MONASH University

Victory at Home and Abroad

Overseas Correspondents, the African American Press, and the Long Civil Rights Movement, 1939-1946

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Abstract

Victory at Home and Abroad: examines articles produced by correspondents of the American 'black press' during World War II, and during the occupation of Axis nations in the war's immediate aftermath. By definition activist organizations, the newspapers of the black press that these correspondents worked for politicized their coverage of the war, aiming to force the federal government to work for the broad recognition of African American's civil rights. This thesis analyzes black press articles to provide new insights into how correspondents conceptualized and reported on the foreign dimension of the war in pursuit of this goal. In this, the correspondents not only provide new understandings of the famous 'Double-V' campaign of the wartime black press, but bring new, hitherto ignored voices to historical debates surrounding the methods and underlying assumptions of African American civil rights activism in the middle of the twentieth century.

The content the correspondents produced represented an argument that both demanded and illustrated the place of African Americans, as well as black bodies and minds, in the modern, and western world. This was done through three overlapping methods: (1) The correspondents used the wartime military service of black men, both in combat and support roles, to re-cast and re-assert the manhood of black men, not only in terms of martial manhood, but also in ways that engaged with debates regarding the black male body and mind, and its place within modernity; (2) The correspondents represented the war as a period when African Americans were welcomed into, and engaged culturally with the white western world outside of the United States; (3) the correspondents advocated the cause of civil rights for non-white peoples the world over, while simultaneously distancing themselves from non-white peoples to further emphasize their ties to the west.

During these processes, the correspondents continued existing strategies of civil rights activism, adapted strategies to suit the unique restrictions and opportunities of the war, resurrected strategies considered by historians to be out of favor during the 1940s, and initiated strategies that would flourish during the post-war period.

Through discussion of these key areas, this thesis engages with debates central to the African American struggle of the twentieth century, including but not limited to: ideologies and practicalities of African American activism, African American manhood and masculinity, African American internationalism, the interplay between American and African American cultures of representation, and the role of African American newspapers.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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David James Longley

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Acknowledgements

They say that the life of PhD candidate is one of loneliness and isolation. They also say that you will meet friends and make connections with those who share a fascination for your field, and with whom you will talk long into the night about this immense yet incredibly focused little corner of academia we call history. I can attest to both these experiences, thankfully in the right order. By luck of fate, I was the only true Americanist of my PhD cohort when I started back in 2014, and the first three years of study were indeed ones of isolation and loneliness. But in one of these wonderful instances of 'when it rains it pours,' 2017 saw the arrival of a whole bunch of fantastic and enthusiastic historians, some of whom were Americanists, and some of whom I now thankfully count as friends. You aren't truly aware of what you're missing until you have experienced it, and although I would rather have known them earlier, the friends I gained in 2017 made it by far the most enjoyable and most intellectually stimulating year of study I have undertaken, I cannot thank them enough for bringing some sunshine to my life at Monash. Special thanks must be given to Georgie Rychner, who stepped in late in the process and whose aid remains much appreciated. This thesis is all the stronger for her, at times, ruthless editing. Thank you also to Nick Ferns for happily sharing in his experience and wisdom as one who had recently completed his own PhD.

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comments and questions and emails and requests to borrow books with enthusiasm, friendliness, and encouragement. I do not have enough superlatives in my vocabulary to describe Clare. She is, quite simply, brilliant. She is calm and patient, but always happy to push when the time calls for it. She is enthusiastic and giving with her time and feedback. She helps develop your ideas without ever undermining your own academic agency. In the course of a PhD one hears horror stories of supervisors who do not care about a student's topic, who criticize without actually providing any feedback, or who just goes missing. The strongest criticism I can give Clare is that, rarely, on a Friday, she was a bit tired. I will always count myself lucky to have had her as my supervisor throughout this process.

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I must also thank my parents, who throughout the course of my life have invested time, money, and support into my education. Without the support I doubt I would submitting this thesis.

Finally, thank you to Bonnie, whose heart I broke, but without whom I would never have made it this far.

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Abbreviations

AFRS	Armed Forces Radio Service
ANP	Associated Negro Press
BLM	Black Liberation Movement
CBI	China-Burma-India Theatre
ETO	European Theater of Operations
FEPC	Fair Employment Practice Commission
MoWM	March on Washington Movement
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NNPA	National Newspaper Publishers Association
OWI	Office of War Information
USAAF	United States Army Air Forces
USO	United Service Organizations

A Note on Nomenclature

The naming and categorization of peoples is always something that should be approached carefully and with a knowledge of one's own place in time. In studying for this thesis, I have read histories from the 1940s that speak of 'colored' Americans, from the 1960s that document the struggles of the 'negro', 1980s histories of 'black' America, studies of 'African Americans' from the 1990s, and works from the 2010s whose subject of study is 'people of colour.' No term is perfect, and no term is static. The fluidity of racial language means that terms of reference that were once acceptable become less palatable over time, and terms that were once considered archaic and insulting take on fresh meanings as they are reclaimed and redeployed. With this knowledge, and aware of my position as a white scholar from Australia, I feel it wisest to use the terms most widely used and accepted at the time of writing, and acknowledge that in a few decades someone may look upon my writing and sigh at the ignorance of the year 2018. As such, I rely upon the terms 'African-American' and 'black'. Both terms are of course problematic, in no small part because of the offence that these terms would have caused those I am writing on, who much preferred the terms 'colored' and 'negro' when referring to themselves, and many of whom, as will be shown, wanted as much distance from the idea of 'African' as possible. However, I use them in the knowledge that they are terms largely accepted by those to whom they apply in the present moment, and who will, hopefully, read and appreciate the work I have attempted in this study.

Introduction

An Opportunity Gained

In a ceremony at the White House on January 13, 1997, President Bill Clinton awarded seven African American veterans of World War II the Medal of Honor, the United States' highest military award, making them the first black veterans of the war to be so recognized. Among the recipients was a posthumous award for Lt. John R. Fox, who served with the famed 'Buffalo Soldiers' of the 92nd Infantry Division. Fox had given his life on Boxing Day 1944, when, occupying a forward position in the town of Sommocolonia in northern Tuscany, he had been surrounded by German forces. Knowing escape was impossible, Fox directed Allied artillery fire onto his own position, sacrificing his life, and taking the lives of scores of German soldiers with him.

In the weeks that followed Fox's sacrifice, readers of *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, or any other white American newspaper would have been hard-pressed to find even the slightest mention of Lt. John R. Fox. Only the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, newspaper of Fox's home town, offered a brief obituary, with no mention of the heroism of his deed.[1] As an African American his story was not worthy of interest, his heroism ignored by a nation eager for heroes. However for the more than four million readers of the 'black press,' the African American owned and operated newspapers that were distributed from major urban centers of the north, and on a smaller scale in the south, stories such as Fox's

1. "Killed in Italy", *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Apr 26, 1945.

were key to informing their experience of the war.[2] Virginia's *Norfolk and Guide* gave the story top billing, the headline "Officers Give Lives to Halt Enemy" emblazoned across the front page of a February edition.[3] More than just another war hero, Fox was proof of what African Americans could achieve, and what they could contribute to the nation with which they had such a complicated relationship. Sadly, just as much of American life remained segregated for the nation's black population, so too was coverage of the war.

World War II holds an uncomfortable place in the literature of the Black Liberation Movement (BLM). Though it took the United States government more than half a century to recognize Fox's heroism, the recognition did come, following a renewed focus on the wartime experiences of African American men and women. Oral historians, propelled into action as the sun set on the wartime generation, sought to preserve the experiences of those who had donned the uniform of the United States. The result was a string of histories and collections that examined the personal side of service.[4] Despite the strengths of this individualized focus on the war, the historiography still lacks detailed exploration of the

2. The exact number of readers of black newspapers is exceptionally difficult to ascertain. Most historians agree that at the highest point of the war the overall circulation numbers of black papers sat at around 1,800,000. However, the fact that newspapers were often passed from individual to individual, or, due to high levels of illiteracy, read aloud to families and friends, means that circulation numbers alone are insufficient to determine the reach of the black press. A better indicator is a study conducted by the Office of War Information during the war, which estimated that in an average week more than one in three of the nation's thirteen million African American citizens engaged with the black press in some way. See: Lee Finkle, *Forum for Protest: The Black Press During World War II* (London: Associated University Press, 1975), 54.

3. John Q. Jordan, "Officers Give Lives to Halt Enemy", *Journal and Guide*, February 3, 1945.

4. See, for example: Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, ed., *Love, War and the 96th Engineers (Colored): The World War II New Guinea Diaries of Captain Hyman Samuelson* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Robert F. Jefferson, *Fighting for Hope: African American Troops of the 93rd Infantry Division in World War II and Postwar America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Phillip McGuire, ed., *Taps for A Jim Crow Army: Letter from Black Soldiers in World War II* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1983); Brenda L. Moore, *To Serve my Country, to Serve my Race: The Story of the Only African American Wacs Stationed Overseas during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Christopher Paul Moore, *Fighting for America: Black Soldiers — The Unsung Heroes of World War II* (New York: Ballantyne Books, 2006); Maggi M. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women Remember World War II* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000); Mary Penick Motley, ed., *The Invisible Soldier: The Experience of the Black Soldier, World War II* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1975); Martha S. Putney, *When the Nation was in Need: Blacks in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2001).

linkage between African American service during World War II and the wider BLM, particularly the specific civil rights strategies and assumptions the war inspired. The overseas element of the conflict, the crucial factor that set the war apart from other waves of civil rights agitation, remains acutely understudied. Coming as it did between the radicalism and internationalism of the 1920s and 1930s, and the more insular and highly organized successes of the 1950s and 1960s, the war still largely exists within the literature as a postscript to one era and a preface to another. Histories that integrate the war into their analysis of the BLM during these two periods do so minimally, handicapped by the comparative uniqueness of the wartime period.[5]

Three key elements of the wartime period stand out as essential to understanding the circumstances that shaped wartime civil rights activism, all of which remain under-explored in current histories. Firstly, as with the Great War three decades earlier, African American servicemen and women operated under the aegis of, and as representatives of, the United States government, provided with new and government endorsed opportunities not available to them during peacetime. Secondly, and the element that has attracted the most attention by historians to date, the war was conducted under the rhetoric of democracy and liberation, with the fiercest condemnation of Nazi theories of racial hierarchy.[6] Finally, and

5. Brenda Gayle Plummer and Nikhil Pal Singh do what I consider the best job of capturing the unique elements of the war and incorporating them into a wider study of the BLM: Plummer by utilizing the mass movement of African Americans overseas, and Singh for drawing out the wider implications of the usage of government rhetoric by African American activists. Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is A Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle For Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

6. African American usage of wartime democratic rhetoric to point to government hypocrisy is well documented, particularly that of the black press. However most studies focus on domestic campaigns, with not enough having been done to explore the full extent of the overseas element of such campaigns. See: Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Hayward Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American: 1892-1950* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998); Finkle, *Forum for Protest*; Robin D.G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Ethan Michaeli, *The Defender: How*

most important to understanding the uniqueness of the war, was the mass movement of African Americans outside of the borders of the United States. In unprecedented numbers, black men and women from north and south, from elites to the working class, from college graduates to those with almost no formal education, all travelled across the globe, each new location and each new meeting giving fresh contexts to their understanding of the home which they had briefly left, and the home to which they would return, forever changed by their experiences.

Articles of the war correspondents of the black press, the correspondents who brought readers the story of Lt. John R. Fox, shed new light on the nature of World War II civil rights activism. The same stories that were ignored by America's white population in 1945 have, to this point, remained largely ignored by historians. The literature's strong focus on the domestic context has relegated the content the correspondents produced to the role of supplementary evidence, their voices diluted. A detailed study of the content these correspondents produced can go some way to addressing the weaknesses within current understandings of civil rights activism during the 1940s. The point of contact between soldiers overseas and the black press's attempts to mobilize black military service for civil rights progress, the correspondents' articles provide a way in which to explore how the war was presented to an African American audience when the influence of black newspapers was at its highest.[7] Importantly, a study of the correspondents of the black press facilitates a reading of history that accounts for the uniqueness of the wartime period. Unlike the smaller, individualized histories of African American service in World War II, a study of

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The Legendary Black Newspaper Changed America (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016); Bill V. Mullen, *Popular Fronts: Chicago and African-America Cultural Politics, 1935-46* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), Plummer, *Rising Wind*.

7. For more information on the influence of the black press during the middle of the twentieth century, see: Finkle, *Forum for Protest*; Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, *The Race Beat: The Press, The Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006); Patrick S. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

the correspondents' articles illuminates the political utility of service, of how the stories of hundreds of thousands of disparate individuals were formed into a coherent mosaic of activism and agitation. Unlike histories of the periods either side of the war, which at times romantically privilege a small number of elite, mobile, and sympathetic actors, the correspondents' articles account for the full range of wartime experiences, drawing focus away from the figures and attitudes that have tended to capture the attention of historians of the BLM. Finally, unlike studies of the war that place such a strong focus on the home front, a study of the correspondents' articles permits an examination of the uniqueness of the overseas contexts of the war, of the unprecedented contact between African Americans and the wider world.

World War II was not a period when the campaign for civil rights simply stopped. Black soldiers engaged not only in a material war against a physical enemy, but also in a conceptual war against the precepts of racism that governed their peacetime lives. Black activists and journalists were cognizant of this dual role, formalizing it in the famed 'Double-V' campaign of the black press. The Double-V, standing for Victory at home and Victory abroad, was inspired by a letter written to the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the nation's largest black newspaper, by 26-year-old James G. Thompson. In it, he asked the question on the mind of African Americans contemplating America's recent entry into the war: "Should I sacrifice my life to live half American?"[8] Thompson answered his own question in the affirmative, on the proviso that such sacrifice was predicated upon a retention of the focus upon domestic civil rights. Within weeks the *Courier* had adapted Thompson's sentiments into a fully-fledged civil rights campaign.[9] Editors, reporters, and

8. James G. Thompson, "Should I Sacrifice to Live 'Half American?'", *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 31, 1942.

9. Historians are still yet to reach any agreement on the nuances of the Double-V campaign. For every history that deals with the campaign there is a slight variation on how it is to be understood in both intention

correspondents all contextualized their articles in relation to the Double-V. Dispatches from the war were emblazoned with the "VV" device. Other black papers took up the call. Some adopted the language and slogans of the Double-V, while others merely took on the logic of the campaign, equating the domestic and overseas struggles. Though the scale of engagement varied, the *Courier* had set the tone for the war that was to follow, establishing the lens through which the black press interpreted the contributions made by America's black soldiers.[10]

The privileged location that the correspondents occupied, the filter between the world at war and the Double-V as printed, makes them instrumental in understanding civil rights activism of World War II and the 1940s. The extent of their impact is admittedly difficult to ascertain. The 'militancy-watershed' hypothesis of World War II, that the war represented a high point of African American activism and directly inspired and instigated the activism that led to the gains of the 'classic' civil rights period, remains to this day unresolved.[11] However, a study of the content that the correspondents produced is a key step in this process. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, in her influential 'The Long Civil Rights

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and in practice. From a conservative push to protect black newspapers from accusations of sedition, to a focusing inward of internationalist sentiment, to an internationalizing of domestic civil rights strategies, opinions still vary. For just a few of these articulations and analyses, see: Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 25; Paul Alkebulan, *The African American Press in World War II: Toward Victory at Home and Abroad* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), 48; Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, 10-12; Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American*, 168; Lee Finkle, "Conservative Aims of Militant Rhetoric: Black Protest During World War II," *Journal of American History* 60, (1973): 692-713; Mullen, *Popular Fronts*, 47.

10. For the best discussion of the practical side of the creation of the campaign, see: Patrick Washburn, "The 'Pittsburgh Courier's' Double V Campaign in 1942," Paper Presented at *Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism*, East Lansing, MI, August 8-11, 1981.

11. Though both Lee Finkle and Harvard Sitkoff have worked to debunk the Militancy-Watershed hypothesis, they focus primarily on the role of the black press. There has yet to be enough work done to show the causative links (or lack thereof) between black soldiers' experiences and the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s. Some, such as Jennifer Brooks in *Defining the Peace*, have made good headway in showing how the wartime experiences of black servicemen from Georgia galvanized civil rights activism in the post-war years. More studies such as this will be invaluable in exploring the links between the two periods. See: Jennifer Brooks, *Defining the Peace: World War Two Veterans, Race, and the Remaking of Southern Political Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Finkle, "Conservative Aims of Militant Rhetoric"; Harvard Sitkoff, "American Blacks in WWII: Rethinking the Militancy-Watershed Hypothesis," in *The Home Front and War in the Twentieth Century: The American Experience in Comparative Perspective*, ed. James Titus (Washington, D.C.: United States Air Force Academy, 1984): 147-155.

Movement and the Political Uses of the Past,' urges historians to look beyond the narratives of the distinct and isolated 'classic' Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Through this, historians can pin down the continuities of ideas and strategies, allowing for a more nuanced and cohesive understanding of the waxing and waning of methods of activism through the twentieth century.[12] Though mindful of concerns that have been expressed regarding Hall's Long Civil Rights, this study aligns with her exhortations that historians ought to fill and connect these gaps.[13] Activism of the 1940s, and specifically the activism of correspondents of the black press, remains one of these gaps.

This study reveals how activists operating outside of the scope of the elite and radical adapted to, and were adapted by, the event of a globalized war. In 1942, Edgar T. Rouzeau, a correspondent for Pittsburgh's *Courier* newspaper, asked a black mechanic the reasons behind his decision to don the uniform and journey overseas for Uncle Sam. "The whole world is revolting against something," was his response, "it isn't only against Hitler, because he has no monopoly on the things he represents. It is something deeper."[14] At their most fundamental level, the correspondents' articles reveal an exploration of this 'deeper' element of the war, a concerted attempt to use their articles to challenge the premises of racism and discrimination.

It was not, as some critics have alleged, a strategy that relied upon unflinching support for the war effort in the hope of recognition in the post-war world, in essence a re-working of the notorious 'close ranks' advocated by W.E.B. Du Bois upon America's entry

12. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, (2005): 1233-1263.

13. Eric Arnesen, "Reconsidering the Long Civil Rights Movement," *Historically Speaking: The Bulletin of the Historical Society* 10, (2009): 31-34; Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, "The 'Long Movement' as Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies," *Journal of African American History* 92 (2007): 265-288.

14. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Troops at Peak, Rouzeau Cables", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 3, 1942.

into World War I.[15] It was an argument for, and a demonstration of, the place of African American bodies and minds in the modern world, not only spatially, but culturally and temporally. The correspondents' reportage was not merely a cataloguing of the struggle against the military might of the Axis powers. The war inspired reflection and debate on the place of African Americans in relation to America, and to the world at large. The moral vocabulary of the war effort, the heightened racialism of the enemy, the movement of African Americans across the globe on an unprecedented scale, the employment of black men in the advanced apparatus of war, and America's growing economic and cultural influence, each provided the correspondents with new avenues through which to approach old questions of belonging. Carrying forward the activism that had dominated the 1930s, the correspondents asserted the place of African Americans within the modern world in which so many still questioned their suitability. Marrying the idealism of their quest for civil rights with a pragmatism borne of their unique situation, the correspondents' articles show new continuities between the civil rights strategies of the pre and post war periods. The war both enforced and allowed changes to ongoing strategies, provided new evidence to bring to bear against the old enemies that were racism and discrimination, and saw the first suggestions of, as well as the final breaths, of strategies that had and would govern the rhetoric of the BLM for decades.

Manhood, Masculinity, and Modernity

As Maurice O. Wallace points out in his study of black manhood, *Constructing the Black Masculine*, "at no point in the history of the New World…has race *not* constituted a

15. Finkle, "Conservative Aims of Militant Rhetoric"; Finkle, *Forum for Protest*; Sitkoff, "American Blacks in WWII."

defining feature of our national manhood."[16] Ideas of manhood, masculinity, and manliness have been central to civil rights in the United States since before the United States existed. Black manhood has been constructed and re-constructed by white Americans seeking to legitimize their oppression, and by black Americans seeking to escape it. The manhood associated with military service was no exception to this contest.[17]

From the American Revolution's Crispus Attucks onward, African Americans have woven themselves into the martial mythologies of the United States, predicating calls for rights and representation on their service to the nation.[18] Their arguments were twofold. One, martial prowess was a key indicator of manhood, a manhood denied to African American men by slavery and Jim Crow segregation. Two, service to the nation granted upon an individual the rights of the citizen-soldier, whose mythological and symbolic purity was only enhanced each time America went to war.[19] The idealism of these goals was not often rewarded. Aside from the gains that came with the Civil War and emancipation, African American military service more often served to reinforce the image of the black man as servile and unsuited to combat.[20]

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16. Maurice O. Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine: Identity and Ideality in African American Men's Literature and Culture, 1775-1995* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 2.

17. The literature on African American manhood and civil rights constitutes an enormous body of work, and expands beyond history to also encompass cultural studies, literature, film, and of course, gender studies. Even a cursory list could fill several pages. Perhaps the best direction to point readers in for the purposes of this dissertation is the recently released *Routledge History of Gender, War, and the U.S. Military*, edited by Kara Dixon Vuic. An edited collection, the work is perhaps most valuable for its summation of the vast body of literature relating to gender and warfare in the US context, subdivided thematically and chronologically. Kara Dixon Vuic, ed., *The Routledge History of Gender, War, and the U.S. Military* (London: Routledge, 2018).

18. Mitch A. Kachun, *First Martyr of Liberty: Crispus Attucks in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

19. See: Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Joseph Allan Frank, *With Ballot and Bayonet: Political Socialization of American Civil War Soldiers* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998); John Gilbert McCurdy, "Citizen-Soldiers in the Revolutionary Era and New Republic," in Vuic, *The Routledge History of Gender, War, and the U.S. Military*, 24-40.

20. See for example the following chapters in *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U.S. Black Men's History and Masculinity*, Volume 1: "Manhood Rights": The Construction of Black Male History and Manhood, 1750-1870, ed. Darlene Clark Hine and Earnestine Jenkins (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University

Victory at Home and Abroad starts from this point. Understandably, most histories of African American military service in World War II have homed in on the galvanizing power of service in uniform to legitimize claims to full citizenship.[21] Collections of soldiers' letters home and post-war reflection all make note of the prevalence, and significance, of the utterance of the word 'man' in self-reference among black soldiers. The famous statement of a black soldier that "I went into the Army a nigger, I came out a man," is born out time and again in the historiography.[22] The correspondents were no different, aligning themselves with a civil rights strategy as old as the movement itself.

What the correspondents' articles also show is that accounts of military service aimed to undermine an assumption that black bodies and minds were unsuited to the rigors of modern warfare. As early as 1907 the military had debated whether black soldiers had the capacity to adapt to modernized and mechanized warfare, one high ranking military official arguing that "the negro has so far been found lacking in the skill and intelligence needed in the handling of machinery and mechanical appliances."[23] As the years passed and the new 'sciences' of eugenics grew in popularity and authority, the need for African American activists to defend themselves from such attitudes only grew more pressing.[24]

Press, 1999): Sidney Kaplan and Emma Nogrady Kaplan, "Bearers of Arms: Patriot and Tory", 165-204; Robert E. May, "Invisible Men: Blacks and the U.S. Army in the Mexican War", 474-477; James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, "Violence, Protest, and Identity: Black Manhood in Antebellum America", 382-398. See also Adriane Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

21. McGuire ed., *Taps for A Jim Crow Army*; Moore, *Fighting for America*; Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*; Motley, *The Invisible Soldier*.

22. Steve Estes, *I am a Man! Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 11.

23. In Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 89.

24. For works on the rise of eugenics and social Darwinism in the American context, see: Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race: Volume Two: The Origin of Racial Oppression in Anglo America* (London: Verso, 1997); Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Matthew Pratt Guterl, *The Color of Race in America, 1900-1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

The rise of Nazism extended the tenets of eugenics and social Darwinism, as well as the conceptual struggle over the place of black bodies and minds in the modern world. Felipe Smith has employed the concept of racial 'time-spaces' in his study of African American literature, and attempts therein to counter assertions that "nonwhite bodies were stuck in the 'primitive' time-space of their place of origin and consequently were limited by insufficient or maladaptive anatomical space for the acquisition of white race traits and potentials."[25] This avenue into African American activism has been used to persuasive effect by both Mark Whalan in his study of African American representations of the Great War, and Michael Hanchard in his conceptualizations of the 'Afro-Modernity' which sought to contend and redress the racism within this concept of time spaces.[26] Whalan is particularly important for studies of black bodies at war in the twentieth century. Noting that "conceptualizing black Americans as occupants of a 'time space' exterior to modernity was one of the key ways social segregation could be imagined and maintained," Whalan argues that African American activists and writers of the Great War were keen to disprove the assumption that they were rooted in a pre-modern 'time-space,' but were instead "able to adapt to a battleground so characterized by the shocking display of technical modernity."[27]

While the story of Fox's sacrifice at Sommocolonia offered up purity of material with which to create a narrative of heroism, such stories were diluted by military policy that restricted most black men to service roles. Adriane Lentz-Smith has noted that many of the frustrations that grew from the African American contribution to World War I were results of Army policies that used black manpower in ways that intentionally mirrored their

25. Felipe Smith, *American Body Politics: Race, Gender, and Black Literary Renaissance* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 39.

26. Mark Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008); Michael Hanchard, "Afro-Modernity: Temporality, Politics, and the African Diaspora," *Public Culture* 11, (1999): 245-268.

27. Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro*, 78. See also: Smith, *American Body Politics*.

secondary status in wider American life.[28] Though World War II saw a greater integration of black men into combat roles these frustrations remained, and the correspondents were forced to use the wartime service of laundrymen and laborers, as well as infantrymen and pilots, to defend and enhance the prestige of black manhood.

The modernization of these service roles allowed correspondents to use military service to promote visions of black manhood that did not revolve around war. Much attention has been given to the domestic activism that centered on the engagement of African American workers in wartime industry, campaigns that the black press was heavily involved in, and campaigns that had their roots in the activism of the Depression and New Deal years.[29] These strategies saw employment and labor rights as necessary conditions to complete civil rights, and attempted to undo assumptions that black bodies and minds were suitable only for the most menial tasks. These strategies were not restricted to domestic platforms. The same campaigns, or at least their fundamental premises, were woven throughout the correspondents' coverage. Unable to align themselves with the radicalism and protest that characterized domestic activism, the correspondents adapted their strategies to work toward the same goal: to undoing the logic of racism that restricted employment opportunities for African American workers in peacetime.[30] The correspondents re-cast the meaning of service and labor roles within the military away from the degradation of previous wars, and towards the creation of what I have termed a 'collective resume' for

28. Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*.

29. This is another very large historiography. For the works that are most important for the purposes of this study, see: Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*; Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2nd Ed. 2008); Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*; Robin D.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1994); Robert Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

30 In this I draw upon works such as Paul Lawrie's *Forging a Laboring Race*. Paul R. D. Lawrie, *Forging a Laboring Race: The African American Worker in the Progressive Imagination* (New York: New York University Press, 2016).

black workers. What would have been impossible with the unskilled tasks to which black soldiers were assigned in earlier conflicts was now a readily adopted strategy in the technology-saturated warfare of the 1940s.

Internationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Anti-Colonialism

But the war was more than simply a series of battles and conflicts, an arena for black manhood to once again be put to the test under the eyes of critical whites. As the exceptionally strong historiography on African American internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s has shown, African Americans watched the approaching clouds of war with eyes and minds that were not only politically mobilized, but also thoroughly internationalized.[31] Skeptical of the sincerity of the Allied powers' rhetoric of freedom and democracy for all, African Americans contextualized the war not only in terms of Nazi and Japanese aggression, but also relative to theories of racial superiority, anticolonial struggles, and the self-determination of non-white peoples. Later, as the dust settled and the world returned to peace, African American activists altered their approach, adapting their internationalism to the restrictions of the new Cold War paradigm.[32]

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31. Clare Corbould, *Becoming African Americans: Black Public Life in Harlem: 1919-1939* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Marc Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan & China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895-1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*; Minkah Makalani. *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917-1939* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); James Hunter Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Bill V. Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

32. Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*; Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and The Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2001); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011, 2nd Ed.); Plummer, *Rising Wind*; Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism 1937-1957*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

This moment of transition is where the correspondents can prove most beneficial. Though not a 'missing link' between radical Pan-Africanism and internationalism of the 1920s and 1930s, and the 'Cold War Civil Rights' of historians such as Dudziak and Anderson, the correspondents' articulation of their own approach to the issue of rights does sit rather comfortably between the two.[33] The correspondents continued the internationalist and anti-colonialist outlook that had dominated pre-war activism. However, the restrictions placed on them in their duties as correspondents, and their backgrounds as journalists rather than theorists, resulted in an internationalism and anticolonialism that, although enthusiastically communicated and widely disseminated, was comparatively simplistic. Likewise, the correspondents articulated nascent, and simple, forms of the strategies that would dominate the Cold War period, building upon Allied rhetoric and embryonic transnational organizations to hold the United States accountable to higher laws than its own.

The correspondents also reveal an important caveat to the consensus within the current historiography. The present nature of studies of African American internationalism privileges elite, and mobile actors. Histories of non-white solidarity and anti-colonialism are often studies of high level meetings and conferences, where relatively like-minded individuals would thrash out the minutiae of highly theoretical strategy. Though important, such studies focus only on certain approaches to the problem of the link between race and colonialism. Michael Green has made this point in his study of Afro-Asian relations in the decade following the war, deliberately focusing on soldiers to expand analysis beyond the scope of intellectuals and mobile activists.[34] The correspondents offer this same opportunity. Coming as they did from a variety of backgrounds and covering the

33. Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*.
34. Michael C. Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific: Race in the Making of American Empire after World War II* (London: Cornell University Press, 2010).

interactions of 'everyday' African Americans with the non-white world on a mass scale, the correspondents' articles flesh out what is a small but significant space within the historiography. Rather than the solidarities that have been emphasized between African Americans and other non-white peoples of Africa and Asia, the correspondents' articles throw into sharp relief the contradiction between ideological sympathy and solidarity, and the antagonism and dissonance that typified face-to-face encounters.

American Cultural Empire

The tensions between African American soldiers and the non-white world that the correspondents' articles explored constitute one key component of what is the most interesting element of the correspondents' work, and the least explored in histories of the African American involvement in World War II. The war was responsible for the movement of vast numbers of African American men and women outside of the borders of the United States. Calling to mind Mary Louise Pratt's notions of 'Contact Zones', the war created new "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermath."[35] The creation of these new social spaces, in which black soldiers were visitors, protectors, tourists, liberators, and occupiers, is one of the most fascinating, yet still under-examined elements of the war.[36]

35. Mary Louise Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', *Profession* 91 (1991), 34.

36. To this point, the best work has been concentrated upon the occupations of Japan and Germany, where new power dynamics played out in a highly visible manner. However, few of these draw out the links to the civil rights movement, instead focusing more often on the implications for the occupied nation. See, for example: Heide Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2010); Yasuhiro Okada, "Race, Masculinity, and Military Occupation: African American Soldiers' Encounters with the Japanese at Camp Gifu, 1947-1951," *The Journal of African American History* 96 (2011).

In his influential study of race relations in America in the 1940s, Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal characterized the black press as an institution which "defines the Negro group to the Negroes themselves."[37] Throughout the war, new contact zones facilitated a new wave of definition. Expanding the boundaries of reference, the correspondents sent articles home that defined African Americans to themselves using not only the new awareness of the world that soldiers were experiencing, but also *through the way the world was experiencing African American soldiers*. These new definitions explored the newly realized power of African Americans as representatives of American cultural dominance, using the gaze of the outside world to illustrate the inseparability of African American culture from American culture.

Methodology

This study covers the period from 1939 to 1946, being the war years and the first year of the Allied occupation of Germany and Japan. However, given America's late entry into the war, and the loss of official war correspondent credentials that came with peace, the bulk of sources deal with the brief period of 1942-1945. The decision to extend the scope of the study beyond the strict years of America's engagement in the war was a simple and deliberate one. The black press employed foreign correspondents and columnists to provide information and analysis on the war prior to America's entry, with a focus on what events in Europe and the Pacific meant for black peoples across the globe. Similarly, many of the major papers dispatched the same men who had served as war correspondents during the

37. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944), 911.

war to cover the role played by African American soldiers in the post-war occupation of Germany and Japan.

The black press applied the term ‘correspondent’ loosely to those it employed to cover the war, and those who wrote articles for the various newspapers of the black press did so with varying degrees of authenticity and legitimacy. At the core were a small group of accredited correspondents, directly employed by black newspapers and dispatched across the many theaters of the war under the protection and regulation of the U.S. military. Outside of this was an even smaller number of men who had served as foreign correspondents prior to the war, and whose coverage shifted organically toward war coverage as tensions rose and conflict broke out across Europe. The final group was made up of African American soldiers who wrote the occasional article for black newspapers while on deployment. Some correspondents penned over three hundred articles during the course of the war, while others managed fewer than ten. Given the strength of the existing literature on domestic civil rights during the wartime period and the focus of this study on the trans-national dimensions of the war, only those correspondents who wrote from beyond the United States’ borders shall be considered. Similarly, as this study is primarily focused on finding the trends and assumptions that underpinned the correspondents’ activism, only those with a substantial output are examined. Unaccredited correspondents who wrote only a handful of articles are useful for broad contexts and narrative information, but lack volume of material to draw any meaningful conclusions about how they articulated their activism. Similarly, given that this study’s primary focus is civil rights

activism, African American correspondents who worked for white publications are not included.[38]

Nineteen correspondents represented four of the nation's largest black newspapers, three northern papers, and one southern. More detailed information on the correspondents can be found in the Appendix.

Afro-American (Baltimore) — Arthur 'Art' Carter, Max Johnson, Ollie Stewart, Vincent Tubbs, Francis Yancey.

Chicago Defender — Deton J. Brooks, David Orro, Edward Toles, Enoc Waters.

Journal and Guide (Norfolk, Virginia) — Lemuel 'Lem' Graves, John Q. Jordan, Thomas W. Young.

Pittsburgh Courier — Haskell Cohen, Randy Dixon, Ollie Harrington, Collins George, Edgar T. Rouzeau, Billy Rowe, Theodore Stanford.

Six correspondents represented two black news services, their articles published in the papers listed above, as well as many other black newspapers across the country that were unable to employ their own dedicated correspondents.[39]

Associated Negro Press (ANP) — Rudolph Dunbar, Joe 'Scoop' Jones, George Padmore.

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38. This study mostly overlaps, with a few exceptions, with the list of correspondents put forward by Enoc Waters, who was himself a correspondent, and John Stevens, whose 1973 monograph is an excellent starting point for an understanding of the practical side of the correspondents' lives during the war. John Stevens, "From the Back of the Foxhole: Black Correspondents in World War II," *Education in Journalism Monograph* 27, 1973; Enoch Waters, *American Diary: A Personal History of the Black Press* (Chicago, IL: Path Press, Inc., 1987), 384.

39. In most cases I have a listed as the citation the first instance of a particular article. At times it is appropriate to cite each occurrence of an article across multiple newspapers.

National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA) — Frank Bolden, Charles Loeb, Fletcher Martin.

The bulk of research and analysis takes the form of a qualitative examination and close reading of the complete output of each correspondent during the period of their overseas deployment. In order to find not only the trends and dominant assumptions, but also omissions and silences, a complete knowledge of an author's work is necessary. It is with familiarity that the themes and arguments that each correspondent returns to become apparent, as well as how they articulate their own contribution to the civil rights struggle. Some were more overt than others. The *Pittsburgh Courier*'s Edgar Rouzeau often clearly articulated how events overseas could be understood in a civil rights context. Lem Graves' work occupied the other end of the spectrum, his articles for the *Journal and Guide* largely free from activist sentiment, and much more representative of the 'news' side of wartime coverage.

This core research is augmented with a more selective survey of the articles the correspondents produced prior to, and after the war. Though some archival resources do exist, there is surprisingly little that is relevant to their experiences during the war. However, where available, these supplementary resources have been used to ensure the necessary peace-time contexts are accounted for. Finally, selective surveys have been conducted of major black newspapers throughout the wartime period. Focusing predominantly on letters and editorials, these sources allow for an understanding of the scale of the alignment between the correspondents' message and that of the paper, and of wider public opinion on the war effort and the role the correspondents played.

