

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Ofield Dukes, "Clergy Integral Part of Leadership Growth," *Michigan Chronicle*, October 5, 1963.

2. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984).

3. Among the clearest and most persuasive presentations of this argument are Nelson Lichtenstein and Robert Korstad, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History* 75 (1988): 786–811; more recently Korstad's *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); and Rick Halpern, "The CIO and the Limits of Labor-Based Civil Rights Activism: The Case of Louisiana's Sugar Workers, 1947–1966," in *Southern Labor in Transition*, ed. Robert H. Zieger (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997): 86–112.

4. Battle quoted in Steve Babson with Ron Alpern, Dave Elsil, and John Revitte, *Working Detroit: The Making of a Union Town* (New York: Adama Books, 1984), 165.

5. King, *Civil Rights and the Idea of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 4.

6. See, for example, Theoharis and Woodard, eds., *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles Outside the South, 1940–1980* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), which has essays by Self (on Oakland), Bates (on Detroit), Theoharis (on Boston), and Woodard (on Newark). See also Matthew Countryman's *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); and Biondi's excellent *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003). Although the story I want to tell begins well before World War II and the immediate postwar period, these studies have greatly enriched my own thinking and approach in the years since I finished my dissertation in 1995.

7. Hood, interview with author, Detroit, June 2, 2005. The Web site for Plymouth Congregational provides a brief biography of Hood.

8. See, for instance, August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979; rpt., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007); Richard W. Thomas, *Life for Us Is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Christopher H. Johnson, *Maurice Sugar: Law, Labor, and the Left in Detroit, 1912–1950* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988); Heather Ann Thompson, *Whose Detroit? Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern American City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); and Suzanne E. Smith, *Dancing in the Streets: Motown and the Cultural Politics of Detroit* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

9. Franklin quoted in *Give Me This Mountain: Life History and Selected Sermons of C. L. Franklin*, ed. Jeff Todd Titon (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 19. Also on Franklin see Nick Salvatore, *Singing in a Strange Land: C. L. Franklin, the Black Church, and the Transformation of America* (New York: Little Brown, 2005).

10. Among the best studies of the significance of the Black church historically and in the present is C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya's *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990). Equally useful sources include Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of Afro-American People*, 2d ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991); Fredrick C. Harris, *Something Within: Religion in African American Political Activism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), which has a good overview of the debate over whether Black churches and African American Christianity encourages or hampers political participation; and Albert J. Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995).

11. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," *Public Culture* 7 (1994): 107–46; Victoria W. Walcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), esp. chap. 2.

12. White, "Who Owns the Negro Church?" *Christian Century*, February 9, 1938, 177.

13. Coleman A. Young with Lonnie Wheeler, *Hard Stuff: The Autobiography of Coleman Young* (New York: Viking, 1994), 45.

14. Niebuhr, "The Detroit Microcosm in the American Microcosm," draft in the Niebuhr Papers, Box 56, Folder 7, Library of Congress. See also June Bingham, "Reinhold Niebuhr in Detroit," *Christian Century*, March 8, 1961, 296–99. For more on his years in Detroit and how they shaped his later activism, see Charles C. Brown, *Niebuhr and His Age: Reinhold Niebuhr's Prophetic Role in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), chap. 2.

15. Lloyd H. Bailer, "Negro Labor in the Automotive Industry," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1943. See also Joyce Shaw Peterson, "Black Automobile Workers in Detroit, 1910–1930," *Journal of Negro History* 64 (summer 1979): 177–90.

16. Dade, Oral History Interview with Jim Keeney and Roberta McBride, September 17, 1969, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs [cited hereafter as ALHUA], Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 4. As I argue in chapter 2, the relationship between Black ministers and the Ford Motor Company was always complex.

17. Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942). See also Dwight B. Billings, "Religion as Opposition: A Gramscian Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology* 96:1 (July 1990): 1–31, which uses Pope's data on the "conservative" uses of religion and contrasts them with more "progressive" applications.

18. Hill, Oral History Interview with Roberta McBride, May 8, 1967, ALHUA, 5.

19. Evans and Boyte, *Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), chap. 1.

20. Maki, Oral History Interview with Norman McRae, March 26, 1970, ALHUA, 7.

21. Nowak, *Two Who Were There: A Biography of Stanley Nowak* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 69.

22. *Ibid.*, 176–77; Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Post-war Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 73. On the housing conflict, see Dominic J. Capeci Jr., *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit: The Sojourner Truth Housing Controversy of 1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984).

23. Ward, *Our Economic Morality and the Ethic of Jesus* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 30.

24. For a good overview on Coughlin, see Alan Brinkley's *Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Vintage, 1983), esp. chap. 4, "The Radio Priest." On Smith, see Glen Jeansonne, *Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); and Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983).

25. Williams, "Hell-Brewers of Detroit," *The Protestant*, April–May 1943. On Williams's background and career, see Anthony Dunbar, *Against the Grain: Southern Radicals and Prophets, 1929–1959* (Charleston: University Press of Virginia, 1981); and Cedric Belfrage, *A Faith to Free the People* (New York: Dryden Press, 1944), which focuses more on Williams's political theology. See also Belfrage's earlier biography of Williams, *South of God* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1941).

26. The best single source on the riot is Dominic Capeci and Martha Wilkerson, *Layered Violence: The Detroit Rioters of 1943* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991); see also Harvard Sitkoff, "Detroit Race Riot of 1943," *Michigan History* 53 (fall 1969): 183–206.

27. Stanley and Margaret Nowak to Dr. Leslie Bechtel, December 5, 1944, Nowak Collection, Box 4, ALHUA.

28. Hill to Reverend Burnett Magruder, February 4, 1943, Williams Collection, Box 18, ALHUA.

29. See Erdmann D. Benyon, "The Southern White Laborer Migrates to Michigan," *American Sociological Review* 3 (June 1939): 333–43; Alan Clive, *State of War: Michigan in World War II* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), chap. 5, "Tennessee and Kentucky Are Now in Michigan"; and especially Chad Berry, *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

30. A good overview of Williams's theology can be found in Bill Troy, with Claude Williams, "People's Institute of Applied Religion," copy in Williams Collection, Box 18, ALHUA. See also, Belfrage, *A Faith to Free the People*, esp. 221–81.

31. Johnson in *Detroit Lives*, ed. Robert Mast (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 50.

32. Tripp quoted in Ofield Dukes, “UHURU Leader Says: ‘Must Crush White Man,’” *Michigan Chronicle*, October 19, 1963, 1, 4.

33. Detroit Commission on Community Relations, “Inter-office Correspondence, Re: UHURU,” September 15, 1963, DCCR Papers, III, Box 21, ALHUA.

34. Georgakas in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 292. In addition to Georgakas and Surkin’s *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1974), see James A. Geschwender, *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency: The League of Revolutionary Black Workers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); and Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 84–86.

35. Cleage, “An Epistle to Stokely,” in *The Black Messiah* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968), 35–36.

36. On the *Black Manifesto* and the IFCO see Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, 202–10.

37. West, “Religion and the Left,” *Monthly Review*, July–August 1984, 14. See also Billings, “Religion as Opposition.”

38. Lasch, “Religious Contributions to Social Movements,” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 18 (spring 1990): 101. David Chappell stresses the importance of “old time” religion with its belief in “irrational” practices in his brilliant study of religion and the southern civil rights movement, *Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). See also Jasper M. James, *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); and James, “The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Social Movements,” *Sociological Forum* 13 (1998): 397–424.

39. Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, [1917] 1997), 131.

40. *Ibid.*, 142.

41. Peter W. Williams, *America’s Religions: From Their Origins to the Twenty-first Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), chap. 32; and Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), chap. 47. Both of these works have good, though basic, overviews of the social gospel and the various debates regarding dating and influence.

42. Ralph E. Luker, *The Social Gospel in Black and White: American Racial Reform, 1885–1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 4. Luker also does a wonderful job of characterizing the racial ambiguity, and at times the racism, within the writings and speeches of advocates of the social gospel.

43. *Ibid.*; Susan Lindley, “Neglected Voices and Praxis in the Social Gospel,” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 18 (spring 1990): 75–103; Philip S. Foner, ed., *Black Socialist Preacher: The Teachings of Reverend George Washington Woodbey, and his Disciple, Reverend G. W. Slater, Jr.* (San Francisco: Synthesis Publications, 1983); Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones*; Clarence Taylor, *Black Religious Intellectuals: The Fight for Equality from Jim Crow to the 21st Century* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

44. Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 736. In a similar vein see Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); and Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

45. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 44.

46. Detroit NNC File, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan; and NNC

Records, Microfilm, Reel 6. On the CRF, see “Constitution of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights (1935),” Civil Rights Congress [CRC] Papers, Box 1, ALHUA; and John Bollens, “Why a Civil Rights Federation?” *Civil Rights Federation News*, November 8, 1938, copy in CRC Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.

47. Marx, “Toward the Critique of Hegel’s *Philosophy of Right*,” in *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, ed. Louis S. Feuer (London: Fontana, 1969), 304, emphasis mine. On the “double-edged” nature of Marx’s understanding of religion, and on the ways in which religion has been handled by a number of Marxist theorists, see Michael Löwy’s excellent *The War of the Gods: Religion and Politics in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1996).

48. *Daily Worker*, September 19, 1954. Thanks to Alan Wald for bringing this cartoon to my attention.

49. Congress of Industrial Organizations, Department of Research and Education, *Labor and Religion* (Washington, DC: CIO, 1944), 10–11.

50. Lichtenstein and Korstad, “Opportunities Found and Lost,” 811. A similar argument is put forth in Johnson’s *Maurice Sugar*, 302: “In looking at the Left and labor before the victory of Reuther and his conception of trade unionism we are dealing with a sharply defined era in U.S. labor history, one that began with the Depression and ended with the Cold War.”

51. Cleage, *The Black Messiah*, 211. On Cleage’s contributions to Black theology, see James Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (San Francisco: Harper, [1969] 1989); and Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*; as well as Cleage’s own *Black Christian Nationalism: New Directions for the Black Church* (New York: William Morrow, 1972). The only full-length biography of Cleage is Hiley Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1969).

52. The commentator is *Detroit Free Press* reporter William Serrin, quoted in Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, 33. The Georgakas quote is at p. 5. See also Thompson, *Whose Detroit?*

53. Cleage, “The Next Step,” *Illustrated News*, November 1963.

54. Cleage quoted in Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 42.

55. Cleage, “A Sense of Urgency,” in Cleage, *The Black Messiah*, 22.

56. On Breitman and the SWP in Detroit, see Naomi Allen and Sarah Lovell, eds., *A Tribute to George Breitman: Writer, Organizer, Revolutionary* (New York: Fourth International Tendency, 1987). Breitman’s papers, at the Tamiment Library at New York University, are also a rich source for materials. Also interesting on this question is “Questions of the American Revolution: Conversations in Detroit between James Boggs and Xavier Nicholas” (spring 1973) in the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan; and the autobiography of Grace Lee Boggs, *Living for Change* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998). On the SWP and the Black freedom movement in general, see Conrad Lynn, *There Is a Fountain: The Autobiography of Conrad Lynn* (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill, 1979); Van Gosse, *Where the Boys Are: Cuba, Cold War America, and the Making of a New Left* (London: Verso, 1993); and Timothy Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); as well as Van Gosse, “More Than Just a Politician: Notes on the Life and Times of Harold Cruse,” in *Harold Cruse’s The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual Reconsidered*, ed. Jerry Watts (New York: Routledge, 2004), 17–40.

57. Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 49.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Wright, *Uncle Tom's Children* (New York: Harper and Row, 1940), 130.
2. *Ibid.*, 130–31.
3. *Ibid.*, 178.
4. *Ibid.*, 180.
5. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 42.
6. Bermecia (Hill) Morrow McCoy, interview with author, Detroit, January 13, 1992; Charles A. Hill Jr., interview with author, Detroit, June 10, 2005.
7. David Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 91–92; Olivier Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 247–48. Zunz's 1900 sample found only three mixed marriages between Blacks and Germans.
8. Hill's birth certificate, Hill Papers, Box 1, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan (cited hereafter as MHC).
9. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto*, 79.
10. Webster to Forrester, June 9, 1916, DUL Papers, Box 1, MHC.
11. Bermecia (Hill) Morrow McCoy, interview with author.
12. David G. Morrow, "Charles Andrew Hill—Family," transcript of remarks for a 1968 retirement celebration, Hill Papers, Box 1, MHC.
13. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto*, 56–59.
14. *Ibid.*, 59–71.
15. Francis H. Warren, *Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress* (Detroit: John M. Green, [1915] 1985); Thomas, *Life for Us*, chap. 2; Katzman, *Before the Ghetto*, 59–61.
16. On the challenges to and relative success of the urban church in this period, see Lincoln and Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience*, chap. 6.
17. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto*, 138; Everard W. Daniel, "St. Matthew's Need—a Challenge," *Michigan Churchman* 28 (December 1923): 22. St. Matthew's Episcopal Church Centennial Celebration, 1846–1946," St. Matthew's/St. Joseph Collection, Box 1, MHC.
18. "A Brief History of St. Matthew's Church," n.d., St. Matthew's/St. Joseph's Collection, Box 1, MHC.
19. Marshall F. Stevenson, "Points of Departure, Acts of Resolve: Black-Jewish Relations in Detroit, 1937–1962," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1988, 41; Katzman, *Before the Ghetto*, 146–48.
20. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto*, 140–41; Bethel AME Papers, Box 1, MHC.
21. William H. Myers, *God's Yes Was Louder Than My No: Rethinking the African-American Call to Ministry* (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 1994), 44–45; Raboteau, *Fire in the Bones*, chap. 8.
22. Bermecia (Hill) Morrow McCoy, interview with author.
23. A copy of Hill's transcript was supplied courtesy of the Records Department at Cleary; his diploma is included in the Hill Papers, Box 1, MHC.
24. James F. Findlay Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837–1899* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), chap. 5; see also Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 743–46, n. 812. There is also a brief section on Moody and the school in George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991), 21–22.

25. Wayne J. Urban, *Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond, 1904–1972* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 15.

26. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 2–3.

27. Urban, *Black Scholar*, 14.

28. *Ibid.*, chap. 2; Horace Mann Bond, *An Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania* (Chester, PA: Lincoln University, 1976); Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1934). Also of interest are the sections on Lincoln in Kwame Nkrumah, *The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (Edinburgh, NY: Nelson, 1957). Nkrumah was at Lincoln from 1935 to 1939, however, much later than the time of Hill's tenure.

29. Bond, *History and New Design of Lincoln University, 1854–1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), 31. See also Bond, *An Education for Freedom*.

30. Adams quoted in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 248; Adams, interview with author, Detroit, July 12, 1993; Charles Hill Jr., interview with author.

31. Seminary course catalogs for 1915 and 1918, copies supplied courtesy of the Archives Department, Lincoln University. See also Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Survey of Negro College and Universities* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1929; rpt., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969).

32. Charles Adams in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 248.

33. For a more sustained discussion of evangelical liberalism, especially in relation to the social gospel, see Ronald C. White Jr. and C. Howard Hopkins, *The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), 246–58.

34. Certificates from the teacher training course (1919) and the National War Work Council (1919) in the Hill Papers, Box 1, MHC; on the Sunday school movement in America, see Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 23–25.

35. DuBois, “Returning Soldiers” (1919), in *The Oxford W. E. B. DuBois Reader*, ed. Eric J. Sunquist (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 381.

36. Randolph quoted in Jervis Anderson, *This Was Harlem, 1900–1950* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1981), 187–88. On the other movements during this period, see Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889–1963* (New York: Knopf, 1965).

37. Locke, “The New Negro,” in *The New Negro: An Interpretation*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Atheneum, [1925] 1992), 3. Whether Locke's New Negro was the same as Randolph's is the source of some debate. Barbara Foley argues that by the time Locke's 1925 volume was published the movement had been taken over and essentially deradicalized and that the postwar New Negro Movement had been co-opted and replaced with the Harlem Renaissance. See Foley, *Spectres of 1919: Class and Nation in the Making of the New Negro* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

38. The literature on these anti-Black race riots is extensive. See, for instance, William M. Tuttle Jr., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1970); Elliott Rudwick, *Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 12, 1917* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964); Scott Ellsworth, *Death in the Promised Land: The Tulsa Riot of 1921* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); and Roberta Senechal, *The Sociogenesis of a Race Riot: Springfield, Illinois, in 1908* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

39. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 1.
40. Forrester B. Washington, "The Negro in Detroit: A Survey of the Conditions of a Negro Group in a Northern Industrial Center during the World Prosperity Period" (Detroit, 1920), copy in the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. See especially chapter 5, "The Negro in the Industries of Detroit." See also David Allan Levine, *Internal Combustion: The Races in Detroit, 1915–1926* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1976), 72, 130–31.
41. "Population" section, in Washington, "The Negro in Detroit," 6; Thomas, *Life for Us*, 6–28; Sidney Glazer, *Detroit: A Study in Urban Development* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1965).
42. Walcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 65; Cara L. Shelly, "Bradby's Baptists: Second Baptist Church of Detroit, 1910–1946," *Michigan Historical Review* 17:1 (spring 1991): 1–33.
43. On Bradby's background see "Subject of a Sketch," n.d., Second Baptist Papers, Reel 3, "Pastor's Papers," MHC; and *Second Baptist Church of Detroit Eyewitness History* (Detroit, 1976), copy in author's possession.
44. Bermecia (Hill) McCoy Interview; the quotation is from "Mrs. Georgia Hill: Mother of the Week," *Michigan Chronicle*, n.d., Hill Papers, Box 2, MHC.
45. *A Brief History of Hartford Avenue Baptist Church* (Detroit, 1945), Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library (cited hereafter as BHC).
46. Hill quoted in *1917–1962: 45th Anniversary of Hartford Avenue Baptist Church* (1962 program), Hill Papers, Box 1, MHC.
47. Georgia Hill's obituary, *Detroit Free Press*, September 24, 1983; Georgia Hill Red Squad File, copy in author's possession; "Mrs. Georgia Hill: Mother of the Week," *Michigan Chronicle*, n.d., Hill Papers, Box 2, MHC.
48. Letter to Hill from the Board of Deacons, n.d., Hill Papers, Box 2, MHC; Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 8.
49. Charles A. Hill Jr., interview with author.
50. On Murphy's remarkable career, see Sidney Fine, *Frank Murphy: The Detroit Years* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1975); and *Frank Murphy: The Washington Years* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984).
51. Georgia Hill, Oral History with Charles A. Hill, ALHUA, 23.
52. The close observer here is Coleman A. Young, who would prove to be very successful in courting the political loyalties of Black ministers during his successive campaigns for mayor of Detroit. See Young, *Hard Stuff*, 38.
53. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 2.
54. Michigan branch report, *Crisis*, 8 (July 1914); Katzman, *Before the Ghetto*, 98–99.
55. On the Sweet case, see Levine, *Internal Combustion*, 3–4, 167–90; and Kevin Boyle, *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004).
56. Bermecia (Hill) Morrow McCoy Interview; Hill Oral History, ALHUA, 15.
57. This information is scattered throughout the Detroit Urban League Papers, MHC, Boxes 1 and 11; see also Martin, *Detroit and the Great Migration*, 55–56.
58. J. H. Porter to Detroit Board of Commerce, March 11, 1918, DUL Papers, Box 1, MHC.
59. Good Citizenship League pamphlet, "To Colored Men and Women Voters of Michigan" (1922), DUL Papers, Box 1, MHC; "Annual Report of the Good Citizen-

ship League" (1921), also in Box 1. On the GCL in general, see Levine, *Internal Combustion*, 122–24.

60. Levine, *Internal Combustion*, 124.

61. Garvey quoted in *ibid.*, 102.

62. On Garveyism in Detroit, see Thomas, *Life for Us*, 194–201; Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 228–34; Levine, *Internal Combustion*, 100–103, 112–13; and Walcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 125–27, which is particularly sensitive to the gender dynamics of the movement.

63. Smith Interview, January 9–10, 1987, in Jeannette Smith-Irvin, *Footsoldiers of the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1989), 46–47.

64. The exact numbers are difficult to ascertain. For instance, in a 1924 address at a UNIA convention in New York, J. A. Craigen and F. E. Johnson claimed a membership "7,000 strong," which made the Detroit division "a power in Detroit" that local politicians "were now courting." See "Convention Report [New York, 5 August 1924]," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, ed. Robert A. Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 5:661–62.

65. Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey*, 230–31. On Lowe, see Hill, *Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers*, 5:510, n. 1.

66. Bagnall, "The Madness of Marcus Garvey," *Messenger* (March 1923): 638–48; "2,000 Negroes Hear Garvey Denounced," *New York Times*, August 21, 1922, reprinted in Hill, *Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers*, 4:932–33.

67. Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1976), 75–77, includes a discussion of Muhammad's relationship with the UNIA, as well as the possible interrelationships between the UNIA and Islamist groups such as the Moorish-American Science Temples, which also had a presence in Detroit.

68. Garvey quoted in Randall K. Burkett, *Garveyism as a Religious Movement: The Institutionalization of Black Civil Religion* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1978), 47.

69. McGuire quoted in Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, 149, 150–51. See also A. C. Terry-Thompson, *The History of the African Orthodox Church* (New York: AOC, 1956).

70. Harris, *Something Within*, 140–41; Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, 149–51. See also Burkett, *Garveyism as a Religious Movement* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1978); and Martin, *Race First*, chap. 4, "Religion."

71. Smith Interview in Smith-Irvin, *Marcus Garvey's Footsoldiers*, 60.

72. Richard T. Ortquist, "Unemployment and Relief: Michigan's Response to the Depression and the Hoover Years," *Michigan History* 57 (fall 1973): 209–36.

