy List of Sponsors, Thyra Edwards Papers, scrapbook, folder 2; *AN*, 21 May 1938, 28 May 1938; *CD*, 18 June 1938; *DW*, 18 May 1938, 16 August 1938.
 66. *NO* (October 1937): 6; *CD*, 6 November 1937.
 67. *AN*, 13 November 1937; *CD*, 18 December 1937, 12 February 1938; *NO* (April 1938): 13, (May–June 1938), 26; *DW*, 20 November 1939.
 68. Louise Thompson Patterson, unpublished memoir, chapter 8, 8, in LTP Papers 2002, box 20, folder 7; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 203–10.
 69. *AN*, 30 April 1938; RA 515/1/4078/75–77; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 209–10.
 70. Grace Hutchins, *Women Who Work* (New York: International Publishers, 1934), in Earl Browder Papers, reel 15, series 6, 287.
 71. Cowl, *Women and Equality*, 3.
 72. Inman, *In Woman's Defense*; Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 28–45.
 73. Gordon and Briggs, *The Position of Negro Women*, 2, 10, 14, 15.
 74. Baker and Cooke, "The Bronx Slave Market," 330–31, 340; Marvel Cooke, interview by author, 1 April 1998; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 76–78, 79.
 75. Quoted in L. Thompson, "Toward a Brighter Dawn," 14; Coble, *Cleaning Up*, 51–75.
 76. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 29–68.

77. Denning, *The Cultural Front*, 138, 139.
78. Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 28–45, 81; V. May, “Working in Public and in Private,” 194–243.
79. Cooke, interview by author, 1 April 1998.
80. L. Thompson, “Toward a Brighter Dawn,” 14, 30; Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 29–59.
81. L. Thompson, “Toward a Brighter Dawn,” 14, 30.
82. “Call for National Negro Congress,” flyer, National Negro Congress Vertical Files; National Negro Congress and Randolph, *Resolutions of the National Negro Congress*, 15–16; Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 181; AN, 22 February 1936.
83. Shapiro, “Red Feminism,” n. 25, 48.
84. Quoted in National Negro Congress and Randolph, *Resolutions of the National Negro Congress*, 15; J. Davis, *Let Us Build a National Negro Congress*, 19.
85. AN, 22 February 1936.
86. E. Cooper, “The Negro Woman Domestic Worker in Relation to Trade Unionism”; McDuffie, “Long Journeys,” 295–96.
87. E. Cooper, “The Negro Woman Domestic Worker in Relation to Trade Unionism,” 27, 29–30.
88. *Ibid.*, 98.
89. *Ibid.*, 43–60; Coble, *Cleaning Up*, 62–64, 68; V. May, “Working in Public and in Private,” 214–29.
90. E. Cooper, “The Negro Woman Domestic Worker in Relation to Trade Unionism,” 98–105.
91. Esther Cooper Jackson, telephone interview by author, 17 November 2002.
92. RA 515/1/4070/1–3.
93. Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 185–229; Hine, “Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West.”
94. RA 515/1/4078/88–97; Aptheker, *Intimate Politics*, 103–4; Brown and Faue, “Revolutionary Desire,” 273.
95. Shapiro, “Red Feminism,” 182–89.
96. Landy, *Marxism and the Woman Question*; Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 28–45.
97. Maxwell, *New Negro and Old Left*, 126.
98. *Ibid.*, 126.
99. RA 515/1/3506/27–28; RA 515/1/4165/11–12; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 280–81.
100. Thompson, “Negro Women in Our Party,” 26, 27.
101. *Ibid.*
102. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 283.
103. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 280–81, 282 n. 5; Maxwell, *New Negro and Old Left*, 126–27.
104. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 137.

105. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 186.
106. Charney, *A Long Journey*, 7–24, 83–121.
107. Evans, *Personal Politics*, 79.
108. Abner Berry, interview by Mark Naison, 20 November 1973.
109. Abner Berry, interview by Naison, 29 July 1974; RA 515/1/3811/153; RA 515/1/3817/39–48; Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 173–74.
110. Rolinson, *Grassroots Garveyism*, 137.
111. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 208.
112. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998.
113. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 135–36.
114. Quoted in Esther Cooper Jackson, telephone interview by author, 17 November 2002; Ed Strong married Augusta Jackson, an African American native of Brooklyn who became a leader in the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 204.
115. Dorothy Burnham, email to author, 10 September 2002.
116. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, April 10, 1999; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 204.
117. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 17; *DW*, 29 September 1940.
118. “Claudia Jones,” FBI, New York Bureau File 100-18676, 23 August 1951, 6; Jones to Foster, 5; Shapiro, “Red Feminism,” 268; Ginger Pinkard, telephone interview by author, 15 September 2002; Dorothy Burnham, interview by author, 11 April 1998; Martin and Martin, “Thyra Edwards,” 173; Esther Cooper Jackson, telephone interview by author, 17 November 2002.
119. Pinkard, telephone interview by author; Fred Pinkard, memorial program circa August 2004, in author’s possession.
120. Ernest Kaiser, interview by author, 26 September 2001.

4. Jim Crow, Fascism, and Colonialism

1. Esther V. Cooper, “Negro Youth Organizing for Victory,” 18 April 1942; “Negro Youth Fighting for America,” program, Fifth All-Southern Negro Youth Conference,” 17–19 April 1942, both in Edward E. Strong Papers, box 3, folder 3; McDuffie, “Long Journeys,” 371–75.
2. Cooper, “Negro Youth Organizing for Victory.”
3. Garfinkel, *When Negroes March*, 77.
4. Horne, *Race War*; Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 101–73.
5. Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 99–109; Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 13–27; White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 142–75.
6. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 7.
7. *Ibid.*, 69–95; Horne, *The End of Empires*, 144–59; Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 101–33; Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 125–66; U. Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*, 143–81.
8. Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 10; Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism*, 276.
9. Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*, 238; White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 160.