In working with journalistic sources, particularly during wartime, a few considerations must be made. First and foremost is the issue of censorship. Patrick

Washburn has written of the many, ultimately ineffective, attempts of the government and FBI to control and censor the domestic black press during the war years, though these attempts mostly stemmed from the paranoia and animosity of figures such as J. Edgar Hoover rather than any particularly seditious content within the black newspapers.[40] Michael Sweeny has characterized the Office of Censorship's involvement in the war as one of "many successes" and "few failures", due largely to its policy of voluntary censorship and self-regulation by the American press.[41] Censorship is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. In short, censorship was neither widespread nor consistently applied, and correspondents were often able to insert the political into the seemingly mundane to circumvent restrictions on censorship. Section 13.a. of the correspondent's basic field manual stated that: "In general, articles may be released for publication to the public provided: (1) They are accurate in statement and implication. (2) They do not supply military information to the enemy. (3) They will not injure the morale of our forces, the people at home, or our allies. (4) They will not embarrass the Unites States, its allies, or neutral countries."[42] While it seems that letters written by soldiers were heavily edited by company censors, particularly those critical of the military and the United States' allies, most of the instances of censorship that the correspondents referred to were related more closely to points 1 and 2 of the handbook.[43] Points 3 and 4 were less well respected. In most cases censors took issue with the exposure of military secrets and publication of military information rather than activism. Censorship was also the responsibility of localized officers, whose approaches and strictness concerning the removal of information varied. To

40. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition*.

41. Michael S. Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory: The Office of Censorship and the American Press and Radio in World War II* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 4.

42. *Basic Field Manual - Regulations for Correspondents Accompanying U.S. Army Forces in the Field*, January 21, 1942, *Art Carter Papers*, Box 200-1, Folder 11.

43. David Orro, "Tight Censorship of Litters Hit", *Chicago Defender*, October 30, 1943.

give just one example here, when covering the 93rd Infantry Division in New Guinea and Bougainville, the *Afro*'s Vincent Tubbs was required to send his articles to the unit's PR officer, who, for a brief period, was Billy Rowe, correspondent for rival paper, the Pittsburgh *Courier*.[44]

As well as catering to the needs of government and military secrecy, the correspondents were also beholden to the financial requirements of the black press. Black newspapers did not enjoy the same level of advertising revenue as white papers, one of the many reasons for the short average lifespan of black papers. Instead, they relied upon circulation numbers, supported in part by pleasing readers, and particularly locals of the newspaper's place of publication.[45] This specificity is not to be confused for parochialism. For Charlie Loeb, correspondent for the NNPA, it was this social role that prevented the formulation of truly large-scale, national black newspapers, but also what gave them their value. The larger a black paper grew, the less it could focus on the details of daily African American life within the community to which it catered, and the less it fulfilled the role of a black newspaper.[46]

Content was also influenced by practical restrictions. Though theoretically allowed access to military communications, the needs of correspondents of any race were far down on the hierarchy of priority information. As a result, correspondents mailed most of their articles, some appearing in print up to six weeks after the event they described. These restrictions influenced the types of articles that correspondents could write. Unable to give readers 'spot news,' correspondents instead focused on what the *Afro-American*'s Vincent

44. Oral History Interview with Vincent Tubbs (1971), *Black Journalists Project*, Columbia Center for Oral History Archives, Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.

45. John Maxwell Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye: A History of American Foreign Reporting* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 334.

46. Oral History Interview with Charles Loeb (1971), *Black Journalists Project*. See also the interview with Billy Rowe from the same project.

Tubbs characterized as an "Ernie Pyle type of 'I saw John Smith from Richmond Virginia who used to go from this school and that school'" style of reporting, one that he nevertheless saw as a "tremendously important morale thing for black people in America at that time because white newspapers simply did not even mention the existence of any blacks in the battlefields."[47] This style of reportage has been pointed to by Antero Pietila and Stacy Spalding as channeling earlier 'feuilletonism', offering "a jumble of events observations, and stories", as well as elements of narrative journalism.[48]

The restricted scope of the readership also influenced how correspondents wrote, aware as they were of not writing for a white audience. A 1945 survey of congressional representatives found only half knew of existence of black press, and of those, only five had seen a black publication.[49] Conversely, a 1943 nationwide survey asked African Americans "does the Negro press speak for most Negroes in your opinion?" 86% of those surveyed responded with a 'yes,' and only 10% said 'no.'[50] Some saw this as a limitation. In 1942 Enoc Waters, correspondent for the *Chicago Defender*, noted: "if what we are writing now has any merit, it would prove of greater value to us if it were published in an organ read largely by white persons - employers, legislators, businessmen, educators, ministers and the like."[51] Unfortunately this was not to be. This does not however discount the power the black press had. It was this scope that allowed the black press relative freedom in shaping its message to the needs of the black community.

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47. Oral History Interview with Vincent Tubbs (1971), *Black Journalists Project*.
48. Antero Pietila and Stacy Spaulding, "The *Afro-American*'s World War II Correspondents: Feuilletonism as Social Action," *Literary Journalism Studies* 5, (2013), 38.
49. Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye*, 346.
50. In James Hunter Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 9.
51. Enoc P. Waters, "One Man's Journal", *Chicago Defender*, February 7, 1942.

The correspondents themselves came from relatively diverse backgrounds, each with his own reason for working for black newspapers. For some, like Texan Vincent Tubbs, newspapers had been his whole life. Tubbs' father was a printer, and as a child the young Vincent had helped his father in the workshop, setting type and keeping the press clean. Knowing his path, he moved to Atlanta to study journalism at Morehouse, graduating in 1938.[52] Billy Rowe, a native of South Carolina but who spent his childhood growing up in Philadelphia, had seen a career in journalism as a direct route to activism and a way to enact the change he felt the United States needed.[53] Charles Loeb, of Baton Rouge, fell into journalism when his attempts at a career as a doctor came to nothing.

Their careers within journalism prior to the war were just as diverse. For some, like Tubbs, the activism of war reporting was not much of change from his pre-war duties. Working as a 'lynch reporter', it was Tubbs' duty to cover the aftermath of lynchings in the south. Dispatched at a moment's notice, carrying nothing save a change of clothes, he would attempt to blend in with the local population to get the African American perspective of the event, and was often run out of town by angry whites, and, in some cases, local law enforcement. At the other end of the spectrum were men like Arthur 'Art' Carter and David Orro. Carter was the sports editor of the *Afro*'s D.C. edition, and became a war correspondent to avoid being drafted.[54] David Orro was the *Defender*'s poetry editor and society correspondent.

They were all men, with one exception. One female correspondent, Betteye Phillips, was to write for the *Afro*. Unfortunately, Phillips fell ill on the boat to England. On her

52. Oral History Interview with Vincent Tubbs (1971), *Black Journalists Project*.
53. Oral History Interview with Billy Rowe (1972), *Black Journalists Project*.
54. Letter to Mr. W. D. Bittings, June 17, 1941, in *Art Carter Papers*, Box 170-4, Folder 4, Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; 'The History of the Black and White Press: A Transcript of a Recorded Interview' with Mr. Arthur (Art) M. Carter, Publisher of the Washington Afro-American, November 9, 1941, Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, 35.

arrival she was taken directly to hospital, writing a handful of articles from her sickbed. Upon regaining her health, she returned to the United States.[55]

One correspondent was white. Haskell Cohen, a Jewish man from New York City, covered black soldiers in Italy in a brief but productive stint in late 1944 and early 1945. Just how Cohen came to be working as a war correspondent for the black press remains a mystery. Indeed, his time as a war correspondent might not even make the top of the list of the most interesting achievements of Cohen's life, as he was later instrumental in the creation of the shot clock in basketball and the invention of the NBA all-star game.[56]

Once overseas, the correspondents fit themselves into one of three general methods of operation. Some, such as the *Defender*'s David Orro, based themselves out of a single location. Others attached themselves to the largest and most high profile black units, such as the Tuskegee Airmen and the Buffalo Soldiers. Most often however, the correspondents roamed a theater of operations, seeking out black units, interviewing black soldiers on leave, and generally making life difficult for those who did not want positive stories of black soldiers to be made public. They acted largely independently. Vincent Tubbs recalled that during his time in Australia and the Pacific he was given a completely free hand to go wherever, and cover whatever he thought would make for the best story. Occasionally he would receive word from his editors giving him a tip about the imminent arrival of specific people of interest, tips which led, among other things, to an interview conducted with Eleanor Roosevelt during her tour of Australia.[57]

55. Elizabeth M. Phillips, "Hospitals are Nice — Phillips", *Afro-American*, December 2, 1944.
56. Richard Goldstein, "Haskell Cohen, 86, Publicist; Created N.B.A. All-Star Game", *New York Times*, July 3, 2000.
57. Oral History Interview with Vincent Tubbs (1971), *Black Journalists Project*.

Outline

The thesis is divided into seven chapters, broadly arranged into two sections, though with some thematic overlap between and across chapters. The first of these sections examines the correspondents' approach to ideas of manhood, masculinity, and the black body. Chapter one investigates the correspondents' depictions of African American soldiers *as* soldiers, providing greater detail to the analysis of strategies that characterized coverage of black combat personnel. Not merely standard wartime coverage, stories of African American martial excellence were a direct challenge to the stereotypes used to justify their exclusion from combat roles. However the correspondents were more often faced with the task of reassuring anxious readers back home, readers who were uneasy over the widespread restriction of black soldiers to service roles. This tension will be explored in chapter two. Aware that the perceived safety of these roles undermined a claim to the full suite of rights that military service could impart, the correspondents argued that despite the label of 'service' roles, black soldiers serving in them were no less exposed to danger nor less manly than those serving on the front lines. The chapter will also explore how the correspondents drew upon alternative displays of masculinity to contend with theories of racial inferiority. The correspondents' attempts to re-cast how service roles should be interpreted continues in Chapter three. Aligning themselves with the ongoing civil rights focus on labor, employability, and workers' rights, the correspondents used African American excellence in service roles to create a 'collective resume' for African Americans. If black workers were given the chance, they argued, they were capable of excelling in the modern, and highly technical fields of skilled labor from which they found themselves barred in peacetime.

The second section of the thesis accounts for the correspondents' attempts to contextualize their own freedom struggles globally, to negotiate the expanding power and

influence of the United States, and to demonstrate the valuable and inseparable contribution made by African Americans toward American culture. The first stage of this conceptual emphasis on Americanness is explored in Chapter four, which looks to the manner in which the correspondents emphasized a narrative of white acceptance and friendship outside of the borders of the United States. Writing from Allied nations as well as occupied Italy and Germany, the correspondents communicated a near-unanimous message of fraternity and understanding between white hosts and their black guests, emphasizing the incongruity of white American racism when taken against the color-blindness of other white peoples. These articles also served a secondary purpose, beginning the alignment of African Americans with western peoples and culture, explored in more detail in later chapters. Chapter five continues the exploration of the correspondents' globalized gaze, this time looking to the non-white world. Historiographies of mid-twentieth century African American activism have pointed to the strength of black internationalism through the 1930s and 1940s. The correspondents were no different, conceptualizing the war in global terms, with democracy, anti-imperialism, and global self-determination all key elements within the correspondents' rhetoric. However this was complicated by the correspondents' attitudes to non-white peoples and cultures, explored in Chapter six. Despite the unity of their internationalist message, the correspondents continued their alignment of African Americans with the West by distancing them from the non-white world and adopting discourses commonly associated with western imperialism. Far from the solidarity that many historians point to as existing between African American activists and the non-white world, the activism of the correspondents was expressed in terms of the superiority of black Americans, due to their links to more advanced western culture. These connections are more fully explored in Chapter seven, which explores the correspondents' attempts to contextualize and manage the increasing global influence and exportation of American

culture. Working from the correspondents' approaches to jazz, Hollywood, and segregation, Chapter seven highlights how the correspondents used foreign perceptions of America and Americanness to communicate to readers how they ought to perceive of themselves within an increasingly globalized America.

Chapter 1
Manly Self Assertion:
Narrating the Defense of Manhood

In his autobiographical essay *The Ethics of Living Jim Crow*, Richard Wright, one of the foremost African American authors of the mid-twentieth century, wrote of subjects that were taboo from the white American's point of view. The list, humorous and unsettling in its length, concluded with: "any topic calling for positive knowledge or manly self-assertion on the part of the Negro."[1] Wright was not merely being dramatic. Joe Louis, world heavyweight boxing champion and darling of the African American public and press, lived beneath a heavily managed public persona to assuage white fears of 'dangerous' black masculinity. Louis's adoption of this persona was necessary after the precedent set by Jack Johnson, the first African American world heavyweight boxing champion, whose unashamed 'manly self-assertion' was seen by whites as a direct and aggressive challenge to the superiority of white manhood.[2] Victims of lynching often found themselves so targeted because they had transgressed the boundary that subordinated black manhood to white, with violence an essential tool in re-asserting white masculine dominance.[3] The racial violence of the infamous 'Red Summer' of 1919, which resulted in hundreds of

1. Richard Wright, *The Ethics of Living Jim Crow*, Essay, 1938.
2. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 1-3; Lauren Rebecca Sklaroff, "Constructing G.I. Joe Louis: Cultural Solutions to the 'Negro Problem' during World War II," *The Journal of American History* 89, (2002), 969.
3. See: Robyn Wiegman, "The Anatomy of Lynching", in Darlene Clark Hine and Earnestine Jenkins (eds.), *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U.S. Black Men's History and Masculinity,* Volume 2: "The 19th Century: From Emancipation to Jim Crow" (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), 349-369.

deaths and higher numbers of injuries, was in no small part due to the white response to the return of African American servicemen from the Great War, whose newly bolstered sense of self-worth and manhood sparked a violent reaction from those whites intent on preserving the divisions between the races.[4] Even during World War II, black men in uniform in the United States, particularly those who had served overseas and returned home with a renewed sense of self, were met with anger and violent repression from their white compatriots, rather than respect.[5] In each case physical and ideological conflict arose from what Wright had labelled "manly self-assertion," with its implicit contestation of the white monopoly on manhood that shaped male race relations within America.[6]

Among displays of manly self-assertion, few are more respected than those related to martial manhood, and black activists were aware of this. As Adriane Lentz-Smith points out in her history of black service in World War I, "African Americans could cite their own service in every war from the Revolution to the imperial wars of 1898 as grounds for civic access and inclusion."[7] More famously, Frederick Douglass's declaration regarding African Americans service in the Civil War echoed through each subsequent war that followed: "let the black man get upon his person the brass letters US, let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder…and there is no power on earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States."[8] Douglass made the important connection between martial manhood, service to the nation, and a claim to the full rights of citizenship. This link between military service and citizenship has

4. Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 194-196.

5. See: Brandt, *Harlem at War*, 186-188; Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 64; Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 43-45; Penny Von Eschen, "Civil Rights and World War II in a Global Frame: Shape-Shifting Racial Formations and the U.S. Encounter with European and Japanese Colonialism," in *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, eds. Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 172

6. See: Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*.

7. Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 19.

8. Frederick Douglass, "Should the Negro Enlist in the Union Army?", *Douglass's Monthly* (Aug. 1863).

unsurprisingly been best explored by twentieth century feminists, who note the important equation of soldier with citizen, and importantly, with 'man,' the very equation black activists were looking to exploit.[9]

The association of service with citizenship and manhood was a strategy to which African Americans often returned. World War I had given activists new opportunities and avenues through which to bolster black American manhood, instilled in those who served overseas a renewed self-respect, and created a legend that would endure throughout the twentieth century.[10] From the middle of the 1930s the domestic black press and organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), had pushed Roosevelt and the War Department to fully integrate black troops into combat roles in the same ratios as white soldiers.[11] Black magazines of the inter-war period printed pictures of soldiers who had served with valor alongside those of influential black businessmen and community leaders, each serving as examples of 'successful' black men from which aspiring young blacks could draw inspiration.[12] *A New Negro for a New Century*, a compendium put together by leading African Americans of the early twentieth century, is seen by historian Henry Louis Gates Jr. as one of the most important pieces of the self-reconstruction of African Americans towards a more positive version of the race. It contained black histories, slave narratives, and biographies of leading African American intellectuals and activists. It is telling that many of its pages were also dedicated to the

9. See: Genevieve Lloyd, *The Man of Reason: 'Male' and 'Female' in Western Philosophy* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 75; Carole Pateman, "Women, Nature and the Suffrage," *Ethics* 90, (1980): 564-574. For a critique explicitly in the American context, see: Linda K. Kerber, "'A Constitutional Right to be Treated Like…Ladies': Women, Civic Obligation, and Military Service," *The University of Chicago Law School Roundtable* 1, (1993): 95-128.

10. Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*; Chad Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

11. Alkebulan, *The African American Press in World War II*; Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American*, 165; Shelly Lynette Watson, "The Pittsburgh Courier: Advocate for Integration of the U.S. Armed Forces, 1934-1940" (MA Thesis, San Jose State University, 2013).

12. Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 195.

combat performances of black soldiers through America's many wars.[13] At times representations of black martial manhood took on more abstract aims. In the interwar years, the 'Des Moines Officer,' a graduate of the only black military officer school, "became a frequent fixture in the prose fiction of the New Negro Renaissance," representing the qualities of "refinement, physical courage, selflessness, and racial pride, which would spearhead an intellectual, political, and perhaps even eugenic revitalization of the African American community in the post-war era."[14] At the same time, the literati of the Harlem Renaissance saw an increased focus on the body and physical strength as the locus of manhood, features of masculinity that military service could not but enhance.[15]

The least complex and nuanced of the civil rights strategies employed by the correspondents, the promotion of powerful, able, and martial black manhood was key to the correspondents' coverage of the war, dominating their reports. Wartime military service offered an avenue for 'manly self-assertion', and the challenge that came with it, that was unavailable during peace time. The war provided the correspondents with a raw material they could manipulate and shape, offering it up to their readers to lay claim to the citizenship rights, just as Douglass had done a century earlier. In the brief period between 1942 and 1946, the correspondents wrote hundreds, if not thousands of articles on the day-to-day successes and heroism of black soldiers.

Not just continuing a tradition of activism that linked combat prowess and service to calls for citizenship, the correspondents were also doing their part to assuage an anxiety felt by many black Americans back home. Ollie Stewart, correspondent for the *Afro-American* and one of the most widely travelled, widely published, and most influential of all the

13. Henry Louis Gates Jr., "The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black," *Representations* 24, (1988), 136.

14. Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro*, 5.

15. Martin Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents: The Black Middles Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 203.

correspondents, split his three years of active duty overseas with a brief return home early in 1944. Not content to rest, Stewart embarked on a series of speaking tours, presenting in auditoria, school halls, and social clubs across the eastern seaboard. Giving a talk to a full house in Richmond, Virginia, Stewart noted that the number one question he was being asked by those at home was the extent to which black soldiers were being used in combat roles.[16] Despite seventeen months of constant foreign coverage, in which he had repeatedly emphasized the value and heroism of soldiers serving in support roles, Stewart's audience were still primarily concerned with the usage of black soldiers as combat personnel. A year and a half later audiences still hungered for the same news. In July of 1945, Charlie Loeb, a syndicated columnist writing for the NNPA, sent home news that the 369th Coastal Artillery had been re-purposed into an infantry battalion and were now hard at work pushing the Japanese off Okinawa. Normally, each of Loeb's articles would appear in one or two newspapers, three on rare occasions. Loeb's news that a black unit had been converted into the glamourous and unquestionably masculine role of front-line infantry was carried by no fewer than eight of the nation's largest black newspapers.[17] Later, on his return to the States, Loeb faced the same anxious questions as Stewart, audiences fixated upon the front line as the only legitimate location in which war took place.[18]

This anxiety was tied to the second element of the correspondents' coverage of martial masculinity, the representation of a more positive, able black manhood. As noted, much of the rhetoric surrounding the Double-V centered on channeling military service into

16. "Overflow Crowd Hears Afro War Correspondent", *Afro-American*, February 12, 1944.

17. Charles Loeb, "369th Artillery Blasts Japs Off Okinawa", *Atlanta Daily World*, July 10, 1945; "369th Captures 700 Japs", *Afro-American*, July 14, 1945; "All-Negro Infantry Unit Sparking Ryukyu Drive", *Chicago Defender*, July 14, 1945; "Negro Unit Capture Over Seven Hundred Jap Soldiers on Okinawa", *Call and Post*, July 14, 1945; "369th Routs Japs", *Journal and Guide*, July 14, 1945; "Lt. Col. Wilmer F. Lucas, Led New York's 369th Troops as Part of Invasion Force that Took Jap Held Okinawa", *Amsterdam News*, July 14, 1945; "369th Anti-Aircraft Capture Jap Major", *Philadelphia Tribune*, July 14, 1945; "Japanese Major Capture by Tan Yanks on Okinawa", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 14, 1945.

18. Charles Loeb, "Loeb Tells Akronites that Solider-Contacts Help Race", *Call and Post*, December 22, 1945.

claims for full citizenship. The closer black men were to combat, the greater their martial prowess, and the greater their claim to the rights of the citizen-soldier. These intentions were hampered by the large-scale restriction of black soldiers to service and support roles, which distanced men from valorous combat. These restrictions also tied into the long history of military service that undermined black masculinity, reinforcing stereotypes of cowardice and servility. Readers were keen for any news from abroad that might show black men in positions that distanced them from these associations.

In the case of combat soldiers, the war was undoubtedly a test of black manhood to rise above the equation of black military service with servitude. In 1925, a study by what would become the Army War College warned that black soldiers were weakened by "mental inferiority and inherent weakness of character," one of many racialized justifications for discrimination that governed military policy.[19] Benjamin O. Davis, who would command the famous 'Tuskegee Airmen,' the first black pilots to see combat for the United States during the war, noted in his autobiography that even in 1941 the Army "still regarded blacks as totally inferior to whites — somewhat less than human, and certainly incapable of contributing positively to its combat mission."[20] The viability of black soldiers was being tested, and activists knew it. Brig. Gen. Noel F. Parrish, commander of Tuskegee Air Field, home of the 'Tuskegee Airmen,' noted that the introduction of black combat pilots to the war was largely down to pressure put on the War Department and President Roosevelt by "black leaders, most of the people who ran the newspapers…the NAACP…political-minded people." In Parrish's eyes, "they wanted to produce a combat unit which could get into action and prove itself as being able to do something which no

19. In Estes, *I am a Man!*, 17. See also: Sherie Mershon and Steven Shlossman, *Foxholes and Color Lines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Forces* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 13-19

20. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., *Benjamin O. Davis Jr.: American* (New York: Plume, 1992), 69.

blacks in the world had had the chance to do before."[21] Davis agreed on this point.[22] It was a similar case with the Army. In his first speech to the 'Buffalo Soldiers' of the black 92nd Infantry Division, Maj. Gen. Edward Almond, the Division's white, Southern commander, was reported to have told assembled soldiers: "I want you to know that I didn't ask for you. Your negro newspapers got you here."[23] Members of black combat units were well aware that many white Americans in positions of power were keen to see them fail, to prove the inferiority of blacks and to shut down this avenue for activism.[24]

Both Paul Alkebulan and Jinx Coleman Broussard have written on the place the correspondents hold in the long tradition of activism that used military service to further civil rights goals. Though Alkebulan focuses primarily on the relationship between the correspondents and domestic campaigns, Broussard's analysis of the correspondents' articles is much more in line with her concept of 'repositioning.' Speaking broadly on African American correspondents through the nineteenth and twentieth century, she argues that journalists who were dispatched to foreign countries by the black press "discredited the prevailing white ideology of blackness by creating and amplifying an alternative, more realistic, and positive identity for race members."[25] In this way, the correspondents were contributing their unique form of activism to what Henry Louis Gates has characterized as the "reconstruction" of the image of the African American, contesting the "plantation

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21. *Black Military Oral History Project*: Oral History Interview of Brigadier General Noel F. Parrish, conducted by Lt. Col. Woodrow W. Crockett, May 1982, Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

22. Davis, Jr., *Benjamin O. Davis Jr.*, 76.

23 *Black Military Oral History Project*: Memoir of Mr. Robert A. Brown, October 28, 1981; *Black Military Oral History Project*: Capt. Thomas Robinson; *Black Military Oral History Project*: Lt. Col. Thurston E. Jamison.

24. *Black Military Oral History Project*: Interview of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Dryden (USAF, RET.); *Black Military Oral History Project*: Lt. Col. Thurston E. Jamison.

25. Jinx Coleman Broussard, *African American Correspondents: A History* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 233.

fictions, blackface minstrelsy, vaudeville, racist pseudo-science, and vulgar Social Darwinism" that permeated American culture.[26]

By reporting on black soldiers in the manner that the mainstream media reported on white soldiers, the correspondents were working against the dominant racial narrative that had followed black soldiers through history, and had been codified in the social Darwinism of the early twentieth century. Promoting a positive black manhood, the correspondents' articles on fighting men directly addressed the question of the suitability of black bodies and minds to the rigors of modern warfare, and to modernity itself. The correspondents were not only inducting black soldiers into the storied and mythologized ranks of the Minuteman, Rough Rider, and Doughboy, and through it gaining a measure of the citizenship that such service entailed, they were creating an alternative vision of black manhood for the modern century, one that would stand in direct opposition to the theories that underpinned discrimination.

This chapter will show the importance of depictions of African American fighting men to the correspondents' civil rights strategies. It will look first at the two most high profile black units of the war, the Buffalo Soldiers of the 92nd Infantry Division and the Tuskegee Airmen of the 99th Pursuit Squadron. Both were constructed as archetypes of black martial manhood, and used as evidence of the combat prowess and suitability of black men for modern warfare. The chapter will then show how the same language and strategies were applied to the smaller and more transient black combat units scattered across the two theaters of war. The chapter then turns to the correspondents' defense of black units, highlighting the importance of the image of black combat success to the desired outcomes of their wartime aims. Finally, the chapter looks at the language of the citizen-soldier, and the construction of black fighting men as soldiers of democracy.

26. Gates Jr., "The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black," 136.

The 92nd and the 99th

The 92nd Infantry Division and the 99th Pursuit Squadron dominated the black press's wartime coverage. The 92nd was one of two all-black infantry divisions that had been formed during the Great War, and had served in France along with the 93rd. Though its designation as an African American division meant that its soldiers and support staff were black, most of the division's officers were white, including its commander, the aforementioned Gen. Almond, a Virginian with a less than favorable attitude towards the black men under his command. Nicknamed, the 'Buffalo Soldiers,' the 92nd was headquartered and trained at Fort Huachuca in Arizona, with units from the division seeing foreign service in the Italian campaign of the war, joining the Fifth Army in mid-1944 and serving there until the German surrender. The 99th Pursuit Division, famous now as the 'Tuskegee Airmen,' began its life, as the name suggests, as the first African American fighter squadron, based out of an airfield close to Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee institute in Alabama. Like the 92nd, the 99th spent most of the war based in Italy, arriving in the theater slightly earlier than the 92th to provide air support for the Allied invasion of Sicily.

Both the Buffalo Soldiers of the 92nd and the Tuskegee Airmen of the 99th are, in present day, synonymous with the African American contribution to the war effort, and have become iconic within the history of the black freedom struggle in the United States. Though largely ignored by white America in the war years and the decades that followed, the Tuskegee Airmen in particular hold a special place amongst the pantheon of Civil Rights heroes. During a 1998 ceremony honoring the life of Benjamin O. Davis, the commanding officer of the 99th and the first African American General in the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF), U.S. President Bill Clinton spoke glowingly of both Davis and

the airmen as creators of a new and positive history for African Americans. In 2007 the unit was once again honored by a standing President, when the airmen were collectively awarded the Congressional Gold Medal by George W. Bush. In 2008 the unit's former training field in Alabama was opened as a National Historical Site. The Airmen have since been the subject of many films and books, both fiction and non-fiction, most of which have emerged in the last three decades.

Those in Italy during the latter years of the war were aware of the importance of these two units as both the figureheads and the vanguards of black masculinity, and accordingly filled their dispatches with stories of the men and the exploits of the "pioneer" 99th and the "famous" 92nd.[27] The correspondents demonstrated a very clear desire to create a narrative of the men of these units forging a new path, with the eyes of the present and of the future resting on the history being created. Both units did have an element of newness to their activities. The 99th was the first United States squadron to use African American pilots. The 92nd had emerged from the Great War "marked with the stigma of failure," a stain on its reputation that the correspondents needed to rectify. So poorly was the 92nd's performance perceived by their white commander that at the war's end in 1918, thirty of the unit's black officers were court martialed for cowardice, with the four found guilty sentenced to death.[28] The ground-breaking role played by the 99th, and the need to re-create the image of the 92nd suited the purposes of the correspondents, allowing a conceptual break with the humiliations of previous military service.

The martial manhood that the correspondents reinforced using the 92nd and 99th came in the form of a continuous flow of articles on the skill, bravery, and commitment of the soldiers and airmen of these units. Articles articulated the importance of the actions of

27. Art Carter, "Our Fliers in Thick of Allied Advance on Rome", *Afro-American*, May 20, 1944, "Flyers Shatter Italian Towns", May 27, 1944, "99th Destroys Hundred Trucks", June 3, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "92nd Capture Key Hill", *Journal and Guide*, October 7, 1944.

28. Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro*, 7.

these units to the greater war effort; the purported difficulty of their task further underpinning the impressive qualities of the men at the front.

As is to be expected of wartime coverage of fighting troops, especially that of troops with whom a correspondent is embedded, the majority of articles detailed the day-to-day life and the combat exploits of the men of the 92nd and the 99th. When 'Art' Carter arrived in Italy in late 1943 to cover the increasing number of black servicemen in the region, he attached himself to the 99th Pursuit Squadron. Effectively living with the unit until midway through the following year, Carter dedicated most of his column inches to the men of the squadron, dropping in an article on wider African American service only occasionally. Settling in to the standard routine of the war correspondent, Carter rattled off articles on the routine work done by a combat squadron, writing enthusiastically of successful bombing missions and escort duties, listing promotions and awards given to the men of the unit, and at times, writing of the importance of the black support staff that enabled the fliers to do their job.[29] Where possible he backed up his claims with figures, delivering proof of the unit's abilities with metrics such as planes downed and missions flown.[30] At moments when these figures reached significant milestones, Carter left his readers no doubt of their importance in both a military context, and where appropriate, as evidence of the achievements of the race. In December of 1943 he wrote proudly of the moment that the 99th "made aerial history," setting a record of nine missions in a single day, a feat that he was quick to point out drew commendation from Gen. Henry H. Arnold, Commander of the

29. For just some examples, see: Art Carter, "Mustangs Lead Bombers Hitting Nazi Oil Fields", August 26, 1944, "Flyers Soften Up Southern France For New Invasion", August 19, 1944, "Pilots Silence German Guns", March 18, 1944, "66 in Col. Davis's Group Promoted", May 27, 1944, "23 Officers in 99th Promoted", October 7, 1944, "Folks, Meet a Silver Star Hero!", March 4, 1944, "99th Pilots Gets Damaged Ship Safely Back to Base", April 1, 1944, "Medical Unit a Vital Part of 99th Fighter Squadron", April 29, 1944, "Flyers Shatter Italian Towns", May 27, 1944; all in *Afro-American*.

30. Art Carter, "Men of 99th Get Chance to Take Five Days' Rest", January 15, 1944, "Jubilant 99th Pilots Down 12 FW Nazis, Losing One Plane", February 5, 1944, "99th Gets 4 More", February 12, 1944, "Fighter Squadron Bombs Nazi Targets on First Anniversary", April 22, 1944; all in *Afro-American*.

U.S. Air Forces during the war.[31] A few weeks later, when 1st Lt. James Thomas Wiley flew his fiftieth mission of the war, Carter lauded the "first colored pilot in the history of combat flying" to achieve such a landmark. In June of that same year Carter inducted another pilot into the family of ground-breaking black heroes, when Capt. Charles B. Hill became the first African American to be awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross.[32]

If the many smaller articles on the day-to-day life of a combat squadron made up the foundation of Carter's coverage of the 99th, the real power and color of his reportage came with articles that combined his own direct observations with interviews with the pilots and ground crew. As well as providing readers with a window to the excitement and adventure of the war, which would not at all have harmed the marketability of the newspaper, these articles allowed Carter to bring all his emotive and manipulative power as a newspaperman and entertainer to the task of repositioning. He described the idyllic life of the 99th when stationed in Central Italy during the height of summer, the men housed in tents scattered through a picturesque valley "clustered with dandelions and patches of clover", with shepherds tending their flocks on the surrounding hills, a small lagoon used for swimming in their time off.[33] He pulled on the heartstrings of readers back home with the observation that "there is nothing so disheartening than to see a group of soldiers walk away from the mail line day after day without a communication from home," and that he could form a club made of fathers who were yet to meet their child in the flesh, so many were there who eagerly enlisted even with a wife expecting a child.[34] Most of the time the implications of these articles were less subtle in their elevation of black patriotic manhood. Interviewing newly arrived pilots to the theater, Carter proudly declared that the men could not wait to

31. Art Carter, "99th Flyers Set Record with 9 Missions in a Day", *Afro-American*, December 25, 1943.
32. Art Carter, "DFC to 99th Flier", *Afro-American*, June 3, 1944.
33. Art Carter, "Field Living Comfortable for Pilots, Crew in Italy", *Afro-American*, July 15, 1944.
34. Art Carter, "Have You Written to the Soldier Overseas Today?", *Afro-American*, June 17, 1944; Carter Proposes Club for GI's with Unseen Heirs", *Afro-American*, April 22, 1944.

have a crack at the enemy, "they love the speed, action and adventure that go with flying just as the quieter souls love the peace and slippered ease of domestic life."[35] Readers were treated to the story of 2nd Lt. George McCrumby, who was hit by flak near Rome. Trapped in his plane as it was going down, McCrumby was able to wrench himself free from the falling aircraft only a few hundred feet above the ground, deploying his parachute with barely seconds to spare. Interviewed a few days later by Carter in an Italian hospital, McCrumby told the reporter that "all I want is to get back in the air. I must get a Jerry now."[36] Carter lauded the bravery of 1st Lt. Clarence W. Allen of the 99th. Shot down over enemy territory, Allen spent two days evading German patrols, at one stage crawling over a mile to avoid detection, and eventually making it back to Allied territory to resume the fight.[37] Carter also covered more technical feats, writing of a pilot who made a controlled landing on water in his P-39 Airacobra, a feat that until then had been said to be "impossible."[38]

The articles also allowed Carter to articulate the wider contribution that the pilots of the 99th were making, while maintaining the excitement and adventure that would keep readers hooked. In May of 1944, he wrote a long article on the actions of the 99th, as the unit "continued its blistering dive bombing attacks against German supply lines, railroad junctions, bridges and motor transports…giving commendable close support to allied troops surging past the Gustav line and forward to bridge beachhead with our forces at Anzio."[39] Throughout Carter maintained the language of courage, ability, excellence, enthusiasm, and patriotism. His coverage of the 99th, as well as providing entertainment and a view of the

35. Art Carter, "Latest Replacement Pilots Await Crack at Luftwaffe", *Afro-American*, December 25, 1943.
36. Art Carter, "Plane Dives 3000 Feet with Pilot Dangling by One Foot", *Afro-American*, February 19, 1944.
37. Art Carter, "Lands in Heart of Enemy Area", *Afro-American*, June 24, 1944.
38. Art Carter, "Replacement Pilot Lands His P-39 in Water, Lives", *Afro-American*, June 10, 1944.
39. Art Carter, "Flyers Shatter Italian Towns", *Afro-American*, May 27, 1944.

war to readers, also constituted that challenge that Richard Wright had spoken of, an articulation of that which many whites, and particularly those who believed in the justifications for Jim Crow laws, did not want to hear.

Carter's articles were not all positive however. Not shying away from the realities of war, nor wanting to show the black pilots to be invincible and safe from the danger that came with combat, Carter let those back home know when pilots were killed in the line of duty, when they had been captured, and when they went missing in action.[40] At times he was quite visceral in his depictions of the horrors of war, referencing the German dead, who "lay stinking beside the rain-soaked highway, their faces turning green with rot and their bodies stretched in a dozen grotesque patterns."[41]

The strategies Carter adopted to further the goals and messages of the Double-V through his articles on combat units were shared by every correspondent who attached themselves to either the 99th or the 92nd, as well as those who covered smaller, less high-profile units. The *Journal and Guide*'s John Q. Jordan spent the entire duration of his overseas posting writing first on the 99th and the then on 92nd, only rarely discussing the African American contribution to the war effort outside of these two units. Like Carter, Jordan produced many small articles on the quantifiable success of the units, such as enemy aircraft downed, miles advanced, prisoners taken, and awards received.[42] Like Carter, he pointed to the instances such as the 99th's upgrade from their more basic fighter aircraft to the "famous" P-51 Mustang as a sign of the "good reputation" of the unit and the growing

40. Art Carter, "Replacement Pilot Killed in Crash", June 3, 1944, "Two Flyers Shot Down Over Italy", June 10, 1944", "6 Pilots Reported Missing in Italy", September 30, 1944, all in *Afro-American*.