73. Charles Lawrence, "Negro Organizations in Crisis: Depression, New Deal, World War II," PhD diss., Columbia University, 1952; June Woodson, "A Century of Negroes in Detroit," MA thesis, Wayne State University, 1954; Beth Tompkins Bates, "A New Crowd Challenges the Agenda of the Old Guard in the NAACP, 1933–1941," *American Historical Review* 102:2 (April 1997): 340–77.

74. Baltimore *Afro-American*, July 22, 1933; Gary Jerome Hunter, "'Don't Buy Where You Can't Work': Black Urban Boycott Movements during the Depression," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1977, 45.

75. On the BTWTA and the Housewives League, see Walcott, *Remaking*

Respectability, 176–83; Smith, *Dancing in the Streets*, 60–62, 67–68; and Thomas, *Life for Us*, 214–21.

76. *Constitution and By-Laws of Housewives League of Detroit and Declaration of Principles of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Booker T. Washington Trade Association 1937*, both in Housewives League of Detroit Papers, Box 1, BHC.

77. Grigsby, Oral History Interview with Roberta McBride, March 12, 1967, ALHUA, 3.

78. Walcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 295, n. 15.

79. Grigsby, “Christianity and Race Relations,” in *White Hypocrisy and Black Lethargy* (Detroit: Snow Grigsby, 1935), 14.

80. *Ibid.*, 20.

81. Detroit Civic Rights Committee, “Open Letter to the Councilmen of the City of Detroit,” Maurice Sugar Collection, Box 10, ALHUA; Hunter, “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work,” 148–50.

82. Grigsby, *An X-Ray Picture of Detroit* (Detroit: Snow Grigsby, 1933), copy in MHC; see also “Grigsby Goes Gunning,” *Detroit Tribune*, December 19, 1933.

83. Thomas, *Life for Us*, 241–43; *Detroit Tribune*, May 27, 1939, June 10, 1939, September 23, 1939, and October 14, 1939.

84. Roger Keeran, *The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), chaps. 5 and 6; *Auto Workers News*, July, September, and October 1927, copies in ALHUA.

85. On the resolution introduced during the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, see Philip S. Foner and James S. Allen, eds., *American Communism and Black Americans: A Documentary History, 1919–1929* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), chap. 6 and chap. 7, “Party Work among Blacks, 1929.” On the relationship between Blacks to the CP in general during this period, see Mark Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity: Communists and African Americans, 1917–1936* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998).

86. James R. Prickett, “Communists and the Automobile Industry in Detroit before 1935,” *Michigan History* 57 (fall 1973): 190.

87. On the LSNR, see Robin Kelley, “Communist Party USA, African Americans and the,” for Africana.com Web site; Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, esp. 190–96.

88. Prickett, “Communists and the Automobile Industry,” 193–94. Among the evidence cited are one, reports from the *Worker* that the largest membership was in Detroit, two, a report to the party’s Political Committee by Earl Browder claiming that the “struggle against eviction” was more advanced in Detroit than elsewhere, and three, the sheer size of hunger marches in the city in the early 1930s.

89. Oral History Interview with Joseph Billups (and Rose Billups) by Herbert Hill, Shelton Tappes, and Roberta McBride, October 27, 1967, Detroit, ALHUA, 6. Used by permission of Herbert Hill.

90. Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 57. On the Unemployed Councils in general, see Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 54–57; Daniel J. Leab, “‘United We Eat’: The Creation and Organization of the Unemployed Councils in the 1930s,” *Labor History* 8 (1967): 300–315; and Herbert Benjamin, *A Manual for Hunger Fighters: How to Organize and Conduct United Action for the Right to Live* (New York: Worker’s Library Publishers, 1933).

91. Billups (and Rose Billups) Interview, ALHUA, 8. Billups himself was a frequent speaker at these outdoor forums.

92. Gomon quoted in Prickett, "Communists and the Automobile Industry," 196–97.
93. "Ford Hunger March File," Labadie Collection, University of Michigan; Maurice Sugar, *The Ford Hunger March* (Berkeley, CA: Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, 1980); Alex Baskin, "The Ford Hunger March—1932," *Labor History* 13 (summer 1971): 331–61; *50 Years, 1932–1982, in the Struggle for Jobs: 50th Anniversary Ford Hunger March Commemoration* (Detroit, 1982).
94. Baldwin quoted in Sugar, *The Ford Hunger March*, 73; Detroit ACLU Collection, Box 1, ALHUA.
95. Baskin, "The Ford Hunger March," 350; Prickett, "Communists and the Automobile Industry," 196; "After the Dearborn Massacre," *New Republic*, March 30, 1932, 172; Sugar, "Bullets—Not—for Ford Workers," *Nation*, March 23, 1932, 333–35.
96. Moore quoted in Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 60.
97. Biography, Chris and Mart Alston Collection, ALHUA.
98. Billups, Oral History, ALHUA, 10; Baskin, "The Ford Hunger March," 357; "Ford Victim to Be Buried Today," *Daily Worker*, August 13, 1932. Mayor Frank Murphy received dozens of telegrams from residents over the Williams affair (Mayor's Office Papers, 1932, Box 4, BHC).
99. Tappes, Oral History, ALHUA, 17.
100. Wilson Record, *Race and Radicalism: The NAACP and the Communist Party in Conflict* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964), 76–77. For a broader perspective on the CP's race work, see also Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*; and Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*.
101. Joseph (and Rose) Billups, Oral History, ALHUA, 7.
102. Harry Haywood, "The Scottsboro Decision," *Communist* 11 (December 1932); *Daily Worker*, April 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 25, 1931; *Daily Worker*, November 26, 1934; James W. Ford, "The United Front in the Field of Negro Work," *Communist* 14 (April 1935).
103. Hill and Dade's involvement with the Scottsboro Defense Clubs is mentioned in Scott Craig, "Automobiles and Labor: The Transformation of Detroit's Black Working Class, 1917–1941," MA thesis, Wayne State University, 1986, 70. See also Letter from the Scottsboro Defense Committee to Mayor Frank Murphy, Mayor's Office Papers, 1935, Box 6, BHC.
104. Jim Jacobs, "Sugar, Maurice," in *Encyclopedia of the American Left*, ed. Mari Jo Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 806.
105. The campaign literature is in the Sugar Collection, Box 11, ALHUA. In 1961 Hill was the designated honoree at the Buck Dinner. The poster, with the signatures and best wishes of those in attendance, became a highly prized possession. The Hill family keeps it prominently displayed at its summer home in Harbor Beach. See "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Buck Dinner" (1979), brochure in Supplement, Sugar Collection, AHLUA.
106. Johnson, *Maurice Sugar*, 152–53.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Eugene P. Link, *Labor-Religion Prophet: The Times and Life of Harry F. Ward* (Boulder: Westview, 1984), 160.

2. Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 10. The original source for this story about the lunch meeting is an unpublished term paper (for a class at the University of Michigan) by David Lewis, "History of Negro Employment in Detroit Area Plants of Ford Motor Company, 1914–1941," 17–18, which is, in turn, based on interviews and materials subsequently removed from the Ford archives.

3. Bradby to Marshall, October 18, 1926, Second Baptist Papers, Reel 3, "Pastor's Papers," MHC.

4. Bradby to Mr. Weston, August 10, 1926, Second Baptist Papers, Reel 3, "Pastor's Papers," MHC.

5. Bradby to Whom It May Concern, April 21, 1931: "This is to certify that the bearer, Mrs. Myrtle Jackson, is a member of the Second Baptist Church of which I am the minister, and has been for a great number of years. It is our understanding that she is now seeking a position with the Welfare Department of the City of Detroit, and we are very happy to add our word of recommendation to her character and worthiness"; Bradby to Miss Velma McDonald, September 25, 1926. Both letters are in Second Baptist Papers, Reel 3, "Pastor's Papers," MHC.

6. Thomas, *Life for Us*, 272. In his dissertation, however, Thomas adopts a much harsher and more negative view of the entente. See Thomas, "From Peasant to Proletarian: The Formation and Organization of the Black Industrial Working Class in Detroit, 1915–1941," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1976.

7. Claude and Martha Fisher to Daniel, October 12, 1929, St. Matthew's/St. Joseph's Papers, Box 1, MHC; see also Vestry Minutes, December 5, 1927, Box 1.

8. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 2.

9. Alston, *Henry Ford and the Negro People* (Washington, DC: National Negro Congress and Michigan Negro Congress, 1940), 5–6.

10. Norma Kenneth Miles, "Home at Last: Urbanization of Black Migrants in Detroit, 1916–1929," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1978, 80–81. Ford's visits to St. Matthew's are also recorded in Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 17.

11. Adams in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 248–49.

12. Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 10–11. For more details on Bennett and the Service Department, see Stephen H. Norwood, *Strikebreaking and Intimidation: Mercenaries and Masculinities in Twentieth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), chap. 5.

13. Bates, "A New Crowd Challenges the Agenda of the Old Guard in the NAACP, 1933–1941," *American Historical Review*, 102:2 (April 1997): 340–41.

14. On the priestly and the prophetic dimensions of African American Christianity, see Lincoln and Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience*, 10–16. On a more cautionary note Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham observes: "Arguments over the accommodationist versus liberating thrust of the Black church misses the range as well as the fluid interaction of political and ideological meanings represented within the church's domain" (*Righteous Discontent*, 18).

15. Dade, Oral History, ALHUA, 4.

16. *Ibid.*, 15.

17. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 4; Thomas, *Life for Us*, 293–96.

18. White quoted in Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 37.

19. White's obituary, *Detroit Free Press*, February 11, 1958; *Detroit Tribune*, November 4, 1940; NAACP Files, Gloster Current Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.

20. Thomas, *Life for Us*, 256–57.

21. *Ibid.*, 265–70; Diggs's obituary, *Detroit Free Press*, April 26, 1967; Thomas S. Solomon, "Participation of Negroes in Detroit Elections," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1937.

22. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan: 1937 Regular Session*, 388, 2226; Daniel B. Neusom, "The Michigan Civil Rights Law and Its Enforcement," MA thesis, Wayne State University, 1952; "Statement on Diggs Law Violation" (March 27, 1940), CRC Collection, Box 80, ALHUA.

23. The Proletarian Party was one of the most militantly Marxist groups associated with the Socialist Party in Michigan. As a supporter of the Bolshevik revolution, it was among the first of many left-wing groups expelled (in May 1919) from the SP. While it took part in the founding of the Communist Party, disagreements soon caused a breach and the Proletarian Party remained independent, forming the Proletarian University in Detroit and specializing in educational communism. Its members were active in the 1933 Briggs Auto Body strike and in the sit-downs in Flint and elsewhere. Several, such as Emil Mazey and Frank Marquart, went on to become top officials in the UAW. See Allen Ruff, "A Path Not Taken: The Proletarian Party and the Early History of Communism in the United States," in *Culture, Gender, Race, and U.S. Labor History*, ed. Ronald C. Kent, Sara Markham, David Roediger, and Herbert Shapiro (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993); as well as the entry in Buhle, Buhle, and Georgakas, *Encyclopedia of the American Left*, 641–42.

24. Stanley Nowak, Oral History, ALHUA; Nowak, *Two Who Were There*, 148.

25. Crockett in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 168.

26. Goodman in *Untold Tales, Unsung Heroes: An Oral History of Detroit's African American Community, 1918–1967*, ed. Elaine Latzman Moon (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994), 61–63.

27. *Ibid.*, 63.

28. Georg Schrode, "Mary Zuk and the Detroit Meat Strike of 1935," *Polish American Studies* 43 (autumn 1986): 3–24; Thaddeus C. Radzilowski, "Ethnic Conflict and the Polish Americans of Detroit," in *The Polish Presence in Canada and America*, ed. F. Renkiewicz (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1982): 196–207; *Daily Worker*, April 10, 1936. On Zuk, see also Nowak, *Two Who Were There*, 17–21, 32–38.

29. Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue: The Depression Decade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), chap. 3; Anthony Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933–1940* (New York: Noonday Press, 1989). On the more problematic nature of the New Deal and the question of race, see Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Norton, 2005).

30. On the early strike wave, see Sidney Fine, *The Automobile under The Blue Eagle* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963); Keeran, *The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union*, chap. 4; and Phil Raymond, "The Briggs Strike," *Labor Unity* 8 (March 1933): 21–23.

31. *NLRB v. Jones and Laughlin* 301 U.S. 1 (1937), 33; Staughton Lynd, "The Right to Engage in Concerted Activity after Union Recognition: A Study of Legislative History," *Indiana Law Journal* 50 (1975): 720–56.

32. Mark Naison, "Remaking America: Communists and Liberals in the Popular Front," in *New Studies on the Politics and Culture of U.S. Communism*, ed. Michael E. Brown, Randy Martin, Frank Rosengarten, and George Snedeker (New York:

Monthly Review Press, 1993), 45–73. While Naison acknowledges some of the internal tensions and contradictions of the policy, he has comparatively little to say about the negative effects of the CP's reversal of policy following the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. For a more critical reading, see Frank A. Warren, "A Flawed History of the Popular Front," *New Politics* 7:2 (winter 1999): 112–25. On the various shifts and changes, see the entry on the Popular Front in Buhle, Buhle, and Georgakas, *Encyclopedia of the American Left*, 627–30. It is difficult to chart the effects of the post-1939 switch in particular, but two good and interesting sources are Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step* (New York: Pioneer, 1964); and Bert Cochran, *Labor and Communism: The Conflict That Shaped America's Unions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

33. Browder, "The United Front—The Key to Our Tactics and Organization," *Communist* 14 (December 1935): 1075–129; *Daily Worker*, August 5, 1935.

34. Prickett, "Communism and Factionalism in the United Automobile Workers Union, 1939–1947," *Science and Society* 32:3 (summer 1968): 257–77; Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

35. Naison, "Remaking America," 45.

36. Haywood, *Black Bolshevik: Autobiography of an Afro-American Communist* (Chicago: Liberator Press, 1978), 533; 554.

37. James, *C. L. R. James on the "Negro Question"* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1996), 5. This argument is nicely formulated in Ted McTaggart, "Black Self-Determination: Robert F. Williams, Harry Haywood, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers," a seminar paper written for my class on Williams and the legacy of Black radicalism, University of Michigan, winter 2005. Critical assessments of the Popular Front are also incorporated into Kelley's pro-Third Period history *Hammer and Hoe*.

38. Johnson, *Maurice Sugar*, 152. Sugar's campaign notebooks detail the range of his support within the city's Left. They can be found in the Sugar Collection, Box 10, ALHUA. See also "Maurice Sugar, Labor Candidate vs. W. P. Lovett's City League," *Detroit Labor News*, March 1, 1935.

39. Haywood, *Black Bolshevik*, 436–38. For a broader perspective on the ILD, see Charles H. Martin, "The International Labor Defense and Black America," *Labor History* 26 (1985): 165–94.

40. *A Negro on Trial for His Life: The Frame-Up of James Victory Exposed—Speech to Jury by Counsel for Defense, Maurice Sugar* (Detroit: Candidates for Judge of Recorder's Court, 1935), in Sugar Papers, Box 2, ALHUA. On Darrow's performance during the Sweet trial, see Boyle, *Arc of Justice*, 292–96, 330–34.

41. The pamphlet is in the Sugar Papers, Box 2, ALHUA; see also Johnson, *Maurice Sugar*, 151–52.

42. Scott Craig, "Black Workers and the Communists in Detroit, 1929–1941," MA thesis, Wayne State University, 1986.

43. Murphy quoted in Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 82. On Murphy's role during the GM strike and his views on the sit-downs, see J. Woodford Howard Jr., "Frank Murphy and the Sit-Down Strikes," *Labor History* 1:2 (spring 1960): 103–40. Murphy would go on to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court and played a role in the Thornhill decision, which established the constitutionality of picketing. See Sidney Fine, "Frank Murphy, The Thornhill Decision and Picketing as Free Speech," *Labor History* 6:2 (spring 1965): 99–120.

44. Sugar, "Is the Sit-Down Legal?" *New Masses*, May 4, 1937; Russell B. Porter, "The Broad Challenge of the Sit-Down Strike," *New York Times Magazine*, April 4, 1937. On the use of the tactic during the 1936 GM strike, see Sidney Fine, *Sit-Down: The General Motors Strike of 1936–1937* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969).
45. "Constitution of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights" (1935), CRC Collection, Box 1, "CFPRC Files," ALHUA.
46. Bollens, "Why a Civil Rights Federation?" *Civil Rights News*, November 8, 1938, 1.
47. For a good overview of the ideology and activism of the Liberty League, see Frederick Rudolph, "The American Liberty League, 1934–1950," *American Historical Review* 56 (October 1950): 19–33.
48. Bollens, "Why a Civil Rights Federation?" 2–3; on the bill see Johnson, *Mau-ricie Sugar*, 168, 172.
49. "Speakers Outline, Civil Rights Federation Organizational Approach," [n.d.,] CRC Collection, Box 1, ALHUA.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Detroit Labor News*, March 30 and May 3, 11, and 17, 1935.
52. CRC Collection, Box 1; Ernest Goodman Collection, Box 3; National Lawyers Guild Collection, Box 1, all in ALHUA.
53. Maki, Oral History Interview by Norman McRae, March 26, 1970, ALHUA, 2.
54. McPhaul, Oral History Interview with Norman McRae, April 5, 1970, ALHUA, 9; interview with author, April 9, 1994, Detroit.
55. Ralph J. Bunche, "The Programs, Ideologies, Tactics, and Achievements of Negro Betterment and Interracial Organizations" (1940), memorandum prepared for the Carnegie-Myrdal study for *An American Dilemma*, copy at the Schomburg Center, New York Public Library; James W. Ford, "The National Negro Congress," *Communist* 15 (April 1936); Lawrence S. Wittner, "The National Negro Congress: A Reassessment," *American Quarterly* 22 (winter 1970): 883–901. On the convention movement historically, see Meier and Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto*, 3d ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 124–28.
56. Davis, *Let Us Build a National Negro Congress*, in *Black Protest: History, Documents, and Analysis*, ed. Joanne Grant (New York: Fawcett, 1968), 242.
57. *Official Proceedings of the National Negro Congress, February 14, 15, 16, 1936*. Copy in the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan.
58. Naison, *Communists in Harlem*, 138–40; Robin D. G. Kelley, "'This Ain't Ethiopia, but It'll Do': African-Americans and the Spanish Civil War," in *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994).
59. Randolph to White, April 8, 1936, and White to Davis, March 3, 1939, both in NAACP Collection, Library of Congress, I, C, Box 383, "NNC Folder."
60. "Church Leaders in Opposition to the Program of the National Negro Congress," (1936) in NAACP Collection, Library of Congress, I, C, Box 383, "NNC Folder." See *Official Proceedings of the National Negro Congress*, 30–31, for the original resolution about the role of churches.
61. NNC File, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. The "Detroit Files" of the FBI file on the NNC lists Stanley Nowak; Reverends Hill, White, and John Miles; and unionists Chris Alston, Hodges Mason, John Conyers, Luke Fennel, and Senator Diggs as among those who sponsored the Michigan section of the NNC. C. LeBron

Simmons also attended the founding convention and served for a time as president of the Detroit chapter (Simmons, Oral History Interview with Norman McRae, ca. 1969, ALHUA, 1, 5–6).

62. See also Link, *Labor-Religion Prophet*; Ralph Lord Roy, *Communism and the Churches* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), chap. 5; and Dunbar, *Against the Grain*, 39–40.

63. Roy, in *Communism and the Churches*, 159–60, also reports that Knox became disillusioned with the various “Communist fronts” that he had worked with and that he remained a bitter opponent of the CP. See also Jack Raskin, Oral History, ALHUA, 2, 20.

64. Hill quoted in “The NAACP Convention’s Statement to the Nation,” *Michigan Chronicle*, June 12, 1943.

65. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 112–13.

66. On Zuk and class tensions within the Polish American community see Schrode, “Mary Zuk and the Detroit Meat Strike”; Stevenson, “Points of Departure, Acts of Resolve,” 136–37; and Raskin, Oral History Interview, ALHUA. On this as a general phenomenon, see Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

67. Peter H. Amann, “Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25 (1983): 490–524.

68. *Civil Rights Bulletin*, July 27, 1938, in CRC Collection, Box 2, ALHUA.

69. *New Republic*, June 17, 1936; B. J. Widick, *Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence*, Rev. ed. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), chap. 1; “The True Story of the Black Legion Plot to Murder Maurice Sugar,” Sugar Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.

70. *Civil Rights News*, March 1939; *Detroit News*, June 21, 1936; “Report upon the Black Legion and Other Vigilante Organizations,” CRC Collection, Box 12, ALHUA; James Basil Jacobs, “The Conduct of Local Police Intelligence,” PhD diss., Princeton University, 1977, 114–16.

71. *Civil Liberties in American Cities: A Survey Based on 332 American Cities of over 10,000 Population* (New York: ACLU, 1939).

72. “Report on the Activities of the Civil Rights Federation, 1938–1939,” CRC Collection, Box 1, “CRF Files,” ALHUA. See also *Report of the Mayor’s Committee on Race Relations* (Detroit: Bureau of Governmental Research, 1926); and Thomas, *Life for Us*, 164–66. In 1939, the ACLU ranked Detroit as one of the worst major cities in the area of rights violation by police (*Civil Liberties in American Cities*, 3).

73. *United Automobile Worker*, December 24, 1938; Thomas, *Life for Us*, 282.

74. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 18.

75. “Police Will Continue Illegal Arrests, Pickert Tells Our Delegation,” *Civil Rights News*, November 1938.