10. Browder, *Teheran*; Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?*, 33–102, 145–48, 184–86.
11. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 312.
12. Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?* 141–43, 166–69; Shapiro, “Red Feminism,” 62.
13. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *Women Have a Date with Destiny* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1944) in Communism Collection, series I, biography, box 1, folder 3.
14. Rebecca Hill, “Fosterites and Feminists,” 76; Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 46–47.
15. Hawes, *Why Women Cry*.
16. *Ibid.*, xiv–xv, 94–104, 139–45.
17. Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminist Mystique*, 107–9.
18. AN, 6 December 1941, 2 June 1945; Wald, *Trinity of Passion*, 112–16.
19. Wald, *Trinity of Passion*, 124; Petry, *The Street*. *The Street* tells a gripping story about Lutie Johnson, a single, poor black mother, and her daily struggles to raise her son amid racial discrimination, poverty, and despair in war-time Harlem.
20. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 145; Queen Mother Moore, interview by Ruth Prago, 14, 22–23.
21. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 145.
22. Audley Moore, “Conference Impressions,” *Aframerican Woman’s Journal* (Summer and Fall 1941): 16, NCNW Records, series 13, box 1, folder 8, National Archive of Black Women’s History; NCNW, Second Annual Workshop Registration (n.d.), NCNW Records, series 2, box 1, folder 16; Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 139; DW, 20 July 1943.
23. Sue Bailey Thurman, “Behind the Scenes at San Francisco,” *Aframerican Woman’s Journal* (June 1945): 2; NCNW Records, series 13, box 17; Horne, *The End of Empires*, 194–97; White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 142–75.
24. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 135–36; DW, 20 November 1943; Horne, *Black Liberation/Red Scare*, 97–118.
25. Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*, 312–13.
26. Horne, *Black Liberation/Red Scare*, 93, 96.
27. Capeci, *The Harlem Riot of 1943*, 100–108.
28. Isserman, *Which Side Were You On*, 127–86.
29. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 135–36; DW, 12 November 1943, 20 November 1943; AN, 6 November 1943, 20 November 1943; FO (January 1944): 15; PV, 19 May 1945; Horne, *Black Liberation/Red Scare*, 97–136.
30. Keeran, *The Communist Party and the Autoworkers’ Union*, 205–49.
31. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 135, 138; “Audley Moore,” FBI, Detroit Bureau File 100-12344, 14 April 1945, 1–4.
32. AN, 17 June 1944, 17 March 1945, 16 April 1945, 25 January 1947, June 1947; DW, 23 May 1944.
33. Audley “Queen Mother” Moore, interview by Mark Naison, 1972; Audley Moore, Rose Gauden, Bonita Williams, and Helen Samuels to Earl Browder, Earl Browder Papers, reel 5, series 2, item 118, *Negroes*, 1929–45.

34. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 135; Issa, "Her Own Book," 144–89; Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 10.
35. Audley "Queen Mother" Moore, interview by Mark Naison, 1972.
36. Issa, "Her Own Book," 144.
37. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 135, 138.
38. Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 111.
39. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 135.
40. Ibid.
41. Queen Mother Moore, interview by Ruth Prago, 23 December 1981, 14.
42. Audley "Queen Mother" Moore, interview by Mark Naison, 3 May 1972, 14.
43. Ralph Ellison to Richard Wright, letter, 20 June 1940, Richard Wright Papers, series II, box 97, folder 1314.
44. Moore, Gauden, Williams, and Samuels to Browder, Earl Browder Papers, reel 5, series 2, item 118, Negroes, 1929–45.
45. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, xxiv.
46. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998; Claudia Jones to William Z. Foster, 6 December 1955, Howard "Stretch" Johnson Papers.
47. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 20 April 1989, 22–25; Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs, interview by author, 26 February 2003.
48. Ishmael Flory and Cathern Davis, interview by author, 17 September 2003, Chicago; Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs, interview by author, 26 February 2003, New York; Mullen, *Popular Fronts*, 6–9, 85–87; Haywood, *Black Bolshevik*, 81–280; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 8.
49. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 20 April 1989, 22–25, LTP Papers, box 26, folder 2; FO (August–September 1944): 7, 8; CD, 7 October 1944, 3 March 1945, 30 September 1945; correspondences between Louise Thompson Patterson and national IWO officials can be found in the International Workers Order Records, 1927–56, box 6, folders 5–13; Louise Thompson Patterson to Mary McLeod Bethune, 7 December 1944, and Mary McLeod Bethune to Louise Thompson Patterson, 12 December 1944, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers (microfilm), part 2, reel 11: 0398–0399, 0400; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*.
50. Louise Thompson Patterson, untitled testimony on behalf of the International Workers Order ca. 1950–1951, LTP Papers, box 8, folder 10, 40–43; CD, 7 October 1944, 22 December 1944; FO (August–September 1944): 28, (December 1943): 16–17, 28, (August 1947): 6. Margaret Burroughs married Williana Burroughs's son, Charles, after he returned from the Soviet Union. In 1961, they co-founded what later became known as the DuSable Museum of African American History, the first institution of its kind in the world. Burroughs, interview by author, 26 February 2003.
51. CD, 7 October 1944; Louise Thompson Patterson to Sam Milgram, letter, 23 May 1945, IWO Papers, box 6, folder 8; T. Walker, *Pluralistic Fraternity*, 15.
52. Charlene Mitchell, interview by author, 10 April 1999.

53. *Ibid.*; Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 228.
54. Charlene Mitchell, interview by author, 10 April 1999.
55. The SNYC was one of several Popular Front organizations, including the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, committed to bringing democracy to the South. J. Richards, "The Southern Negro Youth Congress," 1-4; Lau, *Democracy Rising*, 145-86; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 195-219.
56. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 200.
57. Wilson, *America's Johannesburg*, 40, 153-221; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 19-30.
58. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 34-56.
59. McDuffie, "Long Journeys," 368-69; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 202, 205.
60. "Negro Youth Fighting for America," program of the Fifth All-Southern Negro Youth Conference, ca. early 1942, Edward E. Strong Papers, box 3, folder 3.
61. Arnesen, "No 'Graver Danger,'" 19.
62. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 119-92, 212-13.
63. McWhorter, *Carry Me Home, Birmingham, Alabama*, 23-24, 519-43.
64. Esther Cooper to Mary McLeod Bethune, 7 September 1944; Mary McLeod Bethune to Esther Cooper, 18 September 1944, both in NCNW Records, series 5, box 6, folder 11; Esther Cooper to Charlotte Hawkins Brown, 25 April 1946, box 2, Third Leadership Training School folder, SNYC Papers; Modjeska Simkins to Louis E. Burnham, 17 March 1946, SNYC Papers, box 2, Jackson's Lecture Tour folder; "Souvenir Bulletin, Sixth All-Southern Youth Conference," 30 November-3 December 1944, Atlanta, in "Attend Tuskegee" (n.b.), James E. Jackson and Esther Cooper Jackson Papers, SNYC box, documents, publications folder. (Note that I first accessed the Jackson Papers at New York University before they were reorganized in 2007. All materials Jackson personal papers accessed after this date will be referenced as Jackson Papers 2007.)
65. Dorothy Burnham, interview by author, 10 April 1999; "Mildred McAdory Edelman," memorial service program, Dorothy Burnham personal papers, in author's possession; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 90-91.
66. E. D. Nixon to Esther Cooper, 8 September 1944, Jackson personal papers; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 90-91.
67. Dorothy Burnham, interview by author, 10 April 1999; "Mildred McAdory Edelman," memorial service program; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 203-4; Angela Y. Davis remarks, "Angela Y. Davis: Legacies in the Making" conference, 1 November 2009, University of California, Santa Cruz.
68. U.S. War Department, "Personnel Placement Questionnaire," 11 January 1944, Jackson Papers 2007, box 1, folder 3.
69. *Congress View* 3, 9 (December 1945), Edward E. Strong Papers, box 6, folder 24; "Souvenir Journal," Southern Youth Legislature, 18-20 October 1946, Edward E. Strong Papers, box 29, folder 5; Baxter, "National Negro Congress, 1936-1947," 308, 309.
70. Dorothy Burnham, interview by author, 10 April 1999.

71. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998.
72. *Ibid.*; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 206.
73. Mutua, "Introduction," xi.
74. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 207.
75. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 206.
76. Estes, *I Am a Man!*
77. Chateaubert, *Marching Together*, 3, 163–87.
78. Robnett, *How Long? How Long?*, 15–35; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 137–47.
79. Sylvia Thompson Hall, interview by author, 18 February 2006; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 188–92.
80. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 213.
81. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 10 April 1999.
82. J. Richards, "The Southern Negro Youth Congress," 137; "Audley Moore," FBI, New York Bureau file, 100–13205, 9 December 1941; Perry H. Lowrey, Subversive Personnel Committee, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., to Thyra Edwards, 19 December 1942, in Thyra Edwards Papers, box 1, folder 4; Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, xxiv.
83. Cobb, "Antidote to Revolution," 175–79, 194–200; Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?* 47–48, 54–58, 85–87.
84. "Louise Alone Thompson Patterson: A Celebration of Her Life and Legacy," memorial program, September 25, 1999, in author's possession.
85. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 2 April 1998.
86. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 206–7; Rzeszutek, "All those rosy dreams we cherish."
87. Brown and Faue, "Social Bonds, Sexual Politics, and Political Community on the U.S. Left, 1920s–1940s," 16.
88. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interviews by author, 13 August 1998, 2 April 1998.
89. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998.
90. Brown and Faue, "Social Bonds, Sexual Politics, and Political Community on the U.S. Left, 1920s–1940s," 20.
91. World War II-era personal correspondences between the Jacksons in the author's possession; Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998; Rzeszutek, "All those rosy dreams we cherish," 213–16.
92. MaryLouise Patterson, interview by author, 1 April 1998.
93. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 119; Issa, "Her Own Book," 94.
94. Divorce papers, 6 March 1947, Claudia Jones Memorial Collection, box 1, folder 1.
95. Louis Miller, M.D., letter, 19 December 1952, Mary Metlay Kaufman Papers, box 14, folder 7.
96. "Audley Moore," FBI, New York Bureau file, 100–61122–23, 6 June 1946.
97. Issa, "Her Own Book," 94; Barrett, "Was the Personal Political?," 402.

98. Griffin, *If You Can't Be Free, Be a Mystery*, 157.
99. MaryLouise Patterson, interview by author, 1 April 1998.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.; MaryLouise Patterson email to author, 12 November 2008.
102. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 189.
103. Mishler, *Raising Reds*, 94, 96; Thomas O. Warner, interview by author, 18 January 2002.
104. Goldman, *At Home in Utopia*.
105. Thomas O. Warner, interview by author, 18 January 2002.
106. Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism*, 199–202; AN, 5 January 1946 in Hermina Dumont Huiswoud Papers, box 1, folder “Essays on Women.”
107. PV, 5 January 1946; DW, 27 December 1945; PC, 5 January 1946; AN, 5 January 1946; NYA, 5 January 1946; NYT, 29 December 1945, all in Hermina Dumont Huiswoud Papers, box 1, folder 1; Turner, *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, 149–50.
108. Horne, “Black Thinkers at Sea,” 39.
109. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 190; “Audley Moore,” FBI, New York Bureau File 100–13205, 18 June 1947, 2.
110. Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 117.
111. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 197.
112. Cesairé, *Discourse on Colonialism*; Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*; Wright, *Black Power*.
113. More than six hundred delegates from sixty-two countries and colonies claiming to represent forty million youth attended the World Youth Conference. Esther Cooper Jackson, “Historic London Conference Unites Youth for World,” Edward E. Strong Papers, box 7, folder 4, 1–2; *American Youth at the United Nations of Youth: World Youth Conference-1945* (n.b.), 2–5 in SNYC Papers, box 9, World Youth Festival, 1947 folder; Esther Cooper to Louis Burnham, 30 October 1945, letter from London, report in SNYC *Monthly Review* [December 1945?], SNYC Papers, box 9, World Youth Festival, 1947 folder.
114. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 2 April 1998; Esther Cooper, “Report of the World Youth Conference, October 31–November 1945,” Jackson Papers 2007, box 19, folder 44. The World Youth Conference convened soon after the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Fifth Pan-African Congress met in Paris and Manchester respectively. Several African and Caribbean delegates would later become leading figures in postwar independence movements. Some attended all three conferences. Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited*; Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 45–53.
115. Esther Cooper to Louis Burnham, letter, 5 November 1945, in “Report of the United States Delegation, World Youth Conference,” SNYC Papers, box 9, World Youth Federation, 1947 folder; Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality*