41. Art Carter, "92nd Div. Faces Bitterest Fighting of Italian Campaign", *Afro-American*, September 30, 1944.

42. John Q. Jordan, "Missions Take Flyers into Five Countries", July 15, 1944, "Fliers Bag More Nazi Planes", July 15, 1944, "Two Fliers Are Recommended for High Award", July 29, 1944, "92nd Scores More Gains", October 14, 1944, "Decorate 16 92nd Heroes", November 25, 1944, "10 92nd Soldiers Get Medals for Meritorious Achievements", February 10, 1945; all in *Journal and Guide*.

regard that military high-command had of black pilots, entrusting them with some of the most technologically advanced and high-profile aircraft available to the Allied forces.[43] Like Carter, Jordan used longer articles to profile notable individuals, to link the activities of the units to the wider war effort, and to explore in detail black soldiers' experience of war. Jordan's articles were often evocative, at times his description of the actions of the 92nd bordering on the bombastic. Informing his readers that "there are as many stories of valor [in the 92nd] as there are men," he wrote of the "heroism, excitement, and drama blended with commando tactics, as exciting as in any fiction."[44] For Jordan this valor was key to his coverage, particularly during his time with the Buffalo Soldiers, with their aforementioned stain of perceived cowardice. Fighting "in one of the hottest battle sectors of the world today," the 92nd filled the pages of Jordan's *Journal and Guide*. Chronicling the collective achievements of the unit, and always with a flair for the dramatic, Jordan brought readers stories of "some of the hardest fighting seen in this war" as the men held a defensive position, and of gains made "in this tortuous sector of the bloody Gothic line."[45] Individually, he brought to readers the story of Lt. John Fox, as well as that of S.Sgt. John A. Williams, who willingly engaged an entire German squad in hand-to-hand combat when trapped behind enemy lines, allowing the remaining members of his platoon to escape.[46]

The manner in which journalists such as Art Carter and John Q. Jordan wrote about the combat units of the 92nd and the 99th directly paralleled the home front campaign by the black press to give individuals such as the famed Dorie Miller their deserved recognition. Miller, a black ship's cook, became the first 'face' of the black war effort. Serving aboard

43. John Q. Jordan, "Negro Pilots Sink Nazi Warship", *Journal and Guide,* July 8, 1944.
44. John Q. Jordan, "Heroes from Norfolk Area Under Fire", *Journal and Guide,* December 30, 1944; "Daring and Perilous Attack Wins Silver Star, 5 Bronze Stars", *Journal and Guide,* January 13, 1945.
45. John Q. Jordan, "Gothic Line Continues to Be One Of Hottest Battle Areas", October 28, 1944, "92nd Aids Gothic Line Breakthrough", September 30, 1944, "Buffalo Division Engages Nazis In Thundering Artillery Duel", November 25, 1944, all in *Journal and Guide*.
46. John Q. Jordan, "Missing in Action: Story of Heroism", *Journal and Guide,* March 17, 1945.

the USS *West Virginia* as a cook, Miller had distinguished himself during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, first assisting the injured ship's captain, before manning an unfamiliar anti-aircraft weapon under heavy and direct fire, and finally aiding in the evacuation of the sinking ship. Miller initially came to the attention of domestic activists when the Navy published a list of commendations that included an unnamed black sailor, and interest in his story quickly grew. After a concerted effort by the black press and organizations such as the NAACP, Miller was awarded the Navy Cross, the Navy's third highest award for gallantry.[47] Stephen Tuck has shown that on the home front, activists were quick to use heroes such as Miller and other everyday soldiers as the primary method through which they communicated alternative, and positive reconstructions of the race.[48] The correspondents operated similarly. Both the domestic press and the correspondents were actively taking part in a process of hero creation, an elevation of 'average' black men to act as an inspiration, and an example to display to the rest of the world.

Martial Manhood

Though Carter and Jordan represent the most concentrated and consistent coverage of black combat personnel, they were not the only examples of such articles.[49] Haskell Cohen, the white Jewish correspondent employed by the *Pittsburgh Courier*, also spent most of his brief overseas assignment covering events at the Gothic Line, the network of

47. For the black press and Dorie Miller see: Alkebulan, *The African American Press in World War II*, 42; Robert K. Chester, "'Negroes' Number One Hero': Doris Miller, Pearl Harbor, and Retroactive Multiculturalism in World War II," *American Quarterly* 65, (2013): 31–61; Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye*, 340.

48. Tuck, "You Can Sing and Punch…But You Can't Be a Soldier or a Man" in *Fog of War*, 103-126.

49. For further examples of correspondents who at one time or another covered the 92nd or 99th, and whose coverage largely mirrored that already outlined, see the articles of: Lem Graves (*Journal and Guide*), Collins George (*Pittsburgh Courier*), Ollie Harrington (*Pittsburgh Courier*), Edgar T. Rouzeau (*Pittsburgh Courier*), Ollie Stewart (*Afro-American*), and Thomas Young (*Journal and Guide*).

fortifications in Northern Italy that halted the northward progress of the Allied Fifth Army, to which the 92nd was attached. Like the men who had preceded him, Cohen sent home reports of the day-to-day successes of the 92nd and 99th, of successful missions, promotions, commendations, and decoration.[50] Like Carter and Jordan, Cohen wrote vivid and evocative depictions of front-line combat, emphasizing the bravery, commitment, and intelligence displayed by black soldiers.[51] Fitting within the standard repertoire of a war correspondent, such articles also continued the political goal of refuting the idea that black men were unsuited for combat roles. Cohen's description of one Sgt. Mandy James as the "perfect soldier" must be read as being imbued with a measure of protest, coming as it did at a time when the perception for many was that Sgt. James's race rendered such perfection an impossibility.[52]

Despite the primacy of the 92nd and 99th within the correspondents' reportage, they were not the only African American units to serve under the much-valued designation of 'combat' unit. Many other smaller units were also engaged in combat roles. Their duties included combat engineers, tank destroyer, and artillery roles, as well as standard infantry. The smaller size of these units, coupled with their usage late in the war when Axis forces were largely in retreat, also meant that they were far more mobile and harder to pin down than the largely stationary 92nd and 99th. This however did not stop correspondents from seeking them out, and, where possible, providing in gruesome detail proof of the martial excellence of black soldiers.

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50. Haskell Cohen, "General Clark Lauds Men of 92nd; Awards Hero Medals", November 25, 1944; "Ten Fliers Promoted", November 25, 1944; "Fourteen Win Awards with 92nd in Italy", November 25, 1944; "7 Stars", December 9, 1944; "Ohio Pilot Wins DFC for Exploits in Air", December 16, 1944; all in *Pittsburgh Courier*.

51. Haskell Cohen, "92nd Takes 'Georgia'", December 2, 1944; "92nd 'Perfect Patrol' Ambushes Germans", December 9, 1944; "Ignoring Own Wounds, Bleeding Yank Saves Life of Best Friend", December 9, 1944; "92nd Unit Takes Hill X", December 16, 1944; "How 92nd Took Hill", December 23, 1944; "Saves Comrades, Rescues Colonel on Field Mission", December 30, 1944; all in *Pittsburgh Courier*.

52. Haskell Cohen, "'Perfect Soldier' Outsmarts German Officers", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 2, 1944.

In Europe, correspondents kept pace with the Allied advance from the beaches of Normandy into the heartland of Germany. Mostly covering artillery and tank destroyer units, the correspondents were forced to contend with a mobile front that only increased in size as Allied forces pushed forward into the Continent. Despite this constant movement and the distance between units, even the slightest whisper that black men were involved in combat attracted correspondents. News that black artillery units had been deployed to help re-take the French coastal city of Saint-Malo drew representatives of four different news organizations to witness the town's eventual liberation.[53] The *Courier*'s Randy Dixon claimed that white soldiers at St. Malo "said they had never known such firing."[54] While artillery units did not offer the same visceral thrill as the direct combat that came with infantry duties, nor as strident a proof of martial masculinity, they did allow the correspondents to highlight more abstract attributes of black men's service. Not thoughtless grunts, good only for channeling primitive aggression into the enemy, black artillerymen were, "with mathematical precision…pumping a pillar of fire and steel into the midst of the Nazis."[55] Likewise, when, in December of 1944, Ollie Stewart proudly noted that black artillery units had been chosen to be among the first to receive the newest and most advanced line of weapons the Army had yet produced, he was providing those back home proof of the excellence black soldiers were showing when faced with the technological, and modern, side of warfare.[56]

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53. Randy Dixon, "Negro Artillerymen Blasted 'Mad Man' from St. Malo", *Pittsburgh Courier,* August 26. 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "Nazi Commander Defies Blazing Guns of Race Unit", *Atlanta Daily World,* August 23, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Our Boys Help Take St. Malo", *Afro-American,* August 26, 1944; Edward Toles, "Toles Sees Gunners Take St. Malo's 'Mad Colonel'", *Chicago Defender,* September 2, 1944.

54. Randy Dixon, "Negro Artillerymen Blasted 'Mad Man' from St. Malo", *Pittsburgh Courier,* August 26, 1944.

55. Rudolph Dunbar, "Negro Artillery Unit Blasts Germans in France", *Journal and Guide,* August 5, 1944.

56. Ollie Stewart, "Artillery Gets New Guns to Fire on Siegfried Line", *Afro-American,* December 16, 1944. For further examples of the correspondents' coverage of combat units in Europe, see: Randy Dixon, "Artillerymen Blast Germans", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 22, 1944; Randy Dixon, "Tan Yanks' Movements in France Outstanding", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 26, 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "General Praises Race

The story was largely the same in the Pacific. However in the Pacific black combat units were more static, allowing something approaching the dedicated coverage that the 92nd and 99th received. Though a larger space, the process of moving from island to island of the Pacific, and the at times protracted procedure of invasion, consolidation, and clean-up, meant that some combat units could spend months upon the same island. This was the case with the NNPA's Fletcher Martin, who spent several weeks covering black combat soldiers as they helped to retake the island of Bougainville. The bulk of the fighting was done by the black 24th Infantry Regiment, with some support provided by black artillery units. Martin filled his dispatches with the very best of evocative journalism. He gave readers a detailed account of the "goriness" of the contestation of 'Hill X,' where "troops have locked in bloody bayonet battles and dead litter the terrain."[57] He told of how the black men of 24th had repelled attack after attack, until even the "suicidal" Japanese soldiers became "reluctant to again engage these tough, hard-hitting Americans in open combat."[58] Later, reporting on the arrival of the first black members of the Marine Corps to the Pacific, Martin drew upon the unique status and allure of the Marine Corps, noting that these black men "represent the selected among thousands," and quoting theater commander Admiral William Halsey who "especially emphasized that his Negro marines are the 'best disciplined group' in the command."[59]

Artillerymen", *Philadelphia Tribune*, January 13, 1945; Rudolph Dunbar, "969th Artillery Earns U.S.-French Citation, *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 28, 1945; Theodore Stanford, "784th Wins Battle Honors in Capturing German Town", *Pittsburgh Courier,* March 31, 1945; Theodore Stanford, "784th Tankmen In On Ruhr Cleanup", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 28, 1945.

57. Fletcher Martin, "24th Occupies 'Hill X'; Finds Mud, Blood", *Chicago Defender*, April 8, 1944.

58. Fletcher Martin, "24th Infantry Pray Japs Will 'Come out and Fight'", *Chicago Defender*, April 1, 1944.

59. Fletcher Martin, "Negro marines Active in South Pacific Area", *Chicago Defender*, April 15, 1944. For further examples of the correspondents' coverage of combat units in the Pacific, see: Charles Loeb, "Saipan Patrols Mop Up Japs Left Behind", *Journal and Guide*, June 30, 1945; Charles Loeb, "Security Detachment on Okinawa Proves Valor Around Command Post", *Atlanta Daily World*, August 9, 1945; Fletcher Martin, "Negro Combat Troops Praised for Bravery in Bougainville Battle", *Chicago Defender*, March 18, 1944; Fletcher Martin, "U.S. Forces Clean Out Bougainville Jap Raiders", *Chicago Defender*, April 15, 1944; Billy Rowe, "'One Man Army' Stages 'Solo Blitz' on Japanese", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March

It was in the Pacific theater that the clearest articulation of the importance of the link between martial manhood and modernity is found. Billy Rowe, correspondent for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, covered the advance of the 93rd Infantry through the jungles of Bougainville. In a brief respite from combat coverage, Rowe interviewed Maj. Gen. Robert B. McClure, commander of the white 'Americal' Division. McClure, as Rowe was keen to point out, was Georgia born. Nevertheless, he was full of praise of praise for the work being done by the 93rd. "The Japanese is no match for the Negro soldier," he told Rowe, "[the black soldier] will rise in superiority, for he is eager to learn. Some fine colored officers will develop out of all this to lead in the future…each soldier handles technical implements of modern warfare well." It was this last part that caught the attention of the *Courier*'s editors. In a departure from the norm, Rowe's article was published with an editorial note. With the title "What did you say about Negroes, modern weapons, Mr. Stimson?" the note directly addressed Secretary of War Henry Stimson, and his claim that black units had been "unable to master efficiently the techniques of modern weapons." After a brief summation of Rowe's article, the note finished: "Perhaps Secretary Stimson consulted the wrong Georgia general before making his statement. Those who are in position to know seem to disagree with him!"[60]

The Defense of Black Martial Manhood

The fall of the Tuscan town of Sommocolonia that framed Lt. John R. Fox's sacrifice was part of the Battle of Garfagnana — nicknamed the 'Christmas Offensive' — a brief, albeit successful German advance, and one which forced the 92nd to give up a small

22, 1944; Billy Rowe, "93rd Officer and His Men Cited for Bravery Under Fire", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 10, 1944.

60. Billy Rowe, "Japanese No Match for 93rd", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 13, 1944.

amount of ground to attacking Axis forces. For many in Washington, the German successes of the Christmas Offensive were a vindication of their firmly held belief that African American men were unfit for combat duties. Not the stirring example of heroism that Jordan envisaged when writing his article, critics of the United States' usage of black soldiers saw the events surrounding Fox's sacrifice as proof that the innate racial failings of black men made them a liability, and one that justified policies restricting America's black fighting men to service and support roles.

It was in March that knowledge of the retreats of the Christmas Offensive reached the general public. Truman K. Gibson, a member of Roosevelt's 'Black Cabinet', and the Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War during the war, gave a press conference in which he referenced the 92nd "melting away" in the face of the German offensive. At the same time, a *New York Times* article on the 92nd described the unit's "panicky retreats" which corroborated comments from within the military that "Negroes can't fight".[61] Collins George, a correspondent for the *Courier*, and who only arrived in the Italian theatre early in 1945, reported on the "intense fury" of the men of the 92nd when a *Newsweek* article critical of the division was circulated around the Fifth Army. Entitled 'Luckless Ninety-Second,' the article described the 92nd as having "crumbled under Nazi assault" during the German attack. The soldiers' response to the article, other than their fury, was to ask George "what is the Negro Press going to do about it?"[62]

In their response to the fallout from the Christmas Offensive, the correspondents displayed just as much of a commitment to the defense of black martial manhood as they did to their advocacy of it, leaping to the defense of the 92nd. The *Defender*'s Deton Brooks, at the time stationed in India, declared black soldiers in the theater "incensed" at the

61. In Tuck, "You Can Sing and Punch…But You Can't Be a Soldier or a Man" in *Fog of War*, 113.
62. Collins George, "Humiliated in Story by Newsweek Magazine", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 24, 1945.

criticisms of black combat soldiers, such articles and comments clearly "inspired by those who wish to discredit Negroes as fighting men," an opinion he told readers was shared by almost all the black soldiers he discussed the situation with.[63] Perhaps already aware of the criticism that was to come, black correspondents had been hard at work establishing the difficulty of the task that faced the 92nd. Describing the conditions in northern Italy as "just about the toughest in the history of modern warfare," correspondents repeatedly pointed to the natural impediments formed by the Apennine Mountains, impediments only strengthened by harsh winters and the concrete fortifications of the 'Gothic Line.'[64] These difficulties were compounded, the correspondents argued, by racism within the military. Pointing to military segregation, unsympathetic and outright prejudiced white southern officers, and training that did not take into account the needs of African American recruits, the correspondents argued that any failings of the 92nd were actually the failings of an inadequate institutional approach.[65]

Correspondents also took aim at those who asserted the inferiority of the 92nd. In his first article written upon his return to the States following his overseas assignment, the *Journal and Guide*'s John Q. Jordan travelled to Washington to cover Gibson's follow up

63. Deton Brooks, "India Troops Hit Slander", *Chicago Defender*, April 7, 1945.

64. Collins George, "Italian Mountain Fighting Toughest in Modern Times", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 10, 1945. See also: Art Carter, "92nd Div. Faces Bitterest Fight of Italian Campaign", *Afro-American*, September 30, 1944; Art Carter, "Heavy Enemy Fire Fails to Halt 92nd", *Afro-American*, September 30, 1944; Art Carter, "92nd Takes Peak", *Afro-American*, October 7, 1944; Art Carter, "German Pamphlets", *Afro-American*, October 14, 1944; Art Carter, "Colored Americans Fight Two Front War, Club Told", *Afro-American*, March 24, 1945; Haskell Cohen, "92nd Takes 'Georgia'", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 2, 1944; Collins George, "Marshall Praises 92nd in Italy for 'Job Well Done'", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 24, 1945; Ollie Harrington, "Fierce Mountain Fighting Tests Skill of 92nd Unit", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 7, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Infantry Makes Significant Advances", *Journal and Guide*, October 7, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Infantrymen in Fiercest Battle", *Journal and Guide*, October 21, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "The Sands of the Cinquale", *Journal and Guide*, April 14, 1945; John Q. Jordan, "Company Bore Brunt of Serchio Attack", *Journal and Guide*, June 2, 1945.

65. Collins George, "Facts are Exposed by Aide", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 24, 1945; Collins George, "Army Policy Blamed for Record of 92nd", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 24, 1945; John Q. Jordan, "Individual Infantry Soldier Doubted Why He Fought; Suspected His Orders", *Journal and Guide*, May 5, 1945; John Q. Jordan, "Why the 366th Was Broken Up", *Journal and Guide*, May 26, 1945.

press conference, in which he attempted to clarify and defend his choice of words. Gibson argued that to 'melt away' was a military term, meaning to carefully withdraw when faced with an uneven encounter. Gibson stridently defended black servicemen, stating that the "courage of a soldier knows no race," that other, white elements of the Fifth Army to which the 92nd was attached had also melted away, and that any poor service record of 92nd personnel could largely be attributed to Southern officers, Southern training camps, and Southern attitudes.[66] Wishing to avoid the same thinking that had so damaged the 92nd following World War I, Jordan first criticized Gibson for the use of the loaded term 'melting away'. Pointing to the many instances during the same period where white units of the Fifth Army 'withdrew' in response to the German attack, he suggested that much of the furor back home would have been avoided had Gibson used the correct military terminology.[67] In articles bearing headlines like 'The TRUTH About the 92nd' he spoke of the military necessities behind the withdrawals of the 92nd, pointing out that the soldiers were merely following established military doctrine, that "outnumbered and out-gunned," and only where necessary, units within the 92nd "did the natural thing – withdrew to a line they might better defend."[68] He stressed to his readers that "if there have been failures of the 92nd Division, they do not necessarily reflect unfavorably on the courage of its enlisted men," and continued to refer to instances of individual bravery during the periods of withdrawal.[69]

More worrying was the crowing triumphalism of white supremacists like Mississippi Senator James Eastland, who used the publicity of the 92nd's retreat to proclaim

66. John Q. Jordan, "92nd Has Not Failed in Combat, Gibson Answers", *Journal and Guide,* April 14, 1945.
67. John Q. Jordan, "The TRUTH About the 92nd", *Journal and Guide,* April 21, 1944.
68. John Q. Jordan, "The TRUTH About the 92nd", April 21, 1944; "Company Bore Brunt of Serchio Attack", June 2, 1945; "Men Threw Grenades and Rocks in Battle", May 12, 1945; all in *Journal and Guide*.
69. John Q. Jordan, "The TRUTH About the 92nd", *Journal and Guide*, April 28, 1945; "Men Threw Grenades and Rocks in Battle", *Journal and Guide,* May 12, 1945.

the "utter and abysmal failure" of black combat soldiers.[70] Furious that Senator Eastland had used some of his own articles as proof of the failure of the 92nd, Jordan penned a response that linked the Senator's comments back to Double-V campaign and the democratic mission of the United States:

> I have never heard an American with the gall to say that any American man in uniform has failed utterly, that is, until I came back to America and listened to people like Senators Eastland and Bilbo, of Mississippi, and Congressman Rankin, of that same state…Not only are the bitter racial attacks which are being waged by the Bilbo-Eastland-Rankin clan playing havok [sic] with the morale of the many thousands of Negro soldiers now serving in the American Armed Forces, but these undemocratic attitudes cannot help but poison the minds of other nations who are looking to America for leadership in this 'freedom-for-all' postwar project which was conceived at San Francisco…How can America lead the world's little peoples in their quest for freedom when America itself cannot give freedom to its own people?[71]

Aside from the defense of the 92nd, correspondents also publicized incidents where black combat units were transitioned into support units. Although (as will be discussed in later chapters) the correspondents sought to banish all negativity from black service in support roles, instead focusing on the essential part played by support troops and the various masculine abilities required for the successful execution of such duties, the façade dropped in the cases of combat units that were reassigned to support roles. The 2nd Cavalry Division, which was re-activated in November 1942 as the number of black Army enlistees rose, had initially been intended to be one of the Army's black combat divisions. Despite combat training prior to deployment, the men of the 2nd arrived in North Africa to find themselves being put to work unloading ships, constructing airbases, and providing guard duty in low risk areas far beyond the reach of the enemy. Whereas the reassignment of a

70. In John Q. Jordan, "War Correspondents Refute Mississippian", *Journal and* Guide, July 7, 1945.
71. John Q. Jordan, "War Correspondents Refute Mississippian", *Journal and Guide*, July 7, 1945

white combat unit to support duties reflected poorly on the unit and its soldiers, the reassignment of a black combat unit to support duties reflected badly on the race. As a result, the correspondents were keen to alert readers to the changes to the 2nd. Max Johnson of the *Afro-American* spent the last months of 1944 in North Africa. Often he would mention the men of the 2nd Cavalry he encountered, now acting as service personnel.[72] These articles that introduced the men of the "ill fated" 2nd Cavalry unfortunate enough to now be working the docks, or counting the hours of boring guard duty, were communicated to readers with a clear sense of injustice. Similarly, men of the 366th Infantry Regiment were reported as being deeply upset and "disillusioned" at their conversion to an engineering unit.[73] The chance to properly fight for their country was denied these men, and always the implication – though never stated outright - was that acts such as these were deliberate, one part of a system holding African Americans back from opportunity.

Narrative and Democracy

If the primary message of the correspondents' coverage of fighting men was that black men were able and determined 'modern' soldiers, the secondary message was their service and sacrifice were serving an overtly democratic mission. The mythology and narratives of a war are not only applied in the aftermath. Instead, wars, in the words of Kevin Foster, are "experienced, understood and described by both participants and observers," where meaning is "preceded and shaped by certain powerful myths of national

72. Max Johnson, "Ex-Cavalrymen in Bridge-Building Outfit in France", October 7, 1944; "5 Medics Replace Whites with Engineers in France", October 14, 1944; "6-Ft. Sgt. Searches 15,000 'Master Race' Prisoners", October 21, 1944; all in *Afro-American*.

73. Collins George, "366th Broken Up", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 28, 1945; Lem Graves, "Infantry Unit is Broken Up", *Journal and Guide*, April 14, 1945.

identity."[74] It was to the United States' short and long-term deification and mythology of democracy and democratic progress that the correspondents made their appeals. Seizing upon the Roosevelt Government's rhetoric of the conceptual war between democracy and fascism, and tapping in to enduring narratives regarding the purpose and progress that came with military service in the United States, the correspondents cast black military service as one element of the struggle for a higher goal. Throughout the war, the correspondents filled their articles with references to the men who were "fighting in democracy's first line," or who stood "ready and willing to carry the battle for democracy against Hitler's crumbling powerhouse."[75] These men had entered the war "to carry the fight against the force of intolerance," to "make a world safe for the democratic ideology," mirroring the values of the nation from whom they demanded the rights due them for their service.[76]

Occasionally these appeals directly echoed the language of the government, using Roosevelt's own words against him. The *Defender*'s David Orro declared that black soldiers were "fighting for what Mr. Roosevelt has christened The Four Freedoms."[77] The

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74. Foster deals primarily with the Falklands war, but his fundamental ideas are easily transferred to other contexts. Kevin Foster, *Fighting Fictions: War, Narrative, and National Identity* (London: Pluto Press, 1999), 2.

75. Art Carter, "New Colored Infantry Unit Arrives in Italian Port", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "A White Xmas for Johnny GI", *Journal and Guide*, December 23, 1944.

76. Art Carter, "92nd Crosses Arno", *Afro-American*, September 9, 1944.

77. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, August 23, 1943; Deton Brooks, "Morale Sags at Camp Forrest as Jim Crow Rules with Iron Hand", *Chicago Defender*, November 6, 1943. For further examples of the correspondents direct association of the war with democratic rhetoric, see: Art Carter, "German Pamphlets", *Afro-American*, October 14, 1944; Randy Dixon, "British Instructors Commend Soldiers for Mastery of Guns", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 6, 1943; Collins George, "Bias Perils 92nd Morale", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 10, 1945; Lem Graves, "From the Press Box", *Journal and Guide*, October 24, 1942; Lem Graves, "All of First Fighter Class Join in Anniversary Parade", *Journal and Guide*, March 11, 1944; Ollie Harrington, "'War Has Leveling Influence on Racial Bias' – Harrington", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 11, 1944; Max Johnson, "GI's Give Views on Post-War Plans", *Afro-American*, September 16, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "John Jordan Flies Over Battle Lines", *Journal and Guide*, December 30, 1944; Charles Loeb, "Navy Men Expect Liberty and Justice to Prevail", *Philadelphia Tribune*, September 8, 1945; Fletcher Martin, "'Going Home' Rumors Destroy Troop Morale", *Chicago Defender*, December 25, 1943; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Troops at Peak, Rouzeau Cables", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 3, 1942; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Black Troops Facing Rommel", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 26, 1942; Billy Rowe, "These are the Brave", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 1, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Overflow Crowd Hears Afro War Correspondent", *Afro-American*, February 12, 1944, Vincent Tubbs, "Yanks Put on Gala Show for Hospitable Aussies", *Afro-American*, April 29, 1944; Enoc Waters, " 'Show' Goes on Despite Heavy Hearts of Actors", *Chicago Defender*, June 17, 1944.

Four Freedoms, the Freedom from Want, Freedom from Fear, Freedom of Speech, and Freedom of Worship, were articulated by President Roosevelt in his 1941 State of the Union address, and outlined in simple language the ideological goals of the American war effort that was to follow. Orro was not only holding Roosevelt accountable to a rhetoric that could easily be turned inward to highlight governmental hypocrisy, he was, as others had with the language of democracy, giving soldiers a nobility of purpose. George Padmore also drew upon the Four Freedoms. Highlighting the difference between the approaches the two men took to their duties, where Orro's reference to the Four Freedoms was succinct and minimal, Padmore's encapsulated the worldviews that had shaped his own personal activism for decades:

> In one of those ironies of history, American Negroes whose ancestors were stolen from Africa by British slave traders and auctioned on the quayside of this city, to Southern cotton, tobacco and sugar planters, are today back again in these parts helping to defend Britain and emancipate the white peoples of Europe from the modern slavery which is fascism. Let us hope that when the battle is won these colored heroic fighters for that new world enunciated in President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms will be coming to them.[78]

The links between these sentiments and those that underpinned the Double-V campaign are inescapable, and often the language of the war for democracy was articulated in terms that explicitly referenced the Double-V. Randy Dixon, writing from England, described the Double-V as a black soldier's "dogma, his credo, his obsession."[79] At times they were more subtle. Frank Bolden wrote as an 'expert commentator' for the *Pittsburgh Courier* immediately prior to his deployment. In an article written in 1942 he made the case, without ever directly referencing the Double-V, that the association of the war effort

78. George Padmore, "Padmore Meets the Boys from Home in an Intimate Visit with the AEF", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 3, 1942.
79. Randy Dixon, "Our Boys Finally Win Over British Public", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 23, 1943.

with democracy was nothing but empty rhetoric if the nations involved did not practice democracy within their own borders.[80]

Given their historical exclusion from many of America's storied military traditions, the correspondents took the chances they could to create and expand upon a wider narrative that situated black soldiers alongside whites in the nation's military history. As has already been alluded to, black soldiers and activists entering World War I were aware of the lineage of African American military service, and of the importance of such military pedigree to claims to a stake in the nation's past, and from that its future.[81] The correspondents of World War II conducted similar mythologization of their present service by allusion to their past. Key to this were the two black divisions that had served in the Great War. References to the "famed 93rd," "pride of America's millions of colored citizens," and to the 92nd, "which made history in World War I," left readers in no doubt that these two units were merely continuing a tradition of black military service, despite the 92nd's need for a reconstruction of its image.[82] Writing on the exploits of the 92nd on Armistice Day 1944, Art Carter linked the Great War with the current war's democratic mission, somewhat perplexingly describing the conflict of 1914 as a war for peace and democracy.[83] Despite the questionable analysis of the war, Carter's intentions were clear, drawing a direct line from the present to the past, amplifying the African American martial tradition. In a lighter example, Ollie Harrington noted with pride the mural on the wall of the newly constructed Red Cross club in Naples. Catering to black soldiers, the mural depicted "the part colored

80. Frank Bolden, "'White Supremacists are a Nuisance to the Nation's War Effort' – Bolden", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 21, 1942.

81. Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 19.

82. Billy Rowe, "93rd's General Boyd Awarded Distinguished Service Medal", *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 6, 1943; Charles Loeb, "93rd Infantry Division Will Not be Broken Up", *Afro-American*, January 27, 1945; John Q. Jordan, "Combat Infantry Regiment Lands in Italy", *Journal and Guide*, August 5, 1944.

83. Art Carter, "92nd Wipes Out 2 German Divisions", *Afro-American*, November 18, 1944.

Americans have played in the fight for liberty and democracy since Crispus Attucks fell on the Boston Common."[84]

Occasionally the line was drawn with an eye on the present, or into the future. Writing on the deployment of the first black members of the Marine Corps, Fletcher Martin integrated the hymn of the storied branch of the military into his reportage, noting with pride that men of color were now "upholding the tradition which has blazed from the halls of Montezuma to the Shores of Tripoli," a tradition from which black men had hitherto been entirely excluded.[85] Lem Graves of the *Journal and Guide* met the first black men to be awarded their wings at Tuskegee while covering the 99th in Italy. Though their graduation was only two years in the past, Graves' article was in no small part a lionization of these men, who had "dared to try something that the Negro had never had a chance to do…because they had faith in their own ability to accomplish in the field of aviation if given a chance."[86] Not long after, Graves would once again write about history being made, profiling the "first Negro in history to complete 100 aerial combat missions," Captain Leon C. Roberts of Alabama.[87] In all three instances, African American trailblazers were adding some color to long-white traditions. However the correspondents were not picky, and were more than happy to draw readers' attention to much smaller firsts. The *Defender*'s Edward Toles was proud to note that a black reconnaissance platoon was the first American unit to cross the border into Austria.[88]

Not all instances were so narrow or intimate in scope. Reporting on the Japanese surrender, correspondents were keen to commit to record the presence of African American

84. Ollie Harrington, "Red Cross Opens New Liberty Club in Italy", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 6, 1944.
85. Fletcher Martin, "Negro Marines Active in South Pacific Area", *Chicago Defender*, April 15, 1944.
86. Lem Graves, "All of First Fighter Class Join in Anniversary Parade", *Journal and Guide*, March 11, 1944. For similar sentiments see: Thomas W. Young, "Our Flyers in Africa Ready", *Journal and Guide*, June 5, 1943.
87. Lem Graves, "Capt. Roberts Sets Record; Wilson Escapes", *Journal and Guide*, May 6, 1944.
88. Edward Toles, "Tankists Race Through Alps", *Chicago Defender*, May 12, 1945.

troops at the historical occasion. Loeb and three others were aboard the USS *Missouri* for the signing of the documents of surrender in Tokyo Bay in September of 1945. Loeb's account, which began to appear in U.S. newspapers two days later, compared the values that had facilitated Japan's defeat and underpinned America's victory. "A second-class nation of regimented people," he wrote, "whose first class fighting men were no match for the enormous resources and aroused fighting spirit of free men, signed away Japan's ill-conceived dream of world war conquest last Sunday morning."[89] This momentous occasion was not to be misunderstood as a victory only for white America. Loeb noted with pride the presence of a 60-man contingent of black stewards of the *Missouri*'s crew, who "stood on the deck at stiff attention" throughout the ceremony. The conspicuous presences of black sailors as members of the "free men" of victorious America was important to Loeb's understanding of the African American role in the history of Japanese-American relations. Two weeks on from his recounting of the surrender, Loeb reminded his readers that Commodore Perry, the man held responsible for opening Japan to American trade, had come ashore flanked by two heavily armed black guards. "The Negro American," Loeb wrote, "as usual, has been a participant in the shaping of this newest page in our history."[90]

These lineages, past, present, and future, inculcated African American soldiers into the mythology of the American citizen-soldier. Given that many of their calls for full citizenship rights were predicated upon this link, the correspondents' emphasis upon the dual role is understandable. Art Carter reminded readers in 1944 that black soldiers were not just but soldiers, but "transplanted civilians engrossed in a patriotic cause."[91] Edgar

89. Charles Loeb, "Surrender Rites Find Negroes Well Represented", *Atlanta Daily World*, September 4, 1945. See also: Charles Loeb, "Negro Sailors on Treaty Ship", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 1, 1945.

90. Charles Loeb, "Surrender of Japanese Recalls Perry Expedition Ninety-Two Years Ago; Negro Among Marines", *Call and Post*, September 15, 1945.

91. Randy Dixon, "Combat Units for Invasion", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 3, 1944.

Rouzeau declared that it was the Army that was "providing the Negro with an opportunity to share the responsibilities of citizenship," a sentiment he would repeat twice the following year.[92] Frank Bolden, ruminating upon the end of the war in September of 1945, cast his mind back over the hostilities of the previous four years. "Once more," he wrote, "Negro soldiers have helped to carry America's colors into the battle for freedom, and one more they've helped return them with honor and victory, proving that when America fights, all her sons fight."[93] Modern day Minutemen, African Americans were undertaking the duty that all Americans must, fulfilling their end of the bargain with a government unwilling to fulfil its own.

In his address at the awarding of the Congressional Gold Medal to the Tuskegee airmen in 2007, President George W. Bush spoke of the airmen's "burden of having every mission, their every success, their every failure viewed through the color of their skin."[94] This was as much true for the correspondents who covered their exploits for the black press as it was for the white officers who held them back or the white politicians who saw their every failure as evidence of the inability of black men to make proper soldiers. "It's pretty tough being an 'experiment,'" wrote the *Journal and Guide*'s Lemuel 'Lem' Graves, while covering the Tuskegee Airmen in Italy, "feeling that the hopes and aspirations of millions of underprivileged people rest on your shoulders is a fairly heavy burden."[95] Each success for the 99th and other units that directly engaged in combat, whether large divisions such as

92. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Pearl Harbor Anniversary Finds Troops on All Fronts", December 12, 1942; "AEF Soldiers Hear Rouzeau in Africa", July 31, 1943; " 'Our Boys Want to Fight' – Rouzeau", December 4, 1943; all in *Pittsburgh Courier*.

93 Frank Bolden, "Peace Means These GIs can Leave Jungle Hell", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 1, 1945.

94. Speech given by President George W. Bush, March 29, 2007, at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5GAyaXkeojg, accessed 13/4/16.

95. Lem Graves, "99th Proves 2 Races Can Fight Together as Unit", *Journal and Guide*, April 15, 1944.

the 92nd or smaller units attached to white forces, was held up by the correspondents as proof of the ability of black manhood. Just one link in a chain stretching back beyond the Civil War that linked civil rights goals to expressions of manhood, the correspondents used military service to promote an alternative, positive vision of African American men that countered and undermined theories that linked an individual's manliness directly to their race.