76. Bollens to La Follette Committee, March 23, 1937, Record Group 46, Box 86, National Archives. The committee, organized in 1936, grew out of a series of National Labor Relations Board hearings and limited itself mainly to company abuses. See Jerold S. Auerbach, *Labor and Liberty: The La Follette Committee and the New Deal* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966).

77. U.S. House Resolution 282.

78. Bollens to Martin Dies, July 16, 1938, CRC Papers, Box 31, ALHUA.

79. U.S. House of Representatives, *Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities*, 75th Cong., 3d sess., vol. 2, October 11, 12, 13, at Detroit, Michigan

(Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1938), 1239–486. There is an extensive clippings file from the hearings in the Sugar Collection, Box 49, ALHUA.

80. *Ibid.*, 1356–57.

81. *Ibid.*, 1334–35.

82. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 112.

83. Flyer, CRC Collection, Box 11, ALHUA.

84. Coughlin quoted in Forrest Davis, “Father Coughlin,” *Atlantic Monthly* 156:6 (December 1935): 660; also *Detroit Free Press*, July 26, 1930. On his career in general see Charles J. Tull, *Father Coughlin and the New Deal* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1965); Shelton Marcus, *Father Coughlin: The Tumultuous Life of the Priest of the Little Flower* (Boston: Little Brown, 1973); and Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Vintage, 1983).

85. The full text of the encyclical, issued on May 15, 1891, can be found at <http://www.osjspm.org/cst/rn.htm>.

86. Frankenstein quoted in Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 56, 100–101.

87. Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, chap. 4; Leslie Tentler, *Seasons of Grace: A History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 324–44.

88. *Civil Rights News*, December 1939; Tentler, *Seasons of Grace*, 340–41.

89. Though short-lived, *Equality* was a fascinating magazine. Many of the issues have been collected and reprinted in *Equality* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1970), with an introduction by Jack Salzman.

90. Albert Lee, *Henry Ford and the Jews* (New York: Stein and Day, 1980). See also Neil Baldwin, *Henry Ford and the Jews: The Mass Production of Hate* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001).

91. Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 6–8. In general this is still the best source on efforts to unionize Ford and involve the Black community; see also Thomas, *Life for Us*, chap. 8.

92. Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 86–87.

93. Mason, Oral History Interview with Herbert Hill, November 28, 1967, Detroit, ALHUA, 9 (used by permission of Herbert Hill); interview with author, Detroit, January 16, 1994.

94. “Tentative Draft of Suggested Resolutions for Consideration by the Detroit Conference, June 29–July 4, 1937,” NAACP Papers, I, B, Box 14, Library of Congress; Homer Martin, “Address to the Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People” (June 1930), Martin Papers, ALHUA; “Resolutions Adopted by the Twenty-eighth Annual Conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in Detroit, Michigan, July 4, 1937,” NAACP Papers, I, B, Box 4, Library of Congress; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 56–59.

95. “Editorial,” *Crisis* 44 (August 1937): 241; Daniel quoted in *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 28, 1937; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 58.

96. Bradford quoted in Alston, *Henry Ford and the Negro People*, 11–12. See also Thomas, *Life for Us*, 258–59.

97. Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 103.

98. Tappes, quoted in Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 104.

99. “Ford Motor Company Ordered to Cease Unfair Labor Practices,” National Labor Relations Board press release, August 1940, ACTU Papers, Box 19, ALHUA; Allen Nevins and Frank Ernest Hill, *Decline and Rebirth, 1933–1941* (New York: Scribner’s, 1963), 150–51.

100. CRC Collection, Box 1 (“CFPCR Files”), ALHUA.
101. Mason, Oral History, ALHUA, 12. On the exposition, see Thomas, *Life for Us*, 223–27.
102. Rose Billups with Joseph Billups, Oral History, ALHUA, 6.
103. Copy in Nowak Papers, Box 8, ALHUA; Radzilowski, “Ethnic Conflict and the Polish American of Detroit,” 67–69; Nowak, *Two Who Were There*, chap. 13, “The Ford Organizing Committee”; Roger Keeran, “The International Workers Order and the Origins of the CIO,” *Labor History* 30 (summer 1989): 385–408.
104. The narrative of the Ford strike has been told and retold many times by historians. See, for example, Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, esp. chap. 2; Thomas, *Life for Us*, chap. 8; Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* (New York: Random House, 1949); Robert H. Zieger, *The CIO, 1933–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), chap. 6; and Nelson Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit: Walter Reuther and the Fate of American Labor* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), chap. 9.
105. Thomas, *Life for Us*, 228–30; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 67–72.
106. Marshall quoted in Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 71.
107. Quoted in Philip Bonosky, *Brother Bill McKie: Building the Union at Ford* (New York: International, 1953), 178.
108. Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 106–7.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Martin, “Detroit—Still Dynamite,” *Crisis* 51 (January 1944): 8.
2. Lichtenstein and Korstad, “Opportunities Found and Lost,” 794–96; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, chap. 4.
3. Crockett in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 167.
4. Lichtenstein and Korstad, “Opportunities Found and Lost,” 796–97.
5. Keeran, *The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union*, 218, 231–35; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Communism in the Detroit Area*. 82d Cong., 2d sess., March 10–11, 1952, 3036–45, 3117–35; William D. Andrew, “Factionalism and Anti-communism: Ford Local 600,” *Labor History* 20 (spring 1979): 227–55; James R. Prickett, “Communism and Factionalism in the United Automobile Workers, 1939–1941,” *Science and Society* 32:3 (summer 1968): 257–77. Overall, the CP’s record of support for Black demands during the war was mixed, incorporating both the submerging of civil rights work in the name of winning the war and a continuation of the party’s prewar antiracist positions, though not as consistently or as forcefully.
6. Peter J. Kellogg, “Civil Rights Consciousness in the 1940’s,” *Historian* 42 (1979): 18–41. The importance of World War II in the history of the Black freedom struggle has been given renewed prominence by contemporary historians. See, for instance, Steven Lawson, *Running for Freedom: Civil Rights and Black Politics in America since 1941* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996); Harvard Sitkoff, “African American Militancy in the World War II South,” in *Remaking Dixie: The Impact of World War II on the American South*, ed. Neil McMillen (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997), 70–92; and Megan Taylor Shockley, *We, Too, Are Americans: African American Women in Detroit and Richmond, 1940–54* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).
7. See, for example, “Hill, McClendon Supporters in Clash,” *Michigan Chronicle*,

December 5, 1942; “The NAACP Elections” (editorial) and “NAACP Candidates Make Ready for Showdown,” *Michigan Chronicle*, December 12, 1942.

8. “Rev. C. A. Hill Announces His Candidacy,” *Michigan Chronicle*, December 5, 1942. On the paper’s pro-Hill bias, see a “We Honor” segment featuring Hill and highlighting his accomplishments as an activist and organizer on December 5, the same day that Hill officially announced his candidacy, as well as the paper’s decision to print a scathing letter by Shelton Tappes on the front page criticizing the conduct of the elections (December 19, 1942).

9. The December 19 issue of the *Michigan Chronicle* carried extensive coverage of the elections and the aftermath under the banner headline “McClendon Wins Election in Stormy NAACP Elections.”

10. “Reserve Officer Told to Resign or Face Quiz,” *Detroit Free Press*, January 30, 1951. As I detail in the next chapter, Hill’s son faced difficulties because of his father’s involvement in supposedly “un-American” activities.

11. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 6.

12. Jack Raskin, Oral History Interview with Norman McRae, ca. 1970, ALHUA, 8; Dominic Capeci, *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 13.

13. Maki, Oral History, AHLUA, 8.

14. *Ibid.*, 7.

15. Knox to Bollens, Letter of Resignation, Civil Rights Congress Collection, Box 1, ALHUA; Ralph Lord Roy, *Communism and the Churches* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960), 159–60; Raskin, Oral History, ALHUA, 15.

16. The speculation on the membership numbers and composition of the CRF comes from an interview with Shelton Tappes conducted by Marshall Fields Stevenson. See his “Points of Departure, Acts of Resolve,” 136, n. 25.

17. Raskin, Oral History, ALHUA, 1–2. A similar version of this story is told in Detroit Urban League, *7th Annual “Salute to Distinguished Warriors,”* program, March 20, 1986 (Detroit: DUL, 1986).

18. “Program of the Civil Rights Federation,” Box 4, CRC Papers, ALHUA. On the complications of Black and Jewish relations in Detroit, especially the question of Jewish anti-Black racism and Black anti-Semitism, see Stevenson, “Points of Departure, Acts of Resolve”; and “African Americans and Jews in Organized Labor: A Case Study of Detroit, 1920–1950,” in *African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century: Studies in Convergence and Conflict*, ed. V. P. Franklin, Nancy Grant, Harold M. Kletnick, and Genna Rae McNeil (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 237–63.

19. Raskin, Oral History, ALHUA, 21–22.

20. Randolph, “Why I Would Not Stand for Re-election as President of the National Negro Congress,” *American Federationist* (July 1940): 24–25; Lawrence S. Wittner, “The National Negro Congress: A Reassessment,” *American Quarterly* 22 (winter 1970): 899–901. See also Mark Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity: Communists and African Americans, 1917–1936* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), for a broad overview of how the controversy fits into the evolution of the relationship between Blacks and the CP.

21. Theodore R. Bassett, “The Third National Negro Congress,” *Communist* 19 (June 1940): 547–49. For a good overview of Randolph’s relationship with the NNC, see John B. Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era: Liberalism and Race* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980), 164–70. Also helpful are Jervis Anderson,

A. *Philip Randolph: A Biographical Sketch* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1972] 1986), chap. 16; and Beth Tompkins Bates, *Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America, 1925–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 144–47.

22. The national office of the NAACP was worried that the Detroit branch and the movement there were in danger of being taken over by communists. In a typical correspondence, Walter White writes: “Does [state senator] Diggs know of the widespread belief that John Davis and the NNC are reputed to be Communist? . . . I wish you would write me confidentially about Diggs’ knowledge of the political implications of this whole situation and his affiliations.” White to McClendon, May 5, 1941, NAACP Papers, II, C, Box 86, Library of Congress.

23. The best spin on the CP’s opposition to the MOWM after the United States entered World War II is that the party believed that the MOWM’s attacks on Roosevelt and its all-Black composition would “lead to the isolation of the Negro people from their most important allies” (Keeran, *The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union*, 231). A less rosy picture is provided by Albert Parker in “Why Communist Party Attacks ‘Double V,’” *Militant*, April 4, 1942, which is also an example of the types of critiques mounted by the Socialist Workers Party during the war. On the complicated question of whether the CP abandoned the struggle for Black rights during the war, see Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), in which he challenges the perspective of total abandonment yet recognizes that the CP argued that “a too militant defense of black rights at home would interfere with the war effort” (119). On the MOWM in general, the best source remains Herbert Garfinkel, *When Negroes March* (New York: Atheneum, 1969).

24. Martin, “Detroit—Still Dynamite,” 10.

25. Randolph, “Let the Negro Masses Speak,” *Black Worker*, March 1941, 4–5.

26. *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 23, 1941; *Detroit Tribune*, June 25 and July 12, 1941; Hunter, “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work,” 294–95; and Beth T. Bates, “‘Double V for Victory’ Mobilizes Black Detroit, 1941–1946,” in Theoharis and Woodard, *Freedom North*, 17–39.

27. On the FEPC, see Louis Ruchames, *Race, Jobs, and Politics: The Story of the FEPC* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953).

28. Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 243; Brooks, *Walls Come Tumbling Down: A History of the Civil Rights Movement, 1940–1970* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 27. On the tensions raised within the Roosevelt administration by the MOWM and its demands, see Daniel Kryder, “The American State and the Management of Race Conflict in the Workplace and in the Army, 1941–1945,” *Polity* 26 (summer 1994): 603–34; as well as his *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State during World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 53–67.

29. “Call to Negro Americans to March on Washington for Jobs and Equal Participation in National Defense,” May 1, 1941, quoted in Brooks, *Walls Come Tumbling Down*, 27–28.

30. Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: Scribner’s, 1932); also Richard H. Pells, *Radical Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression Years* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 141–50. For more on the idea of mediating structures, see Peter L. Berger and Richard John Neuhaus, *The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy* (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1997).

31. On the centrality of FEPC legislation, see Sidney Fine's exhaustive *Expanding the Frontiers of Civil Rights: Michigan, 1948–1968* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000). See also Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, chap. 1, on the role of FEPC campaigns on mass mobilizations in New York; and Bates, *Pullman Porters*, chap. 8.

32. "Randolph to Adopt Gandhi Technique, Nonviolent Disobedience May Be Used," *Chicago Defender*, January 9, 1943. On the dissemination of Gandhism among Black Americans in the 1940s, see Kapur Sudarshan, *Raising up a Prophet: The African-American Encounter with Gandhi* (Boston: Beacon, 1992).

33. *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 14, 1942; *Chicago Defender*, March 14, 1942; Ralph N. Davis, "The Negro Newspapers and the War," *Sociology and Social Research* 27 (May–June 1943): 373–80.

34. *Michigan Chronicle*, July 3, 1943. See also Clive, *State of War*, 131–34.

35. Hill quoted in *Detroit Tribune*, January 22, 1940.

36. Martin, "Detroit—Still Dynamite," 10.

37. Detroit Urban League, "Negroes Beginning to Get Jobs Now: Sixteen Points on How to Make Good" (1942), DUL Papers, Box 4, MHC; Clive, *State of War*, 136–38; Thomas, *Life for Us*, 153–55; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 136–37.

38. Bledsoe, Oral History Interview with Norman McRae, ca. 1970, ALHUA, 6. On the question of class bias in civil rights organizations, see Charles Denby, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 98–99.

39. A brief history of the founding of the organization is given in "Who's Who on the Executive Board of the Metropolitan Detroit Fair Employment Practice Council," December 10, 1945, in ACTU Papers, Box 18, ALHUA.

40. Metropolitan Detroit Council on Fair Employment Practices, "Membership List" (August 1943), "Constitution and By-Laws," in CRC Collection, Box 49, ALHUA; Clarence Anderson, "Metropolitan Detroit FEPC: A History of the Organization and Operation of a Citizen's Action Group to Encourage Equal Opportunity in Employment Practice without Regard to Race, Creed, or National Origins," MA thesis, Wayne State University, 1947; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 113–14, 130, 138.

41. Fine, *Expanding the Frontiers*, 13–14; Anderson, "Metropolitan Detroit FEPC," 86–98.

42. *Michigan Chronicle*, November 21 and December 5, 1942; Minutes of Detroit NAACP Executive Board, November 9, 1942 and February 1, 2, 1943, in Gloster Current Papers, Box 1, ALHUA; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 114–16.

43. "The Social Dynamics of Detroit" (December 3, 1942), report for the Bureau of Intelligence, Office of War Information, Record Group 44, Box 1814, National Archives.

44. "Citizen's Committee Gathers Cases for F.E.P.C. Hearing," press release, January 6, 1943, ACTU Papers, Box 29, ALHUA.

45. FEPC, "Complaints Based on Religious Discrimination" (n.d.), Record Group 228, Box 404, National Archives.

46. Rev. George Higgins, "Catholics and the F.E.P.C. Case: An Analysis of Catholic Teaching and Discrimination in Railroad Employment against Negroes," *Catholic Action*, January 1944, in CRC Collection, Box 51, ALHUA. On Catholics and the ACTU in Detroit in general, see Steve Rosswurm, "The Catholic Church and the Left-Led Unions: Labor Priests, Labor Schools, and the ACTU," in *The CIO's Left-Led Unions*, ed. Steve Rosswurm (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992),

120–37. Rosswurm nicely chronicles the changes in the Catholic Church's position after 1945 from a previously "positive" approach to anticommunism that allowed it to align itself with progressive labor unions and groups to "an entirely negative one as its CIO activity became synonymous with the effort to destroy communism" (120).

47. John A. Davis, "Summary of War Production Board Report on Detroit" (September 29, 1943), Record Group 44, Box 1817, National Archives; "Urgent Need for Unskilled Labor in the Forge and Foundry Industries in this Area, 199," report, Detroit-Willow Run, Committee for Congested Production Areas, Record Group 212, Box 52, National Archives; Robert C. Weaver, "Detroit and Negro Skill," *Phylon* 4 (April–June 1943): 33–136; Thomas, *Life for Us*, 162–64.

48. Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1985), 235–40 (Hatcher quoted on 236); Paddy Quick, "Rosie the Riveter: Myths and Realities," *Radical America* 9 (1975): 115–21.

49. Gabin, *Feminism in the Labor Movement: Women and the UAW, 1935–1975* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 88–89; Shockley, *We, Too, Are Americans*, 2–3; *Michigan Chronicle*, November 14 and 21 and December 5, 1942; *Ford Facts*, December 1, 1942. For a good summary, see Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 151–53.

50. Jones estimates that as many as twenty-five thousand Black women may have remained unemployed (*Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 240).

51. Current to White, July 24, 1943, NAACP Papers, II, C, Box 86, Library of Congress; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 116–17; Minutes of Detroit NAACP Executive Board, February 1–2, 1943, Current Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.

52. Wendell R. Harrison and Donald Walden, "Discussion on Life and Music," in Moon, *Untold Tales, Unsung Heroes*, 318–22; Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 164–65.

53. Roy Brooks quoted in Moon, *Untold Tales, Unsung Heroes*, 280; also Lars Bjorn, with Jim Gallert, *Before Motown: A History of Jazz in Detroit, 1920–1960* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

54. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 112.

55. Wendell Harrison in Moon, *Untold Tales, Unsung Heroes*, 321. On Current, see "We Honor," *Michigan Chronicle*, November 14, 1942. On Cleage, see Hiley H. Ward, *Prophet of the Black Nation* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1969), 45.

56. Chad Berry, *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 1–9, 33–34; Neil Fligstein, *Going North: Migration of Blacks and Whites from the South, 1900–1950* (New York: Academic Books, 1981). On the migration to the West, see James N. Gregory, *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). See also Gregory's impressive recent volume, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

57. Adamic, "The Hill-Billies Come to Detroit," *Nation*, February 13, 1935, 177–78.

58. Friedlander, *The Emergence of a UAW Local, 1936–1939: A Study in Class and Culture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975), 121–31. Friedlander pays close attention to the problem of White southern racism and anticommunism, insisting that both dynamics led southern Whites to support Homer Martin and his rival UAW-AFL union in the elections to the National Labor Relations Board in 1940. See also Berry, *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles*, chap. 2.

59. Clive, *State of War*, chap. 5, "Tennessee and Kentucky Are Now in Michigan";

Erdmann D. Beynon, "The Southern White Laborer Migrates to Michigan," *American Sociological Review* 3 (1938): 338–48; Sugure, *Origins of the Racial Crisis*, chap. 2.

60. Jon C. Teaford, *Cities of the Heartland: The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Midwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 193.

61. Gregory, *American Exodus*, 193–94; Berry, *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles*, chap. 6; Clive, *State of War*, chaps. 4 and 5.

62. Berry, *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles*, 155–66; James C. Cobb, "From Rocky Top to Detroit City: Country Music and the Economic Transformation of the South," in *You Wrote My Life: Lyrical Themes in Country Music*, ed. Melton A. McLaurin and Richard A. Peterson (Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach, 1993), 63–79; D. K. Wilgus, "Country-Western Music and the Urban Hillbilly," *Journal of American Folklore* 83 (April–June 1970): 157–79.

63. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, pt. 8; Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith since World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

64. Berry, *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles*, 90–92, 144–55.

65. Brewster Campbell and James Pooler, "Hallelujah in Boom Town," *Collier's*, April 1, 1944, 18–19, 52–53; Clive, *State of War*, 178–80.

66. Howard Hill et al., "Survey of Religious and Racial Conflict Forces in Detroit" (September 30, 1943), Jewish Community Council [JCC] Papers, Box 685, 6–7. According to the key provided, Howard Hill conducted most of the interviews. The other research team members were: Dr. Gertrude Duncan, Judge Herefried Dugan, A. L. Campbell, and Barbara Krenger. The document is typeset but unbound. Another copy is located in the papers of the Civil Rights Congress, Box 71, ALHUA.

67. Robert Coles, *Migrants, Sharecroppers, Mountaineers*, vol. 1 of *Children of Crisis* (Boston: Little Brown, 1967); *The South Goes North*, vol. 3 of *Children of Crisis* (Boston: Little Brown, 1972). On the very similar situation among African American migrants, see Walcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 113–26, 194–204.

68. Hill et al., "Survey of Religious and Racial Conflict Forces in Detroit," 37–39.

69. Smith, Oral History, in Studs Terkel, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (New York: Random House, 1970), 324. Smith told the same story, almost verbatim, in an interview with J. Fraser Cocks III on March 26–30, 1968, in Los Angeles (Smith Papers, BHC, 15–16).

70. Hill quoted in Hill et al., "Survey of Religious and Racial Conflict Forces in Detroit," 55.

71. The split between evangelicals and fundamentalists, who began as the conservative wing of the evangelical community, took place between 1870 and 1920 and continued to develop and harden throughout the twentieth century. For an admirably clear summary of these developments, see Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*. On Norris, see Barry Hankins, *God's Rascal: J. Frank Norris and the Beginnings of Southern Fundamentalism* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996).

72. Dispensational premillennialism is a belief that we are living in an age, or dispensation, of decline and decay for Christian civilization, which is manifested in the spread of secularization and apostasy. In each age, human beings are tested and fail. Each age, we are now living in the sixth, thus ends with a catastrophic divine judgment. Our age will follow this pattern; after seven years of war, destruction, and calamity, Jesus will return to establish a literal kingdom in Jerusalem from which he

will reign for a thousand years. See Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 39-41.