- and the American Century, 1919–1963*, 518–19, 523–24; Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 2 April 1998.
116. Cooper to Burnham, 30 October 1945; K. Boomla, “Women and Women Workers in India” (circa October 1945), Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Papers, box 4, folder 19, reel 4208, Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Archives.
 117. Cooper to Burnham, 30 October 1945, 27 November 1945, 13 November 1945; all in SNYC Papers, box 9, World Youth Festival, 1947 folder.
 118. “Report of the United States Delegation, World Youth Conference”; Congress of American Women, National Constitutional Convention report, 6–8 May 1949, Communism Collection, box 2, folder 20a.
 119. Cooper to Burnham, 30 October 1945; “Report of the United States Delegation, World Youth Conference,” Women’s International Democratic Federation, “Standing Orders,” adopted by the Constitutive Congress, 25–30 November 1945, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Papers, box 4, folder 11, reel 4208, Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Archives.
 120. *Congress View* 3, no. 9 (December 1945): 1, Edward E. Strong Papers, box 7, folder 1.
 121. Thelma Dale Perkins, telephone interview by author, 11 July 2006.
 122. Of the fifteen U.S. delegates at the International Conference of Women, three were African American: Thelma Dale, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Vivian Carter Mason. “Women’s International Organization Formed,” “Women’s International Democratic Federation,” “Standing Orders,” *Aframerican* (December 1945): 17; Vivian Carter Mason, “Report of Meeting in Paris of the Women’s International Democratic Federation,” *Aframerican* (March 1946): 3, 4, 17, all in NCNW Records, series 13, box 1, folders 19, 20; *CD*, 26 June 1946.
 123. CAW, “A Report from Women of the World” [circa March 1946]; Speech of Vivian Carter Mason from Women of the World Meeting, 8 March 1946, New York, both in NCNW records, series 5, box 8, folder 11.
 124. Quoted in Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 47; Swerdlow, “The Congress of American Women”; CAW, *Bulletin* (October 1946), 2; National Constitutional Convention report (n.d.), both in Communism Collection, box 2, folder 20a.
 125. CAW, memorandum, 28 February 1946, NCNW records, series 5, box 8, folder 11; *CD*, 2 March 1946.
 126. Carew, *Blacks, Reds, and Russians*.
 127. Cooper had no intention of traveling to the Soviet Union when she arrived in London. However, while attending a party for World Youth Conference delegates from the colonial world at the Soviet embassy in London, Russian officials unexpectedly extended an invitation to her and other guests to visit the Soviet Union. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 2 April 1998.
 128. *Ibid.*
 129. *DW*, 10 March 1946; Harry S. Truman to James E. Jackson Jr. (n.d.), Jackson Papers 2007, box 1, folder 15.

130. "Southern Youth Legislature Souvenir Journal," SNYC Papers, box 29, folder 5; Lau, *Democracy Rising*, 163–71.
131. Quoted in W. E. B. Du Bois to Esther Cooper Jackson, 28 October 1946, Jackson Papers, SNYC box, SNYC correspondence folder; Jackson, *Freedomways Reader*, 6–11.
132. "Southern Youth Legislature Souvenir Journal," SNYC Papers, box 29, folder 5.
133. Esther Cooper to Walter White, letter, 30 September 1946; Walter White to Mrs. Hurley, memo, 2 October 1946; Mrs. Hurley to Walter White, memo, 3 October 1946, all in NAACP Papers, Group II, A527, SNYC folder; "Southern Youth Legislature Souvenir Journal," SNYC Papers, box 6, SNYC folder; Lau, *Democracy Rising*, 163–71.
134. Florence J. Valentine, "Remarks on Jobs and Training for Negro Women Delivered at the Panel on Youth and Labor, Youth Legislature"; "Southern Youth Legislature Souvenir Journal" program; both in SNYC Papers, box 6, SNYC folder.
135. Quoted in "SNYC," FBI, Memphis Bureau File 100-6548-243, 3 October 1946; J. Edgar Hoover to Jack D. Neal, "SNYC," FBI, Washington Bureau File, 100-6548-238, 10 October 1946; "SNYC," FBI, Atlanta Bureau File, 100-452, 20 November 1946, both in Harvey Klehr Papers, box 44, folder 6.

5. "We Are Sojourners for Our Rights"

1. "Sojourn for Truth and Justice, Digest of Proceedings," LTP Papers, box 15, folder 26.
2. Quoted in "5,000 Negro Women Wanted," LTP Papers, box 16, folder 1.
3. "Sojourn for Truth and Justice, Digest of Proceedings"; C. Martin, "Race, Gender, and Southern Justice; Hunton, *Alphaeus Hunton*, 81–92; Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, 97–98, 104–5; Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 147–50; Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, 381–403.
4. Horne, *Communist Front?*
5. Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*, 15–34; Cmiel, "The Recent History of Human Rights," 119, 124–125; United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, www.unhcr.ch/udhr/lang/eng.htm.
6. Lee, *For Freedom's Sake*, ix.
7. E. May, "Explosive Issues," 15.
8. Mollin, *Radical Pacifism in Modern America*, 75.
9. Gerson, "'Is Family Devotion Now Subversive?,'" 152.
10. C. Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize*, 5.
11. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*; Horne, *Black and Red*; 201–21; Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 125–65; Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 160–73; Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 96–121; G. Gilmore, *Defying Dixie*, 400–444.
12. Mary McLeod Bethune Papers; NCNW 1949 Constitution, NCNW Papers, series, 1, box 1, folder 2; Mary McLeod Bethune to Rev. W. F. Ernsberger, 29 September 1949, Bethune Papers, part 2, reel 2, 0822; Mary McLeod Bethune to William