Interviewing black soldiers wounded during the Normandy landings, Randy Dixon, writing for Pittsburgh's *Courier* newspaper, sat down to talk a while with Coast Guardsman George Bray, of Andalusia, Alabama. Bray, who had been felled by machine gun fire from a German aircraft when ferrying supplies to the landing zone, was nevertheless in good spirits. All Bray wanted was to heal as soon as possible to get back to his ship and back into the fight. However, despite his confinement to a hospital bed, Bray was adamant that "it was worth getting messed up for the sight of the colored boys with guns on the beaches."[96] In late 1944, and ruminating on a war that he knew was inevitably going to end in an Allied victory, Max Johnson interviewed black soldiers he encountered, attempting to determine if the average African American soldier felt that their service had won any victories that would see change come to the United States. Although opinions were divided, Johnson reported that the optimists he had spoken to were of the belief that the combat records of black soldiers were undermining stereotypes of black men as servile and weak, physically inferior and cowardly.[97] It is crucial to not understate the importance of the presence of African American men in combat roles, and what that meant for the civil rights struggles of the 1940s. Although undertaking the same duties as their white compatriots, African American combat personnel directly challenged those who doubted the capacity of black

96. Randy Dixon, "Col. Mann Leads Unit Overseas", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 24, 1944.
97. Max Johnson, "GI's Give Views on Post-War Plans", *Afro-American*, September 16, 1944.

bodies and minds to meet the requirements of modern warfare. Repeatedly emphasizing the excellence displayed by black combat soldiers and airmen, the correspondents were taking the first step in their bid to use the war and military service to create alternate, and positive models of black manhood. The correspondents wrote black soldiers into narratives of democracy and citizenship, and kept audiences aware of the continued successes of black men in mechanized, and modern warfare. They defended black servicemen from criticism that was rooted in racialized thinking. Through this they not only lay claim to the rights that were at the heart of the Double-V, they continued a discussion that had been ongoing from the turn of the century, a discussion that debated the very place of people of color in the modern world.

Chapter 2
"You Don't Have to Kill a Jap to be a Hero"
Manhood Beyond Combat

Despite the power and popularity of articles that chronicled the achievements of African American fighting men, correspondents were faced with the reality that most black servicemen were not employed in combat roles. The large-scale restriction of black men to service and support duties, justified officially and unofficially on racialized thinking, meant that combat service was nothing but a pipe dream for most black men who put on the uniform of the United States. By the end of 1943, for every black soldier holding a rifle or sitting in the cockpit of a fighter, four others were employed baking bread, driving trucks, unloading ships, and washing uniforms.[1] Though not every soldier was keen to put himself in danger, the propaganda blow that this restriction imposed is clear. While the correspondents were always keen to find examples of black men who had made the transition from service to combat roles, men who felt that they were finally "doing something that counts," most of their raw material was sourced from men who, by the same logic, were not.[2] In a candid moment, one unnamed soldier told the *Afro*'s Vincent Tubbs that he would one day want to tell those back home what he had done during the war, "and I don't want to be telling them I lifted boxes."[3] Even the correspondents who covered support

1. Ulysses S. Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1966), 406.
2. Charles Loeb, "Tars Lauded for Work on Okinawa", *Afro-American*, July 7, 1945.
3. Vincent Tubbs, "Searchlight GI's Resent Transfer to Stevedoring", *Afro-American*, May 27, 1944. Such sentiments are echoed throughout histories of black service in World War II. See: Jefferson, *Fighting for Hope*, 160-163; McGuire, *Taps for a Jim Crow Army*, 59-78; Motley, *The Invisible Soldier*, 73-148.

troops saw their assignment as a step below the glory of combat coverage. One of Frank Bolden's co-workers at the *Courier* conveyed his sympathies at the correspondents' coverage of support troops, writing: "I know you feel it very keenly by not being in a more active theater."[4]

As referenced in the previous chapter, the constant questions that correspondents like Ollie Stewart and Charlie Loeb faced upon their return home, questions from black Americans about the scale of black soldiers' involvement in combat situations, spoke to an anxiety felt throughout black communities. The correspondents could only use what was available to them to prove the worth and manliness of black support troops to skeptical whites, as well as to friendly audiences who privileged news of black combat soldiers above that of service personnel. They were also forced to contend with a history of military service that often further reinforced the conceptual linkages between African Americans and servile, unskilled labor.[5] Fresh in the mind would have been the insults of the Great War, where many black labor divisions were issued with blue denim uniforms to further differentiate them from white soldiers and de-legitimize their own service, the uniforms a visible reinforcement of the role of black bodies in society.[6] Looking back on his time in the Army during World War I, one black soldier would wryly not that their "manpower was wanted but not their manhood."[7]

The correspondents did not merely resign themselves to an acceptance of the secondary status of support soldiers. Surprisingly neglected in a historiography that places

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4. Letter to Frank Bolden from James M. Reid, Pittsburgh Courier, undated, *Frank E. Bolden Papers*, 1930-1967, Box 2, Folder 37, AIS.2008.05, Archives Service Center, University of Pittsburgh.

5. As referenced in the Introduction: Kaplan and Kaplan, "Bearers of Arms", Hine and Jenkins, *A Question of Manhood,* Volume 1, 167; May, "Invisible Men," Hine and Jenkins, *A Question of Manhood,* Volume 1, 474-477; Horton and Horton, "Violence, Protest, and Identity," in Hine and Jenkins, *A Question of Manhood*, Volume 1, 393.

6. Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 19.

7. In Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 19.

so much emphasis on the war's transformative power over black masculinity, the question of how the correspondents negotiated the large-scale restriction of black men to service roles is important to understanding how civil rights strategies of the 1940s adapted to the unique stimuli of the war. Though histories frequently make note of the embarrassment felt by black service personnel, little attention has been paid to what black activists did to try to alleviate this embarrassment. This was particularly important in light of the campaigns that placed so much emphasis on the usage of black men in combat roles as a key element of activist strategies of the war. Not merely relying upon excellence in combat to prove the capacity of black men to meet the challenges of modern warfare, the correspondents also set out to redeem the status of service and support roles, finding alternative ways to assert the power and capability of black manhood.

This chapter will focus on how the correspondents dealt with the challenges posed by the preponderance of black men in service roles in their efforts to elevate black manhood. Ensuring that readers were aware of the importance of support troops to modern warfare, and making it clear that in the new realities of total war no soldier was safe from danger, the message to readers was clear: even though black men were mostly serving as support troops, their masculinity was without question, and, given the opportunity, they were the match of any white soldier, both in ability and commitment to the cause. The chapter will then turn to the correspondents' exploration of an alternative proof of masculinity, that of the sporting field, and how reports on the sporting achievements of black soldiers during the war supplemented the push for the recognition of black masculinity, as well as allowing a safe form of comparison with white men. The chapter then examines how these positive depictions of black men were directly linked to contesting racial ideologies. Tying into the racialized nature of the war, both the correspondents and the men they were reporting on contextualized their military successes

as victories against Nazi racial theories, challenging any ideology that based itself on a hierarchy of race.

Masculinity and Support Troops

Unlike the men of the 92nd and the 99th, and other similar combat units whose service could be proudly displayed as the clearest possible evidence of black masculinity, reporting on service personnel ran the risk of merely reinforcing the negative stereotypes that the war had offered up the chance to overturn. Reminding readers that black soldiers overseas were not content to sit behind the lines and drive trucks or staff supply depots, the correspondents did what they could to ameliorate the negative perception of service roles, undertaking a comprehensive strategy of redemption aimed at enhancing the prestige of support duties. Correspondents made it clear that although happy to put the utmost effort into the tasks assigned to them, black soldiers would, in the words of the *Afro American*'s Max Johnson, "to a man…rather be behind the guns."[8] Enthusiastic but never bellicose, and "raring for a crack at the Nazis," black service personnel were diligently going about their duties, but awaiting the order to advance.[9]

The notion that strong supply and support infrastructure was essential to the successful execution of warfare was hardly a new concept to the battlefields of the Second World War. But with the history of African American service in wartime more associated with the digging of ditches and erecting of tents, it was a concept that bore fruit for the

8. Max Johnson, "Former AAA Unit Now Tracking Supplies to Front", *Afro American,* October 7, 1944.

9. Edward Toles, "Chicagoans Battling In France! 'We're Giving Nazis Hell!'", *Chicago Defender,* June 24, 1944. For further examples see: Randy Dixon, "Troops In England Eager For Service In France", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 9, 1944; David Orro, "Orro Returns To U.S. After Year In England", *Chicago Defender,* Dec 11, 1943; David Orro, "Scribe Gripes at Absence Of Action; Visits Hospital", *Chicago Defender,* May 8, 1943; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Troops At Peak, Rouzeau Cables", *Pittsburgh Courier,* Oct 3, 1942; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'Our Boys Want To Fight' – Rouzeau', *Pittsburgh Courier,* Dec 4, 1943; Theodore Stanford, "Negro Volunteers Ready for Combat", *Pittsburgh Courier,* March 17, 1945.

correspondents. The desire to communicate the value of the work black soldiers were doing was strong. The sheer volume with which correspondents wrote on the importance of labor roles, and the fervor with which they imparted their words is testament to this. Terms such as "vital," "all important," or "essential" were ever-present in descriptions of the work black support personnel were undertaking.[10] Keen to avoid any perception that African Americans were not taking a direct hand in the shaping America's future, or that black soldiers were not due the same respect as white, the correspondents did what they could to educate readers of the value of service duties. They observed the work of the drivers of the 'Red Ball Express,' whose trucking convoys facilitated the Allied push into Germany, and declared that they were "shaping the war's destiny as greatly as any combat troops."[11] Art Carter of the *Afro-American* directly addressed readers' concerns. "In the military manual they are rated as non-combatants," he wrote "but, relatively speaking, their job is as important as that of the man who handles the gun."[12] But it was Deton Brooks, a

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10. To give an idea of the scale of the usage of terms such as this, here are a few examples: Frank Bolden, "Our Troops Drive Convoy!", *Pittsburgh Courier,* January 27, 1945; Frank Bolden, "Cite Engineers In Burma For Construction Feats", *Pittsburgh Courier,* June 9, 1945; Deton J. Brooks, "Negro Engineers Write History in Heroic Job On Key Ledo Road", *Chicago Defender,* Nov 4, 1944; Art Carter, "Troops Guard Air Service Buildings in North Africa", *Afro-American,* December 11, 1943; Randy Dixon, "Colored Troops Skill In All Lines Wins Official Acclaim", *Pittsburgh Courier*, Feb 6, 1943; Randy Dixon, "Morale High As Our Boys Await Invasion Day", *Pittsburgh Courier,* Mar 4, 1944; Randy Dixon, "Port Battalions Set Records On Beachheads", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 24, 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "First Truck Company Operates in Cherbourg", *Atlanta Daily World*, July 22, 1944; Lem Graves, "Drama of Men and Planes Unfolds in Italy", *Journal and Guide*, March 18, 1944; Max Johnson, "AFRO Writer in S. France", *Afro-American,* August 26, 1944; 'Scoop' Jones, "Tough Race Troops Battling Japanese", *Atlanta Daily World,* October 25, 1942; John Q. Jordan, "Flier Gets D-Day Victory", *Journal and Guide,* Aug 19, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Rambling Rover", *Journal and Guide,* Dec 2, 1944; Fletcher Martin, "Race Troops Face Japs On Bourgainville Island", *Chicago Defender,* Jan 22, 1944; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Troops At Peak, Rouzeau Cables", *Pittsburgh Courier,* Oct 3, 1942; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Mechanized Armies Rely On Mechanics", *Pittsburgh Courier,* Jan 9, 1943; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Gen. 'Ike' Praises Work of SOS Units", *Pittsburgh Courier,* Sept 4, 1943; Ollie Stewart, "Ollie Stewart Travels with Troops Supplying Front Line in N.Africa", *Afro-American,* December 26, 1942; Ollie Stewart, "N. African Troops Covered with Glory and Victory Mud", *Afro-American,* May 29, 1943; Edward Toles, "Black Troops Made Path For Invasion", *Chicago Defender,* June 17, 1944; Edward Toles, "Negro Troops Credited With Assist In Air Blitz", *Chicago Defender,* Dec 30, 1944; Vincent Tubbs, "Many Colored Troops Back Up Aussies in New Guinea Drive", *Afro-American,* January 15, 1944; Enoc Waters, "Crack Port Battalion Moves Mountain of Cargo in Guinea", *Chicago Defender,* August 28, 1943; Francis Yancey, "Under Fire on Trips to Front", *Afro-American*, March 10, 1945; Thomas W. Young, "Young Sees Final Roundup Axis Forces on 2,000 Mile Trip", *Journal and Guide*, May 29, 1943; Thomas W. Young, "Army Drivers Aid Rangers", *Journal and Guide*, June 19, 1943.

11. Edward Toles, "'Red Ball Express' Wins Eisenhower Citation", *Chicago Defender,* Sept 30, 1944.

12. Art Carter, "Port Battalion Units Keep Material Rolling in Italy", *Afro-American,* June 24, 1944.

correspondent who wrote for the Chicago *Defender* from the Pacific, who best summed up correspondents' plan of attack: "you don't have to kill a Jap to be a hero."[13]

As well as referencing the importance of support troops to the modern war effort, correspondents often spelled it out to their readers. Randy Dixon, writing from England in 1944, subjected his readers to a detailed rundown of the duties of the many facets of "the vast Allied military enterprise, each part of which is interdependent on the other."[14] This interdependence was a theme he returned to later in year. Covering the Allied push through France, Dixon reminded his readers of the "fundamental military axiom that the modern mobile army is enslaved in speed and coverage to the limitations of its communications and supply components."[15] Not only were black service personnel an important cog in the army machine, but they were directly responsible for the speed of the advancing army, a powerful claim to make at a time when the Allies were having great success in pushing Axis forces out of France. Similarly the *Courier*'s Edgar Rouzeau, writing from the battlefields of North Africa and indulging his fondness for exposition, clearly explained to his readers the importance of service troops to the campaign. "These advance troops," he wrote, referencing service troops of all Allied nations, "helped to set up and guard the lifelines to the various fronts which enabled their country to parry the blows of the enemy and to delay his advance while summoning the strength and mustering the resources to launch an offensive of its own."[16] A few weeks later he was at it again, ruminating on what he had learned through his observation of the work of engineer units close to the front: "important is the knowledge that advancing armies can be put to rout unless suitable defenses can be

13. Deton J. Brooks, "Heroes on China Road Modest Lot Of Soldiers", *Chicago Defender,* Oct 28, 1944.
14. Randy Dixon, "Morale High As Our Boys Await Invasion Day", *Pittsburgh Courier,* March 4, 1944.
15. Randy Dixon, "Work Of Service Troops In France Paces Advance Of Allied Armies", *Pittsburgh Courier,* September 23, 1944.
16. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Pearl Harbor Anniversary Finds Troops On All Fronts", *Pittsburgh Courier,* December 12, 1942.

thrown up behind them all along the route of their advance."[17] Much to his credit, Rouzeau did maintain his praise of support troops even when he began covering dedicated African American combat units. He wrote highly of the mechanics and ground staff attached 99th Pursuit Squadron, men "who never share the glory but labor uncomplainingly night and day."[18] In Italy he composed a long article detailing the multitude of tasks service personnel were undertaking all over the country, including support given to Montgomery's British Eighth Army.[19]

Some correspondents even utilized the very men serving overseas to communicate the importance of understanding the true value of service troops. Joe Jones was a Louisiana journalist who had enlisted at the outbreak of war and wrote articles for the Associated Negro Press under the pseudonym 'Pvt. "Scoop" Jones', later becoming accredited while still serving. Drawing upon his experiences as a member of the 91st Engineer Regiment, operating first from Queensland, Australia, and then from New Guinea, Jones related the change of perspective that his unit underwent upon their arrival in the Pacific theater. Initially discouraged by the seemingly mundane nature of their duties, the soldiers began to take greater pride in these assignments as they learned "that their job was as vital to the defense of the Southwest Pacific as those fighting infantrymen on the front line…These singing engineers who once couldn't visualize themselves as a fighting unit were a part of an enormous Southwest Pacific combat machine."[20]

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17. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Mechanized Armies Rely On Mechanics", *Pittsburgh Courier,* January 9, 1943.
18. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Ground Crew Plays A Vital Role In The Success Of 99th Squadron", *Pittsburgh Courier,* October 2, 1943.
19. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Our Boys Work On Both Italian War Fronts", *Pittsburgh Courier,* November 13, 1943.
20. Letters from Claude A. Barnett to Mrs Thelma B. Boozer, Acting Director, School of Journalism, Lincoln University, undated and 24/8/1943, Box 313, Folder 3, *Claude A. Barnett Papers*; Pvt. 'Scoop' Jones, "Tough Race Troops Battling Japanese", *Atlanta Daily World,* October 25, 1942.

Occasionally the correspondents would legitimize their arguments by referencing comments and compliments made by white soldiers, officers, and politicians. When Randy Dixon directly quoted Quartermaster General of the U.S. Army, Major General Edmund Bristol Gregory, who, giving praise to black engineers, had declared that "service troops are as important as combat troops," he did so with the knowledge that these sentiments would carry extra weight when coming a white officer of such a high rank and with such an intimate knowledge of the workings of military support and logistics.[21] Similarly, 'Scoop' Jones chose to recount to his readers the commendation given by Australian Lt. Gen. E. F. Herring to soldiers operating in New Guinea, focusing particularly to the sections where praise was given to supply units for supporting combat troops.[22]

Though hardly a leap of logic to assert that a modern, mechanized army was reliant upon its immense and complex support apparatus to operate at maximum efficiency, the relentless approach the correspondents took to establishing and then repeating this fact to readers is telling. Aware that being restricted from serving in combat roles was rooted in a denial of the equality of black manhood, the correspondents needed to find a way to overcome it. By emphasizing the necessity of service personnel to the military, correspondents could go some way to rebutting claims that African American soldiers were playing second fiddle to white soldiers, gaining a measure of parity with their countrymen that was otherwise denied them.

For those at home who viewed the soldiers from a distance, defining them by their named role, service in a supply unit could easily be read as service safe and far from the front. Seemingly conscious of this link, and no doubt aware of stereotypes that associated

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21. Randy Dixon, "Colored Troops Skill In All Lines Wins Official Acclaim", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 6, 1943.

22. Pvt 'Scoop' Jones, "Colored Soldiers In New Guinea Praised By MacArthur", *Atlanta Daily World*, March 10, 1943.

African American men and cowardice, the correspondents' articles illustrate a collective effort to break the association of service roles with safety. In June of 1943, 'Scoop' Jones described the arrival of fresh black support troops to the island of New Guinea. Speaking as one who had experienced the war in the Pacific he warned his readers that "the assignment of men who have arrived in this section is a tough one and they are exposed to as much danger as infantry men entering into a combat area."[23] This deliberate erosion of the boundaries that separated combat and support troops was common to the writings of all the correspondents in each theater of the war. Correspondents pointed out that units that operated far behind the lines of battle, such as truck drivers, stevedores, aerodrome guards, and depot staff, were all subject to air raids and strafing by the Luftwaffe and Japanese air force, as well as the invisible threat of landmines. Their distance from face-to-face combat was no indication of their distance from danger.[24] For the soldiers who operated just behind the front lines, or in conjunction with combat troops in more direct support roles, the stories of danger were much more easily sourced and written. Simple references to the ever-present danger of the front were common. Deton Brooks, writing on life near the front lines in Burma, made the observation that "an occasional shell explodes a few hundred yards

23. 'Scoop' Jones, "Tom Toms Signal Guinea Movement", *Atlanta Daily World,* June 22, 1943.

24. Again, for just a small selection of such articles, see: Art Carter, "Port Battalion in North Africa has Fourteen Colored Officers", *Afro-American,* January 8, 1944; Art Carter, "Port Battalion Units Keep Material Rolling in Italy", *Afro-American*, June 24, 1944; Randy Dixon, 'Coolness Under Fire Draws British Praise', *Pittsburgh Courier,* March 20, 1943; Rudolph Dunbar, "Port Company in France Loads Ship in 12 Hours", *Afro-American*, July 29, 1944; Lem Graves, "Quartermaster Outfits Doing Important Job", *Journal and Guide*, March 18, 1944; Lem Graves, "Anzio Action Called 'Hot'; Wiley Promoted to Captain", *Journal and Guide*, April 1, 1944; Pvt. 'Scoop' Jones, "Tough Race Troops Battling Japanese", *Atlanta Daily World,* October 25, 1942; Pvt. 'Scoop' Jones, "Engineers Real Heroes Of War", *Atlanta Daily World,* July 18, 1943; Charles Loeb, "Attack Toward Manila in Another Direction Causes Loeb to Take Leave of Engineers", *Journal and Guide*, March 3, 1945; Fletcher Martin, "Saw Flashes, His Mother's Vision, Says Bombed Negro", *Chicago Defender,* July 10, 1943; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Our Boys Lay Water Mains, Build Roads Leading to Conquest of Sicily", *Pittsburgh Courier,* August 28, 1943; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Sergeant Shot 5 Times In Convoy Strafing", *Pittsburgh Courier,* October 16, 1943; Enoc Waters, "New Guinea Troops Brave 50 Air Raids to Keep Supplies Rolling up to Front", *Chicago Defender,* September 4, 1943.

away," reinforcing the assertion that black soldiers were very much in the firing line, despite not being classified as infantrymen.[25]

Often the correspondents would suggest that front-line support work and front-line combat work were almost indistinguishable. When covering a black signal unit laying cable immediately behind the front during Operation Overlord, Randy Dixon made it clear that with the amount of small arms and artillery fire that the men were exposed to, every soldier in Normandy at that time was a combat trooper.[26] The *Courier*'s Collins George noted that the construction of bridges and clearing of mines by engineers in Italy was done "under continuous enemy fire."[27] Similar duties requiring soldiers to operate just behind the front lines, such as smoke generator units and some supply and trucking companies, prompted many stories of the men coming under direct fire from enemy aircraft and artillery.[28] In some cases, black support personnel came so close to the combat so as to be unavoidably involved in it. The navy provided the best and most frequent source for stories of black troops taking up arms in direct combat outside of their standard duties. The correspondents continued to channel Dorie Miller, and there followed his rise to fame many stories of black cooks and mess attendants manning guns and downing enemy planes during attacks.[29] Such

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25. Deton J. Brooks, "Scribe Finds Africans Feared By Burma Japs", *Chicago Defender,* March 24, 1945. See also, for a small selection: Frank Bolden, "Pittsburgh Boys Enjoy Happy Reunion On Stilwell Road", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 30, 1945; Art Carter, "Service Troops at Anzio Suffer Losses, Get Awards", *Afro-American*, May 6, 1944; Art Carter, "2 Port Units in New Invasion", *Afro-American,* September 2, 1944; Lem Graves, "Norfolk Youth Wins Plaque Overseas", *Journal and Guide,* July 22, 1944; Ollie Harrington, "3644th Keeps its Hopes High", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 15, 1944; Max Johnson, "Engineers Bridge Moselle River Under Heavy Fire", *Afro-American*, September 30, 1944; Charles Loeb, "Blind to Racial Differences Luzon Filippinos Fete GI's", *Afro-American,* February 24, 1945; Ollie Stewart, "Ollie Stewart Tells What It's Like in the Big African Push", *Afro-American*, March 27, 1943; Ollie Stewart, "Stewart In From Lines", *Afro-American*, August 21, 1943; Edward Toles, "Our Troops Fought, Died On Historic Beachhead", *Chicago Defender*, July 1, 1944; Francis Yancey, "Yancey Finds Tan Yanks on All Fronts on Luzon", *Afro-American,* February 17, 1945; Thomas W. Young, "Young Sees Final Roundup Axis Forces on 2,000 Mile Trip", *Journal and Guide,* May 29, 1943.

26. Randy Dixon, "'Laying Cables Hazardous' – Dixon', *Pittsburgh Courier,* August 12, 1944.

27. Collins George, "Combat Engineers are Tough", *Pittsburgh Courier,* March 3, 1945.

28. Pvt. 'Scoop' Jones, "13 Purple Hearts Awarded In Pacific", *Atlanta Daily World,* September 6, 1943; Edward Toles, "7 Heroes Win Decoration In France", *Chicago Defender,* January 13, 1945.

29. Fletcher Martin, "Two Wounded Stewards Blast Jap Planes In Hot Pacific Sea Battle", *Chicago Defender,* December 25, 1943; Fletcher Martin, "Sailors Grab Machine Guns Fight Off 15 Jap Bombers!",

was the supposed frequency with such events as these occurred that Edgar Rouzeau alleged that he was unable to spend time in any Allied port without meeting black messmen who had encountered their share of direct combat and danger whilst serving.[30]

When ground support troops did have the opportunity to directly engage the enemy, the correspondents ensured that it was made public knowledge. The correspondents wrote stories of engineering units constructing remote bases in the Pacific being called upon to repulse Japanese airborne assaults, and of support units in Normandy being forced to engage directly with the enemy when attacked.[31] There were stories written of a quartermaster outfit in Sicily taking up arms to help establish the beachhead at Gela, fighting "in the thick of some of the hottest battles in the area."[32] In some cases the stories bordered on the fanciful and unbelievable, such as that of two black signal troops capturing a patrol of 15 Germans, of a black sailor who three times left his ship without orders to join in with the ground fighting, or of two laundry workers in the Philippines leaving their unit and hiking more than 40 miles to fight alongside white infantrymen.[33] The most colorful of these stories was that of Ralph Hueca, a truck driver from Chicago nicknamed 'Killer Moe'. Serving on Leyte Island in the Philippines, Hueca was leaning against his truck when members of an all-white infantry unit drove past. One of the white soldiers called out to

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Chicago Defender, March 4, 1944; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Tan Yanks Busy In Sicilian Waters", *Pittsburgh Courier,* August 21, 1943; Billy Rowe, "Coast Guard Messmen are South Pacific War Heroes", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 4, 1944; Enoc Waters, "Sailor Wins Silver Star; Hero in S.Pacific Battle", *Chicago Defender,* December 4, 1943.

30. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'I Got A Glimpse Of Hell' Messman Says Of Bombing", *Pittsburgh Courier,* October 16, 1943.

31. Fletcher Martin, "Tan Yanks Rout Jap Chutists", *Chicago Defender,* January 13, 1945; Charles Loeb, "Twelve Japs Killed by Engineers on Luzon Airstrip", *Afro-American*, May 5, 1945; Randy Dixon, "Blood Of Black Men Flows On Beaches Of Normandy", *Pittsburgh Courier,* June 17, 1944. See also: Enoc Waters, "GIs on Leyte Battle Way Out of Japanese Ambush", *Chicago Defender,* May 5, 1945; Enoc Waters, "Okinawa Firefighters on Duty 92 Days – and 24 Hours a Day", *Chicago Defender,* August 18, 1945; Francis Yancey, "Service Unit in Manila Push", *Afro-American,* March 3, 1945.

32. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Quartermaster Outfits Backbone Of Supply Line", *Pittsburgh Courier,* October 2, 1943.

33. Edward Toles, "Nazi Prisoners Ignorant Of Negroes In U.S. Army", *Chicago Defender,* August 12, 1944; Fletcher Martin, "Killer Moe' Quits Truck To Slay Japs In Leyte', *Chicago Defender,* November 18, 1944; Enoc Waters, "Two go AWOL to Join White Combat Division", *Afro-American,* April 14, 1945.

‘Joe’, “Hey! Fellow! You want to fight?” to which Hueca replied “that’s what I’m here for,” before promptly hopping aboard the truck, taking up a machine gun, and riding off to the front. Hueca was said to have received two written commendations for his combat prowess when in action on Leyte.

One advantage of these stories was that they allowed the correspondents to directly incorporate themselves into the events happening around them. David Orro, correspondent for the Chicago *Defender*, whose stint in England was characterized by an absence of articles on the achievements of black soldiers in camps and construction sites, and instead an abundance of articles on their achievements in bars and dance halls, nevertheless found time to spice up his articles with first-hand accounts of air raids over London.[34] Serving primarily as exciting reading for those back home, and bringing a much needed African American voice to American coverage of war, these articles continued to reinforce the point that black troops in England were far from safe, even if they were not combat troops. Randy Dixon also wrote accounts of his experiences of London air raids. Dixon replaced jaunty tone of adventure that typified Orro’s reports with a grittier realism, giving vivid descriptions of the “bricks, dust – everything” that showered down upon him, the concussive power of the bombs hurling him and his companions across a back yard into a wooden fence.[35]

Representing the excitement and danger of war in a way that a story on the speedy construction of an airfield could not, articles on the proximity to combat that came with

34. David Orro, “Air Raid And Blonde Give Orro His Baptism Of Fire”, *Chicago Defender*, February 20, 1943; “Orro Sweats as Bombs Go ‘Brumph’ In London”, *Chicago Defender*, February 27, 1943; “Orro Flops In Mud To Duck Flying Nazi Bombs”, *Chicago Defender*, June 26, 1943.

35. Randy Dixon, “No Known Race Casualties During London Air Raids”, *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 11, 1944. For more examples of correspondents speaking of their own experiences of air raids and artillery attacks, see: Lem Graves, “War Writer Remembers County Fair”, *Journal and Guide*, April 1, 1944; Ollie Stewart, “Nazi Air Activity Stepped Up Nightly in Fields of Italy”, *Afro-American*, November 27, 1943; Ollie Stewart, “How Afro’s Ollie Stewart Got to Sleep in Nancy”, *Afro-American*, December 2, 1944; Edward Toles, “Toles Hits Dirt As Nazi Shells Scatter Scribes”, *Chicago Defender*, September 23, 1944; Francis Yancey, “The Week”, *Afro-American*, February 24, 1945.

service roles countered those who claimed that men in a service role were safe from the true warfare that was direct combat. If the correspondents could do their part to show that black soldiers, regardless of their assignment, were still under as much threat of death as white soldiers at the front, they could go some way to defending the prestige of black manhood against those who used the restriction to service roles as ammunition against them.

Sporting Manhood

Despite the elevation of men such as Dorie Miller or John R. Fox, the individual who garnered the greatest attention from correspondents was not a ship's cook turned hero, nor an infantryman who gave his life for the ideals of democracy. The man who was most talked about, most revered, was world heavyweight boxing champion, Joe Louis. Louis, the 'Brown Bomber,' spent the war touring the theaters of the war with his USO show, entertaining servicemen across the globe with comedy matches, sparring, and taking-on challengers from the audience. Wherever Louis went the correspondents would converge. Not only was his presence in a theater considered newsworthy, so was news of his scheduled arrival, news of his imminent arrival, news of his arrival, and news of his departure.[36] Art Carter even penned an article in no small part dedicated to Louis's new moustache, which he had grown just in time for a tour of Italy.[37] Stories of Louis's visits to

36. For a few examples, see: Art Carter, "4 New Officers Arrive in Italy", *Afro-American*, July 29, 1944; Art Carter, "A Meeting of Champions – Joe Louis and the 99th Fighter Group", *Afro-American*, September 9. 1944; Randy Dixon, "Honor Louis in England", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 22, 1944; Randy Dixon, "Joe Louis in England", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 15, 1944; Randy Dixon, "England's Freddie Mills Says He Can Beat Joe Louis", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 13, 1944; Ollie Harrington, "Louis and Boxing Troupe Now Performing in Italy", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 26, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "92nd Aids Gothic Line Breakthrough", *Journal and Guide*, September 30, 1944; Max Johnson, "Injuries, Weighr Break Up Lou Louis Boxing Troupe", *Afro-American*, September 9, 1944; 'Scoop' Jones, "Al Hooseman Strong Contendor for Australia's Heavyweight Crown", *Atlanta Daily World*, December 1, 1943; John Q. Jordan, "Joe Louis Expected", *Journal and Guide*, September 5, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Joe Louis popular with GI's in Italy", *Journal and Guide*, August 12, 1944; Edward Toles, "Sgt. Joe Louis and Mates Big Hit in Britain", *Chicago Defender*, June 10, 1944; Enoc Waters, "Australians Await Joe Louis' Coming", *Chicago Defender*, November 6, 1943.

37. Art Carter, "Joe Sprouts Moustache for His Italian Tour", *Afro-American*, August 12, 1944.

front-line troops were almost as common as those detailing the spectacle of his USO show, his presence always a boost for morale.[38]

Louis was more than just a boxing champion. His fame and the reach of his influence has led historian Wilson Jeremiah Moses to claim that "from the deportation of Marcus Garvey in 1927 to the rise of Martin Luther King in 1954, no individual in black America was able to inspire the racial consciousness of the masses of black Americans in the way the Joe Louis did."[39] Louis was also relatively well received by white Americans, in no small part due to his carefully cultivated public persona.[40] It was the successful execution of this conceptual tight-rope walk that saw Louis, following his enlistment in the U.S. Army in January 1942, become the logical choice for the face of the government's wartime propaganda campaign to bolster African American support for the war effort.[41] Louis's pre-war successes had already linked him to wartime rhetoric for both white and black Americans. His 1935 victory over Italian Primo Carnera and his 1938 victory over the German, and Nazi-backed Max Schmeling, were seen by whites as a victory of American democracy over European fascism. Black Americans saw the victories as a victory of 'colored' peoples over the Italian aggressor in the invasion of Ethiopia, and against Nazi theories of racial hierarchy. The victory over Schmeling in particular was met with widespread celebration by black Americans; there were open festivities in the streets of Harlem, and covert celebration throughout the South.[42] These victories and their reception

38. Art Carter, "Mustangs Lead Bombers Hitting Nazi Oil Fields", *Afro-American*, August 26, 1944; Art Carter, "Joe Visits Fighter Group, Praises Outfit in Speech", *Afro-American*, September 9, 1944; Art Carter, "Joe Louis Visits Front Line Foxholes", *Afro-American*, September 30, 1944; Randy Dixon, "Louis Lifts GI's Morale", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 6, 1944; Lem Graves, "Seaboard States Represented in Units Active in Invasion", *Journal and Guide*, July 8, 1944.

39. Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 1982), 156.

40. See Chris Mead, *Champion Joe Louis: Black Hero in White America* (New York: Scribner, 1985).

41. For an excellent analysis of the conception and execution of government wartime propaganda aimed at African Americans and Louis's place within it, see: Sklaroff, "Constructing G.I. Joe Louis".

42. Moses, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms*, 159.

also firmly entrenched Louis in wartime democratic and anti-racist rhetoric. The popular 1944 U.S. propaganda film, *The Negro Soldier,* which documented the contribution of black troops to the war effort, opened by establishing the unfinished business between G.I. Joe Louis, and Max Schmeling, Nazi paratrooper.[43]

The measurement of physical ability in the ring and on the sporting field was a much safer method of proving the masculinity of black men than with violence and martial prowess, but was still one which showcased the physical excellence of black men in easily understandable terms. Though achievement on the sporting field had always been proof of masculinity, and something of which a man could be proud, the 1920s and 1930s had seen a marked shift in popular perception of the value of sporting prowess as a measurable determiner of masculinity. Sporting and physical excellence were inextricably linked to modern ideas of 'perfectable masculinity'.[44] In 1936 *The Crisis*, the influential magazine of the NAACP, ran its first cover featuring a black athlete, Olympic champion Jesse Owens. Being a black activist publication, *The Crisis* did not miss the chance to politicize the choice, the cover image running with the subtitle: "Too fast for Hitler."[45] Though a double-edged sword, with black successes in sport at times dismissed as a the result of primitive, wild bodies, sporting excellence could, and would, be turned to civil rights goals.

Just as *The Crisis* had, the correspondents made sport political. Randy Dixon, in his usual grandiloquent style, saw Louis's sporting excellence as one of the key reasons that the champion, "figuratively and literally has England reposed on collective heels salaaming at the shrine of his magnetism."[46] Dixon, the same correspondent who had spoken of Louis as

43. *The Negro Soldier,* directed by Stuart Heisler (1944, Washington, D.C., United States Department of War), via https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dln2dQyLNVU, accessed 2/12/2015.
44. For work in the American context, see: Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man*, 127-136.
45 *The Crisis*, September, 1936.
46. Randy Dixon, "Louis Thrills GI's; Denies He Challenged Fred Mills", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 17, 1944.

helping "to fashion a better and more accurate conception of the average colored American soldier," was using sporting prowess as a method of reconstructing black men in a more positive light.[47] Given the adoration and respect Louis was said to be receiving from British audiences, Dixon's reconstruction was working. Displays of skill at arms greatly concerned those white Americans who saw the arming and training of black soldiers as the first step of what would result in an inevitable armed and bloody uprising. Sporting achievements allowed correspondents and activists to elevate black manhood without triggering these concerns. In late 1944 Art Carter witnessed one of the USO shows put on by Louis and his troupe. The finale of the event was an exhibition boxing match where Louis went toe-to-toe with any challenger. Carter recounted how the 'Brown Bomber' had his mixed audience roaring with laughter, when, fighting a white challenger, he easily dodged the man's blows to spin behind him and slap him on the backside.[48] Doubtless Louis's intention was to use the literal spanking of a challenger as nothing more than light slapstick entertainment. But it does illustrate the way that acts that could so easily have been seen as taboo and aggressive in a different context could made safe by the boxing ring. Similarly, sporting prowess allowed correspondents another method through which to circumvent the stigma surrounding service roles. While critics could argue with the value and manliness of a black quartermaster unit, it would be harder to argue with the unit's victories over white teams in the integrated softball league.[49] Though softball is perhaps not the manliest of pursuits, the direct competition with, and victory over white teams was made safe by the context of sport.