73. Hankins, *God's Rascal*, 91.
74. *Ibid.*, 104-5. Both the CRF and the JCC kept extensive clipping files on Norris.
75. Hill et al., "Survey of Religious and Racial Conflict Forces in Detroit," 4.
76. On Smith's background, see Glen Jeansonne, *Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); and Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right*.
77. Smith Oral History, BHC, 13.
78. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right*, 136-37.
79. Jeansonne, *Gerald L. K. Smith*, 68-71.
80. Smith quoted in Widick, *Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence*, 89. Copies of *The Cross and the Flag* may be found in the Smith Papers, Box 5, MHC, Bentley Library, University of Michigan.
81. Ralph Lord Roy, *Communism and the Churches*, 256.
82. Tappes, "Detroit's Negro Housing Problem" (March 31, 1944), "Miscellaneous Publications," ALHUA.
83. Quoted in Bette Smith Jenkins, "The Racial Policies of the Detroit Housing Commission and Their Administration," MA thesis, Wayne State University, 1950, 30.
84. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 12-13.
85. The fullest treatment of the controversy can be found in Capeci, *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit*.
86. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 48-49; also Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 73-77.
87. Dzik quoted in Hill et al., "Survey of Religious and Racial Conflict Forces in Detroit," 35-36.
88. Dzik to C. F. Palmer of the U.S. Housing Authority (n.d.), quoted in Charles S. Johnson and Fisk University Social Science Institute, *To Stem This Tide: A Survey of Racial Tension Areas in the United States* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1943), 51; Capeci, *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit*, 78-79.
89. Hill Papers, Box 1, ALHUA; Jenkins, "The Racial Policies of the Detroit Housing Commission," 54-57; *Detroit Tribune*, February 24, 1942; CRC Collection, Box 26, ALHUA; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 176-81.
90. *Detroit News*, March 3, 17, 18, 1942; Capeci, *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit*, 132-35; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 185-87; Hill Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.
91. Bledsoe, Oral History, ALHUA, 6.
92. Martin, *Michigan Chronicle*, February 14, 1942; telegrams in Mayor's Office Papers, 1942, BHC.
93. C. E. LaReau to Hill, March 20, 1942, and Hill to LaReau, March 24, 1942, Hill Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.
94. "To Loyal and Patriotic Polish Americans Living Near Sojourner Truth Homes" (1942), in Hill Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.
95. Williams, "Hell-Brewers of Detroit," 6.
96. Belfrage, *A Faith to Free the People*, 260-61; Stanley and Margaret Nowak to Dr. Leslie Bechtel, December 5, 1944, Nowak Collection, Box 4, ALHUA. Fr. Malcolm Dade was also a supporter. He invited Williams to give the annual Labor Sunday address at St. Cyprian's in 1943. See Dade to Williams, July 5, 1943, as well as Dade to Williams, January 26, 1945, Williams Papers, Box 4, ALHUA.
97. Hill to Reverend Burnett Magruder, February 4, 1943, in Williams Collection, Box 18, ALHUA.

98. On the reordination ceremony, see *Detroit News*, May 2, 1965. For their correspondence, see, for example, Hill to Williams, January 7, 1948, and October 17, 1965, and Williams to Hill, April 1, 1965, all in Williams Papers, Box 10, ALHUA.

99. Williams and Bill Troy, “People’s Institute of Applied Religion,” copy in Williams Collection, Box 18, ALHUA; as well as Mark Naison’s two-part series, “Claude and Joyce Williams: Pilgrims of Justice,” which was published in *Southern Exposure* 1:3–4 (1974), copies in Williams Papers, Box 22. More complete biographies include Anthony Dunbar, *Against the Grain: Southern Radicals and Prophets, 1929–1959* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981); and Cedric Belfrage’s biography, *A Faith to Free the People*.

100. Naison, “Claude and Joyce Williams,” 2–3; Dunbar, *Against the Grain*, 29–33.

101. Dunbar’s *Against the Grain* provides a collective biographical portrait of these southern radicals and their impact on labor, especially the STFU, and civil rights, especially the Highlander Folk School.

102. Adams, interview with author, Detroit, July 12, 1993. The best explication of Williams’s theology is probably Belfrage, *A Faith to Free the People*; and his *South of God*. See also Robert Elwood Wenger, “Social Aspects of American Christianity, 1930–1960,” MA thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1962.

103. Dunbar, *Against the Grain*, chaps. 4 and 5; Naison, “Claude and Joyce Williams,” 4–5. On the STFU and southern radicalism in general, see Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, chap. 9.

104. Niebuhr to Ward Rogers of the STFU, September 5, 1934; Ward to Niebuhr, September 15, 1934; Niebuhr to Williams, January 17, 1935; Williams to Niebuhr, January 2, 1935, all in Williams Papers, Box 1, ALHUA. See also Naison, “Claude and Joyce Williams,” 4–7.

105. Naison, “Claude and Joyce Williams,” 6–7; Williams and Troy, “People’s Institute of Applied Religion,” 48–50. Copies of many of the charts developed during this period and later are collected in Williams Papers, Box 18, ALHUA. In subsequent years, the charts were produced by Visual Education Press (VEP) in New York City. VEP to Williams, April 9, 1943, Williams Papers, Box 2, ALHUA.

106. Williams and Troy, “People’s Institute of Applied Religion,” 50–51; Naison, “Claude and Joyce Williams,” 9–11. The correspondence between Uphaus and Williams is extensive and scattered throughout the Williams Papers. Pope is listed as a PIAR sponsor on letterhead from 1941; see Pope to Williams, n.d. (ca. 1943), Box 2, Williams Papers, ALHUA.

107. Williams and Troy, “People’s Institute of Applied Religion,” 48.

108. Naison, “Claude and Joyce Williams,” 8–10.

109. Williams to Henry D. Jones, April 3, 1942, in Williams Papers, Box 2, ALHUA.

110. Hill et al., “Survey of Religious and Racial Conflict Forces in Detroit,” 116–17. One of the survey’s authors, A. L. Campbell, had joined the PIAR in the South and come to Detroit with Williams during the war.

111. “Speech by Virgil Vanderburg—Shop Preacher, Brotherhood Squadron,” n.d., Williams Papers, Box 23, ALHUA; “Workers at Worship,” *Detroit News*, April 25, 1942; *Daily Worker*, July 5, 1943; Williams and Troy, “People’s Institute of Applied Religion,” 52.

112. Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 118.

113. Smith Oral History, MHC, 28.

114. *Wage Earner*, June 11, 1943; “Detroit Is Dynamite,” *Life*, August 17, 1942; Walter White quoted in *Detroit Free Press*, June 4, 1943.

115. There have been many fine accounts of the Detroit riot. Among the best are Harvard Sitkoff, “The Detroit Race Riot of 1943,” *Michigan History* 53 (fall 1968): 29–48; Robert Shogun and Tom Craig, *The Detroit Race Riot: A Study in Violence* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1964); and the very thorough Dominic J. Capeci, Jr. and Martha Wilkerson, *Layered Violence: The Detroit Rioters of 1943* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991).

116. On Nakane/Takahashi and the Development of Our Own, see Robert A. Hill, ed., *The FBI’s RACON: Racial Conditions in the United States during World War II* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 111–12. The quotation is from “Midsummer Madness,” *Detroit News*, June 22, 1943.

117. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 16.

118. Williams, “Someday, I’m Going Back South,” *The Worker*, April 3, 1949, 3. Williams is identified simply as a “Detroit Auto Worker.” On his experiences in Detroit, see Timothy Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 37–42.

119. Martin, “Detroit—Still Dynamite,” *Crisis* 51 (January 1944): 10.

120. Jeffries quoted in Carol O. Smith and Stephen B. Sarasohn, “Hate Propaganda in Detroit,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 10 (spring 1946): 30.

121. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Peter J. Kellogg, “Civil Rights Consciousness in the 1940s,” *Historian* 42 (1979): 18–41; Donald R. McCoy and Richard T. Ruetten, *Quest and Response: Minority Rights and the Truman Administration* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1973); Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973).

2. “Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the Detroit Council of the National Negro Congress,” June 30, 1945, NNC Vertical File, ALHUA; Thomas, *Life for Us*, 251–52.

3. Hill, campaign radio address transcript (1945), Hill Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.

4. Mary S. McAuliffe, *Crisis on the Left: Cold War Politics and American Liberals, 1947–1954* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), provides a good overview of this split nationally and its role in the creation of a “new” (anticommunist) liberalism.

5. Nowak, “Address to the Members of the Michigan Committee of the American Slav Congress” (n.d.), Nowak Papers, Box 4, ALHUA. On the deportation hearings against Nowak, see Nowak, *Two Who Were There*, 193–98, 234–37.

6. Among the fullest discussions of anticommunism inside and outside the CIO is Harvey Levenstein, *Communism, Anticommunism, and the CIO* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1981); see also Zieger, *The CIO*. For the political implications of domestic anti-communism, see also Rosswurm, *The CIO’s Left-Led Unions*; Michal Belknap, *Cold War Political Justice: The Smith Act, the Communist Party, and American Civil Liberties* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1977); Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619–1981* (New York: International Publishers, 1981), chap. 19, “The Cold War

Witch Hunts and the Black Worker”; and Kevin Boyle, *The UAW and the Heyday of American Liberalism, 1945–1968* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

7. Milton Kaufman to Jack Raskin, May 12, 1946, CRC Collection, Box 7, ALHUA; “Merger of NNC into CRC,” November 21–23, 1947, CRC Collection, Box 7, ALHUA; Louis Harp, “The Case of the Detroit Congress Chapter,” *Jewish Life*, August 1947, 3–4; Gerald Horne, *Communist Front? The Civil Rights Congress, 1946–1956* (London: Associated University Presses, 1988).

8. “The Next Step,” *Michigan Chronicle*, March 31, 1945; Henry Lee Moon, “Political Action—City Level 1945,” Michigan AFL-CIO Collection, Box 8, ALHUA. See also Moon, *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (New York: Doubleday, 1948), which extends the analysis into the national arena.

9. Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, 18–21, 44–47. J. O. Holly of the Cleveland, Ohio, Outlook League came to Detroit to explain the techniques used in the Cleveland campaign (*Michigan Chronicle*, October 13, 1945). On the Outlook League in general, see Kimberley L. Phillips, *AlabamaNorth: African-American Migrants, Community, and Working-Class Activism in Cleveland, 1915–1945* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

10. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 35; Grigsby, Oral History, ALHUA, 7.

11. Gloster B. Current, “Negro Participation in August 7, 1945 Primary in Detroit,” MA thesis, Wayne State University, 1949, 25–26. Current, then the executive secretary of the Detroit NAACP, was able to write his thesis from the perspective of a participant-observer in the Hill campaign.

12. Widick, *Detroit*, 3–4.

13. Current, “The Detroit Elections: Problem in Reconversion,” *Crisis* 52 (November, 1945): 319.

14. Current took copious notes at the meeting. See his “Negro Participation in August 7 Primary,” chap. 4 (the quotes are from an anonymous source cited on p. 32). See also “Charles C. Diggs Indicted in 1941 Race Track Plot” and “Hill Named to Run for Council,” which appeared on the same page of the *Michigan Chronicle*, March 31, 1945.

15. Simmons’s letter was printed in the *Michigan Chronicle*, May 5, 1945; the editorial is from the issue of May 12, 1945. See also Current, “The Detroit Elections,” 320–21.

16. See, for example, “Interracial Committee Backs Hill,” *Michigan Chronicle*, April 21, 1945; and “Marshall Shepard [of the CRF] Urges Support for Chas. Hill,” *Michigan Chronicle*, September 15, 1945.

17. Hill’s campaign literature, quoted here, is spread throughout his Red Squad File; and Hill Papers, Box 1, ALHUA. See also Hill Papers, Box 2, MHC, which has photocopies of some of the Red Squad file.

18. Davis’s measure did become part of New York City’s Administrative Code. See Current, “Negro Participation in August 7 Primary,” 27–28.

19. Groundbreaking ceremony at Hartford, *Michigan Chronicle*, April 1, 1945; Herman Glass, a former deacon at Hartford, interview with author, Detroit, June 7, 1993; Dorothy Johnson, interview with author, Detroit, April 13, 1993. For a broader perspective, see Charles V. Hamilton, *The Black Preacher in America* (New York: Morrow, 1972), esp. chap. 5.

20. Anonymous minister quoted in Current, “Negro Participation in August 7 Primary,” 48.

21. George W. Crockett, "Labor Looks Ahead," column, *Michigan Chronicle*, May 5, 1945. Crockett gives ten reasons why such a deal would be disastrous, from Jeffries's race and labor baiting to his mishandling of the affairs of the police department.

22. "CIO Picks UAW Leader in Campaign to Defeat Anti-labor Jeffries," *United Automobile Worker*, June 1, 1945; Current, "The Detroit Elections," 321; Current, "Negro Participation in August 7 Primary," 48–50; James Caldwell Foster, *The Union Politic: The CIO Political Action Committee* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975), 58–61.

23. Current, "Negro Participation in August 7 Primary," 51; "Walter Ruch, "Detroit Campaign Stirs Labor Hopes," *New York Times*, October 21, 1945; *Detroit News*, October 24, 1945; *Michigan Chronicle*, October 15, 1945; *Daily Worker*, September 17, 1945; Smith and Sarasohn, "Hate Propaganda," 32–34; Henry Lee Moon, "Detroit in Danger," *Crisis* 52 (January 1946): 12–13; Martin Halpern, *UAW Politics in the Cold War Era* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 41–44.

24. Current, "Negro Participation in August 7 Primary," 34–36; "Interracial Committee Backs Hill in Campaign," *Michigan Chronicle*, April 22, 1945; Horace White, "Facts in Our News" column, *Michigan Chronicle*, April 28, 1945.

25. Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 18.

26. Wilbur H. Baldinger, "The UAW: Detroit's Most Dynamic Force," *PM*, September 10, 1945, 9. In a similar vein see Martin Harvey, "Frankenstein Differs Little from Jeffries," *Labor Action*, September 24, 1945.

27. *Michigan CIO News*, August 10, 1945; *Detroit News*, August 6, 8, 1945; Current, "Negro Participation in August 7 Primary," 50; Halpern, *UAW Politics*, 4.

28. Smith and Sarasohn, "Hate Propaganda," 42–43; Jeffries, drafts of radio address, Mayor's Office Papers, 1945, Box 6, BHC. A similar sentiment is expressed in a Jeffries campaign letter, on official mayoral stationery, October 10, 1945, Frankenstein Papers, Box 2, ALHUA.

29. *Detroit News*, November 5, 1945; *Home Gazette*, October 31, 1945; Smith and Sarasohn, "Hate Propaganda," 38–39; Moon, "Danger in Detroit," 12–13.

30. *Home Gazette*, October 31, 1945, in Hill Papers, "Clippings," Box 1, ALHUA.

31. "Frankenstein Says Mayor Stirs Hate," *Detroit News*, October 23, 1945. On the housing crisis and how the issues influenced local politics, see Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, chap. 2; the 1945 campaign is discussed on pages 80–81. See also Gary Gerstle, "Working-Class Racism: Broaden the Focus," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 44 (fall 1993): 35–37.

32. "Frankenstein and Father Coughlin: Facts Every Jewish Citizen Should Know," *North Detroit*, October 31, 1945, copy in Frankenstein Papers, Box 3, ALHUA; Smith and Sarasohn, "Hate Propaganda," 40–42. There was, however, some justification since the two men had at one point been allies. *First Year Book and History of the A.I.W.A.* (December 1935), the program for an event held on December 14, was dedicated "To our advisor and supporter Father Charles E. Coughlin, the friend and educator of the masses." Copy in Frankenstein Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.

33. There are numerous slightly different versions of "Goodbye Christ." The one reproduced in part here is from Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes*, vol. 1: *1902–1941: I, Too, Sing America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 252–53. The aftershocks of the poem are discussed on pages 390–95.

34. "Gerald Smith, Rev. Hill Debate Langston Hughes Issue," *Michigan Chronicle*, May 8, 1943.

35. Sarasohn and Smith, "Hate Propaganda," 48–51; Editorial, *Wage Earner* (n.d.), Frankenstein Papers, Box 3, ALHUA. On the election results, see Halpern, *UAW Politics*, 42–43.

36. Horace White had seen it as more of a clash of personalities, a view he presented in his *Michigan Chronicle* column, December 26, 1942. This time around, McClendon declined to run for reelection and Hill was easily elected. See *Michigan Chronicle*, December 22, 1945.

37. "Branch News," *Crisis*, December 1947; "Test for Covenants," editorial, *Crisis*, November 1947; "Branch News," *Crisis*, April 1946; Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 181–83; Clement Vose, *Caucasians Only: The Supreme Court, the NAACP, and Restrictive Covenant Cases* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).

38. "Detroit NAACP Cuts Left Link," *Wage Earner*, December 20, 1946. That same year Gloster Current left Detroit to become director of branches and Edward Swan took over his job as executive secretary. By 1947, apparently, the "communist threat" had dissipated. See "Detroit NAACP Swan Has the Commies Mad" (1946), Michigan AFL-CIO Collection, Box 185, ALHUA; and Wilson Record, *The NAACP and the Communist Party* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964), chap. 5.

39. "Rev. Hill Urges Unity against Cop Brutality," *Michigan Worker*, August 21, 1949; campaign literature, Red Squad File.

40. Campaign literature, Hill Red Squad File; and Hill Papers, Box 1, ALHUA. Hill's various campaigns also got ample coverage in the *Daily Worker*, whose local correspondent, William Allen, was a friend and a political ally. See, for example, the issues of August 29, 1948; June 2 and 6, 1949; and August 11 and September 12, 1949.

41. "Hill Tells Tigers: Sign Negro Players," *Michigan Worker*, September 11, 1949. Hill sent an open letter to Tiger manager Billy Evans demanding that the team desist in its unsportsmanlike behavior. See Frank Rashid Interview, in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 147; "Virgil Gets Five Hits," *New York Times*, June 18, 1958.

42. Campaign Literature, Hill Red Squad File; "Copy of the Post Ordinance to Establish a Loyalty Investigating Committee," October 17, 1949, Michigan Committee on Civil Rights Papers, Part 3, Box 15, ALHUA. The list of individuals and organizations opposing the so-called Loyalty Amendment was long. It included members of the CRC and the Lawyers Guild, as well as the Michigan Federation of Teachers and the ADA. See the flyer "We Urge You to Vote No on 144 City Charter 'Loyalty' Amendment," Michigan Committee on Civil Rights Papers, Part 3, Box 15, ALHUA.

43. Hill was one of the signers of a national petition urging a ban on the use of atomic weapons and the control of atomic power by the United Nations, where its use would be subject to vetoes by the United States and the Soviet Union. The measure was advocated by the Soviet Union and supported by the American Communist Party. See "23 From Michigan Sign A-Bomb Plea," *Detroit Times*, December 14, 1949.

44. "Open Letter to U.S. Senator Homer Ferguson: What the Rearmament of Western Germany Means to the American People" (1951), signed by Hill, Stanley Nowak, and Isadore Starr, a local attorney. Copy in Hill's Red Square File. The letter was more than likely part of Hill's support of the leftist American Peace Crusade, an organization that opposed the Marshall Plan and the Korean War. Hill was one of the sixty-five initial sponsors of the group. See *Michigan Worker*, February 1, 1951; and "City Wide Conference Sets Program for Peace," *Detroit Times*, February 4, 1951. On

the movement in general, see Robbie Lieberman, *The Strangest Dream: Communism, Anticommunism, and the U.S. Peace Movement, 1945–1963* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

45. For a more extensive analysis of the relationship between the MDCP and the Michigan CRC, see Edward Pintzuk, “Going Down Fighting: The Michigan Communist Party after World War II,” PhD diss., Wayne State University, 1992, 91–96. My operative definition of a “front group” is one initiated and/or guided, though not necessarily “controlled,” by the CP. The term need not have a negative connotation. In fact, as Pintzuk demonstrates, there is ample evidence that the Michigan CRC and the older Civil Rights Federation were also arms of the MDCP.

46. “Stanley Nowak to Dear Sir” (n.d.), Nowak Collection, Box 4, ALHUA; Jack Raskin to Milton Kaufman and Milton Kemnitz, August 21, 1946, CRC Collection, Box 7, ALHUA; *The Issues* (newsletter of the Michigan CRC), September 14, 1946, and “Press Release,” September 4, 1946, CRC, Box 50, ALHUA; *Daily Worker*, December 23, 1946; “Draft Memorandum for Campaign for Michigan State FEPC” (n.d.), CRC Papers, Part II, Reel 26, ALHUA.

47. “Current Notes,” *Michigan Chronicle*, December 14, 1946.

48. *Plymouth Beacon*, October 23, 1946.

49. Hill, “Press Release,” September 14, 1946, CRC Collection, Box 50, ALHUA.

50. Hill, “Red-Baiting the FEPC to Death,” *Jewish Life*, August 1947, 16.

51. Dorothy Johnson Interview; “Progress Report, Initiative Petition Campaign” (n.d.), CRC Collection, Box 50, ALHUA.

52. Committee for a State FEPC, “Press Release,” November 24, 1946, CRC Collection, Box 50, ALHUA. For a similarly worded statement made by clergymen, see *Detroit News*, October 12, 1946.

53. Anne Shore to Jeffries, “Draft of the Proclamation for FEPC Day,” November 9, 1946, CRC Collection, Box 50, ALHUA; Mayor’s Office Papers, 1946, Box 7, BHC. The proclamation was issued on April 17, 1946, and declared a Fair Employment Practice Week from April 22–29, 1946. Jeffries also joined the National Committee to Abolish Poll-Tax and issued a proclamation declaring March 24–29, 1946, Abolish the Poll-Tax Week.