- Patterson, 14 September 1948, Bethune Papers, part 3, reel 9, 0418; C. Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize*, 113–209; Swerdlow, “The Congress of American Women,” 310–11.
13. Lipsitz, *Rainbow at Midnight*, 157–201; Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, 35–36.
 14. Barrett, William Z. *Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism*, 226–51.
 15. Foster et al., *The Communist Position on the Negro Question* (New York: New Century Publishers, 1947); Haywood, *Black Bolshevik*, 570–604.
 16. Foster, “On Improving the Party’s Work on Women,” 987–90; Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 86.
 17. Rebecca Hill, “Fosterites and Feminists,” 76; Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 46–47, 79.
 18. Committee to Free the Trenton Six, *Lynching Northern Style* (n.b.), CPUSA Records, Mass Organizations, box 6, folder 62; Horne, *Communist Front?*, 131–54.
 19. Esther Cooper Jackson, telephone interview by author, 10 April 2003; “Esther Cooper Jackson,” FBI, Detroit Bureau File 100-16825, 26 June 1950, 9; Horne, *Communist Front?*, 122–24.
 20. Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, 341–49.
 21. The tour made stops in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia. *California Eagle*, 6 October 1949; Executive Order No. 16, Eugene I. Van Antwerp, Mayor of Detroit, “To All Department Heads, Boards and Commissions,” 7 July 1949, 12, both in LTP Papers, box 11, folder 12; *Join the Council on African Affairs*, pamphlet, circa 1950, LTP Papers, box 9, folder 18; Horne, *Communist Front?*, 235–38.
 22. *California Eagle*, 6 October 1949, in LTP Papers, box 11, folder 12; “Esther Cooper Jackson,” FBI, Detroit Bureau File, 100-47736-73, 26 June 1950, 11–12; “A Message from Claudia Jones . . . This, Too, Is Lynch Law,” n.b. [1951?] CPUSA Records, bibliographical files, box 5, folder 5.
 23. *DW*, 21 October 1948, 7 June 1949; “Audley Moore,” FBI, New York Bureau File 100-13205, 11.
 24. Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, 77.
 25. “If You Would Be Free, Help Free Mrs. Ingram and Her Two Sons,” flyer, Mary Church Terrell Papers, box 102–3, folder 256; *DW*, March 31, 1949; *PC*, April 16, 1949; *AN* 2 April 1949; *ADW* 27 December 1952, 27 August 1959.
 26. Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*.
 27. “If You Would Be Free, Help Free Mrs. Ingram and Her Two Sons”; C. Martin, “Race, Gender, and Southern Justice,” 261–65.
 28. “Audley Moore,” FBI, NY Bureau File, 100-61122-33, 8 September 1949, 10; “If You Would Be Free, Help Free Mrs. Ingram and Her Two Sons”; *AN*, 2 April 1949; *CD*, 16 April 1949; *DW*, 1 April 1949; *ADW*, 2 June 1949; C. Martin, “Race, Gender, and Southern Justice,” 261–66; Horne, *Communist Front?*, 212.
 29. “Report on Georgia Trip, RE: Ingram Case,” 14 August 1951; Outline of Activities in Atlanta; “The Case of Mrs. Ingram/Women’s Committee for Equal Justice, William L. Patterson Papers, box 208–17, folders 1–3; *ADW*, 27 August 1959, 29 August 1959; C. Martin, “Race, Gender, and Southern Justice,” 264–65.

30. Claudia Jones to William Z. Foster, 6 December 1955, Howard "Stretch" Johnson Papers; McDuffie, "Long Journeys," 432–33.
31. C. Jones, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!"
32. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 30; Shapiro, "Red Feminism," 57, 278–310.
33. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 37, 61.
34. Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 67, 78–101; Millard, *Woman against Myth*.
35. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, xxiv.
36. *Ibid.*, 52.
37. *Ibid.*, 53.
38. C. Jones, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!," 63.
39. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, 55.
40. C. Jones, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!," 62.
41. Shapiro, "Red Feminism," 283–84.
42. A. Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves."
43. *Ibid.*, 122–27; C. Jones, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!," 55.
44. C. Jones, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!" 56.
45. *Ibid.*, 63; Giddings, *Ida*, 211–29.
46. C. Jones, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!," 52, 63.
47. C. Jones, "International Women's Day and the Struggle for Peace," 40.
48. Gerson, "'Is Family Devotion Now Subversive?,'" 165, 156–66.
49. Weigand, *Red Feminism*, 56.
50. Corber, *Homosexuality in Cold War America*, 3. See also D. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*.
51. See *The Ladder* (May 1957): 27; Hansberry, "Simone de Beauvoir and *The Second Sex*, an Unfinished Essay-in-Progress"; Aptheker, *Intimate Politics*, 107, 400–405.
52. Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 130–38; Aptheker, *Intimate Politics*, 103.
53. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 77–84.
54. *Ibid.*, 131–66.
55. Hamilton, *Beah*; Horne, *Communist Front?*, 74–98.
56. Richardson, "A Black Woman Speaks of White Womanhood, of White Supremacy, of Peace"; Rise, *The Martinsville Seven*.
57. Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood*, 39.
58. Richardson, "A Black Woman Speaks of White Womanhood, of White Supremacy, of Peace"; Hobson, *Venus in the Dark*.
59. Richardson, "A Black Woman Speaks of White Womanhood, of White Supremacy, of Peace"; *AA*, 22 September 1951.
60. "Beulah Richardson," FBI, Los Angeles Bureau File, 100-33586, 18 March 1952, 3.
61. Washington, "Alice Childress, Lorraine Hansberry, and Claudia Jones"; Gore, "From Communist Politics to Black Power," 74–86.
62. Swerdlow, "The Congress of American Women," 306.
63. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 6 June 1989, LTP Papers 2002, box 28, folder 20.

64. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 16 March 1988, LTP Papers 2002, box 27, folder 31.
65. "A Call to Negro Women," LTP Papers, box 15, folder 26; Rise, *The Martinsville Seven*.
66. AA, 22 September 1951.
67. Quoted in Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 83.
68. "A Call to Negro Women"; Collier-Thomas, *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice*.
69. "A Call to Negro Women."
70. PC, 18 September 1951; AA, 22 September 1951; FR (October 1951): 6; DW, 7 October 1951. *The Worker*, 14 October 1951; Hamilton, *Beah*.
71. Quoted in DW, 25 November 1951.
72. Green, *Before His Time*.
73. Psalm 23:5 (*The New Oxford Annotated Bible, NRSV*).
74. "5,000 Negro Women Wanted" and "Our Cup Runneth Over," LTP Papers, box 16, folder 1.
75. Reservations: Conference and Luncheon, list, LTP Papers, box 16, folder 1.
76. DW, 25 March 1952.
77. Untitled report, LTP Papers, box 16, folder 1.
78. Sojourner Constitution, LTP Papers, box 15, folder 26; see correspondences in LTP Papers 2002, box 12, folder 19.
79. Louise Thompson Patterson to Sojourner membership, form letter, 12 June 1952, LTP Papers, box 15, folder 26.
80. Quoted in press release, 8 July 1952 from Sojourners for Truth and Justice to the Fifteenth International Conference on Public Education; Cable from Louise Thompson Patterson and Hilda Freeman to Dr. Margaret Clapp, president, International Conference on Public Education UNESCO, 8 July 1952, LTP Papers, box 16, folder 3; Antler, "Between Culture and Politics."
81. The organizers of the Defiance Campaign demanded that the apartheid government repeal the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, and the Bantu Authorities Act or face massive civil disobedience "to defy unjust laws that subject our people to political slavery, economic misery and social degradation." The 1950 Group Areas Act instated residential segregation of blacks, whites, and "coloureds." The 1950 Suppression of Communism Act outlawed the South African Communist Party, while the 1951 Bantu Areas Act established black homelands administered by local and regional councils. Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans*, 90–118; C. Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 131–38.
82. Nesbitt, *Race for Sanctions*, 2.
83. "Resolution from the Council on African Affairs to the Conference of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, Sunday, March 23, 1952," LTP Papers 2002, box 13, folder 4.
84. Charlotta Bass to South African Delegation to the United Nations, 5 April 1952, LTP Papers 2002, box 13, folder 4; AN, April 5, 1952; FR (April 1952): 1, 4; Charlotta