47. Randy Dixon, "Honor Louis In England", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 22, 1944.
48. Art Carter, "When Peace Comes Joe Wants Conn", *Afro-American*, September 9, 1944.
49. 'Scoop' Jones, "Mixed Softball League Among U.S. Troops Now Has 14 Teams", *Journal and Guide*, February 27, 1943.

The correspondents frequently referenced men who they came into contact with who had some form of sporting pedigree. Often these would come in the form of a short title such as "Kentucky State College football star," or "former all CIAA football star," used when interviewing or referencing a particular soldier.[50] The *Afro*'s Art Carter in particular was fond of these little asides, blaming his pre-war duties as a sports reporter for his intimate knowledge of the personnel of black units. Carter claimed during his time in Europe that "there isn't a single unit over here which does not have some former athletic stars among its personnel."[51] The importance of these references to counteract the stigma of a less than macho assignment became all the clearer when Randy Dixon of the *Courier* discovered that a member of laundry unit he was covering was none other than Henry Wilson, the "boy wonder" short stop of the Philadelphia Stars of the Negro National League.[52]

Like the story about Joe Louis making a fool of his white competitor, most of the articles that related sporting achievements of black men and units brought with them some form of comparison. At times implicit, and at other times less so, these articles played upon the competitive nature of organized sports to highlight the manly achievements of black soldiers, and to show readers that in many cases black men were taking on white men and winning. Although at times these comparisons could be vague, such as when John Jordan wrote of the 92nd as having "a strong claim to the mythical title as the top division in the

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50. See: Art Carter, "Former Football Star, 99th Pilot, Killed in Action", *Afro-American*, February 26, 1944; Randy Dixon, "Yanks In France Select Pin-Up; Publish Paper", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 19, 1944; Lem Graves, "His Team is Winning – That's what Really Counted with Sam Bruce", *Journal and Guide*, March 4, 1944; Lem Graves, "Ringside Seat for War", *Journal and Guide*, May 27, 1944; Max Johnson, "AFRO War Scribe Locates ex-'Jacked, Big Blue Stars", *Afro-American*, November 25, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Boys Rush to Buy Souvenirs in Africa", *Afro-American*, January 16, 1943; Ollie Stewart, "Troops in N.Africa Eager for Expected Big Push in Europe", *Afro-American*, March 20, 1943; Thomas W. Young, "'The Eel' of the 99th Squadron Takes to the Air — and Likes It", *Journal and Guide*, August 7, 1943; Thomas W. Young, "Secretary Sees Davis in Africa", *Journal and Guide*, August 14, 1943.

51. Art Carter, "Sports Scribe Finds Old Pals at the War Front", *Afro-American*, March 4, 1944.

52. Randy Dixon, "Rest Camp Manned By Mixed Unit", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 2, 1944.

world of sports for World War II," they were in most cases fairly explicit.[53] 'Scoop' Jones managed to take in a number of boxing matches during his posting in the Pacific. Favorite among the boxers was 6ft 5inch Los Angeles native Cpl. Al Hooseman, who Jones felt should have held the title of unofficial heavyweight champion of Australia. In a full page report on Hooseman's successes in the ring, Jones recounted how in his few short months in the Pacific the corporal had dispatched 'The Alabama Kid', an African American boxer who had made Australia his home in 1938, one 'Biddle Biddle', the Heavyweight Champion of South Australia, before finally he "kayoed" the Australian Heavyweight Champion, Herb Narvo, displaying "coolness, collectiveness and a superior scientific agility."[54] Boxing was equally popular in other theaters. In the Fifth Army boxing championships held in Florence, black soldiers won in five of the fifteen categories, significant when black soldiers made up much less than one third of the Army's manpower.[55] Black boxers were also disproportionately successful in an Allied boxing tournament in Calcutta.[56]

Often the articles addressed other issues of the black freedom movement. At a time when Japanese propaganda used the segregation of baseball as one of its many arguments in leaflets targeted at African American soldiers, the news from Europe that the 99th's team had won the Army's Adriatic baseball league, along with its $125 prize purse, offered a nice rebuttal.[57] Though an all-black team, that the 99th had achieved victory in an integrated league represented a small victory of black masculinity over white, but also progress in one of the dominant aims of civil rights activism. The volume of black troops in Italy resulted in

53. John Q. Jordan, "92nd Division Athletes Rule GI World of Sports", *Journal and Guide*, February 16, 1945.

54 'Scoop' Jones, "Al Hooseman Strong Contender for Australia's Heavyweight Crown", *Atlanta Daily World*, December 1, 1943.

55. John Q. Jordan, "Fighting Buffaloes Win Boxing Crowns", *Journal and Guide*, December 9, 1944.

56. Frank Bolden, "Armstrong Signs Fistic Prospect in War Zone", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 9, 1945.

57. Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, 33; Art Carter, "99th Fighter Nine Cops Adriatic Title and $125", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944.

many other such instances of the inclusion of integration into sports. John Jordan would no doubt have been delighted when informing his readers that in a football match between the Fifth Army and the 12th Airforce, jokingly dubbed the 'Spaghetti Bowl' and witnessed by over 25,000 spectators, the Army team containing three black players defeated the all-white Air Force team 20-0, with much of the credit for the victory going to the Army's black fullback, John 'Big Train' Moody.[58]

As was common with most civil rights issues that the correspondents addressed, the reporters at times openly and explicitly stated the meaning behind what they wrote on. In one of his many excursions to the countryside during his stay in England, the *Defender*'s David Orro visited a British officer training school that had taken in a small number of African American cadets. One of these candidates had set and bettered the record for school's obstacle course four times during his stay. Not content to let the achievement stand on its own, Orro made its implications clear, telling his readers that it was "no wonder the English folk laugh at Dixie America when it persists in trying to sell them malicious propaganda against Uncle Samuel's brown-skinned doughboys."[59] Mirroring the successes of the 'Spaghetti Bowl', July 1944 saw the hosting of a track and field meet in Rome. Held in front of tens of thousands of spectators in the Foro Mussolini, and drawing competitors from all over the Mediterranean theater, black athletes "stole the spotlight," capturing four of the 12 individual championships and coming in first, second, and third in the 100 meters.[60] In his own report on what he termed the "little Olympics," John Jordan noted the irony of the successes of black athletes in a stadium that was ostensibly a monument to

58. John Q. Jordan, "'Big Train' Moody Leads 5th Army to 20-0 Victory in Spaghetti Bowl", *Journal and Guide*, January 6, 1945. Haskell Cohen also covered the Spaghetti Bowl, and also lauded Moody's contribution. Haskell Cohen, "John Moody Big Star in Army Bowl Game", *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 6, 1945.

59. David Orro, "Orro Sees Officer Graduates Win Stripes…And A Couple of Kisses", *Chicago Defender*, February 27, 1943.

60. Art Carter, "Tan Yanks Win Allied Track Meet", *Afro-American*, July 22, 1944.

Italian fascism and the superiority of the white race.[61] Jordan went on to declare the staging of a sporting event, with an integrated crowd and integrated pool of competitors in a country so recently liberated from a government that had sought to assert its imperialist authority over non-white peoples, was "another milestone in the steady spread of the democratic new order which the liberators bring along with their conquering armies."

Nazi 'Supermen'

In August of 1944 John Jordan took a brief break from his Italian assignment to cover Operation Dragoon, the Allied invasion of the south of France. Witnessing first-hand the landings on the beaches near St. Tropez, he wrote with pride of the sight of members of a black service division striding up the beach with carbines in hand, one shouting to the battlefront ahead of him "Okay Master Race, here come some guys from Missouri!"[62] Two weeks earlier, detailing the arrival of the men of the 92nd in the Italian theater, Jordan had chosen to recount the words of one of the soldiers he had interviewed: "we have waited a long time for a crack at Hitler's supermen."[63] Jordan's articles were not unique. The contest between average black soldiers, and the 'supermen' of Hitler, the supposed best that the white race had to offer, was a subject that many of the correspondents wrote of frequently, and with great relish. Where the correspondents' reporting on the sporting achievements of black soldiers contained suggestions of the competition of the races, and a soft rebuttal of certain elements of white claims to superiority, their coverage of the gradual downfall of

61. John Q Jordan, "MP's Shine in Rome Track Meet; Prime for 'Olympics'", *Journal and Guide,* July 22, 1944.
62. John Q. Jordan, "Easy Landings Inspire Two Opinions; Negro Soldiers Challenge 'Master Race'", *Journal and Guide,* August 19, 1944.
63. John Q. Jordan, "Combat Infantry Regiment Lands in Italy", *Journal and Guide,* August 5, 1944.

the ‘master race’ of Germany was cast in terms that explicitly contested the assumptions of white supremacy.

From the rise to power of Hitler and the Nazi party, black newspapers had linked Nazism to Jim Crow and racial discrimination within the United States. The ideologies that justified Nazi racial atrocities and those that supported the mechanisms of the Jim Crow South were, for the black press, one and the same.[64] For them, Nazism and American racism were but two branches of the same tree. It was not merely empty rhetoric. Prefacing the work done by academics half a century later, black newspapers saw the similarities between the two nations as not merely ideological or rhetorical, but also structural and legal.[65] Neither the correspondents nor the domestic press were silent about these similarities. As well as directly articulating the stark resemblance the new Nazi state bore to the situation south of the Mason-Dixon, the press routinely noted the hypocrisy of American outcry at the treatment of Jews under the Nazi regime, though this did cease when the scale of Nazi atrocities became more widely known. Black newspapermen also directly equated key figures and organizations within the United States with those in Nazi Germany, and vice-versa. John Jordan’s defense of the 92nd from the attacks by U.S. senators Bilbo and Eastland, and Congressman Rankin, came with his description of their remarks as sounding “like something from Dr. Joseph Goebbles.”[66] Recounting a conversation he had with black soldiers in Germany who he came upon spitting and

64. Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American*, 164; Michaeli, *The Defender*, 225.

65. For work done on the practical similarities between the Nazi state, and legal and institutional racism within the United States, see: George M. Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); Stefan Kühl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); J.Q. Whitman, *Hitler’s American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017).

66. John Q. Jordan, “War Correspondents Refute Mississippian”, *Journal and Guide*, July 7, 1945.

urinating on the crumbling remains of the childhood home of said Dr. Goebbels, Edward Toles characterized the Nazi propagandist as a "one man German Ku Klux Klanner."[67]

The correspondents were careful to not downplay the abilities of German military forces, the *Courier*'s Randy Dixon writing that there was no tendency among black soldiers "to minimize the cunning of the enemy nor to underestimate the technical ingenuity of the Hun." [68] They were however quite happy to discuss the many ways in which black soldiers were challenging, and refuting in a very practical sense, the idea of the Hitlerian Übermensch. As the war progressed, and the inevitability of an Allied victory became apparent, terms such as 'supermen' and 'master race' were increasingly used as ironic jokes by the correspondents, often punctuating stories of military successes.[69] The thinking behind this was articulated well by Dixon himself, when he wrote of a black artillery unit, "showing absolute contempt for Hitler's 'master race' divisions facing them…pounding into pieces the Nazi theory of 'inferior' and 'superior' races."[70] Given the previously established link that between Nazism and American racism, it would be equally accurate to read Dixon's sentence as a refutation of all theories that advocated racial hierarchies. Through their wartime successes, black soldiers, both combat and support, were quite literally showing the theories that justified their oppression at home to be worthless.

Articles that detailed German men as prisoners of war, guarded and supervised by black troops, were among the most common of those that explored the concept of the

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67. The accuracy of Toles' claim that the building they were so effacing was actually that which Goebbels had grown up in is questionable, but the sentiment is what is important. Edward Toles, "GIs Thumb Their Noses at Birthplace of Goebbels", *Chicago Defender,* April 14, 1945.

68. Randy Dixon, "Three Weeks Since D-Day But 'Randy' Fails to Find American Negro Casualties", *Pittsburgh Courier,* July 8, 1944.

69. See for example: Ollie Harrington, "Hitler's Retreat", *Pittsburgh Courier,* June 17, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Infantrymen in Fiercest Battle", *Journal and Guide*, October 21, 1944; Edward Toles, "German-Born Negroes Free in Berlin", *Chicago Defender*, July 14, 1945; Theodore Stanford, "783rd Finds Heroism and Horrors in War", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 21, 1945; Theodore Stanford, "What Defeat Means to German Civilian", *Pittsburgh Courier,* June 2, 1945.

70. Randy Dixon, "Artillerymen Blast Germans", *Pittsburgh Courier,* July 22, 1944.

emasculation and disproof of the master race. When Rudolph Dunbar asked his readers "what would Hitler think about that?" as he described the sight of a large P.O.W. camp staffed by black guards, the answer was clear.[71] Though the correspondents never expressed the link, these articles tapped into Southern fears of direct dominance of black men over white, with black soldiers and camp guards placed in supervisory and administrative positions over white men whose freedom had been restricted, an inversion of the situation of slavery and its aftermath. These articles drew further parallels to the slave experience as they often focused on the subject of the physical examination of prisoners by black men. When Art Carter was given the opportunity to tour a P.O.W. processing station, he found that "members of the Hitlerized master race are by no means super soldiers".[72] Similarly, Max Johnson told readers of witnessing a marching column of German prisoners. Passing his eye over them, Johnson reported to his readers that these beaten men "had no 'supermen' appearance."[73] In no article was the idea of the measurement of German masculinity more clearly played out than in Johnson's profile of a black Sergeant, over six feet tall, whose duty was the inspection of newly arrived German prisoners. Giving a loud, running commentary as he performed his inspections, the sergeant stood himself in front of a diminutive German soldier and declared "you are too damn short to call yourself a member of the master race. Hitler better produce something better than you soon."[74]

The appeal of the language of the superman and master race was only enhanced when used by the soldiers themselves. Stories of the "guys from Missouri" and the inspecting Sergeant demonstrate that the symbolic nature of the victories of African American soldiers was not lost on the men who achieved them. A clear example of this

71. Rudolph Dunbar, "Wild Celebrations Mark Fall of Paris; Our Boys Guarding Nazis", *Atlanta Daily World*, September 6, 1944.
72. Art Carter, "Art Carter Finds Germans Meek", *Afro-American*, April 8, 1944.
73. Max Johnson, "AFRO Writer Sees 2 GI's March 46 Nazis to Camp", *Afro-American*, October 7, 1944.
74. Max Johnson, "6-Ft. Sgt. Seaches 15,000 'Master Race' Prisoners", *Afro-American*, October 21, 1944.

came with the fall of the Breton city of St. Malo during the Allied push into northern France following the D-Day landings. The walled city had held out against Allied forces for longer than expected. Col. Andreas von Aulock, the town's commanding officer, was a darling of the German propaganda machine. At the time von Aulock was the only officer other than Erwin Rommel to be awarded Oak Leaves to his Knight's Cross, and was held up as an example of the resilience and fortitude of the master race. Both the *Courier*'s Randy Dixon and the *Defender*'s Edward Toles covered the key role played by a black artillery unit in bringing about the eventual surrender of von Aulock and the fall of St. Malo. Toles, writing on the build up to the decisive moments of the siege, recounted how the black artillerymen, tired of the master race posturing of von Aulock, "knew how to make him 'talk turkey.'"[75] Their sustained and accurate artillery barrages helped (in the eyes of the correspondents) the German Colonel see the futility of his position. Later, as the defeated Nazis marched out of the liberated city, Dixon wrote of how black troops who had "come to see the surrender broke into spasms of laughter. They laughed with the satisfaction of knowing that they had bested this typical Nazi hero."[76]

These comments and comparisons, were, for the vast majority of their utterances, done in the spirit of fun and celebration. The correspondents were watching the national manifestation of the theories of white supremacy slowly collapse before them, rendered impotent and false by Germany's eventual military defeat. However one instance stands out among the articles that discuss the master race. Fittingly the article was written by Rudolph Dunbar, a man who had travelled the world, and who identified all people of African descent as sharing a common bond. Standing amidst the ruins of a defeated Germany in the

75. Edward Toles, "Toles Sees Gunners Take St. Malo's 'Mad Colonel'", *Chicago Defender*, September 2, 1944.

76. Randy Dixon, "Negro Artillerymen Blasted 'Mad Man' From St. Malo", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 26, 1944.

aftermath of war, Dunbar wrote not with delighted irony, nor with the happiness of the victor. Instead he wrote of German people deserving of their fate, rightfully cast down for their hubris:

> They are now tasting the very dregs of humiliation. But those pompous brutes had classified Negroes worst than lower animals much to the delight of their 'Aryan' buddies in other countries. The master race today has come out in its true colors - colors that show the dreadful virus of bestiality, sadism and contempt for the decencies of civilization. I repeat, the hands of death are on Germany and I stand in her midst to watch her die.[77]

The restriction of black men to service and support roles on a much larger scale than that of their white compatriots did not halt correspondents' attempts to politicize the war. Aware of the link between these restrictions and racialized thinking that justified policies of exclusion and attitudes of racism within the United States, the correspondents deliberately and enthusiastically set out on a campaign of rehabilitation of service roles. They emphasized both the importance of this roles to the successful execution of war, and the masculine traits displayed by the soldiers within these roles. In doing so they sought to overturn the perception of the roles as menial, safe, and easy.

Where possible correspondents also turned to alternative avenues in their attempts to elevate the status of black masculinity. Pointing to the successes of black soldiers on sporting fields across the many theatres of war, the correspondents were able to promote a masculinity associated with sporting prowess and friendly, integrated competition. The correspondents also pointed to the many military victories over the forces of the 'master race' to highlight the flaws in the racialized thinking that justified the tenets of Nazism.

77. Rudolph Dunbar, "Hands of Death on Germany", *Atlanta Daily World*, May 5, 1945.

Chapter 3
"To Build a Job Holding Reputation": Correspondents Write About Labor

In his 1949 novel, *Last of the Conquerors*, William Gardner Smith, who had served in the post-war occupation of Germany, tells the story of an African American soldier stationed in Berlin in the aftermath of the Second World War. Surprised by the acceptance and friendliness of the German people, the novel's protagonist, Hayes, spends his time enjoying the freedom of an unsegregated Berlin, interacting freely with its white inhabitants, and eventually becoming romantically involved with a white German woman named Ilse. The novel is punctuated throughout by moments in which members of Hayes' unit reach the end of their deployment and are forced to come to terms with their departure from the idyllic and de-racialized space of post-war Germany, and return to the Jim Crow of America. In one of these instances a distraught soldier confesses his fear of return to his fellow soldiers. Worried by the lack of job prospects for black men back home, he rails against the injustice of his pre-determined path compared to the promises of color-blind Germany: "See, if I dig ditches over here it'll mean that there just ain't no other jobs of my type open — for nobody, white or colored. It won't be because of my skin."[1]

The trepidation returning black soldiers felt at the prospect of a discriminatory job market was not just the invention of Smith's work of fiction, but a reality that cast a shadow over many a black soldier's wartime experience. As the year turned over from 1943 to

1. William Gardner Smith, *Last of the Conquerors* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1949), 106.

1944, and the inevitability of Allied victory became apparent, the eyes of black servicemen turned toward the post-war world. "Post-war employment remains the ever-present threat to the soldier's thoughts," wrote Randy Dixon in March of 1944.[2] A few months later these sentiments were echoed by the *Afro*'s Max Johnson, who linked this anxiety to the language of manhood, reporting that conversation among men in Italy revolved around the likelihood of returning soldiers being "able to return home and provide happiness for his family on the basis of his merit as a man."[3] Through the end of 1944 and into 1945, the trickle of such articles had become a steady stream, as concerns regarding post-war employment prospects became one of the most talked about subjects among soldiers, and most reported on by the correspondents.[4]

The New Deal Era of the 1930s, with its increased liberalism, working class activism, and progressive government driven policy, was a time when the grievances of African Americans, and particularly working class African Americans, were brought before the American public and American legislators as they had not been since Reconstruction. For Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, it was the beginning of the Long Civil Rights Movement, and a moment whose focus on economic objectives within a larger civil rights framework has been forgotten, neglected, and in some cases willfully omitted from popular and mainstream civil rights narratives.[5] From Franklin Roosevelt's election onward, disparate

2. Randy Dixon, "War-Scarred Youths Will Return with New Visions", *Pittsburgh Courier,* March 18, 1944.

3. Max Johnson, "GI's Give Views on Post-War Plans", *Afro-American,* September 9, 1944.

4. See for instance: Frank Bolden, "Colored and White Engineer Units in Iran Build Highway in Record Time", *Afro-American,* November 4, 1944; Frank Bolden, "GI's in Iran Worry About Strikes, Post-War Jobs", *Afro-American*, November 11, 1944; Frank Bolden, "Pittsburgh Boys Enjoy Happy Reunion on Stillwell Road", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 30, 1945; Deton Brooks, "Negro GI's Join Chinese in Wild V-J Day Celebrations on Stillwell Road", *Chicago Defender*, August 25, 1945; Art Carter, "Leader of Hot Lick Band in Italy Looks to Post War", *Afro-American*, December 2, 1944; Art Carter, "Afro Correspondent Addresses Cardozo Pupils", *Afro-American,* April 14, 1945; Edward Toles, "Rail Soldiers In France Wonder If They'll Get Jobs When Return Home", *Chicago Defender*, September 23, 1944; Vincent Tubbs, "Overseas Soldiers Worry About Post-War Living Conditions", *Afro-American*, November 27, 1943, Vincent Tubbs, "100 Tan Yank Students in S.P. 'Foxhole University'", *Afro-American,* May 27, 1944.

5. Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," 1234.

groups and individuals worked both in tandem and parallel to win rights for blacks in the workplace, a move they saw as a necessary first step in the fight complete racial equality. Government initiatives such as the *Report on the Economic Conditions of the South* linked economic and labor equality to racial equality. The emergence of the 'popular front' of left wing political parties and organizations, with the American Communist Party taking a leading role, saw a renewed focus on working-class protest and union organization. Within this climate the black press lobbied the new Roosevelt administration for legislative change. At a federal, state, and municipal level, congressmen to grassroots organizers pushed the message that true emancipation was not to come without first substantially changing economic and employment prospects. Across the board the message was clear: civil rights progress was impossible without labor and employment progress. Unlike earlier pragmatic forms of labor-related activism that advocated an acceptance of segregation for the sake of expediency, the more ideological activists of the New Deal years began to directly challenge the South's formal and informal set of laws and conventions establishing strategies that were to become key for the 'classic' Civil Rights movement.

The link between civil rights and employment rights was important to the correspondents of the black press, just as it was to the domestic activists who preceded them, a point often overlooked by historians. Of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, the need for the 'Freedom from Want' arguably stood alongside the 'Freedom from Fear' in its applicability to the largest number of black citizens of the United States. Lack of employment opportunities and employee rights were issues that faced Northern and Southern black men and women alike, many of whom had either volunteered or been drafted into America's military for the war effort. African American — though primarily African American men's — rights as workers and employees became one of the most important and frequently repeated themes within articles written by the correspondents. A

continued bolstering of black manhood and re-constructing of the race for the modern world, these articles represented a more practical approach to ongoing perceptions of African American men. Although combat prowess was of key importance to the correspondents' civil rights strategies, it could not mitigate depictions of brutishness or foolishness that still dominated popular culture representations of black men, nor could it overturn more practical restrictions that African Americans faced on a daily basis.[6] As with their contemporaries back home, the correspondents saw labor and employment rights as inseparable from the Double-V campaign, and key to achieving their victory at home.

Though their goals were the same, the fundamental assumptions, language, and focus of the correspondents differed greatly from that of activists in the continental United States. Both groups placed the same importance upon the link between economic equality and social equality, yet the strategies correspondents adopted were shaped by a vastly different set of experiences and restrictions that black soldiers underwent when compared to the civilian population. Where domestic activists could petition, stage protests and march on Washington, the correspondents were guided by the very real behavioral restrictions imposed upon soldiers. Unwilling to undermine the patriotism of black soldiers, and aware that agitation was dangerous to the premise of the Double-V, the correspondents instead adapted their calls for employment rights to take advantage of the opportunities provided by military service. The widespread restriction of black men to service roles was a blow to the correspondents' attempts to positively re-shape black masculinity, yet it also placed many men into positions that would be unavailable to them at home. As Paul Lawrie has pointed out, black workers found themselves relegated to the "bottom of the industrial economy" because of racist assumptions regarding their suitability for mechanized and modern work.[7]

6. Tuck, "You Can Sing and Punch…But You Can't Be a Soldier or a Man" in *Fog of War*, 107.
7. Lawrie, *Forging a Laboring Race*, 69.

The military's training and employment of black soldiers in some of the more skilled and technologically advanced duties that modern warfare delivered to the correspondents a new raw material which they shaped and sculpted into rebuttals of the racialized thinking that justified domestic labor and employment inequalities.

While most correspondents engaged with this form of activism, it was Edgar Rouzeau of the *Pittsburgh Courier* who most clearly and explicitly articulated his strategy on the matter.[8] Paraphrasing *Crisis* editor Roy Wilkins, Rouzeau told his readers in 1942 that "the first step the race must take on its way to economic sufficiency is to build a job-holding reputation".[9] Though more conservative than many of his fellow correspondents, the thoughts and strategies he laid out for his readers are nevertheless visible throughout the articles of most of his colleagues. Arriving in Cairo on his first overseas assignment, he proudly declared that "this war has provided the Negro with a great opportunity to make use of his mechanical aptitudes," and that "in succeeding dispatches I hope to give a detailed account of the amazing accomplishments of our Negro engineer units."[10] Clearly he had already written the narrative that he was to support for the next three years.

This chapter will show how the correspondents' activism represented a continuation of already established civil rights strategies that positioned economic and particularly labor rights as an essential first step toward civil rights. Unable to continue to demand and fight for changes to legislation and increased representation to the benefit of black workers, the correspondents adapted, continuing the struggle that had characterized previous efforts with strategies that better suited the restrictions of war. The correspondents seized upon the

8. Some correspondents, such as Theodore Stanford and Ollie Harrington, who had limited time abroad and covered the high-profile combat units of the 92nd and 99th, did not approach this form of activism, their focus well and truly on the glamor of combat reportage.

9. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'Need Proper Racial Strategy for These Critical Times To Save Gains' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 14, 1942.

10. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Black Troops Facing Rommel", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 26, 1942.

opportunities granted to black soldiers by the federal government to undermine negative racial stereotypes related to employment and labor. In a period when black newspaper editorials were defending black workers from accusations of unreliability and lack of responsibility, the correspondents showcased the expertise and the work ethic displayed by black soldiers.[11] Rather than equality in employment being something that correspondents were openly agitating for, they highlighted the tasks undertaken by the black soldiers, many of which were not open to them in peacetime, as evidence of their abilities. The correspondents created a 'collective résumé' for black men to take back with them to America as a defense against those who relied upon the supposed inferiority of blacks to prevent them from achieving parity with white workers. Though in part a continuation of the domestic activism that had preceded it, this strategy moved in the opposite direction to that taken during the New Deal era. Instead, correspondents echoed turn-of-the-century language that placed an emphasis on the dignity found in labor, and on an exemplary work record being key to the economic upliftment of black Americans, and to the improvement of their perception by white Americans. Lacking the working-class elements that characterized the struggles of the 1930s and 1940s, the correspondents instead presented a cross-class advocacy that encompassed the whole of black society, from unskilled workers to college graduates, creating a strategy that was itself a microcosm of the Double-V movement.

Excellence, Not Resistance

The outlook for working class black men and women was particularly bleak in the years leading up to the war. African Americans had become one of the most urbanized of

11. "Libeling the Negro Worker", *Journal and Guide*, May 16, 1942.

all major ethnic groups during the 'Great Migration,' a movement of over six million blacks out of the rural south and into the major hubs of the north and west-coast. Spurred on by their desire for a new life away from the challenges of Jim Crow and the toils of southern agriculture, those who travelled north often found themselves in situations all too similar to those they thought they were leaving behind. Seeking jobs in the factories and work sites of the ever-growing power of U.S. industry, black workers were marginalized and exploited. Whether in industrial or agricultural work, black men and women were largely employed in unskilled, labor intensive positions, with almost nothing in the way of employer or union sponsored training, and very little potential for upward mobility. Blacks were paid lesser wages than whites for the same jobs, and along with other non-white ethnic groups were the first to be laid off when companies cut jobs.[12] Even those that did manage to hold on to employment saw a downturn in their fortunes, the decade of 1930 and 1940 marking the only decline in the ratio of black-to-white average income from the period of 1890 to 1980.[13] At the commencement of the war, when U.S. industrial output began its rapid increase and hundreds of thousands of new jobs were created, many companies on government defense contracts chose to employ white workers rather than black, sometimes even employing white men from hundreds of miles away rather than black workers from the towns in which the factories were located.[14] In New York City and its immediate vicinity, which in the 1940s had the largest urban black population in the world, the majority of defense related industries simply refused to hire black workers.[15]

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12. For an overview of conditions for black workers through the depression, New Deal, and early-war years, in the North and the South, and in industrial and agrarian employment, see: Cohen, *Making a New Deal*; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*; Kelley, *Race Rebels*; Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement", *Journal of American History*, 75 (1988); Sullivan, *Days of Hope*; William A. Sundstrom, 'Last Hired, First Fired? Unemployment and Urban Black Workers During the Great Depression", *The Journal of Economic History* 52, (1992): 415-429.

13. James P. Smith, "Race and Human Capital," *The American Economic Review* 74, (1984), 695.

14. Brandt, *Harlem at War*, 72-73; Sullivan, *Days of Hope*, 135.

15. Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, 1, 3.

This changed in July 1941, when the threat of a mass march on Washington by black workers prompted the Roosevelt administration to create the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), prohibiting discrimination in federal vocational and training programs. Headed by noted activist A. Philip Randolph, the March on Washington Movement (MoWM), also placed sufficient pressure on Roosevelt to lead to the signing of Executive Order 8802, a ban on racial discrimination in defense industries. The short-term, practical outcomes of the formation of the FEPC and the signing of Executive Order 8802 were beneficial for African Americans, with employment in defense-related industries, skilled and semi-skilled work more than doubling through the war years.[16]

It was significant that the MoWM achieved its goals through the threat of the mass mobilization of working-class blacks, and that it had its roots with the union organizer A. Philip Randolph and his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, one of the most prominent African American led labor organizations. The story of African American activism during the 1930s and 1940s was the story of the move of black voters away from the Republican Party towards Roosevelt's Democrats. It was a time of increased unionization and left wing activism of working-class blacks, while also an embracing of the New Deal rhetoric of Federal support and governmental obligations to the nation's citizens.[17] Where very few black Chicago workers were union members in 1930, more than one in three had joined a trade union by 1940.[18] From 1935 to 1945 the number of black workers in unions increased from 150,000 to 1.25 million, the openness and racial liberalism within elements of the Roosevelt administration becoming a new avenue through which they could route concerns

16. Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, 12; Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 164.
17. Lizabeth Cohen's *Making a New Deal* is the go-to work on the transition of African American attitudes and sympathies towards the Democratic party. See also: Sullivan, *Days of Hope*.
18. Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 257, 2.

directly into Washington.[19] Not just a narrow unionism focused on shop-floor improvements, the activism of the New Deal years, what Robert Korstad has termed 'Civil Rights Unionism,' directly emphasized the same links between economic and social equality that the *Report on the Economic Conditions of the South* was to do.[20] A change in the economic position of black workers could not, it was believed, truly come about without a change in their social position, and vice-versa. In the South, many disparate left-wing groups with varying links to the union movement formed a loose 'Southern front', expanding the purview of union organization and protest to also target wider discriminatory practices such as voting rights and lynching laws.[21] Included in these was the American Communist party, which was alone among Southern organizations in its vocal advocacy for outright racial equality.[22]

In 1939 the ANP's London correspondent, Rudolph Dunbar, foreshadowing the change that was about to overtake America, wrote that one of the positive side effects of the new war in Europe was that the United Kingdom's black citizens were being given jobs in areas outside of the entertainment industry.[23] In 1942 he returned to the idea, informing American readers that for the first time, offices within the British Civil Service were now open to all peoples regardless of race, declaring the year of 1941 as "one of great progress for the colored people in Great Britain and the Empire."[24] As much as it may seem odd to speak of such a year as 1941 as one of progress, particularly for a correspondent writing from London, Dunbar's comments spoke to the unique circumstances that the war

19. Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 164.
20. Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism*.
21. Michael K. Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers* (Urbana, IL, University of Illinois Press, 1993), 117.
22. Glenda E. Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950*, (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 4.
23. Rudolph Dunbar, "War Gives London Negroes Their Chance at Jobs", *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, December 30, 1939.
24. Rudolph Dunbar, "British Civil Service Now Open to All", *Afro-American*, April 4, 1942; "War Breaks Down Race Barriers in British Isles", *Call and Post*, April 4, 1942.

produced, and the potential for newspapermen to exploit them. Much as it did for women, the Second World War created a great many job opportunities for non-white peoples in Western countries. The movement of so many able-bodied young men from the workforce into the military created vacancies that were filled by those who were typically lower down the employment hierarchy. Unlike the move of white women from the home to the workplace in unprecedented numbers, the war saw African Americans, both male and female, begin the move from unskilled to skilled positions.[25] However, it was the other new job opportunities, the ones within the armed forces, which the correspondents were best placed to explore.

At the end of 1943 roughly 61% of black men in the Army were employed in service roles. For white soldiers that number sat at 24%.[26] In his history of radical activist Robert F. Williams, Timothy B. Tyson points out one of the strange paradoxes of white perceptions of the black man as a worker was that "whites regarded black people as inherently lazy and shiftless, but when a white man said he had 'worked like a nigger,' he meant that he had engaged in dirty, back-breaking labor to the point of collapse."[27] It was racist assumptions such as these within the military hierarchy that saw black men restricted to service roles in such volumes. Ironically, it was these stereotypes that the soldiers now found themselves in the perfect position to challenge. The duties of support personnel during World War II were many and varied, but a great proportion of them were in areas

25. Of course the situation was more complex than a simple move into vacant jobs. For further information, see: Elizabeth Faue, *Community of Suffering and Struggle: Women, Men, and the Labor Movement in Minneapolis 1915-1945*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press), 1991; Maureen Honey, *Bitter Fruit: African American Women in World War II* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1999); Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda During World War II* (Amhurst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984).

26. Note that these figures apply strictly to the Army, and do not include a breakdown of service to combat roles within the Army Air Force, nor does it take into account unassigned or reserve troops, or those in administration roles. It is also worth noting that a substantial portion of the 39%, though designated as combat troops, were utilised primarily for service duties. Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops*, 406.

27. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 20.

that required specialized training, and had direct parallels to skilled, peacetime employment. In a moment of foresight, Edgar Rouzeau observed in 1942, "the fact that this country is at war is more or less responsible for the fact that the Negro worker is acquiring a vast amount of technical knowledge. The question now rises: What steps is he taking — what steps should he take — to insure that this valuable knowledge will not be shunted aside by private industry when the peace is signed?"[28] The military's training and employment of black men in roles such as advanced construction, heavy machinery operation, port management, and meteorology allowed the correspondents to exhibit the excellence of black men in areas from which they would normally have been excluded. It allowed the correspondents to carve out a foothold for black workers, a platform to build upon for peacetime. Most importantly, it allowed the correspondents to address and counter accusations aimed at black workers that they were lazy, unintelligent, and suited only for the most menial and basic forms of labor.

The first step that the correspondents had to take was to prove that the work they were doing was a step above the demeaning unskilled labor work done by black soldiers during the First World War. To glory in a return to digging latrines and packing boxes would have been counterproductive to the advancement of black masculinity. When, in 1943, the *Pittsburgh Courier*'s Randy Dixon directly quoted an Army spokesman who told Dixon that "colored troops are assigned tasks requiring skill, training, ingenuity and ability," and that "no tasks are done by black troops which are not also done by white troops," he was not merely stroking the ego of black soldiers nor that of the reader back home, he was addressing one of the fundamental issues with the public perception of

28. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Negro Workers Must Be Unionized to Hold Present Employment Gains", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 9, 1942.