54. *Wage Earner*, October 18, 1946.

55. Bledsoe, Oral History, ALHUA, 7, 9.

56. On the lobbying efforts of the Michigan Manufacturers’ Association see Fine, *Expanding the Frontiers*, chap. 1, which has a good overview of the entire campaign.

57. Hill, “Red-Baiting,” 16–17; “Factional Fight Hampers FEPC,” *Michigan Chronicle*, January 4, 1947; “Michigan Council for Fair Employment Legislation, Meeting of Sponsors,” January 3, 1947, UAW Fair Practices Papers, Box 8, ALHUA; Stevenson, “Points of Departure,” 408–12; “Michigan High Court Bars FEPC from April 7 Ballot,” *UAW Fair Relations Fact Sheet*, 1:1 (March 1947); Fine, *Expanding the Frontiers*, 17–21.

58. *To Secure These Rights: The Report of the President’s Committee on Civil Rights* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1947); Schermer, “Proposals for Action,” November 27, 1947, and “To Secure These Rights” (n.d.), UAW Fair Practices Papers, Box 8, ALHUA; Fine, *Expanding the Frontiers*, 20–22.

59. Wallace Campaign Letter to UAW, quoted in Norman D. Markowitz, *The Rise and Fall of the People’s Century: Henry A. Wallace and American Liberalism, 1941–1948* (New York: Free Press, 1973), 271.

60. Athan Theoharis, "The Rhetoric of Politics: Foreign Policy, Internal Security, and Domestic Politics in the Truman Era, 1945-1950," in *Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1970), 242-68; Peter H. Irons, "American Business and the Origins of McCarthyism: The Cold War Crusade of the United States Chamber of Commerce," in *The Specter: Original Essays on the Cold War and the Origins of McCarthyism*, ed. Robert Griffith and Athan Theoharis (New York: New Viewpoint, 1974), 172-89.

61. Barton Bernstein, "Walter Reuther and the General Motors Strike of 1945-1946," *Michigan History* 49 (September 1965): 260-65; David M. Oshinsky, "Labor's Cold War: The CIO and the Communists," in Griffith and Theoharis, *The Specter*, 116-51; Halpern, *UAW Politics in the Cold War Era*, chap. 4; Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in America*, 228-46.

62. Among the best studies of the postwar strike wave is George Lipsitz, *A Rainbow at Midnight: Labor and Culture in the 1940s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), chaps. 5, 6, and 7.

63. Public Laws, Ch 120, 80th Cong., 1st sess., 1947, 144; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Education and Labor, *Amendments to the National Labor Relations Act, Hearings*, 80th Cong., 1st sess., 1947, 2129-39.

64. Halpern, *UAW Politics in the Era of the Cold War*, chap. 6; Keeran, *The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union*, chap. 6.

65. On Reuther's relationship with the Left, see Kevin Boyle, "Building the Vanguard: Walter Reuther and Radical Politics in 1936," *Labor History* 30 (summer 1989): 433-48; and Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in America*, chap. 3.

66. "Ernest Goodman and the National Lawyers Guild" and Ernest Goodman, "Reflections on the Dismissal of the Attica Indictments," in *A Tribute to Ernest Goodman, Saturday, December 13, 1980*, Norman McRea Collection, Box 16, ALHUA.

67. Prickett, "Communism and Factionalism," 257-77; Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in America*, 251-54, 317-23.

68. Horace Sheffield, Oral History Interview by Herbert Hill and Roberta McBride, Detroit, July 24, 1968, ALHUA, 8-9, 10.

69. Hill, Red Squad File; "60 Leading Ministers Join Campaign for Wallace-Taylor," *Michigan Worker*, August 14, 1948, and October 3, 1948. On the religious aspects of the campaign and the involvement of clergy, see Roy, *Communism and the Churches*, 206-9.

70. *Daily Worker*, August 15, 1948.

71. Graham J. White, *Henry A. Wallace: His Search for a New World Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 274. On Wallace and the Progressive Party, see also Curtis Daniel MacDougall, *Gideon's Army* (New York: Marzani and Munsell, 1965); and Markowitz, *The Rise and Fall of the People's Century*.

72. White and Maze's *Henry A. Wallace* does a better job than most with the religious and spiritual dimensions of Wallace's life. Henry A. Wallace, *Statesmanship and Religion* (New York: Round Table Press, 1934), is a fascinating volume that reveals the extent of Wallace's engagement with Old Testament prophets, especially Amos and Isaiah.

73. "Sadowski, Hill and Nowak Together in Primary," *Daily Worker*, September 12, 1948. George Sadowski was running for reelection to Congress. Hill's slogan was "End Jim Crow in the Common Council." Crockett served as his campaign manager. See "Hill States Issues Facing Council Hopefuls," *Michigan Chronicle*, September 4, 1948; and *Michigan Chronicle*, August 21, 1948.

74. Rank and File Committee for Wallace, Ford Local 406, "Read It for Yourself!" Nat Ganley Collection, Box 2, ALHUA; Halpern, *UAW Politics in the Cold War Era*, 243-45.

75. "No Third Party in '48: Text of a Radio Address by CIO President Philip Murray over the National Broadcasting Company, January 30, 1948," CRC Collection, Box 97; CIO-PAC, press release, January 22, 1948, and Jack Kroll to Dear Sir and Brother, January 30, 1948, UAW-Political Action Division Papers, Box 1; Reuther et al., To All Members of UAW-CIO Local Unions 453, October 22, 1948, UAW-Political Action Division Papers, Box 2, all in ALHUA. The letter from Reuther and his colleagues is representative of many that were sent out, stating: "Because we are advised that some of the officers of your Local Union refuse to cooperate 100% with UAW-CIO and CIO-PAC in this election campaign, we are taking this opportunity of coming directly to you to ask your personal participation in the International Union's political action program."

76. UAW-CIO Public Relations Department, Political Action Resolution Adopted by International Executive Board, March 3, 1948, UAW-Political Action Division Papers, Box 2, ALHUA; "Detroit ADA Organizing Committee" (n.d.), and ADA, "General Purposes," March 18, 1947, ACTU Papers, Box 9, ALHUA; *ADA Review* 1:5 (November 1947), Michigan AFL-CIO, Box 185, ALHUA; "The A.D.A. and the Liberal-Democratic Movement in the Past Decade," Reinhold Niebuhr Papers, Box 1, Library of Congress; Record, *Race and Radicalism*, 156-58.

77. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 110-11.

78. Hill ran for Congress in 1951 but did not get beyond the primary. See *Michigan Worker*, July 22 and 29, September 9, 1951. Hill did have the support of Ford Local 600. See *Detroit Tribune*, September 9, 1951.

79. Wallace quoted in Nowak, *Two Who Were There*, 222-23; see also "Nowak Faces Party Ouster," *Detroit News*, September 2, 1948.

80. Patterson to Wilkins, November 14, 1949; Wilkins to Patterson, November 22, 1949; Patterson to Wilkins, November 29, 1949, all in NAACP Papers, II, A, Box 195, Library of Congress; Record, *Race and Radicalism*, 180-81.

81. Quoted in Hershel Hartman, "FEPC Crusaders in Washington," *Jewish Life*, March 1950, 7. See also Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, 165-68; Record, *Race and Radicalism*, 153-56.

82. "Publicity" (n.d.), NAACP Papers, II, A, Box 193, Library of Congress.

83. Hartman, "FEPC Crusaders," 7.

84. Patterson to Raskin, November 9, 1949, National CRC Papers, Part II, Reel 27, ALHUA.

85. Pintzuk, "Going Down Fighting," 93-94, 135-37. Pintzuk was able to interview Raskin about the relationship between the CP and the CRC and quotes from it extensively. See Shore to Aubrey Grossman, July 10, 1950, CRC Papers, Reel 47; and Horne, *Communist Front?* 289-93.

86. Arthur McPhaul, Oral History, ALHUA, 7-8; Interview with author, Detroit, April 9, 1994.

87. Bledsoe, Oral History, ALHUA, 5-6; McPhaul, Oral History, ALHUA, 18-19.

88. "Minutes and Correspondence, Executive Board Meeting," September 15, 1950, CRC Collection, Box 95, ALHUA.

89. Schrecker, "McCarthyism and the Decline of American Communism,

1945–1960,” in Brown et al., *New Studies on the Politics and Culture of U.S. Communism*, 132.

90. Pintzuk, “Going Down Fighting,” 98–104; N-CRC Papers, Boxes 81 and 82, microfilm, Michigan CRC Collection, Box 62, ALHUA.

91. “Coroner’s Jury to Sift Shooting,” *Detroit News*, June 12, 1948. The same edition carried a picture from Mosely’s funeral under the banner “Communist Leaders at Boy’s Funeral” with an arrow denoting the MDCP’s Carl Winter. Detroit Chapter, Michigan Committee on Civil Rights, “Leon Mosely Case,” *Bulletin*, January 5, 1949, in JCC Papers, Box 418, ALHUA; “Report on Leon Mosely Case by Edward Swann, Executive Secretary NAACP” (n.d.), in JCC Papers, Box 418, ALHUA; Pintzuk, “Going Down Fighting,” 105–9.

92. Hill quoted in Pintzuk, “Going Down Fighting,” 107.

93. Starobin quoted in Schrecker, *New Studies in the Politics and Culture of U.S. Communism*, 133; see also Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972). He had been the foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*. The Michigan Six were Saul Wellman, a Spanish Civil War vet; Thomas Dennis; Nat Ganley; Philip Schatz; Helen Winter, the wife of Carl Winter, who was jailed as a result of the first Smith Act trial in New York; and William (“Billy”) Allen, editor of the *Michigan Worker* and Michigan correspondent for the *Daily Worker*. See press releases, October 19 [1953] and October 27, 1953, CRC Collection, Box 36, ALHUA; and Goodman, Crockett, Eden, and Robb to Anne Shore, November 10, 1953, on payment, or lack thereof, for legal services, CRC Collection, Box 36, ALHUA.

94. McPhaul, “HUAC in Detroit” (n.d.), CRC Collection, Box 75, ALHUA.

95. “Fact Sheet on the McPhaul Case” (n.d.), CRC Collection, Box 94, ALHUA.

96. “6 Subpoenaed for Red Quiz,” *Detroit News*, February 19, 1955; “Women Hunted in Red Quiz after Fleeing Subpoena,” *Detroit News*, February 26, 1952; “Missing Woman Teacher Makes Surprise Appearance at Inquiry,” *Detroit News*, February 27, 1952.

97. HUAC, *Hearings on Communism in Detroit*, I, 2891; “Congressman Rakes Rev. Hill as Red,” *Detroit Free Press*, February 27, 1952; “Red Inquiry Widened to 6 Michigan Cities, Rev. Hill Also Heard,” *Detroit News*, February 27, 1952; “Negro Minister Linked to Party,” *Detroit News*, February 28, 1952.

98. “Majority of Ministers Backing Rev. Hill’s Position,” *Detroit Courier*, March 8, 1952.

99. “The Rev. Hill Answers Rev. White,” *Michigan Chronicle*, December 1, 1951; “Rev. Hill Too Hot to Handle,” *Detroit Courier*, March 1, 1952.

100. Dade’s statement was reprinted in “Colored Pastor Assails Reds,” *Detroit Times*, February 29, 1952; and “Negro Pastor Defends Pastor,” *Detroit News*, February 29, 1952. A longer version, “The Detroit Negro Spurns Communism,” was submitted to (and rejected by) the *Christian Century*. A copy is in Dade’s Papers, Box 5, BHC. Dade was named to the city’s Loyalty Commission in 1949. *Detroit Free Press*, February 1, 1949.

101. On the Turner testimony, see *Detroit News*, February 27, 1952; and “A Warrior for Civil Rights,” *Detroit Free Press*, March 9, 1983.

102. Dorothy Johnson, interview with author. Johnson was a longtime member of Hartford and served as Hill’s personal secretary during the 1950s. Hill’s Red Squad File does, however, include a few flyers posted near his church asking people to stay

away from his “Red Church,” as well as letters asking for a full investigation of his activities. The source of these flyers and letters, none of which was signed, was never ascertained. Young discusses the circulation of recordings of his testimony in *Hard Stuff*, 130–31; see also Smith, *Dancing in the Streets*, 242–43.

103. “Five ‘Pro Commies’ Fired from Local 600,” *Detroit News*, March 22, 1952; “Background of Senator Nowak Case” (n.d.), ACTU Papers, Box 29, ALHUA.

104. Simmons, Oral History, ALHUA, 10.

105. Crockett in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 168.

106. *Labor Action*, March 4 and 17, 1952.

107. *Labor Action*, March 12, 1951; Widick, *Detroit*, chap. 8.

108. Irving Richter, “How a Young Pilot Beat a Disloyalty Charge,” *Detroit Courier*, May 5, 1951. The magazine section carried a full spread on the case (Hill, interview with author).

109. Goodman in Moon, *Untold Tales, Unsung Heroes*, 266.

110. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 110–14; “The Buck Dinner: 50 Years of Dedication to the Causes of Equality, Peace, and Justice, 1919 to 1979,” commemorative pamphlet, Norman McRae Collection, Box 16, ALHUA.

111. “Rev. Williams, Reordained, Vows Continued Rights Fight,” *Daily Worker*, May 1965; “Taint of Heresy Fades on the Way to Triumph,” *Detroit News*, May 2, 1965. Joyce and Claude Williams greeted another generation of southern civil rights activists with open arms. See, for example, “A White Man’s View of Black Power: Claude Williams Calls the Concept a Positive Development,” *National Guardian*, December 3, 1966; and Naison, “Claude and Joyce Williams,” 7–9.

112. Hill to Members of Hartford (n.d.), Hill Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.

113. Bledsoe, Oral History, ALHUA, 2; “Robeson Sings and Speaks to 6000 in Detroit,” *Freedomways*, May 1953; “Robeson at Rev. Hill Fete, Blasts People’s Enemies,” *Michigan Worker*, November 29, 1953. As late as 1963, Hill’s church was open to communists. See, for example, “Ben Davis Fights for Negro Rights as Red Leader,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 3, 1963, about Davis’s appearance at Hartford. This observation finds its way into most conversations about Hill. In recent years, Hartford has honored Hill’s willingness to stand by Robeson. Until it was destroyed by a fire, a large and beautiful portrait of Robeson was prominently displayed in the Charles A. Hill Chapel at the church’s new facilities on the northwest side of Detroit.

114. Wynn, *The NAACP versus Negro Revolutionary Protest: A Comparative Study of the Effectiveness of Each Movement* (New York: Exposition Press, 1955), 47, n. 56.

115. This wonderful description of Hill is from Abner W. Berry, “Behind Detroit’s Elections,” *New Masses*, November 6, 1945, 5. On the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, see John W. Sherman’s *A Communist Front at Mid-Century: The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 1933–1959* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001).

116. Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 156–65.

117. Young quoted in Mindy Thompson, “The National Negro Labor Council: A History,” Occasional Paper no. 27 (New York: American Institute for Marxist Studies, 1978), 13; see also Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, chap. 20.

118. Brown quoted in Thompson, “The National Negro Labor Council,” 25; “Call to the Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council,” CRC Collection, Box 2, ALHUA.

119. “Brownell Adds to Our Country’s Shame: Statement by National Negro Labor Council” (New York: NNLC, 1956), Ernest Thompson Collection, Schomburg Center, New York Public Library.

120. Thompson, “The National Negro Labor Council,” 35–40; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 266–68; Hill, Oral History, ALHUA, 7–8.

121. “Special FEPC Bulletin: To All Members and Friends of the Civil Rights Congress, and the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born” (fund-raising letter), July 28, 1951, CRC Collection, Box 49, ALHUA; *Detroit Courier*, May 5, 1951.

122. “25 Groups Back FEPC,” *Detroit Courier*, June 6, 1951; “FEPC Urged to Foil Reds,” *Detroit News*, June 27, 1951.

123. *Detroit Tribune*, August 14, 1951; *Detroit Courier*, August 4, 1951; *Michigan Chronicle*, July 28, 1951; Reuther quoted in Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 295.

124. “FEPC Petition Kept off Ballot,” *Detroit News*, October 6, 1951.

125. Fine, *Expanding the Frontiers*, chap. 2, provides a good overview of how the act was finally enacted.

126. Young quoted in Thompson, “The National Negro Labor Council,” 73–75.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Young quoted in Thompson, “National Negro Labor Council,” 79–80.

2. In 1956 there were no more than twenty thousand party members in the United States. By 1958, in the wake of Nikita Khrushchev’s 1956 revelations of Stalin’s crimes and the invasion of Hungary, party membership dropped to only three thousand. See Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer . . . : The Death of the Old Left and Birth of the New Left* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

3. See, for example, Loren Miller, “Farewell to Liberals: A Negro View,” *Nation*, October 20, 1962, 235–38.

4. For a broader perspective see Eva Mueller, *Location Decisions and Industrial Mobility in Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1982); and Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).

5. Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 160–63.

6. Joe T. Darden, Richard Child Hill, June Thomas, and Richard Thomas, *Detroit: Race and Uneven Development* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 100–103.

7. Nancy Gabin, “Women Workers and the UAW in the Post-World War II Period, 1945–1954,” *Labor History* 21 (winter 1979–80): 5–30.

8. Allen quoted in Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 114; Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 309–11; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, chap. 7.

9. When government economists assessed these conditions, they did so in terms of the Metropolitan Detroit region, which presented a rosier picture and tended to obscure the actual conditions in the city proper. See Widick, *Detroit*, chap. 9; and Darden et al., *Detroit*, chap. 2.

10. DCCR, “The Negro in Detroit” (1961), DCCR Collection, Series III, Box 12, ALHUA; Joel D. Aberbach and J. L. Walker, *Race in the City: Political Trust and Public*

Policy in the New Urban System (Boston: Little, Brown 1973), 7–17. See also Amy Maria Kenyon, *Dreaming Suburbia: Detroit and the Production of Postwar Space and Culture* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004).

11. Darden et al., *Detroit*, 202–13. Crockett had been in danger of losing his practice because of his defense of communists and suspected communists in the 1950s. He managed to overcome the negative associations and was elected to Recorder's Court in 1966. William T. Patrick Jr. was the son of the attorney for whom Reverend Hill had apprenticed back in the 1910s before deciding to devote his life to the ministry.

12. "Biography of Rev. Dr. Nicholas Hood, Sr.," copy in author's possession; Hood, interview with author, Detroit, June 2, 2005.

13. Herb Boyd in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 78; Berry Gordy, *To Be Loved: The Music, the Magic, the Memories of Motown* (New York: Warner Books, 1994), 169; Smith, *Dancing in the Streets*, 6–8.

14. DCCR, "The Negro in Detroit"; Darden et al., *Detroit*, 151–200. See also George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Benefit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).

15. Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 49–50. Jeffries served from 1940 to 1948, followed by Eugene Van Antwerp, 1948–50; Albert Cobo, 1950–57; Louis Miriani, 1957–62; and Jerome P. Cavanagh, 1962–70.

16. Harold Black, "Urban Renewal: A Program Involving a Multiplicity of Participants," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1973; Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, chap. 7; Darden et al., *Detroit*, 166–70.

17. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 144.

18. "Twelfth Street Study" (1961), Jerome P. Cavanagh Papers, Box A-8, ALHUA; George Henderson, "Twelfth Street: An Analysis of a Change Neighborhood," *Phylon* 25 (1964): 91–96. On the often tense relationship between Blacks and Jews in the area, see Stevenson, "Points of Departure," chap. 8; and Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 242–45.

19. Hood, interview with author.

20. *Ibid.*; Darden et al., *Detroit*, 172–73; "Plymouth Congregation Meets Community Needs," *Michigan Chronicle*, August 4, 1962. See also *Michigan Chronicle*, February 3 and June 16, 1962.

21. Hood, interview with author. Details on the church's housing ministry can be found on the Plymouth Web site: <http://www.puccdetroit.org>.

22. Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 109–222.

23. Hood, e-mail to author, May 29, 2005, in my possession.

24. Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, chap. 2; Steven M. Miller, "The Montgomery Bus Boycott: A Case Study in the Emergence and Career of a Social Movement," in *The Walking City: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–1956*, ed. David J. Garrow (Brooklyn: Carlson, 1989), 381–605; Douglas Brinkley, *Rosa Parks* (New York: Penguin, 2000).

25. NNLC, "An Open Letter to the AFL-CIO: The Only Road to Labor Unity Is Equality and Democracy for All" (1955), CRC Collection Box 2, ALHUA.

26. "Meany Vows Fight on Bias When Labor's Ranks Unite," *New York Times*, February 27, 1955; "Report of the Resolutions Committee on Civil Rights, 1955," in *Proceedings of the First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO* (New York: AFL-CIO, 1955),

109–13; “AFL-CIO Seats Two Negroes,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 5, 1955. All of these are reprinted in Philip S. Foner and R. L. Lewis, eds., *Black Workers: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

27. “AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee,” CIO Secretary-Treasurer’s Collection, Box 195, ALHUA; James Gross, “NAACP, AFL-CIO and the Negro Worker,” PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1962; Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 312–22; Bruce Nelson *Divided We Stand: American Workers and the Struggle for Black Equality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 232–43, 294. The AFL-CIO and certain member unions, including the UAW, did contribute funds to civil rights organizations, although the relationship between labor and the New Left was often strained at points. See Peter B. Levy, *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

28. King, *Stride toward Freedom, in A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King Jr.*, ed. James M. Washington (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986), 476.

29. This critique of the southern movement has been put forth in a number of studies, most notably, Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People’s Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage, 1979). For a general summary of this argument, see James MacGregor Burns and Stewart Burns, *A People’s Charter: The Pursuit of Rights in America* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 325–38.