- Bass and Louise T. Patterson to Miss Ray Alexander, 5 April 1952; Bertha Mkize to Sojourners, 20 April 1952, both in LTP Papers 2002, box 13, folder 4; C. Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 50–51, 93, 129, 140, 155.
85. Charlotta Bass and Louise Thompson Patterson to Miss Baila Page, 5 April 1952; Charlotta Bass and Louise Thompson Patterson to Minna T. Sioga, 5 April 1952, both in LTP Papers 2002, box 13, folder 4.
 86. Mkize to Sojourners, 20 April 1952.
 87. Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders*, 55; C. Kaplan, “The Politics of Location as Transnational Feminist Critical Practice.”
 88. Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders*, 53–57.
 89. Gosse, “To Organize in Every Neighborhood, in Every Home.”
 90. The Sojourners was not the only postwar, left-wing women’s organization that had retreated on these matters. The Congress of American Women, too, was silent on the relation between sexuality, reproductive rights, and politics.
 91. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 131–212.
 92. Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 148–69.
 93. Shapiro, “Red Feminism,” 310.
 94. *Ibid.*, 315–18.
 95. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview with Margaret B. Wilkerson, 13 April 1988, LTP Papers 2002, box 25, folder 13.
 96. *Ibid.*; MaryLouise Patterson, interview by author, 1 April 1998.
 97. “Sojourners,” FBI, New York Bureau file 100-384255-57, 25 June 1952, 3.
 98. “Sojourners,” FBI, Los Angeles Bureau file, 100-1068861-4647, 1 May 1951, 4; C. Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize*, 36–57.
 99. “Charlotta Bass,” FBI, Washington Bureau file, 100-297187-32, 6 June 1951.
 100. “Louise Thompson Patterson,” testimony before the *People of New York by Alfred J. Bohlinger, Superintendent of Insurance v. The International Workers Order, Inc.*, 199 Misc. 941 in LTP Papers 2002, box 8, folder 10; Sabin, *Red Scare in Court*, 267–349.
 101. Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, 411–12; subpoena, 25 June 1953, Shirley Graham Du Bois Papers, box 17, folder 10.
 102. Westad, *The Global Cold War*.
 103. Horne, *Black and Red*, 293.
 104. Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 246–49.
 105. McDuffie, “The March of Young Southern Black Women,” 92–96.
 106. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 227; Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 10 April 1999.
 107. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 10 April 1999; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 50–51, 62–64, 95, 98; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 220–31.
 108. Barrett, *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Communism*, 238–42.
 109. Gerson, “Is Family Devotion Now Subversive?,” 152.

110. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998; *DW*, 15 January 1951, 21 February 1952; Gerson, "Is Family Devotion Now Subversive?," 158; Dennis, *The Autobiography of an American Communist*, 194–204.
111. "Esther Cooper Jackson," FBI, New York Bureau File, 100–402509–63, 29 February 1956; McDuffie, "The March of Young Southern Young Black Women," 92–96.
112. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998.
113. *Ibid.*; Gerson, "Is Family Devotion Now Subversive?," 156–66.
114. "An Appeal . . . in Defense of Negro Leadership," in Esther Cooper Jackson's personal papers in author's possession; "A Special Occasion . . ." reel 69, frame 1042; Esther Jackson to W. E. B. Du Bois, 20 March 1953, reel 69, frame 1044, both in W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (microfilm).
115. Phyllis Taylor-Strong, telephone interview by author, 4 April 2008.
116. Margaret Burnham, telephone interview by author, 30 April 2008; Meerpool, "Carry It Forward," 210–13.
117. Margaret Burnham, telephone interview by author, 30 April 2008.
118. Quoted in K. Jackson, "Trauma Survivors," 8; Margaret Burnham, telephone interview by author, 30 April 2008; McDuffie, "The March of Young Southern Black Women," 92–96.
119. Burton, Espiritu, and Wilkins, "The Fate of Nationalisms in the Age of Bandung."
120. *DW*, 5 December 1955; *AN*, 10 December 1955.
121. *U.S. v. Charney: Jackson, Trachtenberg, et al.*, Mary Metlay Kaufman Papers, box 25, folders 1–12; Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction and Beyond in Black America, 1945–2006*, 26–37.
122. Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 10 April 1999; Gerson, "Is Family Devotion Now Subversive?," 166; Lieberman, *The Strangest Dream*, 133; McDuffie, "The March of Young Southern Black Women," 97.
123. E. Jackson, *This Is My Husband*, 4, 11, 34, 35.
124. Quoted in *AA*, 9 February 1952; *DW*, 18 January 1952, 18 February 1952, 2 April 1953.
125. McDuffie, "The March of Young Southern Black Women," 97–100.
126. *AN*, 18 July 1953; Martin and Martin, "Thyra Edwards," 173–74.
127. Moore's reasons for leaving resembled those of other one-time black Communists, such as Abner Berry, Vicki Garvin, Harold Cruse, Mae Mallory, and Harry Haywood, "who had either been expelled for 'ultraleftism' or 'bourgeois nationalism,' or had bolted the Party because of its 'revisionism'" on the Negro Question during the 1950s, notes Robin Kelley. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, 77.
128. Horne, *Black Liberation/Red Scare*, 184, 227.
129. *Ibid.*, 14, 211–43; "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Manhattan Chapter of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice" (n.d.), LTP Papers, box 15, folder 26.
130. Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, 147.
131. Quoted in Horne, "Black Thinkers at Sea," 47; Horne, *Red Seas*, 167–216.
132. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 198; "Audley Moore," FBI, New

York City Bureau file, 100-61122-27, 18 November 1946, 2, 3; New York City Bureau file, 100-61122-29, 30 January 1947.