African American servicemen.[29] As has been discussed, the historical reality of black military service prior to World War II was one which more often than not reinforced African Americans' positions first as slaves, then as a servile lower class. It was this the correspondents were doing their best to break from. Edgar Rouzeau was one of the most vocal in this regard. Early in 1943 he wrote an article praising the work of engineers in north Africa, charting the changing role of black support troops: "In World War I, any soldier could be a sapper…The sapper in the present desert warfare is a combination metallurgist and 'sandscape' expert…he must acquire vast knowledge of the various aspects of desert terrain and must learn to distinguish from afar the type of sand that is hard and negotiable and that which is soft and boggy."[30] 'Scoop' Jones also saw it necessary to clearly delineate between First and Second World War support roles. Writing from the Pacific, he told his readers proudly that "Negro engineers are no longer the unarmed, laboring pick and shovel brigade as in World War I." Instead, engineers not only handled "the tractors, the bulldozers and do the laboring work, they also handle the technical end. In headquarters they rattle typewriters and do the administrative paper work...In the operations and engineering section they do surveying, map production, reproduction, photography and electrical engineering."[31] From praising the trained meteorologists of a chemical smoke generator company to highlighting the technical skills of those establishing Allied communication lines, the message was clear: black support troops were working in

29. Randy Dixon, "Colored Troops' Skill in All Lines Wins Official Acclaim", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 6, 1943.

30. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Mechanized Armies Rely on Mechanics", *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 9, 1943.

31. 'Scoop' Jones, "Tough Race Troops Battling Japanese", *Atlanta Daily World*, October 25, 1942. See also: Charles Loeb, "Aviation Engineers Play Major Part in Luzon", *Journal and Guide*, February 17, 1945; Billy Rowe, "93rd Pushed Highway Through Dense Jungle", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 3, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Stewart Describes Work of Artillery Unit in Normandy", *Afro-American*, July 29, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Engine Mechanics Keep Up with 99th Flyers", *Afro-American*, October 30, 1943; Enoc Waters, "Negro Chemical Unit Plays Important Role", *Chicago Defender*, June 3, 1944; Enoc Waters, "Chicagoans in Hospital Unit", *Chicago Defender*, August 12, 1944.

mechanized, industrialized, skilled labor.[32] The correspondents also profiled individuals such as Junior Ford of Lakeview, South Carolina, described as "a wizard on motors," who "operates and repairs bulldozers, cranes, refrigerating units and all types of construction equipment."[33] Articles were written on "one of the best, if not the best heavy equipment operators" on Bougainville, and a Baltimorean "master mechanic."[34]

Assuring their readers that black soldiers were being granted opportunities that had previously been denied them, the correspondents' focus on the highly technical and skilled nature of the duties of service personal also reflected directly on the black male body and mind. As Paul Lawrie has indicated, "most managerial elites remained skeptical of blacks' ability to transcend their seemingly brutish physicality and become efficient soldier/workers."[35] The articles the correspondents wrote were not merely tracking the technological advancement of warfare from one war to the next. Instead, they were specifically emphasizing the rise of black troops away from menial tasks, and into more skilled work, drawing a line between black military service in the First and Second World Wars. Though the advent of the New Negro had come during the inter-war years, the correspondents were not going to miss their chance to show that the same change had come over black men in uniform. Some soldiers even pushed the correspondents to report on this

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32. Edward Toles, "Fake Fog Laid Down By Negro Troops Helps Win Key Moselle River Battle", *Chicago Defender*, October 7, 1944; Randy Dixon, "'Laying Cables Hazardous' – Dixon", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 12, 1944. See also: Charles Loeb, "Aviation Engineers Play Major Part in Luzon", *Journal and Guide*, February 17, 1945; Billy Rowe, "93rd Pushed Highway Through Dense Jungle", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 3, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Stewart Describes Work of Artillery Unit in Normandy", *Afro-American*, July 29, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Engine Mechanics Keep Up with 99th Flyers", *Afro-American*, October 30, 1943; Enoc Waters, "Negro Chemical Unit Plays Important Role", *Chicago Defender*, June 3, 1944; Enoc Waters, "'Chicagoans in Hospital Unit", *Afro-American*, August 12, 1944; Thomas W. Young, Communications — The Lifeblood of the 99th Fighter Squadron", *Journal and Guide*, July 24, 1943; Thomas W. Young, "Armament Section of 99th Fighter Squadron Rated Highly Efficient", *Journal and Guide*, August 14, 1943.

33. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Black Troops Facing Rommel", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 26, 1942.

34. 'Scoop' Jones, "Troops Win Praise For Valiant Work Overseas", *Chicago Defender*, August 14, 1943; Art Carter, "Baltimorean Heads Trucking Unit In Africa", *Baltimore Afro-American*, December 18. 1944.

35 Lawrie, *Forging a Laboring Race*, 72.

change. As a Sergeant in a New Guinea field hospital told the *Defender*'s Enoc Waters: "If you want to do us a favor, just let the people know that we're not just a bunch of orderlies who sweep wards and empty bed pans."[36] This 'favor' was arguably another manifestation of efforts to re-make black workers during the interwar period.[37] Though delayed by peace, the articles were an expression of the same logic and of the same intent as much of the racial reinvention of earlier decades. The articles also vindicated the reasoning of the Double-V campaign, showing that unlike the unrewarded 'close ranks' of World War I, tangible gains were being made by blacks within the military. These gains made black service troops more valuable than they had ever been to the war effort, strengthening their moral authority when demanding the victory at home.

As well as addressing abstract concerns such as the suitability of black bodies and minds to modern labor and employment, it was a strategy that had an explicitly practical element. Despite gains made in employment following Pearl Harbor, the middle years of the United States' involvement in the war saw four out of every five working black men still employed in unskilled positions.[38] This domestic reality was a stark contrast to the overseas situation as it was presented by the correspondents. The duties the correspondents reported on had clear, and clearly articulated, peacetime parallels. At times these parallels were suggested, such as when the *Defender*'s Edward Toles pointedly compared work he had seen done in a front-line truck repair unit to the best garages back home, or when reporters listed the various pieces of high tech machinery that black soldiers were operating on a daily basis.[39] At times the analogous nature of the duties undertaken to potential

36. Enoc Waters, "Chicagoans in Hospital Unit", *Chicago Defender*, August 12, 1944.
37. For details on this process of 'remaking' black men as workers, see: Lawrie, *Forging a Laboring Race*, 109-133.
38. Brandt, *Harlem at War*, 127.
39. Edward Toles, "GI Mechanics Do Miracles In Invasion Repair Shop", *Chicago Defender*, August 12, 1944; Charles Loeb, "Tan Yanks Build B-29 Airstrips", *Afro-American*, June 30, 1945; 'Scoop' Jones, "Tough Race Troops Battling Japanese", *Atlanta Daily World*, October 25, 1942; Edgar T. Rouzeau,

careers back home was made explicit. In June 1945 Edward Toles profiled the men of a railroad unit. "You hear them say what good jobs these would be back home," he told readers, "and how it would feel to be pulling into Chicago Union station at throttle and whether after victory they would be driving these big engines in Philadelphia, Detroit and St. Louis just as they drive them here in France."[40]

It was a strategy that echoed some of what domestic reporters and activists were hoping to achieve with their own coverage at home. In January of 1942 an Editorial in the *Afro* had advocated involvement in the military as a means to "a skilled trade."[41] Prior to their deployments many of the correspondents had spent brief periods covering the movement of black men and women into skilled labor roles. An embryonic form of what they were to do overseas, the correspondents reported on training, employment opportunities, and breaches of or attempts to circumvent the FEPC, which were often denounced as unpatriotic and a direct hindrance to the war effort.[42] These articles and the intent behind them did not cease when the correspondents departed for their overseas assignments, with domestic activists picking up the slack. Many wartime editorials called attention to the importance of the fight for jobs and employment rights, the *Journal and Guide* calling the training and marketing of skilled labor "the most important task ahead" of

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"'Airplane Hospital' Is Manned by Our Boys", *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 13, 1943; Enoc Waters, "Pacific Patter", *Chicago Defender*, December 11, 1943.

40. Edward Toles, "Rail Soldiers In France Wonder If They'll Get Jobs When Return Home", *Chicago Defender*, September 23, 1944. See also: Rudolph Dunbar, "Swift Working Signal Corps Company Ignores Enemy Fire", *Atlanta Daily World*, August 4, 1944; Enoc Waters, "Pacific Patter", *Chicago Defender*, March 15, 1944.

41. "Today is the Day", *Afro-American*, January 17, 1942.

42. See: Frank Bolden, "Men Take Racial Handicaps in Stride at Little Creek", *Philadelphia Tribune*, April 20, 1944; Frank Bolden, "Dual Benefits of Training to Navy Men Cited", *Journal and Guide*, May 13, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Probing Failure to Train Our Women", *Journal and Guide*, March 9, 1942; John Q. Jordan, "Girl Trainee is Turned Down by Navy Yard", *Journal and Guide*, September 12, 1942; Charles Loeb, "18-Month Layoff Rule Resurrects Wave of Discrimination on W.P.A.", *Call and Post*, September 14, 1939; Billy Rowe, "Women Will Help Win This War!", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 26, 1942.

America's black population.[43] Claude A. Barnett, director of the ANP, often wrote to publicity officers of various African American training camps requesting photographs of the men "working at lathes, peering in engines and generally looking like real mechanics."[44] Brig. Gen. Noel Parrish, commander of the Tuskegee Air Field, recalled that the decision to start training black recruits in the piloting of twin-engine aircraft came about largely because of pressure from black activists and newspaper organizations, who knew that "if you wanted to get a job with an airline you needed experience flying a multiple-engine plane."[45]

Though a strategy championed and spearheaded by the black press, it was an idea shared by many of the men the correspondents covered. Ollie Stewart, interviewing the men who worked behind the scenes in the 99th Pursuit Squadron, noted that those he had spoken to "have told me they wouldn't exchange the Air Corps for any branch of service in the Army. And they have a reason. Without exception, they all have a trade they can follow in the post-war years — a trade that will place them in the upper income brackets among skilled craftsmen."[46] The post-war applicability of labor was a topic he would return to the next year. This time profiling "expert" automotive mechanics, he wrote of the men's pride in their work, as well as their firm desire "to get well paid for this kind of work in civilian life."[47] This promise of future rewards for civilian employment helped mitigate some of the

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43. "The Most Important Task Ahead", *Journal and Guide*, October 11, 1943. See also: "Mr. President, Count on Us", *Afro-American*, December 13, 1941; "Still Room for Improvement", *Atlanta Daily World*, February 15, 1944; "Our Peace-Time Goal", *Atlanta Daily World*, January 11, 1945; "Jobs for Many vs Jobs for Few", *Chicago Defender*, October 21, 1944; "Now—The Battle for Jobs!", *Chicago Defender*, August 25, 1945; "The Right to Work", *Journal and Guide*, January 17, 1942; "Gains on the Home Front", *Journal and Guide*, June 6, 1942; "The Fight for More Jobs", *New York Amsterdam News*, January 9, 1943; "For White Americans Only", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 22, 1941.

44. Letter from Claude A. Barnett to Lt. Young, Publicity Officer, Chanute Field, IL, May 10, 1941, *Claude A. Barnett Papers*, Box 312, Folder 5.

45. *Black Military Oral History Project*: Brigadier General Noel F. Parrish.

46. Ollie Stewart, "Baltimore's Few in Africa in Top Posts", *Afro-American*, August 14, 1943. For a similar story, see: Frank Bolden, "Pittsburgh Boys Enjoy Happy Reunion on Stilwell Road", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 30, 1945.

47. Ollie Stewart, "Our Men Doctor Sick Vehicles", *Afro-American*, August 12, 1944.

dismay that soldiers felt as a result of their relegation to service duties. Shortly before leaving for his overseas deployment, Frank Bolden of the NNPA interviewed some Navy men who had recently volunteered for skilled labor openings. Unhappy that they were still not the combat troops they had envisaged themselves as when they enlisted, they were nonetheless glad to be making the step up from kitchen duties, and appreciative of the long-term benefits that their technical training would bring them.[48] Half a world away, the *Defender*'s Deton Brooks shared a similar story. Covering an integrated base in India, Brooks praised the work done by the tolerant and forward-thinking 26 year-old white commanding officer, who ensured that black soldiers were being treated with the same respect and dignity as the base's white troops. Most important for Brooks was that the same training and educational opportunities were being offered to soldiers regardless of race. In Brooks' eyes it was these opportunities that resulted in a much higher level of morale and work ethic among the base's black soldiers than in other bases where black soldiers' potential was limited.[49]

Occasionally the correspondents would burnish articles on the excellence of black service personnel with instances of innovation and creativity. Art Carter told his readers of the "ingenuity" of a section chief with the Tuskegee Airmen, who in his spare time converted abandoned vehicles into serviceable ones for the military.[50] Charles Loeb profiled an ordinance soldier who had won an official commendation for inventing two new types of wrench suited for work in areas with few supplies.[51] Though small additions to the narrative of African American excellence in service roles, such articles suggested that black

48. Frank Bolden, "Men Welcome Chance to Rise Above Navy Menials", *Afro-American*, March 20, 1944.

49. Deton Brooks, "GIs Dream Comes True – Scribe Finds Base in India with No Color Problem", *Chicago Defender*, April 21, 1945.

50. Art Carter, "'Modest Motor,' 332nd Section Chief, Honored", *Baltimore Afro-American*, December 16, 1944.

51 Charles Loeb, "Emergency Wrenches Win Citation for Ordance Sgt.", *Afro-American*, June 2, 1945.

men, as workers, were able to push beyond the minimum requirements of the jobs that were set for them. The editorial of the first issue of *Opportunity*, one of the most prominent black magazines of the inter-war period, bemoaned the fact that black workers were treated as "appendages rather than members, 'robots' rather than men."[52] Seemingly simple articles about black soldiers developing new methods to bend pipe, or taking advantage of local resources to invent a bamboo case for air-dropped supplies that cushioned the impact of landing, showed that black workers could engage mentally as well as physically with a task.[53]

Such attempts to depict black workers as more than just workers, however dedicated and skilled, were reinforced by depictions of black men as supervisors and foremen. The same article that brought readers the story of ingenious creation of bamboo cases for air-dropped supplies went on to describe the way that the men responsible for their creation delegated the construction of these baskets to Indian laborers, overseeing their production. Stories that illustrated occasions when black soldiers were placed in supervisory positions frequently supplemented those that focused on the successes of workers. For readers back in America, where the incidence of African Americans in supervisory positions was exceptionally low, the importance of stories such as these is clear. Dotted throughout the war years were articles on black troops supervising native laborers, on clerks managing railroad depots, and importantly, on black cooks and stewards with white subordinates.[54] In most cases black soldiers supervised other non-white peoples, and the cultural and racial implications of these positions of power will be explored in detail in Chapter 6. Though

52. In Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man*, 189.

53. Frank Bolden, "Cite Engineers In Burma For Construction Feats", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 9, 1945; Deton Brooks, "Scribe Flies Air Supply Route For Burma Troops", *Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1945.

54. Deton Brooks, "Ledo Road Job By Negro Troops Key to Jap Defeat", *Chicago Defender*, November 11, 1944; Art Carter, "D.C. Clerk Is Hub Of Railhead Unit", *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, 1944; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Tan Yanks Busy In Sicilian Waters", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 21, 1943; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Tenn. State College Graduate Makes Good Overseas; Praises School", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 4, 1943.

reported incidents of black soldiers holding any form of authority over white men were rare, these stories, couched in vocational rather than martial language, did at least provide the occasional chance for the correspondents to champion the management and supervisory talents of black workers, an area in which they were severely under-represented at home.

Just as they had done to substantiate claims of bravery and excellence in combat, the correspondents called upon the legitimacy and authority of the white voice to legitimize their claims. Randy Dixon wrote a lengthy piece on the construction of roads and communication lines through Australia's north-eastern outback, a job which he quoted Quartermaster General of the Army, Maj. Gen. Edmund Bristol Gregory, describing as "one of the outstanding accomplishments in the history of all wars." Later that year he wrote of the praise an engineering unit received from a British Major General for construction of an air base ahead of schedule.[55] 'Scoop' Jones drew his readers' attention to a commendation of black troops by Australian Lt. Gen. E. F. Herring, in which he singled out the skill displayed by support troops.[56] Sometimes the correspondents merely used a white officer of a higher rank than those of the black soldiers they were profiling. Deton Brooks, writing for the *Chicago Defender*, focused on the local connection when he quoted a white officer from Chicago as saying that the black quartermaster troops under his command were "efficient and hard workers when they are treated right."[57]

However, of all the vague and unsubstantiated praise that the correspondents called upon to prove the excellence of black soldiers, none matched the ambiguity, nor the popularity, of the 'record.' Though correspondents were always vague as to the legitimacy

55. Randy Dixon, "Colored Troops' Skill in All Lines Wins Official Acclaim", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 6, 1944; Randy Dixon, "Germans Play on Race Hate to Terrorize", May 13, 1944.
56. 'Scoop' Jones, "Colored Soldiers in New Guina Praised By MacArthur", *Atlanta Daily World*, March 10, 1943.
57. Deton Brooks, "World's Biggest Ammo Dump Run by Negro GIs", *Chicago Defender*, February 3, 1945.

of the record, or even if a particular usage of the term was literal or figurative, they deployed the term with impressive regularity. In some cases the figurative nature of the phrase was evident. Edward Toles wrote that a construction unit in the United Kingdom had "gained the title of fastest railroad builders Britain," having constructed a railway depot "in record time." Toles trotted out the phrase "in record time" four months later, when writing on the construction of a bridge in Rouen.[58] Deton Brooks, in an article on road construction, ambiguously stated that the engineers responsible had "set a record doing a job British engineers said couldn't be done."[59] Quite what the record was exactly, he did not mention. Randy Dixon wrote of a black engineering battalion "breaking every record for construction of aerodromes in Great Britain," completing what had been estimated to be a 90-week task in 56.[60] Though the validity of claims such as Dixon's could at least be tested and contested, more broad usage of the term 'record,' such as when he wrote of a quartermaster trucking unit in Normandy who had broken "all kinds of records" were likely either a rhetorical device, or a more cynical attempt to hide behind the ambiguity of meaning.[61] Throughout the war the correspondents played with these ambiguities. Ordinance units set a record when they moved 1,250 tons of material in 24 hours.[62] Men of engineer units set "some kind of record" clearing mines in Italy.[63] Port supply units set "an all time record"

58. Edward Toles, "Rail Soldiers in France Wonder If They'll Get Jobs When Return Home", *Chicago Defender*, September 23, 1944; Edward Toles, "7 Heroes Win Decoration In France", *Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1945.

59. Deton Brooks, "Negro Engineers Write History in Heroic Job on Key Ledo Road", *Chicago Defender*, November 4, 1944.

60. Randy Dixon, "Engineering Battalion Builds Huge Airport in Record Time", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 18, 1943.

61. Randy Dixon, "Quartermaster Truckers Real Army Heroes in ETO", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 24, 1944.

62. Ollie Stewart, "Ordnance Unit Has 300 Italian Prisoners", *Afro-American*, August 21, 1943.

63. Haskell Cohen, "Veteran Service Unit Sets Record Clearing Out 10,000 Enemy Mines", *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 6, 1945.

when they unloaded 91,000 tons of supplies.[64] The concept was as opaque as it was ever-present.[65]

In the end, whether these records were factual, the correspondents' creations, or just general and unspecific terms is largely unimportant. It was the frequency of their use that is significant. That so many correspondents used the concept of the record with such regularity is central to understanding the part that service roles played in the correspondents' broader strategy. Again and again, the correspondents were communicating to their readers that in duties that were new to them, duties that required skill and intelligence, training and technical expertise, black men were excelling. Edgar Rouzeau's desire to create "a job holding reputation" among African Americans is apparent throughout most of the correspondents' writings. All those who at some time or another covered support personnel echoed his sentiment. Though the position they and their subjects occupied meant that resistance and campaigning for rights was problematic, the opportunities granted to black soldiers allowed correspondents to address negative stereotypes and boost the prestige of the black man as worker in a way and on a scale that domestic activists would have found far more difficult, if not impossible.

A Cross-Class Struggle

If the economic activism of the New Deal and domestic wartime eras was characterized by the strength of its working-class roots and aims, the economic activism of the correspondents was characterized by a cross-class approach. As well as their elevation

64. Frank Bolden, "380th Port Battalion Still Setting Records in Iran", *Afro-American*, January 20, 1945.
65. For more examples of articles that mention 'records,' see: Art Carter, "Service Troops at Anzio Suffer Losses, Get Awards", *Afro-American*, May 6, 1944; Frank Bolden, "Engineers in India Unload 121 Planes to Set Record", *Afro-American*, June 2, 1945; Ollie Stewart, "Ex-Newark Hurler Drives DUWK in English Channel", July 15, 1944.

of working-class soldiers, articles on combat troops and support troops featured constant reinforcement of the educational qualities and qualifications of African American men. Much as the correspondents sought to distance the support troops of World War II from their comrades of World War I, so did they try to communicate to their readers that the men on the ground were not mere grunts. Instead the call to arms had inspired men from all walks of life, including those for whom military service was not just an escape from joblessness and poverty:

> Contrary to the average belief that the enlisted personnel of colored engineer units are the dumping grounds for illiterate Negro farm-hands from the Mississippi Delta country, the hills of Tennessee, sprinkled with a few high school educated ones and a handful of veteran army non-coms, the engineers have their varieties. They are made up with Negroes with degrees. Grads of the University of Pittsburgh, men from Atlanta University's School of Social Work. Men with trades from Tuskegee Institute that are vital to the corps of engineers...From Xavier University, Wilberforce, Hampton institute, Alabama State and Talledega. Men from the business world, sport world, theatrical and various other fields of life.[66]

When 'Scoop' Jones wrote the paragraph above late in October 1942 he was making explicit an important and conspicuous element of the correspondents' approach to their coverage. Given the press's reliance upon the black middle class for advertising revenue it was unthinkable that the educated element of both the readership and those serving abroad would be left behind. It was equally understandable given the wartime mission of the black press to bring home the reality of African American service, a reality wholly neglected by white newspapers, and from which the omission of middle-class blacks would have been a dereliction of duty by the correspondents. However, that newspapers continued to praise those pursuing and those who had achieved tertiary education at a time where there existed

66. 'Scoop' Jones, "Tough Race Troops Battling Japanese", *Atlanta Daily World*, October 25, 1942.

tension— and at times outright hostility and antagonism— between the black working and middle classes is important to understanding the breadth of the correspondents' message.[67]

It quickly became clear to any reader of the black press that the interests of the aspiring college graduate were just as important to the correspondents as those of the unskilled worker. In its most simple form, this manifested itself as the occasional reference to the place of education of an individual they were quoting or profiling. Phrases like "Captain Curtis, a Howard University graduate…" were common in articles, as were references to men who had put their studies on hold to enlist.[68] Short profiles of individuals were equally common. Randy Dixon told the story of a quiet night in a soldier's club, in which he spied a black private borrowing a book on advanced psychology from the club's library. Dixon approached the private to let him know that the book might be too advanced for him, only to learn that the man was in the process of studying for his doctorate at NYU.[69] Edward Toles described a tough infantry sergeant pushing the Germans back over the Rhine, who in reality was just a school teacher who desired nothing more than to return home.[70] Fletcher Martin, who himself would later be the first African American invited to into the prestigious Niemen fellowship at Harvard, wrote a piece on Capt. Frederick

67. For some discussions of the tension that existed between the black middle and working class, see: Brandt, *Harlem at War*; Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents*; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*.

68. Art Carter, "Jubilant 99th Pilots Down 12 FW Nazis, Losing One Plane", *Afro-American*, February 5, 1944; Art Carter, "Port Battalion Units Keep Material Rolling in Italy", *Afro-American*, June 24, 1944; Art Carter, "2 Port Units in New Invasion", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944; Art Carter, "Lt. Takes Nazi Prisoner Unarmed; Won't Try Again", *Afro-American*, October 21, 1944; Art Carter, "Medical Unit Builds Own Workshop, Billet in Italy", *Afro-American*, November 18, 1944; Randy Dixon, "Bomb-Loaders Unsung Heroes of U.S. Air Force", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 22, 1943; Randy Dixon, "'Laying Cables Hazardous' – Dixon", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 12, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Officers in new Fighter Group Uppsed", *Journal and Guide*, July 22, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Fresh Troops From the States Rejoice to Escape Cold, Snow", *Afro-American*, February 6, 1943; Ollie Stewart, "Sicily Battle Ends", *Afro-American*, August 21, 1943; Edward Toles, "Heroes of Bastogna Help Capture Colmar", *Chicago Defender*, February 10, 1945; Enoc Waters, "Pacific Patter", *Chicago Defender*, August 28, 1943; Thomas W. Young, "Narrow Escapes Initiate 99th Pilots in Ghost Club", *Journal and Guide*, July 24, 1943.

69. Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 3, 1943.

70. Edward Toles, "Gunner Soften Essen For Big Infantry Push", *Chicago Defender*, April 14, 1945.

Douglas Jenkins, the first black officer to lead combat troops in the South Pacific, a teacher of math who was working on his PhD when he was drafted.[71]

Though dealing with education instead of excellence in labor, these articles were but a different branch of the same tree. While taking on alternative subject matter, the desired outcome was the same. The correspondents were first and foremost looking to defend black manhood from the characterizations of brutishness and stupidity that haunted black military service. The reason that Edgar Rouzeau claimed that army records showed that "the overall percentage of college and high school graduates…is far greater than in our armies overseas in 1918" was that 1918 still cast a shadow over America's perception of what a black soldier was.[72] As they had done with men in skilled positions, the correspondents were also pointing to the qualifications and job-worthiness of more educated black men, who, like their working class comrades, were denied access to jobs on the basis of their race, even in the more accommodating north, where the majority of middle class blacks resided.[73] Unfortunately the reality of black military service meant that there was a severe paucity of opportunities for black soldiers to display the skills associated with tertiary education. Listing qualifications was often the closest the correspondents could come to mirroring strategies that were more easily applied to skilled labour. In the few cases where black soldiers were engaged in advanced skills the correspondents were not far behind. Rouzeau wrote on a military hospital with black members of staff, "up-and-coming young men…engaged in work of a highly technical nature in a varied field which includes urinalysis, hematology, blood chemistry, gastric analysis, puncture fluid examinations,

71. David R. Davies, *The Postwar Decline of American Newspapers: 1945-1965* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), 65; Fletcher Martin, "Capt. Jenkins, His Gun Blazing, Leads Attack", *Chicago Defender*, May 6, 1944.
72. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Our Boys Overseas Possess Lofty Ideals", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 29, 1943.
73. Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 44.

bacteriology, and parasitology."[74] Frank Bolden also had the opportunity to bring such stories to his readers, and also in the context of the medical profession, proudly writing of an Army hospital in Burma entirely staffed by black personnel.[75] Late in 1944, the *Defender*'s Edward Toles informed his readers of the excitement and optimism black GIs were feeling in the wake of the newly announced GI Bill, that their hard work and sacrifice was being rewarded with an opportunity to advance into occupations normally out of their reach, and college tuition becoming an option for those for whom economic situation was an insurmountable obstacle.[76] The victories the black press sought were not merely due to, nor for the benefit of, working class African Americans. The post-war world the correspondents envisioned was filled with opportunities for blacks to enter into career pathways newly opened for them, blue collar and white collar.

Though not a complete break with the activism that came before them, the change in scope and audience is noteworthy. The importance of radical left-wing groups to the activism of the New Deal era cannot be understated. It was the presence of groups such as the American Communist Party that for Glenda Gilmore "redefined the debate over white supremacy and hastened its end."[77] In the famous trial of the Scottsboro boys, nine African American boys accused of raping two white women in Alabama in 1931, it was the Communist party that was far and away the most prominent and vocal of the group's defenders, launching a counter-attack on some of the south's most defining racist institutions and practices.[78] That a decade later the black press had taken up this unqualified call for racial equality under the protection of the war effort, and were integrating the current and aspiring middle class into their push does indicate a transferal of power from

74. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Our Boys Overseas Possess Lofty Ideals", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 29, 1943.
75. Frank Bolden, "Burma Hospital Has All-Negro Personnel", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 30, 1945.
76. Edward Toles, "France GIs Answer Nazi Pamphlet with Shells", *Chicago Defender*, November 11, 1944.
77. Gilmore, *Defying Dixie*, 6.
78. Gilmore, *Defying Dixie*, 109, 118-128; Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights*, 118.

left wing resistance groups to those who controlled the flow of information from overseas. The pressure placed on left wing activism in the years of the 'red scare,' coupled with unification of purpose that came with the war and subsequent Double-V, facilitated a change in circumstance from one which allowed the flourishing radical activism to one that allowed organizations with a more balanced support base to take the fore. While the correspondents did, on occasion, advocate for the power of unions to positively shape people's lives, such instances were few and far between, and often came from the pen of those with long-term ties to left-wing politics.[79] The nature of the war simply didn't suit such strategies. The cross-class approach of the correspondents was instead one of the first symptoms of the transition to the increased middle-class character of the 'classic' civil rights movement. Due to both the external pressures of the war and Double-V, and the internal pressures of the financial restrictions and readership of the black newspapers, the economic element of civil rights struggle was expanding beyond its working-class roots, encompassing African Americans from all walks of life.

The Legacy of Booker T. Washington

The inclusion of the middle and upper classes of black society into the progressive narrative the correspondents were creating, and the focus on displays of excellence to enhance race credentials rather than rights advocacy, infused the articles of the correspondents with an anachronistic similarity to turn-of-the-century civil rights activism most famous in the work of Booker T. Washington. One of the most famous black activists

79. See: George Padmore, "Two Colonials in WTU Group", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 24, 1945; George Padmore, "Sees Empire Colonial Labor Coming of Age", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 3, 1945; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Negro Workers Must be Unionized to Hold Present Employment Gains", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 9, 1942; Vincent Tubbs, "Rival Jap Labor Groups Agree to Form Federation", *Afro-American*, December 8, 1945; Vincent Tubbs, "65 Labor Unions Set Up in Japan", *Afro-American*, January 12, 1946.

of the twentieth century, Washington placed the onus for change in the circumstance and perception of blacks on blacks themselves, advocating a tireless devotion to work and self-improvement.[80] Founder of the famous Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, Washington believed that construction and operation of the school could show what African Americans could accomplish if allowed to work, the same attitude adopted by the correspondents almost sixty years later.[81]

Washington had the prescience to see that blacks would find advancement all the more difficult because of the monopoly white America held on employment. By cultivating an educated black middle class, he believed that African Americans could go some way to bringing themselves to a point of independence from white employers, if not economic self-emancipation from white America. Aware of the uphill battle that African Americans faced, Washington dictated the need for excellence in all fields, if only to counterbalance the negativity of the white gaze. This philosophy is clearly echoed in Edgar Rouzeau's exhortation to blacks to create a "job holding reputation," which came with his warning that "the ignorant Negro who ruins a job opportunity for other Negroes not only hurts himself but has also sold out to the enemy on the home front. In this sense he is a traitor to the racial cause."[82] Aware of the negative stereotypes of black men as workers, Rouzeau linked the push to contest negative stereotypes to Double-V rhetoric. Many of these stereotypes had in fact been the result of a form of co-production between black slaves/workers and their white owners/employers. Formulating a system of resistance in a highly imbalanced power relationship, black workers often developed methods of undermining bosses' production

80. Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the Politics of Accommodation," in *Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century*, eds. John H. Franklin and August Meier (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 1.

81. Robert J. Norrell, *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 62.

82. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'Need Proper Racial Strategy For These Critical Times To Save Gains' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 14, 1942.

through slowdowns, absenteeism, tool breaking, and workplace theft. Although these methods did restore a modicum of power and self-respect to black workers, they also reinforced white stereotypes of black laziness, ignorance, and criminality.[83] As has been discussed, the realities of soldiering rendered such displays of resistance impossible, the foundations of the Double-V only enhancing these restrictions. To further complicate this, military service reinforced the subordinate position of African Americans. Many rituals of subordination that African American workers had attempted to subvert, such as the wearing of uniforms and referring to whites as 'sir', were part of military regulations. Many of the correspondents returned to a Washingtonian emphasis on dignity in hard work, and pride in achievement, rather than self-respect through resistance.

A common theme of articles was the excessive amount of work that support soldiers had to undertake, and the enthusiasm and professionalism with which the men went about their task. Stories of 16 to 20 hour working days for some of the "busiest soldiers" of the war were not just the standard cheerleading of the wartime press, they were also attempts to enact older civil rights strategies when more contemporary ones were made unusable.[84] The most interesting case of this came from Edward Toles while covering troops in the Alsatian mountains early in 1945. Writing on a 'muleteer' unit, responsible for carrying supplies up mountains on the backs of mules when the terrain made it impossible for trucks to go any further, Toles interviewed two of the unit's sergeants. "Yep, they've dubbed us 'mule skinners,'" one said, "but so long as the front is being supplied, what the hell do we care what they call us?" Interesting on its own as one of the few articles that freely admits to black soldiers being utilized in basic labor, the article is all the more interesting as it shows

83. Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 17-24; James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1990), 188; Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents*, 67.

84. Art Carter, "Turkeys, 6-Course Dinner for N.African Soldiers", *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 27, 1943; "Port Battalion in North African Has Fourteen Colored Officers", *Baltimore Afro-American*, January 8, 1944.

black men taking pride in their unskilled work, their service to the war effort immunizing them to the less than complimentary nickname laid on them by the white combat units they were supplying. The second Sergeant expanded on this pride and acceptance of what would normally have come under the humiliating label of "nigger work": "I'd pack it up on my back all the way up the mountain myself if it'd end the war sooner."[85] This display of work ethic and dignity through labor was frequently reinforced by articles relaying achievement by black support troops in situations where the odds had been against them. The construction of the Ledo Road in Burma was described by Deton Brooks as "one of the toughest military assignments of the present war," and that "no battle in any theater has taken greater courage nor been wrought with greater danger than the fight against nature here."[86] John Q. Jordan wrote glowingly of the engineers keeping the highway from Florence to Bologna open, "one of the most imperative and difficult assignments any outfit on any front could be called upon to fulfil."[87]

Although the correspondents shared much with the strategies of Booker T. Washington, there was one major point of departure at which the strategies of the correspondents and New Deal activists did converge. Much as the Double-V was reliant upon the Four Freedoms and the government's wartime rhetoric for its moral authority, so too was the strategy of highlighting the excellence of black support soldiers reliant upon the military's employment of them. The reliance upon the federal government to provide the foundation for strategies of activism had been growing since the Depression. Unlike the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, which for the most part had conceived itself as independent from the government and had maintained a distance from federal regulations

85. Edward Toles, "Mule Skinners Knife Up Mountains to Bring Supplies To Alsace Front", *Chicago Defender*, February 10, 1945.
86. Deton Brooks, "Negro Engineers Write History in Heroic Job on Key Ledo Road", *Chicago Defender*, November 4, 1944.
87. John Q. Jordan, "Rambling Rover", *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, November 25, 1944.

and institutions, the increased concessions made by the liberal elements of the Roosevelt administration had seen greater interaction between government and black activism than ever before. Conceptually, activists and laypeople used government policy, and new federal sympathy for working class concerns to frame their demands. Practically, blacks flocked to government sponsored organizations like the Works Progress Administration, beginning to see government programs and handouts less as the refuge of the lazy and dependent and more as the necessary benefits of citizenship. Robert Korstad's *Civil Rights Unionism* points to the New Deal era as a second Reconstruction, where federal labor laws became "indispensable" in the push for rights. This continued right into the war years, with many historians noting the symbolic power of the FEPC in rendering the federal government an enforcer of racial equality to an extent unparalleled since Reconstruction.[88]

In this the correspondents were no different from their contemporaries, using what the government had provided and turning it inwards, pushing for increased rights. Just as with the New Dealers, the correspondents adopted an economic and labor strategy that was made possible by the edicts of the federal government. Although not calling upon government bodies to police cases of discrimination in the private sector, nor leaning on those in government to place the weight of their influence behind them, the correspondents crafted an approach to the problem of peacetime economic inequality that rested on a foundation provided by the government. This strategy shared many similarities to the methods of Booker T. Washington, and in many cases adopted a conservative rhetoric more in line with his approach than that of the freedom struggles of the New Deal. However, the correspondents arrived at their position almost arm in arm with federal powers, a luxury inaccessible to Washington.

88. Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 279; Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights*, 68; Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism*, 7; Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, 4; Sullivan, *Days of Hope*, 136.