30. On the early involvement of Nixon, Rustin, and Parks, see Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), chap. 5; and John D’emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York: Free Press, 2003).

31. Flyer for “Freedom and Justice Rally,” November 13, 1955, and “Lecture Notes—Till,” Dillard Collection, Box 3, ALHUA; Stephen J. Whitefield, *Death in the Delta: The Story of Emmett Till* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

32. Denby, *Indignant Heart* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 184–85.

33. Dillard in Moon, *Untold Tales, Unsung Heroes*, 157–60; Dillard interview with author, Detroit, August 21, 1993.

34. “An Open Letter to the White People of Mississippi” (1956), “Records of the Citizen Committee” (1955–56), and “Lecture Notes,” all in Dillard Papers, Box 2, ALHUA. On the anti-Stalinist Left in general, see Alan Wald, *The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1960s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), chap. 10; and Robert J. Alexander, *International Trotskyism, 1929–1985: A Documented Analysis of the Movement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 834–42.

35. “A Black official,” quoted in Sidney Fine, *Violence in the Model City: The Cavanagh Administration, Race Relations, and the Detroit Riot of 1967* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989), 37.

36. Arthur L. Johnson, “A Brief Account of the Detroit Branch of the NAACP” (1958), NAACP Papers, III, Box C64, Library of Congress; Detroit Branch Annual Report, 1952, NAACP Papers, II, Box A90, Library of Congress.

37. On the NALC see Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, chap. 22; and Nelson, *Divided We Stand*, 272–75. Copies of the NALC founding program, as well as its constitution, are in Dillard Papers, Box 2, ALHUA.

38. Horace Sheffield, Oral History Interview with Hebert Hill and Roberta McBride, Detroit, July 24, 1968, 7–8, 10 (used by permission of Herbert Hill). Sheffield was reportedly recruited into the SWP by Edward Keemer, a Black Trotskyist and well-known doctor in Detroit who performed abortions. See his autobiography, *Confessions of a Pro-Life Abortionist* (Detroit: Vinco Press, 1980). See also Erwin Baur to Alan Wald, August 18, 2000 (used by permission of Alan Wald).

39. On the TULC in general, see Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 49–59. It is also the case, as Thompson notes on page 51, that “some TULC leaders hailed from the historically combative and left-wing Local 600.”

40. *Vanguard*, September 1961. The *Vanguard* was the official paper of the TULC.

41. Dillard in Moon, *Untold Tales, Unsung Heroes*, 158; Sheffield quoted in Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 170. There was an exchange of charges of countercharges in the pages of the *Michigan Chronicle*, August 4 and 11, 1962.

42. “Trade Union Leadership Council: Experiment in Community Action—Interviews with Robert Battle III and Horace Sheffield,” *New University Thought*, October 1962, 25.

43. Dillard, interview with author. This lack of public discussion was confirmed by Marilyn Adams (interview with author, Detroit, February 21, 1995). White labor activist and Shachtmanite (yet another group that split from the SWP) B. J. Widick was also active in the TULC and served a stint on its Executive Board (Widick, interview with author, Ann Arbor, Michigan, November 5, 1993).

44. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 330–37; also Cornelius C. Thomas, “The Trade Union Leadership Council: Black Workers Respond to the United Automobile Workers, 1957–1967,” *New Politics* 38 (winter 2005): 124–37.

45. Dillard, “Negro Report,” July 4, 1954, Dillard Papers, Box 3, “SWP” Folder, ALHUA; “Questions of the American Revolution: Conversations in Detroit between James Boggs and Xavier Nicholas” (spring 1973), 9–10, copy in the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan.

46. “Discrimination Action Committee” (n.d.) and Records of the Committee, Dillard Papers, Box 1, ALHUA.

47. Johnson in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 199.

48. Oscar and Dolores Paskal, interview with author, Detroit, March 19, 1994; Dillard, interview with author. See also Boggs in Moon, *Untold Tales, Unsung Heroes*, 154–55.

49. Kimberly Thomas, “Hunger for Justice Helped Integrate Restaurants,” *Detroit News*, February 20, 1995.

50. Marilyn Adams, interview with author, Detroit, February 12, 1994. Adams, whose married name is Dillard, is the author’s mother. She is not related to Ernie and Jessie Dillard, who were nonetheless close friends and mentors.

51. United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Hearings on Housing and Job Discrimination against Negroes*, December 14, 1960, 86–89; “US Rights Unit Gets Full Report on Job Bias in the City,” *Michigan Chronicle*, October 24, 1960; *Detroit News*, October 15, 1960; Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 49–51.

52. Hill, “AFL-CIO and the Black Worker: Twenty-Five Years after the Merger,” *Journal of Intergroup Relations* (spring 1982): 15–17; “Meany Must Go,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 11, 1962; Stevenson, “Points of Departure,” chap. 8.

53. *Vanguard*, quoted in Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 165–66.

54. The TULC's Willie Baxter issued a stinging rebuke to Meany ("Black Workers Answers Meany on Civil Rights"), and Chris Alston spoke at a Friday Night Labor Forum on Meany and civil rights. See *Michigan Militant*, November 14, 1959; and Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 235.

55. The complex relationship between the UAW and the civil rights movement is slightly beyond the scope of this present study, and the debate about it continues to be waged, especially between historians Nelson Lichtenstein and Herbert Hill. See Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit*, esp. ch. 16; Hill, "Lichtenstein's Fictions: Meany, Reuther, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act," *New Politics* 7 (summer 1998): 83–102; "Lichtenstein's Fictions Revisited: Race and the New Labor History," *New Politics* 7 (winter 1999): 148–63; and Lichtenstein, "Walter Reuther in Black and White: A Rejoinder to Herbert Hill," *New Politics* 7 (winter 1999): 133–47.

56. "Cavanagh Campaign," *Vanguard*, November 1, 1961; *Detroit News*, October 16, 1961; "TULC in '5 Plus 1' Campaign," *Michigan Chronicle*, October 21, 1961; City Election Committee, "Official Canvas of Votes Cast, September 12, 1961 Primary," in Dillard Papers, Box 2, ALHUA; Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 12–16; Widick, *Detroit*, 151–56; Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 165–66; Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 30–32.

57. On Sheffield and Spottswood, see "It Began with a Conversation," *Michigan Chronicle*, January 6, 1961; see also *Michigan Chronicle*, November 11, 18, 1961.

58. Tom Nicholson, "Detroit's Surprising Mayor," *Harper's*, December 1963; Fine, *Frank Murphy*; Fine, *Violence in the Model City*.

59. Edwards quoted in *Kerner Report: The 1968 Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Pantheon, [1968] 1988), 85.

60. Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 24; Dorothy B. Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride: The Walter Bergman Story* (Detroit: ACLU Fund Press, 1989); "A Deserved Tribute to Dr. Bergman," *Michigan Chronicle*, March 17, 1962. On Liuzzo, see Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 165.

61. *Michigan Militant*, March 13, 1960; Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* chap. 2. The *Michigan Militant* was the local SWP newspaper.

62. TULC flyer and TULC to "Dear Freedom Fighter," November 1, 1961, Dillard Papers, Box 2, ALHUA; Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 162; Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* chap. 2.

63. Young, *Hard Stuff*, 168–69.

64. Watson in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 88; Smith, *Dancing in the Streets*, chap. 1; Gerald Early, *One Nation under a Groove: Motown and American Culture* (Hopewell, NJ: Ecco Press, 1995).

65. Stanley H. Brown, "Slow Healing of a City," *Fortune*, June 1965; Widick, *Detroit*, chap. 10.

66. Hamlin in "BWC [Black Workers Congress] Leader Looks at Past, Sees New Strategy," *Guardian*, February 28, 1973; also Geschwender, *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency*, chap. 4; Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, chap. 1; Thompson, *Whose Detroit?*

67. Georgakas in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 292; Baker in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 305.

68. Hamlin in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 85.

69. "Ken Cockrel: Revolutionary Black Attorney," *Michigan Chronicle*, September 20, 1967; Rod Bush, "Victory of a Black Radical: Interview with Ken Cockrel," in *The*

New Black Vote: Politics and Power in Four American Cities, ed. Rod Bush (San Francisco: Synthesis Press, 1984), 181–98; Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, 73–77.

70. Tripp quoted in *Michigan Chronicle*, October 19, 1963.

71. Johnson in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 50.

72. Robert D. Sherad, “The Social Responsibility of the Negro Church,” *Freedomways*, spring 1962, 134. Cleage’s critique of the Black church is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

73. Josaitis in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 41.

74. Shelia Murphy Cockrel in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 181; Kenneth Cockrel, Interview with Sidney Fine, Detroit Riot Oral History Project, August 26, 1985, transcript in BHC.

75. Posa in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 55–56.

76. Biography of Ravitz in Mel Ravitz Collection, ALHUA.

77. “The Block Club Movement within the Detroit Tenth Police Precinct,” May 1962, DUL Papers, Box 36, MHC; Charles E. West, “The Role of the Block Clubs in the Detroit Civil Disorder of July 1967,” MA thesis, Wayne State University, 1970.

78. DCCR, “Some Comments regarding the West Central Organization” (n.d.), DCCR Papers, III, Box 21, ALHUA; *Michigan Chronicle*, November 6 and 13, December 5 and 12, 1965; *Detroit News*, August 15 and 17, December 15, 1965; *Detroit Free Press*, December 11, 1965.

79. Information on block clubs, including their newspapers and meeting minutes, are scattered throughout the papers of the DUL at the Bentley Library, in the papers of the NAACP and the Ernest and Jessie Dillard Papers in ALHUA, and in the pages of the *Michigan Chronicle* and *Detroit Courier*, both of which tended to focus on the social aspects of the clubs.

80. Sims in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 34.

81. Cockrel in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 181–82. On Alinsky and his methods, see Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (New York: Vintage, 1969); Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals* (New York: Vintage, 1971); and P. David Finks, *The Radical Vision of Saul Alinsky* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984).

82. Baker in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 99.

83. Kramer in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 103.

84. *Ibid.*, 103–4. On gender and the league in general, see Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 168–69, 171–72.

85. Baker quoted in Darrell Dawsey, “An American Revolutionary,” *Detroit News*, April 21, 1992; Hamlin in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 86. On the influence of James and Grace Lee Boggs in general, see Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, 15–16; and Geschwender, *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency*, 80, 83–84, 88.

86. Dawsey, “An American Revolutionary”; “Biographical Information—James Boggs,” James and Grace Lee Boggs Papers, Box 3, ALHUA; Grace Lee Boggs, *Living for Change: An Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), chap. 4.

87. Boggs, *Living for Change*, chap. 1; “Biographical Information—Grace Lee Boggs,” James and Grace Lee Boggs Papers, Box 4, ALHUA.

88. The very complicated history of the SWP and Trotskyism in general can be told through a series of factions, tendencies, and splits. At the time when James and

Dunayevskaya formed their own tendency there were two other major factions within the party, which eventually split over the question of the Soviet Union after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact. The first group, led by James P. Cannon (“Cannonites”), an ex-CP member and one of the founders of American Trotskyism, agreed that while the Soviet Union was a degenerate workers state it still merited defense in the face of Western imperialist aggression. The second group, led by Max Shachtman (“Shachtmanites”) viewed the Soviet Union not as a workers’ state of any kind but as a new form of class society that had developed a system of bureaucratic collectivism. The latter refused to defend the Soviets and adopted a “third-camp” perspective in opposition to both the Soviet Union and the United States. In 1940, the Shachtmanites left the SWP and formed the Workers Party. The Johnson-Forest tendency belonged to this faction until it reentered the SWP in 1947. See Wald, *The New York Intellectuals*; James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (New York: Pioneer, 1944); and Buhle, *Marxism in the United States*, chap. 6.

89. However, their critique of the Soviet Union and Stalinism did not prevent the U.S. government from attacking them as a subversive organization. SWP members were among the first to be tried under the Smith Act, and the failure of the CP to come to their defense increased the bitterness between the two groups. See Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism*, chap. 4. On the persecution of the SWP by the government, see Nelson Blackstock, *COINTELPRO: The FBI’s Secret War on Political Freedom* (New York: Pathfinder, 1988).

90. James, Dunayevskaya, and Lee, *State Capitalism and World Revolution* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, [1950] 1989).

91. James, “Philosophy of History and Necessity” (1943), quoted in Paul Le Blanc, “Introduction: C. L. R. James and Revolutionary Marxism,” in *C. L. R. James and Revolutionary Marxism: Selected Writings of C. L. R. James, 1939–1949*, ed. Scott McLemee and Le Blanc (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1994), 20.

92. James, “The Revolutionary Answer to the Negro Problem in the United States” (1948), reprinted in McLemee and Le Blanc, *C. L. R. James and Revolutionary Marxism*.

93. James, “Three Black Women Writers: Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, Ntozake Shange” (1981), reprinted in *The C. L. R. James Reader*, ed. Anna Grimshaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 414–15. The Boggsses were for a time very supportive of Cleage and his attempts to build a Black Christian nationalist movement. See, for example, their “Detroit: Birth of a Nation,” *National Guardian*, October 7, 1967; and Grace Lee Boggs, *Living for Change*, 121–23.

94. James et al., *Report and Discussion on Break with S. W. P.* (1951), quoted in Le Blanc, “Introduction: C. L. R. James and Revolutionary Marxism,” 17. The Johnson-Forrest tendency left the Workers Party in 1947 and rejoined the SWP only to leave the Trotskyist movement entirely in 1950. In 1953 the SWP suffered a further split led by Bert Cochran, who rejected Trotskyism as unrealistic in cold war America and rejected the SWP as an overly sectarian defender of a sterile orthodoxy. Like the group led by Max Shachtman, the Cochranites moved closer to the Socialist Party and then to a more diffuse social democratic position. See Wald, *The New York Intellectuals*, 298–304.

95. A number of works note the influence of *Correspondence* and Dunayevskaya’s *Notes and Letters* group in introducing young radicals to some of James’s ideas. See, for

example, Dan Georgakas, “Young Detroit Radicals, 1955–1965,” in a special issue of *Urgent Task* dedicated to James (summer 1981); Geschwender, *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency*, 83–84; and Grace Lee Boggs, *Living for Change*, 99–109.

96. For a good discussion of this phase of James’s life see Scott McLemee, “Afterword: American Civilization and World Revolution—C. L. R. James in the United States, 1938–1953 and Beyond,” in McLemee and Le Blanc, *C. L. R. James and Revolutionary Marxism*, 221–32; and Paul Buhle, *C. L. R. James: The Artist as Revolutionary* (Verso: London), chaps. 3 and 4.

97. On Dunayevskaya’s career, see Richard Greeman, “Raya Dunayevskaya: Thinker, Fighter, Revolutionary,” *Against the Current* 12–13 (January–February and March–April 1988): 55–57. See also Dunayevskaya’s *Philosophy and Revolution* (New York: Dell, 1973).

98. Once the Boggses left, Martin Glaberman led what remained of the group (twenty-five members nationally with about half in Detroit) until he dissolved it in 1970. Glaberman was himself another important conduit of cross-generational influence. He taught classes on Marx’s *Capital*, for instance, that were attended by a number of young radicals. See his “C. L. R. James: A Recollection,” in McLemee and Le Blanc, *C. L. R. James and Revolutionary Marxism*, 45–52.

99. James Boggs’s “The American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker’s Notebook” first appeared in *Monthly Review* (July–August 1963) and was widely read in Detroit at the time. See also James Boggs, *Racism and the Class Struggle: Further Pages from a Black Worker’s Notebook* (New York: Monthly Review, 1970); and James Boggs and Grace Lee Boggs with Freddy Paine and Lyman Paine, *Conversations in Maine: Exploring Our Nation’s Future* (Boston: South End Press, 1978).

100. James, *Marxism and the Intellectuals* (Detroit: Facing Reality, 1962), 25; Le Blanc, “Introduction: C. L. R. James and Revolutionary Marxism,” 18–19. On her break with James, see Grace Lee Boggs, *Living for Change*, 107–13.

101. James was the primary author of the SWP’s first resolution, “Negro Work,” which grew out of a series of discussions he had with Trotsky. Both are included in *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, ed. George Breitman (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1967).

102. See, for example, Breitman’s *Marxism and the Negro Struggle* (New York: Merit, 1965); and *How a Minority Can Change Society: The Real Potential of the Afro-American Struggle* (New York: Merit, 1965).

103. Naomi Allen and Sarah Lovell, eds., *A Tribute to George Breitman: Writer, Organizer, Revolutionary* (New York: Fourth Internationalist Tendency, 1987), especially the reminiscence of Evelyn Sell, 20–24.

104. Hill’s Red Squad File cites his attendance at four forums throughout the late 1950s.

105. Robert Williams, *Negroes with Guns* (New York: Marzani and Munsell, 1962), 12; Charles Jones, “SNCC: Nonviolence and Revolution,” *New University Thought* 3 (September–October 1963): 8–19; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 214–17 on the King-Williams debate and the ways in which King essentially invents a Williams to criticize. On armed self-defense in general, see Lance Hill, *The Deacons for Defense: Armed Resistance and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

106. Van Gosse, *Where the Boys Are: Cuba, Cold War America, and the Making of a New Left* (London: Verso, 1993), 152–53. Gosse credits Williams with being in the fore-

front of the Black-Cuban connection, which began to receive a good deal of attention in the wake of Castro's weeklong stay in Harlem's Theresa Hotel. Castro was warmly received in Harlem and was able to meet with a number of Black political figures, including Malcolm X and Robert F. Williams. Rosemary Mealy, *Fidel and Malcolm X: Memories of a Meeting* (New York: Ocean Press, 1993); Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 220–25.

107. Robert Himmel [then the SWP candidate for mayor], "Freedom Rides Hailed, but Pacifism Won't Stop Terror," *Michigan Militant*, June 1961; Gosse, *Where the Boys Are*, 153–54.

108. Lynn, *There Is a Fountain: The Autobiography of Conrad Lynn* (Brooklyn: Lawrence Hill, 1979), 185 and chap. 13; also the exchange of letters between Lynn and Williams in the Williams Papers, Box 3, MHC.

109. Baker in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 307.

110. Lynn, *There Is a Fountain*, 185 and chap. 16.

111. Boyd in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 78–79.

112. Baker in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 307.

113. See, for example, *Michigan Militant*, March 6 and 14, April 15, and June 10, 1960, and May 5, 1961. Gosse has an extensive discussion of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the role of the SWP in its development in his *Where the Boys Are*, chap. 5.

114. Baker in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 307; "75 Students Defy Cuba Travel Ban," *Militant*, June 22, 1964. In the wake of the trip they were all investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee. *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, September 14, 1964.

115. House in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 83. On the influence of Cuba on young Black activists in SNCC, especially Stokely Carmichael, see Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 272–77; see also Tony Martin, "Rescuing Fanon from the Critics," *The Pan-African Connection: From Slavery to Garvey and Beyond* (Dover, MA: Majority Press, 1983), chap. 12.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power*.

2. Cleage, *Black Christian Nationalism*, 16.

3. Boggs, *Living for Change*, 119; Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 34–35.

4. Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 38, 43. The story of the Cleage children not being allowed to play with darker children was related by Bermecia (Hill) Morrow, interview with author. The two families lived within blocks of each other.

5. Barbara (Cleage) Martin, phone interview with author, June 23, 2005; "The Early Outreach Ministry of Jaramogi Abebe Ageyman (Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr.), 1928–1950," in *The Shrines of the Black Madonna Jubilee Celebration, August 1–3, 2003* (Detroit: PAOCC, 2003), 29; Jaramogi Menelik Kimathi, interview with author, June 23, 2005, Detroit.

6. Cleage, "Message to the Black Nation," *Michigan Chronicle*, July 20, 1968. On the declaration of Black inferiority, see Cleage, *Black Christian Nationalism*, xxv–xxviii. As early as 1952, Cleage preached a sermon condemning the evils of intraracial color prejudice as a practice that comes from mimicking white society. "Rev. A. B. Cleage Condemns Evil," *Michigan Chronicle*, February 23, 1952.

7. Cleage, "An Epistle to Stokely," 42–43. Cone and Cleage developed very dif-

ferent theological ideas about the Blackness of God. For Cone, the concept became highly abstracted and metaphysical, so much so that everyone is invited to “become Black with God” through an acknowledgment of solidarity with the exploited and dispossessed of the world. This is what it means to be like God since, as Cone put it, “Either God is identified with the oppressed to the point that their experiences become his, or he is the god of racism.” Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (New York: Lippincott, 1970), 120–21.

8. Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 30–31; Barbara (Cleage) Martin, phone interview.

9. On Dunbar, which was originally located on St. Antoine Street and Frederick, see Elizabeth Anne Martin, *Detroit and the Great Migration, 1916–1929* (Ann Arbor: Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, 1993), 42–45; Grigsby quoted in Thomas, *Life for Us*, 183.

10. Bowles was also regarded as incompetent and corrupt. In July 1930, voters decided to recall him, facilitating the election of Frank Murphy. Sidney Fine, *Frank Murphy: The Detroit Years* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1975), 206–11. After the change of administrations, Dr. Cleage retained his position. Cleage’s account of being beat up because of Bowles is in Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 40.

11. Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 40–41.

12. Barbara (Cleage) Martin, phone interview; Cleage, “What’s Wrong with Our Schools,” *Illustrated News*, February 12, 1962; Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, chap. 5, “The Monster Schools.”

13. Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 47.

14. *Ibid.*, 42; “The Early Outreach Ministry,” 29. Dade’s early admiration for Hill surely helps to account for his strong defense of Hill during the 1952 HUAC hearings. Many others also had fond memories of St. Cyprian’s youth ministry, including future judge Damon Keith. Keith to Dade, February 25, 1983, in Dade Family Private Collection. Especially memorable was the fact that Dade allowed dances at his church at a time when this was rare for African American churches. Margaret Dade, interview with author, Detroit, June 25, 2005.

15. Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 49–50; Reverend White’s obituary, *Detroit Free Press*, February 11, 1958; Dukes, “Clergy Integral Part of Leadership Growth.”

16. Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 48–51.

17. Cleage, *Black Christian Nationalism*, 109.

18. Jaramogi Kimathi, interview with author.

19. On neo-orthodox theology in general, see Williams, *America’s Religions*, 348–51.

20. Ward discusses Cleage’s interest in neo-orthodox theology on pages 102–10 of *Prophet of a Black Nation*. On Niebuhr’s influence on King and others involved in the civil rights movement, see Chappell, *A Stone of Hope*, esp. chap. 2.

21. Cleage quoted in Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 103.

22. *Ibid.*, 42.

23. Cleage quoted in *ibid.*, 102–3. The critique of King by Black theologians on these grounds was prevalent during the late 1960s and early 1970s. More recently, James H. Cone, among others, has begun to reevaluate their previous assessments. See, for example, Cone, *Malcolm and Martin and America* (New York: Orbis, 1994).

24. Cleage, “Dr. King and Black Power,” in *The Black Messiah*, 210–11.

25. Thurman, *Footprints of a Dream: The Story of the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959).

26. Cleage, “New-Time Religion,” in *The Black Messiah*, 110.

27. Cleage’s assessment of Fisk might be unfair given Fisk’s civil rights work among African Americans and Japanese Americans, not to mention Thurman’s high regard for his colleague. On Fisk, see Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 54–55.

28. For Thurman’s description of Tagore, see his autobiography, *With Head and Heart* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 129. That this might also be a good description of Thurman himself is suggested by Vincent Harding in his introduction to *For the Inward Journey: The Writings of Howard Thurman*, ed. Anne Spencer Thurman (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), ix.

29. Thurman, “Mysticism and Social Change” (1939), reprinted in *A Strange Freedom: The Best of Howard Thurman on Religious Experience and Public Life*, ed. Walter Earl Fluker and Catherine Tumber (Boston: Beacon, 1998), 108–23; also Thurman, *Search for Common Ground: An Inquiry into the Basics of Man’s Experience of Community* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1986).

30. Along with Thurman’s autobiography, see the brief biographical sketch in Fluker and Tumber, *A Strange Freedom*, 1–17.

31. Thurman, “The Fellowship Church of All Peoples” (1945), reprinted in Fluker and Tumber, *A Strange Freedom*, 221–22.

32. Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited*, in *For the Inward Journey*, 124–25.

33. *Ibid.*; Cleage, “New-Time Religion,” 110–11. On his use of Exodus symbolism, see “We Are God’s Chosen People,” “But God Hardened Pharaoh’s Heart,” “The Promised Land,” and “Coming in out of the Wilderness,” all in *The Black Messiah*. On the tendency to equate Jesus and Moses and the stress on the Exodus in African American Christianity, see Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Raboteau, *Fire in the Bones*; and Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), 254–55, 272–27. On the problem with Paul in Black religious thought, see Amos Jones Jr., “In Defense of the Apostle Paul: A Discussion with Albert Cleage and James Cone,” DD thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1975, 1–42.

34. “The BCN Message and Mission: Revolutionary Transformation,” and “Messiah,” in *10th Anniversary of Shrine #10: National Tribute to Jaramogi Abebe Agyeman* (N.p., June 1987).

35. Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 56; “The Early Outreach Ministry,” 31. Film-making seems to have been the road not taken for Cleage, but once he made his decision to pursue other avenues for reaching the Black masses he apparently never looked back. Years later, in the 1980s, some camera equipment arrived for Cleage and he simply let it sit untouched. Jaramogi Kimathi, interview with author.

36. Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, chap. 4

37. Quotes from interviews conducted by Ward and reproduced in his *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 62–64; “Early Outreach Ministry,” 31–32.

38. “Rev. A. B. Cleage Condemns Evils,” *Michigan Chronicle*, February 23, 1952.

39. Cleage quoted in “Early Outreach Ministry,” 37. This phase in Cleage’s career is discussed on pages 36–38.

40. Cleage quoted in the *Michigan Chronicle*, February 3, 1962. Ward also found a great deal of evidence pointing to Cleage’s continued interest in youth during his time in Springfield.

41. Cockrel Interview with Fine, BHC, 12.

42. “Early Outreach Ministry,” 38.

43. On the Henry brothers, see Ernest Dunbar, “The Making of a Black Militant,” *Saturday Review of the Society*, December 16, 1972, 25–32, copy in Norman McRae Collection, Box 18, ALHUA; Grace Lee Boggs, *Living for Change*, 119–20; and Salvatore, *Singing in a Strange Land*, 232–35, 274–76.

44. Evans, quoted in Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 47; “Early Outreach Ministry,” 39. On the overall importance of the Black press, see Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.*, 2d ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990).

45. Cleage, “The Negro in Detroit” (Chapter Four), *Illustrated News*, December 18, 1961. He was obviously influenced by the work of the Black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States* (New York: Collier, [1957] 1962). Many of his ideas are also closely aligned with the early writings of Black theologian and historian Joseph Washington. See, for example, Washington’s *Black Religion* (Boston: Beacon, 1964), in which he argues for the distinctiveness of African American Christianity while also casting aspersions on the “inauthenticity” of the idea of Black theology—a view he would come to soften in his second book, *The Politics of God* (Boston: Beacon, 1967). Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, 246, n. 49, 210–11.

46. Cleage, *Black Christian Nationalism*, 75.

47. Cleage, “The Negro in Detroit” (Chapter Five), *Illustrated News*, January 1, 1962.

48. Cleage was responding to a letter from a White man who insisted that his church was happily interracial. “Reverend Cleage Tells You about Negro Separatism,” *Detroit Free Press*, September 16, 1968.

49. Symposium, “Race Prejudice in Jazz: It Works Both Ways,” *Down Beat*, March 15 and 29, 1962; Frank Kofsky, *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music* (New York: Pathfinder, 1970). For a good discussion of Roach and Lincoln’s politics, see Eric Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz? African Americans as Artists, Musicians, and Activists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 169–76, 181–89; as well as Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 170–71, 188–89).

50. “Abbey Lincoln and Black Nationalism,” *Illustrated News*, December 3, 1962.

51. Cleage, “Message to the Black Nation” (column), *Michigan Chronicle*, August 3, 1968.

52. On the conventions and the Black arts movement in Detroit and elsewhere in general, see James Edward Smethurst’s wonderfully informative and engaging study *The Black Arts Movement: Literary Nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 226–28, 334; Julius E. Thompson, *Dudley Randall, Broadside Press, and the Black Arts Movement in Detroit, 1960–1995* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999); and Melba Joyce Boyd, *Wrestling with the Muse: Dudley Randall and the Broadside Press* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). On the Revolutionary Action Movement, see Hill, *The Deacons for Defense*, 221–24; Boggs, *Living for Change*, 125, 134; and Cockrel Interview with Fine, 30–31.

53. *Illustrated News*, January 22, 1962.

54. “Cleage Cites ‘Apathy’ of Civic Groups,” *Michigan Chronicle*, February 10, 1962. The selective-buying campaign was conducted by the Negro Preachers of Detroit and Vicinity. Initiated in August 1961, the group claimed success in gaining Black employment at the Taystee Bread Company, Wonder Bread, Ward Baking Company, Sealtest Dairy, Borden’s, Standard Oil, Mobil Oil, and the *Detroit News*. See *Michigan Chronicle*, April 28, 1962, and January 19, 1963.

55. “Didn’t Cavanagh Get the Message?” *Illustrated News*, January 8, 1962; “Our New Mayor Bears Watching,” *Illustrated News*, January 15, 1962; “Open Letter to Cavanagh,” *Illustrated News*, November 20, 1961.

56. “Council Assails Racism,” and “Racism Defended by Cleage,” *Michigan Chronicle*, August 4, 1962; “Commission Censors ‘Illustrated News,’” *Michigan Chronicle*, August 11, 1962.

57. “What’s Wrong with Our Schools?” *Illustrated News*, December 18, 1961; “Little Rock Comes to Detroit,” *Illustrated News*, January 15, 1962; “Teacher Continues a Northwestern Exposé,” *Illustrated News*, February 29 and March 5, 1962.

58. Cleage quoted in “Rev. A. B. Cleage, Center of Controversy,” *Michigan Chronicle*, February 3, 1962.

59. Marilyn Gittell and T. E. Hollander, *Six Urban School Districts* (New York: Praeger, 1968); National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, *Detroit, Michigan: A Study of Barriers to Equal Opportunity in a Large City* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 1967).

60. See, for example, William R. Grant, “Community Control vs. School Integration: The Case of Detroit,” *Public Interest* 24 (summer 1971); and especially Derek Edgell, *Class Wars: The Movement for Community Control of New York City’s Schools, 1966–1970* (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellen, 1998).

61. Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 42–45.

62. “Rev. A. B. Cleage, Center of Controversy”; Richard Henry quoted in the *Illustrated News*, November 13, 1991. The group had its first informal meetings in October 1961 and was incorporated as a nonprofit educational organization in April 1962. “GOAL,” in Rosa Parks Papers, Box 2, ALHUA; *Michigan Chronicle*, June 16 and 23 and July 14, 1962. A pamphlet from 1963 lists Richard Henry as president, Henry King as first vice president, Edward Broom as second vice president, Henry Leon as treasurer, James Hurst as financial secretary, O. Lee Molette as general counsel, Constance Molette as recording secretary, and Vivian Broom as corresponding secretary, with an Executive Board rounded out by William Bell, Milton Henry, Octavia Vivian Henry, Alphonso Wells, and the Rev. Albert Cleage Jr. George Breitman Papers, Box 47:1, Robert F. Wagner Archives, Tamiment Library, New York University (cited hereafter as RFW-NYU).

63. “Cleage Cites ‘Apathy’ of Civic Groups,” *Michigan Chronicle*, February 10, 1962.

64. Cleage, “Parents Protest Segregation—Court Action Threatened,” *Illustrated News*, January 15, 1962; *Detroit News*, January 21 and 23, 1962; *Michigan Chronicle*, January 20 and 27, February 3, and March 10, 1962. On Hill and the Northwestern strike in general, see *Michigan Chronicle*, October 20 and 27 and November 3, 1962.

65. Dunbar, “The Making of a Militant,” 29.

66. “School Report Supports Sherrill Parents Bias Suit,” *Illustrated News*, March 19, 1962; “Race Bias Breeds Hate,” *Illustrated News*, April 14, 1962; *Michigan Chronicle*, January 27, July 7, and August 18, 1962; Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 47–49.

67. Cleage, “The Strange Role of Dr. Remus Robinson on the School Board,” *Illustrated News*, April 2, 1962; “School Boycott Shaping Up for Fall,” *Illustrated News*, August 27, 1962.

68. The quotation is actually from the fall of 1963, when the millage was again up for a vote, but it is wholly representative of the editorials produced earlier that year. “Millage Extremists Follow Path of Chaos,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 2,

1963. The attacks on Cleage and GOAL grew worse leading up to the November vote, especially after the paper ran articles on massive layoffs of teachers and crumbling facilities.

69. “Rev. Cleage, Horace Sheffield Debate Millage,” *Michigan Chronicle*, March 30, 1963; as well as his column on March 23, 1963. On the DCPE, see *Michigan Chronicle*, January 26 and February 23, 1963. On Robinson, see “Speakers Urge Millage Support,” *Michigan Chronicle*, March 2, 1963; and Ofield Dukes, “Mich. Chronicle to Analyze School Millage Proposal,” *Michigan Chronicle*, March 9, 1963 and related stories on March 16 and 23, 1963. On the CORE debate, see *Michigan Chronicle*, March 16, 1963; “Cotillions Caught in Millage Hassle,” *Michigan Chronicle*, March 23, 1963 (the group was criticized for not taking a position); and *Michigan Chronicle*, February 2 and 23 and March 2, 1963.

70. “We Defeated the Millage,” *Illustrated News*, April 8, 1963; *Detroit Free Press*, April 7, 1963. Seeing the glass as half full, the *Michigan Chronicle* was insistent on the fact that most African Americans seemed to have supported the millage. “Center District Votes 60% for Millage,” *Michigan Chronicle*, April 6, 1963. It also ran a series of stories and editorials warning of the dire consequences of the millage being voted down by extremists and racists. See, for example, “1,000 Local Negro Teachers Face Loss of Jobs in 1964,” *Michigan Chronicle*, May 25, 1963; as well as the lead editorial on the same day and on November 2, 1963.

71. “Is Urban Renewal Blight or Boon to the Negro?” *Detroit Courier*, September 15, 1962, and September 29, 1962.

72. Patrick quoted in *Detroit Courier*, September 15, 1962.

73. Cleage, “Negro Churches Can Not Be Forced out of Medical Center,” *Illustrated News*, February 12, 1962.

74. “GOAL Defines Position on Urban Renewal,” *Illustrated News*, March 5, 1962; “Urban Renewal: Patrick and the Real Issues,” *Illustrated News*, April 2, 1962.

75. “Negro Churches Cannot Be Forced,” *Illustrated News*, February 12 and September 17, 1962; Henry Cleage, “Can They Place the Negro out of the Near Inner City?” *Illustrated News*, November 27, 1961; Harold Black, “Urban Renewal: A Program Involving a Multiplicity of Participants,” PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1973, 39–42; Darden et al., *Detroit*, 167–73.

76. Clarence C. White, “Community Organization, Participation, and Interaction in Renewal Areas of Detroit,” MA thesis, Wayne State University, 1964, 51–69; “Detroit Fellowship Aids Churches,” *Michigan Chronicle*, June 29, 1963; “Groups Merge in Fight against ‘Negro Removal,’” *Michigan Chronicle*, June 8, 1962.

77. Hood’s statement from 1970 quoted in Phil Corner, “Years Moderate Cleage’s Fury,” *Detroit News*, April 13, 1976; Hood, interview with author.

78. Detroit Commission on Community Relations, “Inter-office Correspondence, Re: UHURU” (September 15, 1963), DCCR Papers, III, Box 21, ALHUA.

79. Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 27.

80. Luke Tripp quoted in Dukes, “UHURU Leader Says: ‘Must Crush White Man,’” *Michigan Chronicle*, October 19, 1963; “UHURU Says US Has ‘Racist, Savage Society,’” *Detroit Courier*, October 19, 1963; Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 109; Boggs, *Living for Change*, 125, 140, 175.

81. Detroit Commission on Community Relations, “Inter-office Correspondence, Re: UHURU,” July 15, 1963, DCCR Papers, III, Box 21, ALHUA.

82. *Ibid.*; Baker in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 306.

83. Baker in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 306.

84. *Ibid.*, 306; *Detroit News*, October 15 and 16, 1963; *Detroit Free Press*, October 12 and 15, 1963.

85. *Detroit Courier*, November 30, 1963; *Michigan Chronicle*, October 26, 1963. On the dispute at the Kroger picket between Detroit CORE and UHURU, see “CORE Moves Out,” *Detroit Courier*, October 19, 1963.

86. B. J. Widick, TULC member and independent socialist, interview with author, April 15, 1995, Detroit. The pickets at TULC are also mentioned in Dukes, “UHURU Leader Says: ‘Must Crush White Man.’”

87. The “Mau Mau Maoist” reference did not originate with Dukes. It is a quote from an unidentified UHURU member: “On the international scene our orientation is Mau Mau Maoist . . . and we support the Cuban Revolution 100 percent” (*Michigan Chronicle*, October 19, 1963). See also “Citizens React against Booming at Ceremonies,” which was published in the *Michigan Chronicle* on the same day. Dukes revisits the parallel subversive elements today and the CP in previous struggles in a November 16, 1963, column.

88. “GOAL Supports Jailed Pickets,” *Michigan Chronicle*, October 19, 1963. GOAL president Richard Henry did, however, express his opposition to booing the National Anthem.

89. Detroit Supporters of SNCC, “Fund-raising Letter” (September, 1962), Detroit NAACP Papers, Box 19, ALHUA. The group was attempting to raise bail for Watson, Kemp, and two other young Detroiters.

90. Baker, *Detroit Lives*, 306; “UHURU On Trial!” flyer for prehearing rally at Woodward and Fort Street, November 15, 1963, Breitman Papers, Box 47:1, RFW-NYU; *Detroit Courier*, November 30, 1963; *Detroit News*, April 28, 1964; “Mistrial Is Ruled in Booming Case,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 3, 1964.

91. On Cockrel and Ravitz’s legal strategies, see Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* esp. chap. 6; as well as Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, chap. 9.

92. DCCR, “Inter-office Correspondence: UHURU” (August 13, 1963), DCCR Papers, III, Box 21, ALHUA.

93. Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 105–7. As Fine points out (105), before the Scott affair the police department’s Community Relations Board had not received a single brutality complaint in nearly six months.

94. *Illustrated News*, July 22, 1963; *Detroit Free Press*, July 6, 9, and 14 and August 8, 1963; *Michigan Chronicle*, July 13, 20, and 27 and August 3, 1963.

95. These and other protests are summarized in Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 106–7. On the protest at police headquarters, at 1300 Beaubien, see Boggs, *Living for Change*, 126; Salvatore, *Singing in a Strange Land*, 256–59; and *Michigan Chronicle*, July 13, 20, and 27 and August 3, 1963.

96. Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 107, 150; Tinker, *When the Fire Reaches Us* (New York: William Morrow, 1970), 142. The novel is filled with negative depictions of the relations between Blacks and the police.

97. Cleage, “The Detroit NAACP Is a Joke to People Everywhere,” *Illustrated News*, March 4, 1963; Cleage, “Grapes of Wrath,” in *The Black Messiah*, 139.

98. “Questions of the American Revolution,” 10–11.

99. “Rev. C. L. Franklin Continues Attack on Prophet Jones,” *Michigan Chronicle*, June 18, 1955. Prophet Jones was a fascinating and very popular presence in Detroit. Before his ministry was destroyed by his arrest on charges of homosexual solicitation,

his church had thousands of members and received a good deal of media coverage. See, for example, “Prophet Jones: Bizarre Detroit Evangelist Builds Himself a \$2 Million Kingdom in the Slums,” *Ebony*, April 1950, 67–72; “Preview for the Prophet,” *Time*, March 2, 1953, 2; “The Prophet Jones,” *Newsweek*, January 12, 1953, 7; and John Kobler, “Prophet Jones: Messiah in Mink,” *Saturday Evening Post*, March 2, 1955, 20–21, 74–77. Horace White had raised questions about Jones as early as 1944 (“Prophet Jones—Not a Strange Phenomenon,” *Michigan Chronicle*, December 9, 1944).

100. On Franklin, see Salvatore, *Singing in a Strange Land*; as well as my review, “A Preacher in Motown,” *New York Times*, February 9, 2005.

101. Salvatore, *Singing in a Strange Land*, 249. His account of the preparations, negotiations, and difficulties leading up to the march is the best currently available. See also Smith, *Dancing in the Streets*, chap. 1.

102. “Negro Ministers Vote ‘Hands Off,’” *Detroit Free Press*, June 12, 1963. To a large extent, much of the dispute over the march was reported on in the press, both Black and white.

103. “Ministers Row over March,” *Michigan Chronicle*, June 1, 1963. Jose Rames, in “Racial Anatomy of a City,” *New University Thought*, September–October 1963, which includes a section on the dispute over the march, notes that there were also questions raised about the DCHR’s handling of funds. Word of the dispute also reached King and the SCLC, and there was a suggestion that he “gracefully withdraw” from leading the Detroit march. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 842–43.

104. The march was postponed once because of the NAACP, and the dispute was taking on the character of an open feud. *Michigan Chronicle*, May 25 and June 22, 1963; *Detroit News*, June 25, 1963. Arthur Johnson, Interview with Sidney Fine, July 23, 1984, Detroit Riot Oral History Project, BHC, 11–12.

105. A recording of King’s speech was released by Gordy Records (#906), and distributed by Motown as part of its Black Forum series. Gordy, *To Be Loved*, 248–50; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 843.

106. “Conversations in Detroit between James Boggs and Xavier Nicholas,” 10; “Early Outreach Ministry,” 40.

107. While Johnson admitted “sharp personal differences” on “programs and tactics,” he denied evidence of a split “of any consequence among the responsible leaders of the community.” Johnson and Del Rio quoted in *Detroit News*, July 22, 1963.

108. “Plan Rights Group Patterned on King’s,” *Detroit News*, November 6, 1963.

109. Worthy was also close to Robert Williams. “ACLU Challenges Government in Conviction of Worthy,” *Militant*, February 10, 1964, and March 3, 1964. Williams, Lynn, and Worthy were all active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and supportive of Castro and other Cuban revolutionaries. See Gosse, *Where the Boys Are*, esp. chap. 5.

110. The history of the short-lived FNP has not been well documented, and there is some discrepancy about the details of its founding. The best account is in Van Gosse, “More Than Just a Politician: Notes on the Life and Times of Harold Cruse,” in *Harold Cruse’s The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual Reconsidered*, ed. Jerry Watts (New York: Routledge, 2004): 17–40.

111. Franklin quoted in *Detroit Courier*, November 16, 1963; Del Rio quoted in *Detroit News*, November 10, 1963. Sidney Fine gives a brief overview of the rival conferences in *Violence in the Model City*, 28–29; see also Smith, *Dancing in the Streets*, 54–59. Salvatore (*Singing in a Strange Land*, 260) contends that Cleage’s decision to

resign from the DCHR was sudden, but contemporary sources suggest that the break had a longer gestation period. See “Cleage-Franklin Split Brewing for Long Time,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 2, 1963.