133. Anthony, *Max Yergan*, 214–38.
134. Ruth Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 137.
135. Barrett, *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Communism*, 252–72.

6. Ruptures and Continuities

1. The revolt in the Marin County courthouse left seventeen-year-old Black Panther Jonathan Jackson and a white judge dead. Davis was not directly involved in the crime, but a gun used by Jackson in the revolt was registered in her name. She was also a close friend of Jackson and his brother George Jackson, a Black Panther leader and an inmate in California's infamous Soledad prison. Soon afterward, authorities issued a warrant for her arrest. Knowing that she would be arrested because the guns used by Jackson were registered in her name, she fled before police apprehended her. Immediately afterward, the FBI placed her on its "Ten Most Wanted" list, launching a nationwide manhunt for her. She evaded arrest for two months. However, FBI agents captured her in New York. A. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 283–346; Aptheker, *The Morning Breaks*.
2. "America—Where It's At"; George Matthews to Louise Patterson, 11 May 1971; Louise Patterson Speaks, flyer; Mrs. Louise Patterson's tour itinerary, all in LTP Papers 2002, box 5, folder 13.
3. Barrett, *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism*, 273.
4. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 228.
5. A. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 77–79; Parmar, *Place of Rage*.
6. "Reflections of a Life," http://www.acenet.edu/Content/NavigationMenu/Programs/Services/OWHE/sallye_davis.htm.
7. A. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 77–79.
8. Angela Y. Davis remarks at Angela Davis Legacies in the Making conference, University of California, Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, California, 1 November 2009.
9. A. Davis, "James and Esther Jackson," 274.
10. Margaret Burnham, telephone interview by author, 30 April 2008; Aptheker, *Intimate Politics*, 67–69; A. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 111–12; Bettina Aptheker, telephone interview by author, 10 April 2009.
11. A. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 77–189.
12. Charlene Mitchell, interview by author, 10 April 1999; A. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 189–98.
13. National United Committee to Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners, form letter, 14 January 1972, Angela Davis Legal Defense Collection, 1970–1972, box 5, folder 3; Aptheker, *The Morning Breaks*, "Dramatis Personae."
14. Aptheker, *The Morning Breaks*, 27–35.
15. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview by Margaret Wilkerson, 13 August 1988, LTP Papers 2002, box 31, folder, 14, 5–6.

16. Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 28–37.
17. “Angela Raps on Repression,” transcription of conversation with TWWA members, NCNW Papers, series 24, Frances Beal, box 4, folder 25; Ward, “The Third World Women’s Alliance,” 141–42.
18. The lives and work of Linda Burnham and Frances Beal speak again to how the Old Left helped lay the political foundations for the black feminism of the 1970s. Linda was Dorothy and Louis Burnham’s third child, while Frances Beal was the daughter of a politically progressive, bi-racial union. She was born in 1940 and raised in Binghamton, New York, and later in New York City. Her mother was Jewish and a member of the CPUSA. Her father, although sympathetic to the Party, was not a member. Linda Burnham, interview by author, 12 September 2006; Frances Beal, interview by author, 12 September 2006.
19. Louise Alone Thompson Patterson: A Celebration of Her Life and Legacy, program of memorial service, 25 September 1999, Harlem, in author’s possession; A. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 399–400; A. Davis, “JoAnne Little.” McNeil, “Joanne Is You and Joanne Is Me”; Pickard et al., *Dimension of Criminal Law*, 885.
20. Louise Alone Thompson Patterson: A Celebration of Her Life and Legacy; Anthony Monteiro, interview by author, 11 June 2006.
21. Louise Alone Thompson Patterson: A Celebration of Her Life and Legacy.
22. Quoted in Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement*, 45. The initial idea for *Freedomways* originated with her longtime friends and NYC comrades, Louis Burnham and Ed Strong, both of whom had worked closely with Paul Robeson’s *Freedom* newspaper. Soon after Burnham’s untimely death in February 1960 (Strong passed away in 1957), Cooper Jackson formed a collective to launch the journal. Advised by W. E. B. Du Bois, she, along with the collective, raised funds and gathered articles for the magazine’s first issue, which was published in the spring of 1961. E. Jackson, *Freedomways Reader*, xx–xxi.
23. Kaiser, “25 Years of *Freedomways*”; Horne and Stevens, “Shirley Graham Du Bois,” 106, 108.
24. Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs, interview by author, 26 February 2003; Jean Carey Bond, interview by author, 9 November 2001.
25. “The Negro Woman in American Literature”; Jean Carey Bond, interview by author, 9 November 2001; Barbara Smith, telephone interview by author, 18 April 2009; Audre Lorde, “Rites of Passage,” *Freedomways* 10, 3 (1970), reprint in E. Jackson, *Freedomways Reader*, 355; Audre Lorde, “Prologue”; Giovanni, “The Lion in Daniel’s Den”; Jordan, “For Beautiful Mary Brown”; A. Walker, “Rock Eagle,” *Freedomways* 11, 4 (1971): 367; A. Walker, “Facing the Way”; B. Smith, “Black Women in Film Symposium”; A. Davis, “Racism and Contemporary Literature on Rape.”
26. A. Davis, *Women, Race, and Class*, 149–71.
27. Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*, 6–11; Springer: *Living for the Revolution*, 21–44; Nadasen, *Welfare Warriors*; Estes, *I Am a Man!*, 107–30.

28. Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*, 197.
29. *Ibid.*, 153, 121–223.
30. Rosa Guy, interview by author, 19 February 2005; Louise Meriwether, interview by author, 10 January 2005; *Freedomways* 3, no. 4 (fall 1963); Editors of *Freedomways*, *Black Titan*; *Freedomways* 11, no. 1 (1971); Freedomways Associates, *Paul Robeson*; Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee, interview by author, 5 December 2001.
31. E. Jackson, *Freedomways Reader*, xvii–xxx; Esther Cooper Jackson and James Jackson, interview by author, 13 August 1998. For King’s move toward the left, see Honey, *Going Down the Jericho Road*.
32. *Freedomways* 25, no. 3 (fall 1985): 134.
33. The Jacksons’ decision in 2005 to donate their immense collection of personal papers to the Tamiment Library at New York University was greeted with much anticipated excitement. In celebration of the archive’s acquisition of their papers, the historian David Lewis organized a one-day conference, “James and Esther Jackson, the American Left, and the Origins of the Modern Civil Rights Movement: A New York University Symposium,” held on 28 October 2006 at the Tamiment Library. Invitation to Inaugural Louis E. Burnham Award, 18 February 2002 in author’s possession; *NYT*, 7 September 2007.
34. Soon after Jones’s arrival, she joined the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), but she never felt at home within it. Unlike the postwar CPUSA, the CPGB neither witnessed intense discussions about white and male chauvinism nor adopted a staunch anti-imperialist line. In addition, the organization never fully appreciated her abilities as a theoretician and organizer. Undoubtedly, her status as a black woman contributed to her lukewarm reception from the British Communist Party. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 4, 170, 221–27.
35. Program of “In Tribute”: Launch of Claudia Vera Jones Education and Development Trust, 1 November 2003, London, in author’s possession; Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 4, 167–89, 225.
36. For the extensive correspondences between Jones and Halois Robinson, see Claudia Jones Memorial Collection, box 1, folder 14, (hereafter CJMC); Committee of Afro-Asian-Caribbean Organisations . . . Invites You to a Discussion with Mrs. Paul Robeson, flyer, CJMC, box 1, folder 20; Claudia Jones to Dorothy Burnham, 11 March 1956, Dorothy Burnham personal papers, in author’s possession; Claudia Jones to Eslanda Robeson, 6 June 1960, CJMC, box 1, folder 9; Louise Thompson Patterson, interview, 18 March 1990, LTP Papers 2002, box 26, folder 13, 39–40; Charlene Mitchell, interview by author, 10 April 1999.
37. Aidoo, “Asante Queen Mothers in Government and Politics in the Nineteenth Century,” 67; Issa, “Her Own Book,” 38–42.
38. During a visit to Ghana in 1972, the Asantehene, the head of the Asante people, formally bestowed the title “Queen Mother” upon her. Issa, “Her Own Book,” 42. In the late 1950s, African college students whom Moore had befriended in Harlem gave her the title.
39. Gilkes, “Interview with Audley (Queen Mother) Moore,” 151; Muhammad

- Ahmad, interview by author, 12 June 2006; Muhammad Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 10–13; McDuffie, “I wanted a Communist philosophy, but I wanted us to have a chance to organize our people,” 181, 185–88.
40. Nadasen, *Welfare Warriors*; McDuffie, “I wanted a Communist philosophy, but I wanted us to have a chance to organize our people,” 189; Gordall, “Audley Moore and the Politics of Revolutionary Black Motherhood,” 4–10.
41. Moore, *Why Reparations?*; Biondi, “The Rise of the Reparations Movement”; McDuffie, “I wanted a Communist philosophy, but I wanted us to have a chance to organize our people,” 187–88.
42. Frances Beal, interview by author, 12 September 2006; Barbara Smith, telephone interview by author, 18 April 2009; Bambara, *The Black Woman*; Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*, 86–98; Ward, “The Third World Women’s Alliance,” 131–41.
43. Karen Smith Daughtry, telephone interview by the author, June 4, 2007.
44. Frances Beal, interview by author, 12 September 2006.
45. Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 88–138; J. Nelson, *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement*, 55–83.
46. Frances Beal, interview by author, 12 September 2006; Linda Burnham, interview by author, 12 September 2006; Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 28–37.
47. “Black Scholar Interviews: Queen Mother Moore,” 47, 48.
48. *Ibid.*; Shafeah M’Balialia, telephone interview by author, 14 September 2006; White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 265; Ransby, “Black Feminism at Twenty-One.”
49. E. White, “Africa on My Mind,” 76–77.
50. Estes, *I Am a Man!*, 107–30.
51. Nelson, *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement*, 85–111.
52. Horne, *The Fire This Time*, 3–22, 171–212; Prashard, *The Darker Nations*, xvii–xviii, 119–275.
53. Frances Beal, interview by author, 12 September 2006.
54. Shafeah M’Balialia, telephone interview by author, 14 September 2006; Sonia Sanchez, telephone interview by author, 12 January 2009.
55. A. Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*.
56. Brown and Faue, “Revolutionary Desire,” 273.
57. Frances Beal, interview by author, 12 September 2006.
58. For discussions of Jones’s legacy, see Boyce Davies, “Sisters Outside”; Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 131–66; Gaines, “Locating the Transnational in Post-war African American History”; Saunders, “Woman Overboard.”
59. Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 131–66.
60. Saunders, “Woman Overboard,” 204.
61. Claudia Jones: Militant Negro Anti-Imperialist Leader, funeral program, CJMC, box 2, folder 16; In Memory of Claudia Jones, flyer, CJMC, box 2, folder 15; Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 182–84.
62. Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders*, 57–64.
63. People’s World, “UK Honors Claudia Jones with Stamp,” 5 March 2009, <http://www.pww.org/article/articleview/14748/>.

64. Ibid. See also Boyce Davies, "Sisters Outside," 228.
65. Roediger, *How Race Survived the U.S. History from Settlement and Slavery to the Obama Phenomenon*, 212–30; Joseph, *Dark Days, Bright Nights*, 161–229; Wise, *Colorblind*.
66. *Power of the Word* 1, no. 2 (March–May 2001): 1, 6, 20, www.afrikapoetrytheatre.com; <http://queenmothermoore.org/>; *AN*, 10 May 1997; *NYT*, 7 May 1997.
67. The symposia include the Claudia Jones Memorial Lecture, an annual talk sponsored by the London-based Institute of Race Relations since 2002 and the "Life and Times of Claudia Jones: A Symposium," held at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture on 2 December 1998. See Institute of Race Relations, <http://www.irr.org.uk/index.html>; "Claudia Jones Organisation," flyer, in author's possession; Sherwood, *Claudia Jones*, 170–75.
68. Remarks by Angela Y. Davis, "Living Justice: The Life and Times of Charlene Mitchell," Black Women and the Radical Tradition Conference, 28 March 2009, New York.
69. Ibid.
70. American Council on Education, "Reflections of a Life," http://www.acenet.edu/Content/NavigationMenu/ProgramsServices/owhe/sallye_davis.htm.