In the closing weeks of the war in Europe, Edward Toles was hospitalized when a mosquito bite became infected. He spent two weeks in a German hospital, surrounded by men wounded during the final push into the enemy's heartland. Though most of his stay was uneventful, he did find time to write one article for his readers, recounting the night a nurse burst into the hospital ward, tears streaming down her face, to announce the news that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had passed away. Toles spoke of the somber atmosphere of the hospital that night, each individual's suffering forgotten and the ward, normally filled with the "groans and moans of the wounded," silent. The black soldiers on the ward especially mourned the loss of their beloved president.[89] Across the theaters of the war correspondents echoed the same story, as they wrote home about the widespread mourning that accompanied the news.[90]

The arrival of FDR into the White House heralded a new phase of the black freedom struggle. The young and energized left wing of the Democratic Party allowed black activists to focus anew on the fight for economic equality. In both the North and the South, many disparate civil rights groups began to work together, forming a loose coalition that pushed workers' rights to the fore, equating economic rights with civil rights, each inseparable from the other. Black Americans began to think of their government in a way that they had not since Emancipation: as the facilitator of their needs, as an ear for their concerns, as a catalyst for change. As peace became war, the civil rights movement continued to push against the racial ceiling that kept blacks out of skilled positions, and in many cases out of

89. Edward Toles, "Scribe Wounded – By Mosquitos! Hospitalized Two Weeks In Germany", *Chicago Defender*, June 9, 1945.

90. Deton J. Brooks, "India, Manila GIs Bow in Respect to Roosevelt", *Chicago Defender*, April 21, 1945; Charles Loeb, "'A Personal Loss,' Say GI's in Manila", *Afro-American*, April 21, 1945; Francis Yancey, "Aviation Engineers in Italy Build 1st Monument to FD", *Afro-American*, June 30, 1945.

work altogether. It would not be until the politics of the 'red scare' and McCarthyism that large-scale unionized and left-wing working class activism would come to an end.[91]

For the correspondents dispatched by the black press to cover the war abroad these priorities were no different; the inseparability of economic and civil rights goals was carrying forward into the 1940s. Situated in a period between the increasingly understood and well-studied activism of the 1930s, and Hall's neglected but vitally important Martin Luther King Jr. as "the democratic socialist who advocated unionization," the correspondents' works sit at odds with both.[92] The way they approached the question of how to agitate for economic racial progress fits with neither the trend of the 1930s, nor with the King who Hall wants the world to know better, and serves as a clear example of how continuity of a goal coupled with change of circumstance could produce radically different civil rights strategies between groups seeking the same outcome. The restrictions of the war completely undermined the legitimacy of the strategies of resistance that had characterized the New Deal era; the correspondents were forced to find a new way to continue the push for economic equality. The focusing of black soldiers into support roles, although based on the supposed inferiority of black men, provided the correspondents with the strategy they required. Ironically it was again the Federal government, through the military, that gave black men the opportunities that they would have normally found next to impossible to obtain. When Edgar Rouzeau wrote happily of black soldiers that: "They've learned discipline…they've learned control…they've learned useful trades," he was not only describing a state of affairs, but continuing the correspondents' usage of military service to undermine the negative stereotypes that both explained and justified American racism.[93]

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91. Though most agree that the end of communist involvement with black activism started to decline in the late 1930s, there is as yet not great deal of consensus as to when US anti-communism made Civil Rights Unionism untenable. Robin Kelley locates the demise in the late 1930s, while Robert Korstad places it at the end of the 1940s. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 191; Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism*, 9.

92. Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," 1234.

93. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'Our Boys Want To Fight' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 4, 1943.

Ollie Stewart, covering the famed pilots of the 99th Pursuit Squadron in 1943, took a moment to give praise to the engineers and ground crews who were part of the Tuskegee "experiment". "The fact is legendary that in America no one had ever seen it done," he wrote, "The future of colored American aviation would hang in the balance, and depend on what they did…The experiment has been a success."[94]

94. Ollie Stewart, "99th Squadron Wants Job of Training More U.S. Flyers", *Afro-American*, August 21, 1943.

Chapter 4
"A Thickly Populated Three Blocks in Harlem": The Correspondents and White People's Countries

When the first African American soldiers arrived in the United Kingdom in May 1942, those who had heard stories of World War I may have found themselves reminded of tales of Europe, where the 'race problem' did not exist. Of the many legacies of African American service in the World War I, few lived larger in the memory than utopian accounts of the people of France graciously welcoming black Americans to their country. Black soldiers returned from the World War I "ruined" by what Adriane Lenz-Smith has referred to the "emancipatory promise" of French hospitality, their views of American racial status quo forever altered.[1] Used to the rigorous denial of equality that came with life in the segregated United States, black American soldiers of World War I had been surprised to be invited into French bars, restaurants, living rooms, and sometimes, bedrooms. The life they lived under the overt Jim Crow of the south and the subtler Jim Crow of the north were thrown into sharp relief by the friendliness and generosity of their French hosts.

In his authoritative history of African American soldiers in the United Kingdom in World War II, Graham Smith writes: "many of the black Americans, as they crowded into Britain straight from Chicago or Chattanooga, Montgomery or Mobile, met a freedom and friendliness they had rarely encountered before in the company of white people."[2] Initially

1. Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 139.
2. Graham Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull: Black American Soldiers in World War II Britain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 116.

wary of entry into a country that, as the *Afro*'s Ollie Stewart pointed out, only contained as many black people "as a thickly populated three blocks in Harlem," black soldiers were surprised to find the same acceptance their predecessors had experienced in France in 1918.[3] Using sources that include a small number of war correspondents of the black press, Smith describes a wartime England that picks up where the France of World War I left off. Though missing the overt boldness of the ideals of '*liberté, égalité, fraternité*' that lent the acceptance of black troops in France its political edge, the treatment of back soldiers upon their arrival in Great Britain in the early 1940s was for most a marked improvement over their treatment back home.[4]

Smith's study stops at the English Channel, but his conclusions are echoed in works that examine black soldiers' receptions in other white nations during the war, such as Australia and Germany.[5] Much like Smith, the authors of these histories keep their focus well within the borders of the host nations, their geographical limitations the trade-off for the detail of their studies. As with Smith, these studies at times use the correspondents to support their claims of the general acceptance of black soldiers. However, the correspondents themselves were not so restricted by geography. Most wrote from a variety of host nations, and with such frequency that even the most cursory reader of the black press received regular firsthand accounts of race relations in the homelands of all the United States' white allies.

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3. Ollie Stewart, "More Colored People in 3 Harlem Blocks Than in All England", *Afro-American*, November 14, 1942.

4. For some thought on the link between French culture, black soldiers and challenges to American racism in the 1920s, see: Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro*, 48.

5. Sean Brawley and Chris Dixon, "Jim Crow Downunder? African American Encounters with White Australia 1942-1945," *Pacific Historical Review* 71, (2002): 607-632; Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*; Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*; David J. Longley, "Vincent Tubbs and the Baltimore Afro-American: The Black American Press, Race, and Culture in the World War II Pacific Theatre," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 35, (2016): 61-80.

An understanding of the relationships that formed between black soldiers of World War II and the peoples of the white nations they visited are still surprisingly underdeveloped. Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, authors of one of the most recent works on black soldiers and white populations during the war, and one of the few that deal with black soldiers in Germany, share this concern.[6] Acknowledging that there is still much work to be done, Höhn and Klimke, like Smith with England, point to the occupation of Germany as a time when African Americans were warmly received by the native population, a place and time where African Americans could enjoy a better life than many of them would at home.[7]

The correspondents' articles constitute an unutilized link between these hitherto disconnected stories. Distinct instances of welcome become a larger picture that illuminates the commonality of the experiences of African American soldiers, enlarging understanding of the political utility of black soldiers' experiences in white nations during the war. More importantly, they speak to Gunnar Myrdal's characterization of the black press as the institution that "defines the Negro group to the Negroes themselves."[8] In connecting and adding to histories of acceptance in wartime England, Australia, and Germany, and including fresh evidence of the same types of reception in France and Italy, we see that the correspondents' continued reinforcement of the friendliness of foreign whites constituted the first element of the most important 'definition' of the war. Not merely illustrating the state of affairs in Britain or Australia alone, the correspondents were positioning African Americans in relation to the white world at large. Importantly, this definition was based not

6. Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*, 1.
7. Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*, 43, 39. This sentiment is echoed in Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*.
8. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 911.

only upon how African Americans perceived the world outside the United States, but also on how foreign peoples perceived African Americans.

The evidence that the correspondents provided on a weekly basis weakened arguments of the inevitability of racial antagonism. As Myrdal continued in *An American Dilemma,* African Americans "protest, not because they feel themselves different, but because they want to be similar and are forcibly held to be different."[9] The foreign white acceptance was simplified, and deployed as proof of this similarity. The black soldiers, nurses, correspondents, and Red Cross personal who travelled to the white world found themselves visitors, guests, and in some cases occupiers of nations whose racial makeup was whiter than their homeland, but whose treatment of their dark-skinned guests accentuated the uniqueness of the American 'race problem'. The articles show the rapidity of changes of message forced by wartime circumstances, and of the malleability of civil rights language. White nations that before the war were reviled for their supposed racial intolerance were quickly reconciled and re-integrated into the fold, serving more use to correspondents as positive alternatives to American racism than as distant specters of intolerance. Finally, the correspondents' emphasis of white acceptance was a foundational element of the global re-positioning of African Americans that underlined so much of their coverage. As stated in the introduction, the correspondents' wartime coverage saw a large-scale effort to firmly align African Americans with America, to assert the essentiality and indivisibility of black America to America at large. In emphasizing the acceptance of other white peoples, the acceptance of black Americans *as* Americans, the correspondents were laying the foundation upon which their strategy would rest.

9. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 911.

This chapter will examine how the press's reportage of the positive reception of black soldiers connects hitherto disparate histories of friendliness and solidarity. The United Kingdom, France, Australia, and even Italy and Germany were all held up to the readers as examples of what was possible should whites divest themselves of prejudice. By extension, these welcoming and friendly white nations became exaggerated examples from which the United States could learn, an alternative to what many African Americans would have spent their lives expecting as behavior characteristic of white people. In some cases this reception was to be expected, as desperate nations such as France and the United Kingdom welcomed allies. However this chapter will show that, in the eyes and words of the correspondents, the hand of friendship was extended to black soldiers in nations where such a reception was less expected. Reports from Australia, Italy, and Germany all emphasized the prejudice-free cooperation between black soldiers and their white hosts. In each case this new narrative of acceptance ran contrary to the image of these nations that the black press and wider intellectual movements had presented in the pre and early war periods. Nations once mocked and reviled by correspondents and domestic activists were quickly modified to become sources of what was positive in the white world. The chapter then turns to a discussion of press censorship, and the impact that it had on these strategies, as well as the unusual prevalence of reports of interracial sex, and the consternation it caused at home.

A Warm Welcome

Ollie Stewart, correspondent for the *Afro-American*, and one of the most active and prominent of the wartime correspondents, was also one of the first to write from the United Kingdom. Describing England as a place with "no color bar," Stewart warmed to England

from the very beginning.[10] The very first article he wrote upon arrival set the scene for his readers, recounting how he had befriended a local in a London pub, eventually finishing the night at his new friend's house for a cocktail.[11] For many of the *Afro*'s readers Stewart's would have been the first home-grown black voice they would have heard from wartime England. ANP stalwarts Rudolph Dunbar and George Padmore had been covering developments in England from the late 1930s. However both Dunbar and Padmore were residents of London, and although both men had spent periods living the United States, they were ultimately subjects of the British Empire. Stewart's story would have had a different impact. Here was an American reporter, with years of experience in the activist black press, reporting that he had been welcomed into a white stranger's home as an equal. In the same article Stewart addressed these ideas of African American expectations of white treatment, saying that he had been warned by some of British color prejudice, but he himself had been unable to find even a hint of it.

Though not considered a Jim Crow nation, England was nevertheless known as a white nation. England's reputation in the inter-war period was as somewhere with milder discrimination than the U.S., but without the safety of a black belt. Noted figure of the Harlem Renaissance, Claude McKay, described London as a "cold white city," in both senses of the term.[12] Roi Ottley, an African American correspondent who wrote for the liberal white *PM* newspaper of New York City, noted in his wartime diary his surprise at the "quite cordial" welcome he received from Londoners, a complete inversion of his expectations.[13] Both British and U.S. officials were apprehensive of how the influx of such

10. Ollie Stewart, "Our Boys in AEF Making Good Record", *Afro-American*, September 26, 1942.
11. Ollie Stewart, "Ollie Stewart Sends First Afro Cable from Europe", *Afro-American*, September 12, 1942.
12. In William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 74.
13. Roi Ottley, "July 16, 1944", in Mark Huddle, ed., *Roi Ottley's World War II: The Lost Diary of an African American Journalist* (Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 46.

a large number of black men into Britain would be received by the British public on the one hand, and by the white Americans who came with them on the other. These initial anxieties quickly proved themselves to be ill-founded, and black soldiers were welcomed and befriended.[14] Stewart himself acknowledged these early anxieties. He revealed to his readers that black soldiers, particularly those from the South, had inculcated within them a set of assumptions of how whiteness treated blackness. "They never had a chance to leave their Southern homes before," he wrote "and therefore never realized that there was a part of the world which was willing to forgive a man's color and welcome him as a brother."[15] Wrapped up within this simple sentence was a complex argument that addressed the way the treatment of African Americans not only affected them, but also modified the way they saw white people. The welcome that Britain gave was showing these black men that they were fighting not against something in the nature of all white peoples, but against a racism particular to both the Nazi regime and to their home nation.

This realization of the geographic distinctions of the 'race problem' had been part of Stewart's own personal journey. In 1940 he had travelled to Brazil to profile the nation for the *Afro.* Arriving in Rio de Janeiro, Stewart was disgusted to find the same forms of official and unofficial segregation, discrimination, and inequality as those of the U.S. South. Such was his dismay at finding this in a nation with an even larger proportion of 'colored' people than his own homeland, it prompted him to declare that: "segregation, discrimination and Jim Crow tactics - these things are not a matter of place," but were rather an inevitability, an intrinsic part of the modern world.[16] Just two years later, and Ollie

14. Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull*, 37-97.
15. Ollie Stewart, "More Colored People in 3 Harlem Blocks Than in All England", *Afro-American*, November 14, 1942.
16. Ollie Stewart, "In U.S.A. It's Jim Crow; in Brazil, 'Run Around'", *Afro-American*, June 29, 1940.

Stewart and the men whose stories he sent back home were of the opinion that racial discrimination had become very much a matter of place.

As the war progressed from the first arrival of black soldiers in Britain in 1942 and the threat of a German invasion and then of Germany itself began to diminish, so did British goodwill towards the American soldiers within their borders, black or otherwise. However, it would be hard to argue, based on the correspondents' writings, that at any point during the war black soldiers were disliked by any more than a minority of the British population. All the correspondents who spent time in the British Isles wrote on the gratitude of black soldiers and black WACs for the welcome they had received.[17] By the time the British were beginning to tire of their allies from across the Atlantic, England's symbolic status as being thoroughly un-American when it came to race relations had been established. Early in 1944 Joe Louis was in Salisbury in southern England on one of his USO tours. Looking to pass the time, Joe turned up to the local movie theater only to find the usher insisting that he sit in a separate, "blacks only" section. Recounting the event years later in his autobiography, Louis exclaimed "shit! This wasn't America, this was England…the theater manager…knew who I was and apologized all over the place. Said he had instructions from the Army."[18] The image of the apologetic theater manager, reluctantly enforcing segregation at the behest of a foreign military force is one that resonated for most African Americans who were in England at the time, as was Louis's characterization of Jim Crow as an institution incompatible with British values.

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17. For just a few examples see: Rudolph Dunbar, "WACs Leaving Paris After Tasting French Democracy", *Chicago Defender*, April 30, 1946; Rudolph Dunbar, "British Give Royal Welcome to American Negro Troops", *New York Amsterdam News*, September 19, 1942; Randy Dixon, "British Okay Conduct of Race Troops", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 8, 1944; David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, August 7, 1943; David Orro, "Orro Returns to U.S. After Year in England", *Chicago Defender*, December 12, 1943; George Padmore, "'Army Officers Worried, But No Problem Exists!' – Padmore", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 29, 1942; Padmore, "British Urge FDR to Halt Death of Private Mickles", *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 23, 1943.

18. In Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull*, 109.

Although England gained a wartime reputation for color-blindness, no white nation embodied the values of acceptance and equality in eyes of the correspondents as much as France. World War I had established the near mythical status of French race relations. French treatment of black American troops as both soldiers and men had been an illuminating experience for those involved to take back home. So important was France to black soldiers in World War I that it was immortalized in the insignia of the 93rd Infantry Division: a blue World War I French 'Adrian' helmet, a symbol of the moment when black soldiers and men proved their worth on the battlefield, fighting alongside the French Army. This reputation continued into the 1920s and 1930s, with Paris the destination of choice for black intellectuals and writers; a city that celebrated African American music and art.[19] Such was the symbolic importance of France as "an idealized location of liberation" that, come World War II, most correspondents who covered events in France glossed over or ignored entirely the nation's colonial history.[20] Ollie Stewart, one of the few who was openly critical of France's colonial empire, nevertheless noted that metropolitan France was a place of acceptance and wonder for the black man. Men who had journeyed to the City of Lights during peace time were now returning, each carrying a rifle and his own personal version of "that night in Montmartre" that had elevated Paris above any white city save perhaps New York.[21] Even George Padmore, staunch critic of imperialism, offered a measure of forgiveness to one of the world's largest imperial powers, making the point in the *Courier* that at least French colonial peoples were looked upon more as citizens of a

19. See: Michel Fabre, *From Harlem to Paris: Black American Writers in France, 1840-1980* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996).

20. For a few works on the importance of France to African Americans coming out of World War I and going into the inter-war period, see: Arthur E. Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974); Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*; Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro*, 50–69.

21. Ollie Stewart, "Sowing and Reaping -- In France", *Afro-American*, December 21, 1940.

vast empire than as colonial subjects.[22] Padmore's evasive sentiment was shared by the *Defender*'s Edward Toles, who wrote extensively on race relations in France following its liberation from German forces. Toles, observing French colonial troops, noted that although these soldiers, "members of different races", imbued the uniform of France with their own particular cultural flair, be it a turban or a fez, they were "all Frenchmen."[23]

These expectations and memories tinged the way in which the correspondents wrote about France. Bringing to their readers the same stories of the "democratic comradeship" of the French people that they did of England, the correspondents also linked these stories into the narrative of French acceptance.[24] On his arrival in the newly liberated Paris, Rudolph Dunbar reminisced about his days before the war as a musician in the city's bohemian heart.[25] Max Johnson, who covered the invasion of southern France for the *Afro*, noted that white natives of France showed no inclination to even make the distinction between black and white men in French uniform, an attitude that carried through to their dealings with black American soldiers.[26] But it was Toles who went straight to the source. Interviewing a black French man in a Red Cross club in Cherbourg where "Yanks of all colors joined with Frenchmen of all colors," Toles asked what the man thought of the U.S. Army's attempts to impose segregation in the French city. The man's succinct reply to the idea of racial distinction, separation, and discrimination was that "it's all new to us."[27]

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22. George Padmore, "Famous Senegalese Troops Join Allies", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 5, 1942.
23. Edward Toles, "French Colored Colonials Found Crack Fighters in Colmar Mountain Battle", *Chicago Defender*, April 3, 1945.
24. Max Johnson, "Troops Pray Oftener the Closer They Get to France", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944.
25. Rudolph Dunbar, "Writer Returns to Paris And Spot American Musicians Made", *Chicago Defender*, September 30, 1944.
26. Max Johnson, "Troops Pray Oftener the Closer They Get to France", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944.
27. Edward Toles, "Chicagoans In Cherbourg Get Together Over Cognac", *Chicago Defender*, August 19, 1944.

As it stands there is a surprising dearth of literature on the African American presence in France during World War II. There is at the moment however little to contradict the claims of the famous African American General, Benjamin O. Davis Sr., who emphasized in an interview with Edward Toles that race relations were even better in France than they were in England.[28] Of all the white nations to which black soldiers travelled, France was presented as the most open to racial acceptance. The history of black service in World War I meant that by and large French citizens were aware of the contribution of black soldiers in 1918, and their appreciation remained strong. Unlike in Australia and Britain, black soldiers did not spend extended periods of time in France during the war, meaning the local population did not experience the same fatigue and resentment that came with a long-term American presence. On the contrary, African American participation in the liberation of France only served to further endear black soldiers to the French. Ollie Stewart wrote on two separate occasions of passing crowds who threw flowers to him and the black soldiers he was accompanying.[29] Many of the correspondents' stories of acceptance of African American soldiers in France were constructed around similar expressions of gratitude.[30] Not only had black American soldiers re-taken France from an occupying army, in doing so they had lifted from the nation the oppression of the unique Jim Crow of the Nazis, a fact that the correspondents were happy

28. Edward Toles, "General Davis in France", *Chicago Defender*, August 19, 1944.

29. Ollie Stewart, "Disemboweled Stock Sign of Fierce Fight", *Afro-American*, August 12, 1944; "Our Troops in Paris", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944.

30. Ollie Harrington, "Black Troops Terrify Nazis", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 2, 1944; Max Johnson, "Troops Pray Oftener the Closer They Get to France", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944; Max Johnson, "Rides 3 Days on French Freight; Goes 307 Miles", *Afro-American*, October 7, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "French Cheer U.S. Soldiers, White or Black", *Journal and Guide*, August 26, 1944; Theodore Stanford, "784th Wins Battle Honors in Capturing German Town", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 31, 1945. See also Theodore Stanford's articles on similar welcomes and association with liberation in Belgium and the Netherlands: Theodore Stanford, "Ninth Crosses Roer Under Smoke Screen Laid Down by Tan Yanks", April 7, 1945; "Grateful Dutch Eager to Tell Story of Daring Tan Liberators", April 7, 1945; "Dutch Band Says Musical Farewell to Negro Troops", April 21, 1945; all in *Pittsburgh Courier*.

to point out.[31] On his return to Paris in 1944, a city where he had spent some of the happiest years of his life, Rudolph Dunbar interviewed a Parisian couple. The wife, jubilant at the emancipation of her city, told her husband that she must kiss the first American soldier she came across in celebration and thanks. Her husband acquiesced, on the condition that the American soldier was an African American soldier, as, for him, "he is the only true American."[32]

A Surprisingly Warm Welcome

If black soldiers had entered France with enthusiasm and respect, and the United Kingdom with nervous optimism, their arrival in the white nation of Australia was accompanied by far greater reservations and concerns. Unlike the two friendly nations of Europe, African American discussions of Australia had been vocally critical of the assignment of black troops to what was, unashamedly, a white man's country. One of the most vociferous opponents to Japanese-backed attempts to insert a racial equality clause in the 1919 Covenant of the League of Nations, Australia's 'White Australia' policy of the early to mid-twentieth century effectively banned all non-white immigration. As a colonial nation, Australia's history of the treatment of its own non-white indigenous population was poor, at times genocidal. The racial bond between white America and white Australia was even articulated by Prime Minister John Curtin, who welcomed the first contingent of white U.S. troops as being "from the same stock as ourselves."[33] As with Britain, Australian

31. Edward Toles, "Nazis Enforced Strict Jim Crow Rules in France During Long Occupation", *Chicago Defender*, November 25, 1944.
32. Rudolph Dunbar, "Calls Negro GI's 'True Americans'; Wife Kisses Three", *New York Amsterdam News*, December 9, 1944.
33. Rosemary Campbell, *Heroes and Lovers: A Question of National Identity* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989), 110.

officials had even quietly sounded out the possibility of the omission of black soldiers from any American forces sent to the Australian mainland, a request which was firmly refused.

Naturally the black press and other activist voices of the time felt less than charitable towards a nation that was so overtly opposed to the presence of non-white peoples. Editorials in both the *Defender* and the *Afro* openly mocked the irony of a "lily-white" nation being forced to "call in the colored races to save it from Japanese conquerors."[34] In *What the Negro Wants*, a collection of essays by prominent African American activists and intellectuals that sought to clarify and articulate the domestic demands of the Double-V, several authors dealt with the question of Australia. George Schuyler stated that the race problem was "worse in Kenya or Australia than Mississippi or Sierra Leone."[35] Roy Wilkins placed the island nation alongside some of the world's greatest symbols of race hate when he associated Adolf Hitler with "the rulers of India, the overlords of Kenya, the collaborators with Smuts of South Africa, the guardians of White Australia."[36] But it was Leslie Pinckney Hill who in the same volume articulated most clearly African American attitudes towards Australia and its peoples:

> There is no logic nor reason, for instance, in the present polity or policy of nations that could expect Negroes to be sent to the defense of Australia. That is a white man's continent, unmistakably, declared to be the white man's special preserve where no Negro is wanted. Years of logical argument and philanthropic appeal would not bear down the prejudice of white Australia against Negroes. But the mass pressure of a global war comes into play and takes the issue away from the local will. Down the gangplanks of the great ships long lines of clean, disciplined, eager black soldiers stream upon that land. They have not come to debate. They are silent about their rights. They do not by any uttered word ask white Australia to give up its

34. "Undemocratic Australia", *Chicago Defender*, March 28, 1942; *Afro-American*, March 21, 1942.
35. George Shuyler, "The Caucasian Problem", in *What the Negro Wants*, ed. Rayford W. Logan (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 283.
36. Roy Wilkins, "The Negro Wants Full Equality", in *What the Negro Wants*, 114.

> race hating. They are there as soldiers of our American democracy to protect and strengthen that country for the freedom which coming centuries will widen and deepen for all mankind. And Australia, in spite of itself, must welcome those black men.[37]

Reiterating again, though with less mockery, the irony of black soldiers fighting to preserve white Australia, Pinckney Hill turned the importance of their service back inwards on America. Despite the injustices, "prejudice", and "race hating" of Australia, black soldiers were willing to diligently and professionally undertake their democratic duty to preserve the freedom of Australia. Like much of the Double-V rhetoric, Pinckney Hill played on the idea of sacrifice and service for a greater ideal. Despite their inequality, black soldiers were willing to give their lives for democracy. Did that not entitle them to the recognition and rights they deserved? The *Courier*'s Edgar T. Rouzeau had articulated this very point in an opinion piece prior to his deployment as a correspondent. "Although Australia is a white man's country," he wrote, "with a clause in its constitution banning the immigration of all colored people, American black troops would overlook even this insult and would willingly risk their lives in Australia to save the homes of prejudiced whites from pillage and rapine."[38]

Within a few weeks of the arrival of black troops, the narrative of Australian racism had been completely reversed. The criticism and mockery that had typified early opinions of Australia quickly gave way to praise of the nation's friendly and welcoming people. Readers of the black press would have sensed this change in the early weeks of the black presence in Australia. Papers like the *Afro* printed short interviews with returned seamen who had visited wartime Australia, each praising the "great country," whose people were

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37. Leslie Pinckney Hill, "What the Negro Wants and How to Get it: The Inward Power of the Masses," in *What the Negro Wants*, 79.

38. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'Black Americans Willingly Offer Services for Democracy' -- Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 28, 1942.

"the finest in the English-speaking world."[39] This trickle of opinions quickly became a torrent with the arrival of the correspondents. Gone were the lily-white people of a prejudiced land, replaced by what Fletcher Martin referred to as America's "noble allies," many of whom had "gone far afield to be nice to our troops."[40] The *Afro*'s Vincent Tubbs was among those who spent the most time in Australia and with Australians. Almost wholly positive in his reports, the average Australian as represented by Tubbs was friendly, respectful, inquisitive, and honest, with a much greater regard for black Americans than for white.[41] These views were shared by black soldiers, nurses, and Red Cross club works whom Tubbs interviewed.[42] In less direct though still racially motivated praise, 'Scoop' Jones complimented Australian authorities on their frequent celebration of the achievements of natives of New Guinea serving in the military.[43]

Surprisingly, the main justification for the pre-war disdain black writers and activists felt toward Australia, the 'White Australia' policy, was not ignored by the correspondents. Instead, the correspondents corrected their own previous misunderstanding, re-casting the policy in less offensive terms. Both the *Afro*'s Vincent Tubbs and the *Defender*'s Enoc Waters travelled to Canberra to report back on the goings-on in the Australian capital. There they met with many politicians, including Prime Ministers past, present, and future, Billy Hughes, John Curtin, and Robert Menzies. Through discussions

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39. For specific references see: *Afro-American*, May 16, 1942; April 25 1942. Even the most cursory examination of the *Afro* after March 1942 will result in a great many examples of letters to the paper or interviews with sailors whose subject was the warm welcome and acceptance of African Americans by the Australian people.

40. Fletcher Martin, "'Going Home' Rumors Destroy Troop Morale", *Chicago Defender*, December 25, 1943; Fletcher Martin, "Few Australia Papers Show Bias On Race News", *Chicago Defender*, July 29, 1944. See also: Enoc Waters, "Australian Methodist Leader Hits Race Hate", *Chicago Defender*, July 24, 1943; Enoc Waters, "Enoc Waters Like Letter From Home to Doughboys", *Chicago Defender*, August 7, 1943; Enoc Waters, "Racial Mixture Found Widespread in Australia", *Chicago Defender*, October 16, 1943.

41. For some examples of Australians exhibiting these qualities in Tubbs' writings in the *Afro-American*, see his articles of June 12, 1943, August 7, 1943, November 13, 1943, January 22, 1944, and April 22, 1944.

42. For two examples at either end of Tubbs' stay, see the articles of June 12, 1943, and May 27, 1944.

43. 'Scoop' Jones, "Natives Awarded Medals in New Guinea Theater", *Atlanta Daily World*, May 25, 1943.

with these men, as well as several other prominent members of parliament, both Tubbs and Waters came to re-think the intent behind the 'White Australia' policy. Describing it as more of an "economic" policy designed at protecting Australian labor from an influx of cheap and easily exploited foreign workers, the men Tubbs and Waters interviewed seemed uncomfortable with the policy, were apologetic that Australia had given the impression that it was racially intolerant, and were keen to stress that once the war was over the policy would be re-assessed.[44] Undoubtedly there was a protectionist element to the policy, but it was also one that had been described by Edmund Barton, Australia's first Prime Minister, as a "legislative declaration of our racial identity," and was rooted in the fear of invasion from Asian peoples, be it peaceful or otherwise.[45] It was this second element that was missing from the correspondents' new characterization of 'White Australia.' The case can be made that this change was driven by a level of self-interest. Upon his return to the United States, the *Defender* described Waters as, among other things, "the first correspondent to correct the false reports on anti-Negro policy of Australians."[46] That Australia's immigration restrictions existed was of less importance than the fact that key figures in government had assured African Americans that they were not the intended target of said restrictions. The white nation that had initially been represented as just another America had turned out to be yet another white nation that welcomed black Americans with open arms.[47]

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44. Tubbs, "Australian 'White' Policy Called Economic Only – Tubbs", *Afro-American*, March 25, 1944; Enoc Waters, "Pacific Patter", *Chicago Defender*, April 1, 1944.

45. In Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 138; David Walker, "Race Building and the Disciplining of White Australia", in Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker and Jan Gothard, eds., *Legacies of White Australia: Race Cultured and Nation* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2003), 33-50.

46. "Waters Home from Pacific Front", *Chicago Defender*, December 9, 1944.

47. For more information on the 'White Australia' policy, particularly with reference to global issues of race in the twentieth century, see Chapter 6 of Lake and Reynolds' *Drawing the Global Colour Line*.

Though exaggerated, the papers' and the correspondents' representations of Australia were not just creations, or manipulations of the truth. Much of what the correspondents wrote was just an expansion upon the more positive side of the Australian reception to the nation's black guests. Interestingly, when it comes to studies of black servicemen in white nations during World War II, it is the African American experience of wartime Australia that has at present garnered the largest and most varied body of scholarship. Useful for examining the nation's checkered racial past, scholars of Australian history have mostly focused on how the presence of black troops influenced the racial attitudes of a nation largely isolated from the rest of the world.[48] As such, these studies firmly place themselves within debates on race in Australia, very few drawing out the implications of this reception for understandings of the American civil rights movement. Few indeed even consider what their time in Australia meant to the black soldiers who arrived during their war.

This weakness within the scholarship is something that Sean Brawley and Chris Dixon point to, serving as the inspiration for their attempts to better integrate African American voices and experiences into studies of the period.[49] Synthesizing the large body of work that came before them, and integrating African American voices sourced from personal recollections, black newspapers, and censor's reports, Brawley and Dixon point to a largely positive Australian experience for black soldiers. Despite initial misgivings and the anticipation of severe prejudice, many black soldiers "felt less discriminated against in

48. Daniel E. Potts and Annette Potts, "The Deployment of Black American Servicemen Abroad During World War Two," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 35, (2008): 92-96; Kay Saunders, "Conflict Between the American and Australian Governments over the Introduction of Black American Servicemen into Australia During World War Two," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 33, (1987): 39-46; Kay Saunders, "The Dark Shadow of White Australia: Racial Anxieties in Australia in World War II," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19, (1994): 325-341; Kay Saunders and Helen Taylor, "The Reception of Black American Servicemen in Australia During World War II: The Resilience of 'White Australia,"' *Journal of Black Studies* 25, (1995): 331-348.

49. Brawley and Dixon, "Jim Crow Downunder?".

Australia than their homeland."[50] This statement necessarily comes with many qualifications and caveats, most important of all being that African American soldiers represented a transient population, with little chance of establishing a permanent presence in Australia. However, as with France and Britain, it is an accurate summation of the picture that the correspondents painted of Australia. Although there did exist within Australia many of the same enculturated forms of racism as there were throughout the western world, particularly in the presence of less than charitable representations of the stereotype black male as lazy, stupid, happy-go-lucky and sexually potent, actual interactions between individuals took place on a far more accepting and amicable level.[51]

Just as Australia was constructed as the quintessential 'white man's country' of the pre-war period, so Italy had been formed into the shape of the greedy and racist imperialist power by black American elites, activists, and newspapermen. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 shattered any illusions African Americans might have held that the twentieth century was to be a period in which the evils of colonialism were slowly dismantled. In the age of the League of Nations and all that it promised, Italy's naked and unashamed expansion seized the attention of a generation of African Americans, re-focusing lens of racism, imperialism, and white expansion through which the following decade of global conflict was to be viewed. The question of Ethiopia and Ethiopian liberation dominated much of the press's coverage of the war. Despite this near universal condemnation of Italy, its government, and its policies, the Italian people, once defeated, were transformed by the correspondents into yet another proof of the acceptance and friendliness of whites.

50. Brawley and Dixon, "Jim Crow Downunder?", 615.
51. Campbell, *Heroes and Lovers*, 114-116.

The invasion of Italy marked the first time in the war that dedicated black combat units began to see action in an official and recognized capacity. Despite Randy Dixon's hope that the invasion be spearheaded by Ethiopian soldiers eager for "retribution," the campaign was more important for the black press for the involvement of black American troops.[52] Black service units contributed greatly to the first landings on Sicily. But pride of place went to the already famous Tuskegee Airmen, who made their contribution to the invasion in the skies over the island. As the fight moved onto the Italian mainland the concentration of big name units in the theater increased with the arrival of the 'Buffalo Soldiers' of the 92nd Infantry Division. By the time the 92nd arrived the front line was relatively static, Allied forces held in check by the mountainous and heavily fortified 'Gothic Line' of Tuscany and Romagna. This static front, coupled with the Tuskegee Airmen's long-term tenancy at airbases on the mainland and the opening of cities such as Naples and Rome to Allied troops for furlough, all resulted in a stability to black soldiers' Italian assignment that facilitated extended contact between themselves and the locals.

Reports from Italy informed readers at home that black soldiers had been accepted "without discrimination."[53] Much like portrayals of the French, and a link to the democratic and liberationist rhetoric of Double-V, correspondents explained that part of this acceptance came as thanks for the liberation of Italy from fascist forces. Italian people, it seems, were often to be found standing in the rubble of their demolished homes, cheering and "throwing welcoming arms around" passing Allied troops, black and white.[54] As black units settled into the areas they were stationed, stories of welcome gave way to stories of more mundane

52. Randy Dixon, "Our Boys Ready for Invasion", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 12, 1943; Randy Dixon "Retribution", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 5, 1944.