112. Reverend Franklin blamed the low turnout on confusion about times and locations. “Northern Negro Leadership Conference ‘a Failure,’” *Detroit Courier*, November 16, 1963; *Detroit News*, November 10 and 11, 1963; “Conversations in Detroit between James Boggs and Xavier Nicholas,” 10–11.

113. Salvatore, *Singing in a Strange Land*, 261. On Merritt and the alliance, see “Leaders ‘Withdrew Support from Two ‘Splinter’ Groups,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 16, 1963; and “Franklin Tiffs with Merritt at Alliance,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 2, 1964.

114. “Message to the Grass Roots,” in *Malcolm X Speaks*, ed. George Breitman (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1965): 3–17, quote on page 10. On the conference, see also GOAL, “Call to the Northern Negro Grass-Roots Leadership Conference to be held in Detroit, November 9–10,” October 30, 1963; as well as “Resolutions Passed at the Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference, Detroit, Michigan, November 9–10, 1963,” both in Breitman Papers, Box 48:2, RFW-NYU. For coverage of the conference, see “Malcolm X Blasts ‘Big Six,’” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 16, 1963.

115. Sterling Gray, “Man of the Year: Reverend Albert B. Cleage, Jr., Architect of a Revolution,” *Liberator*, December 1963, 8. Dan Watts and Gray of the *Liberator* staff attended the conference and reported on it. Recordings of the proceedings are available in the Audio and Visual Division of ALHUA.

116. Cleage quoted in *ibid.*, 9. Gray attempts to smooth over the distinction between land and power: “Power or land, power AND land, the Northern revolution was on.” On Cleage’s rejection of the RNA, see “Reverend Cleage Tells You about Negro Separatism,” *Detroit Free Press*, September 1, 1968. See also Milton R. Henry, “An Independent Black Republic in North America,” in *Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason*, ed. Raymond L. Hall (New York: Pergamon, 1977), 33–40.

117. The debate between Breitman and Cleage took place on February 24, 1967, and was reprinted as, “Myths about Malcolm X: Two Views,” *International Socialist Review*, September–October 1967, 33–60. Also see Breitman’s *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary* (New York: Pathfinder, 1967). On Cleage’s previous appearance, see “Rev. Cleage Speaks at Socialist Forum,” *Michigan Chronicle*, September 15, 1962.

118. Lynn quoted in Van Gosse, “More than Just a Politician,” 29.

119. Boggs’s letter to Lynn quoted in Lynn *There Is a Fountain*, 185. This was also the critique that Harold Cruse presented, a critique based on the relationship to white leftists and the essentially “integrationist” outlook of the party’s founders. Cruse, *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Historical Analysis of the Failure of Black Leadership* (New York: Quill, [1967] 1984), 414–16.

120. The correspondence between Breitman [GB] and Worthy [WW] about Cleage begins in July with a letter in which Breitman notes the swift change in Cleage’s stature over the previous year and mentions that Cleage is a good FNP candidate because “he doesn’t give a damn about the Democratic Party.” GB to WW, July 27, 1963. The meaning of an all-Black party is discussed in GB to WW, August 30, 1963. On Boggs, see WW to GB, August 4, 1963; on Tripp and others from UHURU,

GB to WW, August 19, 1963; on the difficulty with being Worthy's representative, GB to WW, August 19, 1963; and on problems with getting Cleage to commit to the FNP, GB to WW, September 19 and 20, 1963. All these letters are in Breitman Papers, Box 47, RFW-NYU.

121. GB to WW, August 19, 1963, Breitman Papers, Box 47, RFW-NYU.

122. "Fact Sheet on the Freedom Now Party Candidates, Nov. 3, 1964 Elections," Ernest C. Smith Collection, Box 1, ALHUA.

123. Vaughn was still angry about his defeat as well. See, for example, "Jackie Vaughn Takes Potshot at Van Antwerp," *Michigan Chronicle*, October 5, 1963.

124. Editorial, *Michigan Chronicle*, September 28, 1963; "Van Antwerp's 'No' on Housing Bill Hit," *Michigan Chronicle*, October 5, 1963; "NAACP Asks Court to Halt Racists," *Michigan Chronicle*, September 14, 1963; Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 59–61; Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 227–29; Ravitz, Interview with Sidney Fine, Detroit Riot Oral History Project, July 26, 1985, BHC, 19–20.

125. There is a written copy of Cleage's text in Ernest C. Smith Papers, Box 1, ALHUA, but the audio recording is much richer and Cleage strays from his text. The audio version, available at ALHUA as part of the James and Grace Lee Boggs Collection, is also good for getting a sense of how humorous Cleage could be when addressing a crowd.

126. SWP (Resolution), *Freedom Now: New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation* (New York: Pioneer, 1964). On the internal debate between Breitman and fellow party member A. Philips (Art Fox), see "Breitman's Ballistics: Comments in the Michigan Freedom Now Party" (n.d.), Breitman Papers, Box 47:14, RFW-NYU.

127. "The DeBerry-Shaw Ticket Stands for Freedom Now," *Militant*, June 13, 1964. The SWP also backed Black Marxist Paul Boutelle for New York's City Council. "Freedom Now Enters Race in Harlem," *Militant*, August 10, 1964; "Vote Socialist," *Michigan Militant*, November 6, 1964.

128. "Negro Ministers Here Hit Rights Move Violence," *Michigan Chronicle*, April 15, 1964.

129. "GOAL Members Asked to Join 'Freedom Now' Petition Drive," *Michigan Chronicle*, March 28, 1964; "Dexter Baptist Turns Down Freedom Now Meeting," *Michigan Chronicle*, March 21, 1964; *Detroit News*, March 16, 1964.

130. "Rev. Charles A. Hill Stands on His Record," *Michigan Chronicle*, November 18, 1967.

131. At the same time, Cleage often spoke at SWP Forums in Detroit and New York. "Rev. Cleage to Speak on FNP at Two New York Meetings," *Militant*, May 11 and 21, 1964.

132. County of Wayne, State of Michigan, "Official Statement of Votes Cast at the General Election, November 3, 1964," in Ernest Smith Collection, Box 1, ALHUA.

133. "Results Reveal a New Negro Vote," *Michigan Chronicle*, September 18, 1965; *Michigan Chronicle*, July 3, September 4 and 11, August 14 and 28, October 2 and 30, and November 6, 1965.

134. The particulars of Detroit's TAP program are beyond the scope of my narrative. For a detailed study of its structure, see Sidney Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, chap. 4; Mayor's Committee for Community Renewal, *Total Action against Poverty* (Detroit, 1964); and Special Committee to Investigate Irregularities in the Total Action against Poverty Program in the City of Detroit, *Examination of the War on*

Poverty, 74th Cong., regular sess., 1968 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1968).

135. "Detroit's Militant Rights Groups Aim for Political Power," *Detroit News*, February 28, 1965; Grace Lee Boggs, "New Direction for CORE," *Michigan Chronicle*, August 7, 1965.

136. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942–1968* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 205–6, 305. This change of direction was not peculiar to Detroit but was part of a national trend, which Meier and Rudwick discuss at some length. Moreover, community work was the hallmark of SNCC. See Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); and Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

137. The WCO had sent representatives to Chicago to observe Alinsky's method. In the fall of 1965, the WCO was engaged in raising funds to bring Alinsky to Detroit for five days to serve as a consultant. *Michigan Chronicle*, October 2, 1965.

138. Jessie R. Baclis, "Minority Report regarding West Central Organizing Committee" (n.d.), DCCR, III, Box 21, ALHUA; Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*; Finks, *The Radical Vision of Saul Alinsky*.

139. Baclis, "Minority Report." See also James F. Findley, *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

140. WCO, *A People's Union: The Self-Determination of Neighborhood Groups* (Detroit: WCO, 1966); *Detroit News*, August 15, 1965.

141. "WCO Pickets Police," *Michigan Chronicle*, December 6, 1965.

142. "House on Hobart Street," *West Central Action News*, November 24, 1966; *Detroit Free Press*, November 16, 1966; DCCR, "Inter-office Correspondence—WCO" (August 10, 1966), DCCR Collection, Box 21, ALHUA; Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 63–64, 171–72.

143. Cockrel Interview with Fine, BHC, 6.

144. Freeman quoted in *Detroit Free Press*, September 8, 1968.

CONCLUSION

The opening quotation is from the *Detroit Free Press*, September 28, 1966. Carmichael, then head of SNCC, spoke at Cleage's Shrine of the Black Madonna on September 27, 1966, to a crowd of more than a thousand. See also the *Detroit News*, September 28, 1966.

1. I have no intention of adding to the volumes of literature on Detroit's rebellion. The best comprehensive study is Sidney Fine, *Violence in the Model City*; see also *The Kerner Report: The 1968 Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Pantheon, [1968] 1988).

2. Ravitz Interview with Fine, BHC, 6–7.

3. Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, chaps. 3 and 4; Darden et. al., *Detroit*, chap. 3.

4. "Early Outreach Ministry," 41–42.

5. Materials on the original chancel stained glass window were supplied by Paul Lee, the unofficial historian of the shrines and the Pan African Orthodox Christian Church, in an e-mail exchange, April 9, 2005, in my possession. When members of

the departing church, Brewster-Pilgrim, asked to take the stained glass window with them, Cleage offered to sell it to them. The glass remained. Kimathi, interview with author.

6. Dowdell quoted in *Detroit Free Press*, March 25, 1967.

7. Paul Lee to author, e-mail exchange, April 4, 2005.

8. The following year, in 1968, Dowdell was indicted on charges of forging twenty thousand-dollar savings bonds and attempting to pass them. In 1970 he fled to Sweden, where he successfully fought extradition efforts by the U.S. government. While in Sweden he kept in contact with members of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and established its Solidarity Committee. Ken Cockrel and Luke Tripp visited Dowdell in Sweden in 1970. Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, 121–22; “Sweden Refuses to Return Detroit Artist for Trial,” *Detroit News*, June 16, 1971, and related stories on March 16 and 22, 1971; *Detroit Free Press*, March 17, 1971.

9. Cleage, “The Resurrection of the Nation,” in *The Black Messiah*, 85. The prayer for Dowdell and Baker is not included in the published version of the sermon, but it is in the original recording, “‘Resurrection’ (Unveiling of the Black Madonna), March 26, 1967,” copy supplied courtesy of James W. Ribbron, a longtime member of the shrine.

10. Cleage quoted in Alex Poinsett, “The Quest for a Black Messiah,” *Ebony*, March 1969, 176. In various sections of the sermons collected in *The Black Messiah*, Cleage gives detailed historical reasoning to support his claim. Other Black theologians, such as James Cone and J. Deotis Roberts, were less convinced of the literal Blackness of Christ and took a more symbolic approach. See Kelly Brown Douglas’s discussion of this debate in *The Black Christ* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1994), chap. 3; as well as Theo Witvliet, *The Way of the Black Messiah: The Hermeneutical Challenge of Black Theology as Black Liberation* (Oak Park, IL: Meyer Stone, 1987). As Kelly Brown Douglas notes, there is no ample evidence to suggest that Cleage was on the right track, that Jesus was dark skinned, or that the early Israelite tribes to which Jesus was ancestrally linked were “a mixed group of people with African connections” (*The Black Christ*, 79). See also Cain Felder, *Troubling Biblical Waters: Race, Class, and Family* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1989).

11. Cleage, *The Black Messiah*, 92–94; also Hubert Maultsby, “Paul, Black Theology, and Hermeneutics,” *Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 32 (spring 1976): 49–64. Similarly, Williams held Paul responsible for distorting the revolutionary message of the historical Jesus. On Williams’s theology, see Belfrage, *A Faith to Free the People*.

12. On the 1964 hearings about Cleage’s political and theological views, see Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 146–55.

13. On Garveyism and the African Orthodox Church, see Burkett, *Garveyism as a Religious Movement*; Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, 145–52; “Negroes Acclaim a Black Christ,” *New York Times*, August 6, 1924; and Elijah Muhammad, *The True History of Jesus* (Chicago: Coalition for the Remembrance of Elijah Muhammad, 1992). Muhammad Ali quoted in Stephen Prothero, *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2003), 214; Malcolm X’s statement to *Playboy* (March 1963) quoted in Prothero, *American Jesus*, 215.

14. On Johnson, see Samella Lewis, *African America Art and Artists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 88–95; a photo reproduction of *Lamentations*, which is now part of the National Collection of Fine Arts at the Smithsonian, appears on page 93.

15. On Cullen's poetry, especially "The Black Christ," see Qiana Whitted, "In My Flesh I See God: Ritual Violence and Racial Redemption in 'The Black Christ,'" *African American Review* 38:3 (fall 2004): 379–94. See also Prothero, *American Jesus*, 220–22; Gerald Early's introduction to *My Soul's High Song: The Collected Writings of Countee Cullen*, ed. Gerald Early (New York: Anchor Books, 1991), which includes "The Black Christ"; and Alan R. Shucard, *Countee Cullen* (Boston: Twayne, 1984). On Hughes, see Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes*, 224–26; the poem itself appears on page 224.

16. "Black Christ Returns to Church," *Africa News Service*, October 25, 2004; "Black Christ Painting Found in a Basement," *Electronic Mail and Guardian*, July 31, 1997, <http://www.chico.mweb.co.za/mg/art/reviews/97>; "Painting That Depicts a Black Christ Returned to South Africa," *Jet*, November 24, 1997, 25.

17. Robeson's identification with the Welsh is discussed in Martin Bauml Duberman, *Paul Robeson: A Biography* (New York: Ballantine, 1989), 191, 227–28, 414.

18. The description of the Cardiff window is taken from Whitted, "In My Flesh I See God," 10.

19. Alex Poinsett, "The Quest for the Black Christ," *Ebony*, March 1969, 170–78; also "Artists Portray a Black Christ," *Ebony*, April 1971, 177–80. A picture of the Black Christ was published on the front page of the *Michigan Chronicle* on August 5, 1967.

20. Cleage, *Black Christian Nationalism*, xxxiv.

21. "Constitution of the Inner-City Organizing Committee," October 2, 1966, Boggs Collection, Box 5:7, ALHUA; also "Detroit: Birth of a Nation," *National Guardian*, October 7, 1967, in which the Boggses also discuss the importance of Cleage as "the first Christian minister who has become a leading black nationalist spokesperson."

22. Murray Kempton, "The Black Manifesto," *New York Review of Books*, July 10, 1969, electronic version, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/11266>. On Cleage and Rennie Freeman's role in IFCO, see Ward, *Prophet of a Black Nation*, 192–95.

23. "Militants Go It Alone," *Detroit Daily Press* [issued during a *Free Press* strike in 1968], January 6, 1968.

24. The writings of these and other Black theologians have been collected in *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966–1979*, ed. Gayraud S. Wilmore and James Cone (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1979); see also Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, chap. 8.

25. Leon W. Watts, "The National Committee of Black Churchmen," *Christianity and Crisis*, November 2, 1970, 237–43. As Wilmore and Cone note, Cleage was active in the beginning but later renounced the committee for its "Black schoolmen's" approach to theology "written for a white audience." Cleage quoted in Wilmore and Cone, *Black Theology*, 67.

26. See, for example, Herbert O. Edwards, "Black Theology and Liberation Theology," in Wilmore and Cone, *Black Theology*, 516–30; and George Cummings, *A Common Journey: Black Theology (USA) and Latin American Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1993).

27. Cleage, *Black Christian Nationalism*, xvii. See also Kelly Brown Douglas's interesting comparison of the figure of the Black Christ in the theologies of Cleage, Cone, and J. Deotis Roberts (*The Black Christ*, chaps. 3 and 4).

28. "Detroit Courting Negro Militant," *New York Times*, August 13, 1967; "New Black Establishment Insists It Gives the Order," *Michigan Chronicle*, August 19, 1967; see also *Michigan Chronicle*, August 26, 1967. On the City-Wide Citizens Action Com-

mittee as part of a larger national trend, see “Negroes See Riots Giving Way to Black Activism in the Ghetto,” *New York Times*, October 21, 1968; see also Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, chap. 16.

29. See, for example, Cleage, “What Kind of Unity,” August 19, 1967; and his first column, “We Must Control Our Community,” *Michigan Chronicle*, August 12, 1967.

30. On the New Detroit Committee see Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, chaps. 13 and 14; and Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 73–88.

31. Cleage, “Self-Determination and Accountability,” *Michigan Chronicle*, January 13, 1968. See also “Traditional Leadership, Corporations Get a Slap,” *Michigan Chronicle*, January 13, 1968 and January 4, 1968; and Cleage’s column, January 6, 1969.

32. *The Black Manifesto*, reprinted in Wilmore and Cone, *Black Theology*, 80–89. See also Robert S. Lecky and H. Elliott, eds., *The Black Manifesto* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969); Arnold Schuster, *Reparations: The Black Manifesto and Its Challenge to White America* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970); and *The Political Thought of James Forman*, ed. Black Star Publishing Staff (Detroit: Black Star, 1970).

33. Freeman to James Boggs, NBEDC [National Black Economic Development Conference] Materials, August 4, 1969, Boggs Papers, Box 3, ALHUA. Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin discuss the conference and the connections between the resulting organization and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, 94–99. See also Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, 202–9; and Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 89–90, 97.

34. On the reaction of white churches to *The Black Manifesto*, see Murray Kempton, “The Black Manifesto;” Gayraud S. Wilmore, “The Church’s Reaction to the Black Manifesto,” in Georgakas Collection, Box 1, ALHUA; and Thomas A. Johnson, “Blacks Press Reparations Demands,” *New York Times*, June 10, 1970.

35. Sheila Murphy Cockrel in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 182.

36. Hamlin in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 86–87; also Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* chaps. 6 and 7.

37. “BWC Leader Looks at Past, Sees New Strategy,” *Guardian*, February 28, 1973. In Marxist-Leninist terms, the “street force” is comparable to the Black lumpen proletariat, a potential revolutionary force. Boggs, who continued to define Black power in strictly anticapitalist terms, continued to exert an influence on Black radicalism in Detroit. Boggs, “Black Power: A Scientific Concept,” *Liberator*, April 1967; Boggs, John Williams, and Charles Johnson, “The Myth and Irrationality of Black Capitalism” (n.d.), position paper prepared for the Black Economic Development Conference, James and Grace Lee Boggs Papers, Box 4, ALHUA.

38. Edward Lee, “Whoever Heard of Bongo Drums on the Picket Line?” (n.d.), James and Grace Lee Boggs Papers, Box 5, ALHUA.

39. For a history of the league’s “outreach” work, as well as its labor activism, see James A. Geschwender, *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency*, esp. chap. 7; Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*; and Thompson, *Whose Detroit?*

40. For the league’s derogatory view of the Panthers and their preemptive organizing, see Geschwender, *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency*, 140–43.

41. Ernie Allen, “Dying from the Inside: The Decline of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers,” in *They Should Have Served That Cup of Coffee*, ed. Dick Cluster (Boston: South End Press, 1979), 71–111.

42. Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* 201–3; *Detroit News* August 18, 1973.

43. On the relationship between the league, and other New Left groups, and the UAW, see Levy, *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s*, 75–78. Levy also includes a discussion of the Wallace campaign (182, 191–92). Wallace managed to obtain nearly 10 percent of the votes cast in Michigan, even after the UAW, the state AFL-CIO, and the Michigan Teamsters carried out a massive anti-Wallace campaign to combat pro-Wallace sympathies among workers. Babson et al., *Working Detroit*, 172–73.

44. Kenneth O'Reilly, "Racial Matters:" *The Secret File on Black America, 1960–1972* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 280. See also, Nelson Blackstock, *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom* (New York: Anchor Foundation, 1988), which focuses on the efforts to destroy the SWP.

45. Frank Joyce in Mast, *Detroit Lives*, 278.

46. "Congressman George W. Crockett, Jr., A Biographical Sketch," Norman McRae Collection, Box 16, ALHUA; also Crockett's statement on the incident, August 3, 1969, Norman McRae Collection, Box 16, ALHUA. Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, has a lively account of the New Bethel incident, the trials, and the aftermath; see also Thompson, *Whose Detroit?* which is particularly interesting in terms of its focus on the legal strategy employed.

47. Adams quoted in Lloyd Gite, "The New Agenda of the Black Church: Economic Development for Black America," *Black Enterprise* 24:5 (December 1993), 55; Adams, interview with author.

48. Hood, interview with author; for a more detailed account of the efforts and successes of programs at Plymouth, see the church's Web site: <http://puccdetroit.org/pages/8/page8.html>.

49. "A Warrior for Civil Rights," *Detroit Free Press*, March 9, 1983; Margaret Dade, interview with author; Dade's obituary, *Detroit Free Press*, January 29, 1991.

50. Dade, "St. Cyprrian's Looks Back and Looks Ahead," in *Black Gospel/White Church*, ed. John M. Burgess (New York: Seabury Press, 1982, 42); Malcolm G. Dade Jr., phone interview with author, July 6, 2005.

51. Cleage, *Black Christian Nationalism*, xvi–xvii.

52. Cleage quoted in "Early Outreach Ministries," 43.

53. "Detroit Shrine Celebrates 50th Anniversary," *Detroit News*, July 29, 2003; Young, *Hard Stuff*, 199; also "Young Relies on Preachers, and Draws on Their Style," *Detroit Free Press*, October 17, 1991.

54. Barbara (Cleage) Martin, interview with author; Jaramogi Menelik Kimathi, interview with author; "History of the Shrines of the Black Madonna of the Pan African Orthodox Christian Church," in *Jubilee Celebration, August 1–3, 2003*, 48–53; "Albert Cleage Is Dead at 88; Led Black Nationalist Church," *New York Times*, February 27, 2000.