53. Art Carter, "Carter Finds Few Scars of War Amid Rome's Beauty", *Afro-American*, June 16, 1944.

54. Art Carter, "Carter Finds Few Scars of War Amid Rome's Beauty", *Afro-American*, June 16, 1944; Lem Graves, "92nd Takes Key Italian City", *Journal and Guide*, April 14, 1945; John Q. Jordan, "Rambling Rover", *Journal and Guide*, October 28, 1944.

cooperation and acceptance. In Sicily Ollie Stewart found "not one ounce of bitter racial prejudice," the natives more likely to invite black soldiers back to their homes to share a meal than to treat them with any disdain or malevolence.[55] Haskell Cohen, the *Courier*'s white, Jewish correspondent, made one of his few racial assessments while in Italy, noting that "there is no such thing as color discrimination."[56] Instead, Cohen reported that one of the most frequent sights away from the front was that of a black soldier in relaxed conversation with a local. Black soldiers who had spent long enough in Italy often conducted these conversations in basic, though comprehensible, Italian.[57] Art Carter corroborated these images, detailing the animated and friendly bartering for fresh produce in local markets between residents and black GIs.[58] Italian civilians joined in with black soldiers when working, when training, even on Sundays when black chaplains would conduct services to small crowd of worshippers composed of black soldiers and local Italians.[59] Cpl. George M. McKinley, a company medic, even managed to leave behind a young native boy named in his honor, one of the two Italian babies he delivered during his assignment.[60]

Early in November of 1944, Ollie Stewart experienced what was for him "one of the biggest moments of the war." Sitting in a U.S. Army jeep, Stewart and his driver were

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55. Ollie Stewart, "Lunch with a Princess", *Afro-American*, September 18, 1943; Ollie Stewart, "Fleas Annoy Our Soldiers at the Front", *Afro-American*, August 7, 1943.

56. Haskell Cohen, "Men Of 92nd Win Hearts of Italians", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 30, 1944. See also: Lem Graves, "92nd Rests at Genoa; Men Anxious to Hear of Next Assignment", *Journal and Guide*, May 19, 1945; Ollie Harrington, "Understanding Hotel Operator Is Inspiration to War-Weary Troops", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 12, 1944; Thomas W. Young, "Lt. Wiley Flies Captured Italian Plane for Fun", *Journal and Guide*, September 25, 1943.

57. Haskell Cohen, "Men Of 92nd Win Hearts Of Italians", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 30, 1944.

58. Art Carter, "Italian Peasants 'Gyp' U.S. Soldiers on Knickknacks", *Afro-American*, April 8, 1944.

59. John Q. Jordan, "Women of Italian Town Fight by Side of 92nd Infantrymen", *Journal and Guide*, November 4, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Italian Soldiers Trained to Work with Americans", *Afro-Americans*, January 8, 1943; John Q. Jordan, "Italian Girl Prayed with Soldiers Before Life Snuffed Out by Shells", *Journal and Guide*, October 28, 1944.

60. Haskell Cohen, "Delivering Babies Wasn't Exactly in His Line, But…", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 9, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Cpl. McKinney Delivers Again…", *Journal and Guide*, February 3, 1945.

winding their way down a lonely road through a dense European forest when they came upon a large sign: "You are now entering Germany." At his driver's suggestion, they stopped the car, and both stepped out to savor the moment. Stewart described how he bent down to pick up a handful of the damp, rich soil at the road-side, letting it run through his fingers "as though performing a solemn rite."[61] His arrival in Germany was the beginning of the closing chapter of a journey that had begun two and half years earlier. Stewart had followed black troops to England, through North Africa into Sicily and the Italian mainland, and from the beaches of Normandy to the push through Belgium and the Netherlands. The soil in his hands was a physical representation of the victory of the forces of democracy over those of racism and fascism. Nazism, the logical conclusion of the attitudes that justified and supported Jim Crow, was almost defeated.

Few of the correspondents had much interaction with the German people. Outside of Germany's borders, Randy Dixon was witness to a touching movement when a wounded German soldier, no more than 16, had his cigarette lit and his blanket tucked in by a black medic aboard a hospital ship en route to England. The boy's smile of thanks was enough to reinforce in Dixon's mind the distinction between Germans and Nazis.[62] This distinction was less clear for Rudolph Dunbar, who opened his stay in occupied Germany with a depiction of how he had berated a German woman, crying in the bombed out remains of her house. "It is dangerous to take pity on these people," he told his readers, "They are all Nazis and will not hesitate to shoot our soldiers in the most treacherous manner."[63] Dunbar's harshness proved to be the exception in coverage of the German people. It was Stewart who gave the best idea of how black soldiers were finding Germany, overriding the earlier

61. Ollie Stewart, "Our Boys Help Take Aachen", *Afro-American*, November 4, 1944.
62. Randy Dixon, "Hitler's Racial Philosophy Defied by German Youth, 16", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 24, 1944.
63. Rudolph Dunbar, "Hands of Death on Germany", *Atlanta Daily World*, May 5, 1945.

glories in the vanquishing of the 'master race', and once again reiterating the message of acceptance.

Though his initial foray into Germany took him no further than the border town of Aachen, Stewart returned to Germany frequently during the post-war occupation. His first article from peace-time Germany was symbolic of his position as a conqueror, written from the comfortable seats in the restaurant of the "swank" Hotel Kaiser in Weimar as unwashed, desperate, and miserable German refugees streamed past the windows.[64] Reaching Berlin, he found that black soldiers, though somewhat of a novelty to the city's inhabitants, were much better liked than most other occupation forces, particularly Russians.[65] The women of Berlin in particular seemed to have taken a shine to America's less fair-skinned soldiers, as every black GI he talked to in Berlin was of the opinion that the order against fraternization with the local women should be rescinded, being both inconvenient and thoroughly ineffective.[66] In the city of Darmstadt he found that initial suspicion of African American soldiers had given way to friendliness and acceptance, the sight of black men playing with young German children or chatting to the local *fräuleins* now commonplace.[67] This interaction with the local populace was central to black occupation soldiers' enjoyment of their duties and leisure time, one of the main complaints that black soldiers presented to Stewart was that increasing Army segregation was forcing them out of the more central areas of German towns and cities and towards the less-populated outskirts.[68] Theodore Stanford was initially wary of the German people at the beginning of the occupation. Describing what he saw as mostly a cold, the small of moments of friendliness he did see he

64. Ollie Stewart, "Stewart Meets Tan Yanks Occupying German Cities", *Afro-American*, July 7, 1945.
65. Ollie Stewart, "Germans in Berlin Praise Americans, Spurn Russians", *Afro-American*, July 21, 1945.
66. Ollie Stewart, "GI's Don't Understand Why They Can't Kiss Gretchen", *Afro-American*, July 21, 1945. See also: Edward Toles, "Negro GIs Fraternize - But Wisely", *Chicago Defender*, July 21, 1945.
67. Ollie Stewart, "266th QM Bn. Performing Broad Duties in Germany", *Afro-American*, September 8, 1945.
68. Ollie Stewart, "Our Troops do Dirty Work in Germany", *Afro-American*, September 15, 1945.

put down to the relief that came with the knowledge that when American troops entered a city, the Allied bombings would cease.[69] However, when visiting the camp at Buchenwald a few weeks later, he articulated clearly the notion of the 'good German.' Unable to reconcile the friendliness he was experiencing from the local population with the horror of the camp, he suggested the idea of a silent and repressed majority of Germans, just as disgusted as himself at the treatment of those under the yoke of Nazism, but unable to act. It was these good Germans whose now emancipated democratic spirit would guide Germany down a new path.[70]

Though existing independently of each other, works such as Smith's *When Jim Crow Met John Bull,* Höhn and Klimke's *A Breath of Freedom,* and Brawley and Dixon's *Jim Crow Downunder* are all linked by the writings of the correspondents. Each draws on their voices, but each does so in isolation. In taking a step back, the unity of the correspondents' voices emerges. Whenever black soldiers found themselves in a white nation, be it Allied or Axis, the correspondents made it their mission to show their readers just how accepted they were. Not just individualized responses to treatment in certain nations, stories of friendship and acceptance were common to all white nations. It would be stretching credulity to suggest that the universality of these articles represent a conscious strategy, pre-planned, agreed upon, and implemented by each of the correspondents. However the presence of Australia, Italy and Germany in the correspondents' narrative of white acceptance is worthy of note, particularly as each of these nations was so heavily criticized by the black press and wider African American community up to the arrival of black troops. That a large number of black soldiers felt accepted by the people of these nations is clear, and is thus far supported up by historical research. That the black press

69. Theodore Stanford, "What Defeat Means to German Civilian", *Pittsburgh Courier,* June 2, 1945.
70. Theodore Stanford, "Germans, Who Hated Hitler, Seen as Seeds of Democracy – Stanford", *Pittsburgh Courier,* June 23, 1945.

focused so heavily on this acceptance, often downplaying or omitting more negative interactions between black soldiers and white locals is telling. Writing from the newly occupied Sicily in September 1943, Ollie Stewart took a moment to reflect upon the way he had been treated by the white peoples of Europe. "Again and again it has been impressed upon me…that few sections of the world have time to nurse color hatreds as they are nursed in the Southern United States."[71] Deliberate or not, strategic or not, white nations were presented to readers as evidence of the exceptionalism of American racism rather than as symbols of racism themselves. The correspondents took the many friendly interactions between African Americans and white peoples, and presented them to readers. Implicit within was the argument that the status quo that they knew and lived, and that for many was their only understanding of white peoples, was accurate only within the borders of their own home.

Censorship, Negativity, and Nuance

Importantly, these stories of acceptance cannot be explained away by an appeal to wartime censorship. Graham Smith admits that in Britain many cases of violence between black and white American soldiers were hushed up in the name of censorship.[72] David Orro, who spent his entire assignment in the U.K., was the highly critical of censorship, writing of the "ominous presence" of the censor "hovering over your shoulder," with a "blue pencil in one hand and a pair of scissors in the other."[73] The censorship code dictated that journalists not link the names of soldiers to units, ships or squadrons, nor should a

71. Ollie Stewart, "Lunch with a Princess", *Afro-American*, September 18, 1943.
72. Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull*, 138-151.
73. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, February 20, 1943. See also: David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, October 2, 1943.

soldier's or unit's location be given unless already officially released by the relevant military authority.[74] Orro joked about "that popular town in England known as Somewhere" from which many of his articles originated, a direct result of this restriction.[75] A large proportion of the correspondents would write from the town of Somewhere during the war, be it 'Somewhere, England,' 'Somewhere, Australia,' or 'Somewhere, Italy.' Writing from 'Somewhere' was a simple measure to prevent the enemy from using a newspaper to determine the location and strength of Allied troops, but was an annoyance to the correspondents. The *Afro*'s Francis Yancey filled an article with an exaggerated form of the logic: "I travelled censored miles to censored. The weather is very hot, censored degrees. I am staying in a censored and I expect to get censored, if censored ever does the right thing."[76] In the same manner, several correspondents would withhold the devastating effect that German V1 and V2 rocket attacks on English morale, only admitting the success of the attacks once the launching sites had been wrested from German hands.[77]

Despite these concessions, the strongest argument against censorship being the force that guided correspondents towards positive stories is that almost every correspondent, at one time or another, was critical of the situation for black soldiers in white nations. In 1943 George Padmore wrote that he hoped the censors would allow discussion of the race problem as it affected those under colonial governance.[78] The sheer volume of material that he produced during the following years that criticized European colonial administrations, particularly the Churchill government, gives a fair indication that his hope was not frustrated. John Jordan, Vincent Tubbs, and Ollie Stewart all went in to bat for black

74. Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory*, 88.
75. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, May 22, 1943.
76. Francis Yancey, "Yancey Swaps Monkey Mascot for a Snake", *Afro-American*, March 10, 1945.
77. Roi Ottley, "October 10, 1944", in *Roi Ottley's World War II*, 132; Ollie Stewart, "Stewart Sure of a Long War After Trip Back to London", *Afro-American*, October 14, 1944.
78. George Padmore, "Significance Attached to Lord Halifax's Secret N.Y. Conference With Walter White", *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 2, 1943.

soldiers when white newspapers fell back on black racial stereotypes.[79] In England, Rudolph Dunbar was quick to take up his pen in defense of black emergency workers in England when rumors surfaced that some white women did not want first aid to be performed by black men.[80] Even Orro, who complained so vigorously about the limits placed upon them by the censor, wrote on the spread of race hatred by white American soldiers, and the violence that inevitably followed when black soldiers stood up for themselves.[81] Though negative stories were relatively few when compared to those extolling the virtues of white hosts, the fact remained that when the situation called for it the correspondents were more than willing to turn their pens on their allies.

Many also displayed clever ways of circumventing potential restrictions on politicized content even when censorship was an issue. Some of the most interesting articles to come out of the American presence in Britain were those written by David Orro, despite his cries of foul play on the part of the censor. Stationed in England after the Battle of Britain but prior to the build-up for the invasion of Normandy, Orro bemoaned being "a sort of war correspondent stuck in a hotel room in the heart of a big city…if I ever see a soldier shoot off one of those things they call a rifle, I'll cable a full story."[82] Left without much in the way of 'action', Orro instead turned the skills he had gained as the *Defender*'s social columnist and poetry editor to good use.[83] Instead of war stories, Orro instead wrote of what more closely resembled a travel column, published weekly, under the heading "London Calling". The column for the most part dealt with his time spent in bars and pubs around Britain, in the company of black soldiers and white "Britishers" in varying degrees

79. John Q. Jordan, "Fascism Bobs Up in Italy; Cartoon Insults Negroes", *Journal and Guide*, February 10, 1945; Vincent Tubbs, "Smear Campaign Against GI's Continues in Australia", *Afro-American*, June 10, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "British Want Us to Go Home", *Afro-American*, September 29, 1945.

80. Rudolph Dunbar, "War Gives London Negroes Their Chance at Jobs", *Journal and Guide*, December 30, 1939.

81. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, February 20, 1943.

82. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, June 5, 1943.

83. Mullen, *Popular Fronts*, 63.

of inebriation. Apart from fulfilling the standard role of the war correspondents of showing their reader the world outside of the United States, these articles also more subtly pushed the Double-V agenda. Orro did not glory in stories of conspicuous acceptance. Instead he wrote of the day-to-day interactions between black Americans and their hosts, of sharing drink at a bar with white locals, spending the night as guests of English families.[84] In the "London Calling:" of March 6, 1943, Orro gifted his readers a small article on group of African American women working for the Red Cross, who had just had their hair done in a "ritzy" Mayfair salon. The articles injected humor into the mundane, as well as bring a little human interest to what was for Orro a dull assignment. Most importantly though, it offered a subtle comparison to the state of racial affairs back home. That African American women were being attended to by white English hairdressers, in one of London's more up-market suburbs was a marked difference from what was occurring in the United States. In this case Orro even spelled out the meaning behind the report for his less perceptive readers. "The above item, since it bears no direct relation to this awful and war raging just across the channel, is of news value to nobody but you folks back home who are fighting for democracy because you have a hankering to see just what democracy is like. But for the present, just take it from me; even a side dish of the stuff as served over here is a mighty tasty morsel."

Vincent Tubbs was particularly adept at weaving subtle inferences and allusions into his articles from Australia and the Pacific. In June 1943 he witnessed an African American soldier enter an Australian soldier's club, a shining new medal displayed on his chest. To Tubbs' satisfaction, the man was accorded a great deal of respect from the Australian soldiers present. Already a positive story, its impact as a criticism of American

84. David Orro, "Air Raid and Blonde Give Orro His Baptism of Fire", *Chicago Defender*, February 20, 1943; David Orro, "Orro Flops Into Mud To Duck Flying Nazi Bombs", *Chicago Defender*, June 26, 1943.

racism was heightened by his readers' knowledge that for many white Americans, a black man proudly wearing the uniform of the United States was sufficient provocation to result in violence. That Australians respected a black man in uniform, and more so one who had been decorated, would have had even greater meaning for Tubbs' readers.[85] Similarly a story on the "strange Australian currency" and how uncomprehending soldiers were happy to rely on Australian shopkeepers to provide them with the correct change was more than just a simple human interest story.[86] It was another veiled, yet damning attack on American racism. At home African Americans were powerless against the frequent and everyday discrimination that was being short changed by white business owners.[87] In Australia, black soldiers were more than happy to place their trust in white, Australian shopkeepers. It would be an overstatement to say that many of these stories revolved around inverting black-white power dynamics. What they did do was give readers evidence of more balanced roles for blacks and whites, particularly when it came to service and business. In both the north and the south, working as a barber was generally seen as a black man's profession, and was often a distasteful career to whites because of that.[88] Thus when John Jordan wrote of his trip to a barber in Italy for a full shave and trim, it was, as with Tubbs and Orro, a way to show his readers that the assumptions and prejudices of the United States were far from universal.[89]

85. Vincent Tubbs, "A Hero Enters an Australian Club", *Afro-American*, June 12, 1943.
86. Vincent Tubbs, "Tubbs Confused by Australian Pounds", *Afro-American*, June 12, 1943. For more examples see Longley, "Vincent Tubbs and the Baltimore Afro-American".
87. For information on African Americans and being short-changed, see: Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 61.
88. Darlene Clark Hine and Earnestine Jenkins, "Black Men's History: Towards and Gendered Perspective", in *A Question of Manhood*, Volume 1, 26
89. John Q. Jordan, "Rambling Rover", *Journal and Guide*, October 28, 1944.

Representations of Interracial Sex

In one of his few articles documenting his time in Germany during the occupation, Theodore Stanford, reporter for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, wrote of a conversation he had with a "flaxen-haired" German "peasant" woman, young and attractive. The woman, whose name was never given, "confided that she thought I had a beautiful coat of tan. Under the Linden tree, in the blue spring morning she held her thin, pale forearm up to mine to emphasize the thought."[90] The sexual tension, and the tropes of the innocent and wide-eyed peasant girl, were only furthered by the article's larger point that German women made no distinction between white and black American men, they liked them all as men.

Of all content the correspondents produced regarding the acceptance of black men in white countries, few were more provocative, more out of character for the period, than the extent to which the correspondents wrote on sexual encounters between African American soldiers and white women. Filling their articles with stories of flirtations and trysts, romances and prostitution, the correspondents made no illusion of the fact that black soldiers overseas were regularly engaging in sexual relations with white women. At times references were subtle; allusions made when discussing white dancing partners, recounting occasions when smiled at by a "pretty" French girl, pleasure at the "seductive and alluring" women of Paris.[91] Others were less so. The correspondents openly wrote about girlfriends, visits to white brothels, and even at times the epidemic of 'brown babies' sweeping

90. Theodore Stanford, "German Women See Tan Yanks as Men Only", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 9, 1945.

91. Art Carter, "Only 2 Colored Officers in Vet QM Unit in N. Africa", *Afro-American*, December 25, 1943; Max Johnson, "Tour of Off-Limits Town in France", *Afro-American*, November 18, 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "Wild Celebrations Mark Fall of Paris; Our Boys Guarding Nazis", *Atlanta Daily World*, September 6, 1944. For further examples see: Randy Dixon, "English Women Hostesses at Soldiers' Party", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 27, 1943; George Padmore, "Blame Army for Racial Fued Abroad", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 5, 1944; George Padmore, "'Army Officers Worried, But No Problem Exists!' - Padmore", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 29, 1942; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Red Cross Clubs Overseas Have Solved Race Problem", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 28, 1943; Ollie Stewart, "Ollie Stewart Now With U.S. Troops", *Afro-American*, September 19, 1942; Ollie Stewart, "Our Troops in England Ready for Invasion", *Afro-American*, January 15, 1944.

England.[92] Such was David Orro's reputation for indelicacy that upon running into two men of his native Chicago his introduction was cut short: "Uh-huh, we know," the two men said, "and we ain't talking. We got families."[93]

At a time when most historians agree that suggestions of interracial sex were deliberately avoided by black activists, the correspondents made no attempts to mask this behavior.[94] Claims of 'social equality' were often levelled against interracial organizations as a way to discredit them in the eyes of white Americans.[95] Correspondents were no doubt aware of the trope of the "French-woman-ruined Negro Soldiers," so colorfully described in the aftermath of World War I by Mississippi Senator James K. Vardaman.[96] Calling back on amicable relations between black soldiers and French women during the Great War, opponents of civil rights saw these friendships, particularly romantic and sexual interactions, as giving black soldiers ideas 'above their station'. Such ideas, they argued, were directly responsible for the discontent of African American veterans, discontent which was met with violent resistance.[97] Such ideas tied strongly into the trope of black male sexual voracity and aggression that figured so strongly in the post-bellum period.[98] As

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92. Art Carter, "Pittsburgh Soldier Weds Italian Girl", *Afro-American,* October 7, 1944; Max Johnson, "Tour of Off-Limits Town in France", *Afro-American*, November 18, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Now it can be Told!", *Journal and Guide*, January 5, 1946; David Orro, "Orro's Puctured Romance: A Tale of Sad-Eyed Susan", *Chicago Defender*, May 29, 1943; David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender,* February 27, 1943; David Orro, "Air Raid and Blonde Give Orro his Baptism of Fire", *Chicago Defender,* February 20, 1943; George Padmore, "Cupid Scoring a 'Blitz' in Merry 'Ol England", *Pittsburgh Courier,* January 9, 1943; George Padmore, "Mixed Offspring Creates New Social Problem in England", *Pittsburgh Courier,* November 18, 1944; George Padmore, "British Officials Silent on Mixed Illegitimate Children", *Pittsburgh Courier,* December 9, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Our Boys on Leave Gape at Sights in Big City of London", *Afro-American*, October 24, 1942; Ollie Stewart, "Fresh Troops from the States Rejoice to Escape Cold, Snow", *Afro-American,* February 6, 1943.

93. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender,* November 20, 1943.

94. Smith, *American Body Politics,* 123; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie,* 34.

95. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race,* 62.

96. In Andrew J. Heubner, 'Gee! I Wish I Were a Man: Gender and the Great War', in Vuic, *The Routledge History of Gender, War, and the U.S. Military*, 75.

97. Gilmore, *Defying Dixie,* 18.

98. Gilmore, *Defying Dixie,* 107; Marlon B. Ross, *Manning the Race: Reforming Black Men in the Jim Crow Era* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 11; Diane Miller Sommerville, "The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered", in *A Question of Manhood,* Volume 1, 438-472.

Felipe Smith has pointed out, African American literature of the inter-war period often "used white women's bodies to delimit the range of black physical and social mobility."[99] In the re-discovered space of friendly white nations, these barriers had fallen, once again casting a critical light over American racial mores.

However, it was not white audiences that took the most issue with correspondents' open admission of interracial relationships, it was African American women. In two instances female readers of black newspapers wrote in to chastise correspondents on their reportage. The first occurred after Enoc Waters, correspondent for the *Defender*, noted in one of his articles that the "three prettiest girls" he had seen at Red Cross clubs were all Australian. This comment induced a flurry of strongly worded letters to the *Defender* criticizing Waters for his lack of commitment to the nation and the race. Waters was suitably contrite. Writing an article in his defense, he apologized for what he described as a "misunderstanding."[100] Stressing that men overseas were devoted to their wives and sweethearts, Waters made the rather pointed comment that unlike the women at home, who were continually exposed to temptation, most black soldiers went months at a time without even seeing a woman, let alone a pretty one. More importantly, Waters was keen to correct the perception that he was talking about white women. The three Australian women he had spoken of were all women of color. Given the prevalence of articles on white women, readers' confusion was understandable. So keen was he to prove the point that he included in the article photographs of two of the women. Though perhaps misguided given the criticism he was already facing, it illustrates well how much the presumed whiteness of the

99. Smith, *American Body Politics*, 123.
100. Enoc Waters, "Enoc Waters Calls Australian Girls Pretty; Stirs 'Tempest in a Teapot'", *Chicago Defender*, April 8, 1944.

women in question was important to how Waters and his readers understood his misstep. In the second case, the correspondent at fault would be far less willing to admit wrong.

It was during his post-war coverage of Europe, when black soldiers had settled into the routine of occupation and rebuilding, that the *Afro*'s Ollie Stewart was approached by an African American woman working in a Paris Red Cross club. "You have no time for American women," she told Stewart, "You now have French girls on the brain — you and all the other colored men from America."[101] "And it's not only me," she continued, "most of the WACs and the nurses and other Red Cross women feel the same way. We're not good enough for you when you lay eyes on a white woman." Stewart's response, coming in the form of a large article published in the *Afro*, was as far from Waters' as possible. "Why should any defense be necessary?" he asked readers,

> Why should any male be called upon to explain anything to a mere female? (You can see clearly now that I am becoming thoroughly European; European men keep women in their place.) Suppose I do dilly-dally around with a chic chick now and then, and her hair is blonde and her eyes are blue? Suppose I do fail to make a fuss over an American Red Cross worker who is 40 and has ideas that come from teaching school for 20 years?...For the sake of argument, suppose my taste runs more to youthful curves and redheads who whisper "Cherie" or its equivalent in German, Dutch or Italian? Must I draw the line just because such redheads have white skin? Neither the Army Nurses' Corps, nor the WACs, nor American Red Cross have selected overseas workers on the basis of beauty. These groups picked people for efficiency rather than pulchritude. Okay, let them keep up the good work. They didn't come over to socialize, anyway.

Stewart closed the article with suggestion that perhaps the women were "just being catty."

Condemnations came into the *Afro* thick and fast, demonstrating African American women recognized well the limits of the strategy for civil rights advancement that the black

101. Ollie Stewart, "Colored Women Peeved at Inattention of GI's", *Afro-American*, October 20, 1945.

male correspondents had long adopted. Mrs. Coreen R. Hawkins reminded Stewart that were he to try such crossing of races back in the States he would meet "the policy of the white Americans."[102] Pfc. Marian G. Davis, a WAC who had served overseas, suggested that Stewart's characterization of black female jealousy was incorrect, and that black women took a measure of pride from black soldiers being seen with attractive white women. What Davis did take issue with however, was Stewart's association of whiteness with beauty and blackness with homeliness, instead suggesting that the type of white women black soldiers were often seen with were of "the very lowest class" and looked like "something picked out of the sewer."[103] This was not the end of it. Three weeks after Davis's letter the *Afro* published three letters from black men who had served overseas, each charging black women with hypocrisy. The men said that in their experiences, when given the chance, African American women serving overseas also chose white partners over black.[104]

Though only a small sample size, the language of the betrayal of race speaks to the how the correspondents' coverage of their new sexual freedoms excluded black women. The same marginalization of black women that had resulted from the focus upon black manhood domestically was being exported with the correspondents.[105] Perhaps some of the reason for Stewart's extreme response could be explained by the individual himself. In his wartime diary, *PM* reporter Roi Ottley described Stewart as "pretty much a lone wolf, hunting down cognac and French whores."[106] Regardless of Stewart's motives, his article spurred debate about the place of race in relationships overseas. If white female bodies

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102. Mrs. Coreen R. Hawkins, "Laments 'How Some Folks Change'", *Afro-American*, November 10, 1945.

103. WAC PFC. Marian G. Davis, "Says Ollie Stewart is Insulting", *Afro-American*, December 8, 1945.

104. "Letter from AFRO Readers", December 29, 1945.

105. See: Hazel Carby, *Race Men* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Erin D. Chapman, *Prove it On Me: New Negroes, Sex, and Popular Culture in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 107; Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents*.

106. Roi Ottley, "July 29, 1944", in *Roi Ottley's World War II*, 67.

delimited the range of black social mobility, and black male correspondents were repeatedly emphasizing the sexual freedoms of black men overseas, an inversion of the norm was taking place. As Darlene Clark Hine has pointed out, the reconstruction of the image of African American women relied in no small part upon negating associations with promiscuity.[107] Correspondents' reports on sexuality overseas were necessarily to the exclusion of women. The few voices of black women that were encountered in discussions of interracial sex were ones that expressed betrayal, and, to an extent, contempt at black men so easily hoodwinked and distracted by white female sexuality. Black men were using their own sexual liberation overseas to assert their power in the western world. Black women were pushed to the background in this regard, their concerns and criticisms mocked, their own appeal called into question, and their place clearly resting within the borders of the United States. The imagined future of black soldiers was one that was centered on the war's capacity to enhance black manhood and masculinity, including that of sexual conquest of white women. What the place of black women was in this future was left unarticulated by correspondents, who only engaged with such ideas when directly challenged by women unwilling to tolerate their own marginalization.

For many of the readers of the black press, information on foreign nations was scarce, and chances of ever visiting more-so for all but the most wealthy, well connected, and famous among African Americans. Readers relied upon the correspondents for information on how the 'race problem' that they lived daily was experienced by those overseas. Sitting down with the morning paper at breakfast, reading on the bus to work, or listening as a friend or family member read aloud the articles written by those covering the

107. Darlene Clark Hine, *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 126.

war for America's black population, those who took in the correspondents' message would have found themselves presented with a new perspective of the universality of white racism.

The correspondents of the black press repeatedly portrayed Britain and France as representative of the type of democracy that the Double-V aimed to bring about back home, and Australia, Italy and Germany as either misunderstood or now reformed de-racialized spaces. Their articles established and then fueled the romantic and utopian dream that across the sea lay color-blind nations whose white populations were willing to accept African Americans as equals. To write so highly of one's allies was perhaps not unexpected of a wartime press, that the correspondents extended this treatment to white nations with whom they had far less reason to cooperate, however, is.

This message was not merely the result of the restrictions of wartime censorship. The correspondents were adept at writing around any potential restrictions on content, hiding the political within the mundane. They also showed no qualms in levelling criticism at their allies if the situation called for it. Instead the message contrasted American racism with a warm welcome by other white peoples. Whether allied or enemy, with a past of racism or tolerance, the arrival of the correspondents in white nations was soon followed by praise for the way in which the peoples of that nation treated their African American guests. It is perhaps not surprising that 85% of black Army enlistees in 1946 requested a European posting.[108]

The importance of the correspondents' message of the unity of white reception cannot be understated. Significant not only for their content, the articles they wrote on white acceptance linked disparate regions and stories into one grand narrative, a narrative

108. In Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*, 53.

the showed to those back home the place African American men, and to a much lesser extent, women, held in the eyes of the world. They were not different nor reviled, they were not considered lesser nor treated with the same contempt that they were back home. Outside of the United States, the world saw them as friends. This message was key to the correspondents' coverage of the war, and essential to understanding the full picture they would go on to paint. As the following chapters will show, the acceptance by white populations underpinned and gave important context to how the correspondents wrote on and represented the non-white peoples. It allowed them to pursue strategies that promoted the importance of African Americans to western culture. Finally, it allowed the correspondents to challenge the spread of American racism and segregation, drawing millions of foreign voices to their cause.

Chapter 5
Internationalism and Anti-Imperialism

For many African Americans, World War II began on October 3, 1935, when Italian forces launched an attack on the free African Kingdom of Ethiopia, starting a war that would lead to Ethiopia's annexation and the final submission of the African continent to European colonialism. "Long the jewel in the crown of the imagined black world," Ethiopia's invasion and annexation was met with widespread and vocal criticism by African Americans; evocations of 'blood ties' and 'kinship' stronger than they ever had been.[1] As a result of the Italian invasion, "even the most provincial" African Americans had become internationally minded "almost overnight".[2] The obvious colonial ambitions of Mussolini's Italy, coupled with the failure of standing international bodies such as the League of Nations to hold Italy accountable for its aggressive expansion, set the context through which many African Americans came to view the conflicts that followed. Those who had assumed that the seizure of foreign land under the auspices of empire was a phenomenon of the past proved to be mistaken.[3]

The war came at the crest of a wave of African American internationalism. Stemming from a desire to build connections with those overseas who shared in the experience of institutionalized and deliberate white racism, black newspapermen,

1. Corbould, *Becoming African Americans*, 15; Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans*, 27-32.
2. John Hope Franklin, *From Freedom to Slavery*, 5th ed. (New York: Knopfler Press, 1980), 422.
3. It is worth noting that although earlier than Italian imperial expansion, Japanese imperial expansion was largely ignored or justified by African American commentators in the early to mid-1930s. A more thorough analysis of African American attitudes towards Japan can be found in the next chapter.

intellectuals, and artists turned their eyes to the non-white world, seeking inspiration, solidarity, and sympathetic minds.[4] As nation after nation was drawn into conflict, African Americans maintained the conceptual link between Ethiopia, their internationalist leanings, and the war that was overtaking the world. The war, they argued, was yet another example and by-product of unchecked imperial expansion, and of ideologies of race that justified racial subjugation. As Nikhil Pal Singh has noted, "every significant black intellectual activist during World War II noted the disjuncture between the global promise of American universalism, the domestic realities of racial exclusion, and the problems of colonial empires."[5] The fight for democracy, for the Four Freedoms, could not be fully understood nor realized without accounting for the colonial stranglehold upon much of the non-white world.

The correspondents were not distinct from this. In a historiography dominated by elites, where discussions begin with W.E.B. Du Bois and trickle down through national organizers, published activists, and mythologized authors, the correspondents bring a more commonplace, albeit still educated, voice to the debate. Applying the logic of the Double-V to global issues, the correspondents extended the internationalist language and editorial policies of their newspapers, bringing them to bear on the question of European imperialism and the global struggle for non-white self-determination.[6] In their own way, the correspondents' articles contributed to the internationalist, anti-colonialist discourse that

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4. The last two decades have seen an explosion of scholarship on African American internationalism and engagement with the non-white world in the first half of the twentieth century. There are many more works than can be listed here. For a broad overview of the topic, see: Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*; Corbould, *Becoming African Americans*; Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*; Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan & China*; Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans*; Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism*; Plummer, *Rising Wind*; Singh, *Black Is A Country*; Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire*.

5. Singh, *Black Is A Country*, 127.

6. For works on the domestic black press and wartime internationalism, see: Alkebulan, *The African American Press in World War II*; Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American*; Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye*; Thomas Sugrue, "Hillburn, Hattiesburg, and Hitler: Wartime Activists Think Globally and Act Locally," in *Fog of War*, 87-103.

was critical in "shaping black American politics and the meaning of racial identities and solidarities" in the middle years of the twentieth century.[7]

Historical attempts to link the correspondents' activism to this wider internationalist movement have, to this point, focused their attention upon George Padmore and Rudolph Dunbar, both staunch anti-imperialists and internationalists.[8] Though their articles do prove a global outlook to the correspondents' activism, an examination of just these two men runs the risk of drawing conclusions from the extremes. Though each was proudly 'colored', and each dedicated his press coverage to advocacy for 'colored' people the world over, neither held 'Americanness' as a core element of their identity or outlook. Instead their internationalism was derived as much from their transnational lifestyle and status as subjects of colonial empires as it was from their political leanings. Expanding the analysis to the American correspondents of the black press, most of whom had not set foot outside the United States, let alone written on international issues, can further illuminate still underdeveloped understandings of African American internationalist sentiment and activism during the wartime period, particularly of that located outside the elite.

Most correspondents echoed the messages and strategies of the two elder statesmen of internationalism and Pan-Africanism, Dunbar and Padmore. Playing with the malleability of the Double-V, American-born correspondents expanded the campaign's purview, internationalizing the democratic mission of the African-American war effort. The war was not merely war of states, it was a war of ideologies, with global democracy the final goal. The correspondents stood in solidarity with non-white peoples in the struggle for recognition and rights. Primarily identifying with the anti-imperialist struggles of the

7. Eschen, *Race Against Empire*, 2.

8. See Alkebulan, *The African American Press in World War II*; Leslie James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below: Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the End of Empire* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Sugrue, "Hillburn, Hattiesburg, and Hitler" in *Fog of War*, 87-103; Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire*.

African colonial states and India, the correspondents applied the same strategies of activism that they used to push for domestic rights: they made their readers aware of the progress of global anti-imperialist struggles, they criticized imperialist regimes and politicians, and placed increasing emphasis on the global cooperation of states as a necessary condition for global equality, and thus, freedom. They applied the same strategies of the 'promotion of the race' that they had to articles on African Americans to their articles on non-American non-white peoples, celebrating the achievements and contributions of non-white peoples to the war effort.

However, and importantly, it was a solidarity with distance, and without the deep structural critique that characterized the work of Padmore in particular. Due to both their backgrounds as journalists as opposed to agitators, and to the limitations that came with war reportage, the persuasive power of correspondents' internationalism was somewhat weakened by its comparative simplicity. Though enthusiastic in their quest for the rights of non-white peoples, and sharing many similarities with Dunbar and Padmore, their articles represent more of a reflection of the focuses of the time than a driving force for change.

George Padmore and Rudolph Dunbar

Those who have written on internationalist sentiment within the wartime black press have, when drawing on the correspondents, fixed upon the writings of George Padmore and Rudolph Dunbar, and with good reason. Both men were staunch anti-imperialists and internationalists, well known before the war for their commitment to the cause of global non-white equality. While their internationalism has been well documented, the practicalities of their presentation still requires interrogation. Just how it was that they transmitted their beliefs to their American audiences remains unaddressed. The two men

were also much more akin to each other than they were to the rest of the correspondents of the black press. Each had his roots outside the United States, having spent only a small portion of their lives within America. Each had years of experience in contextualizing racial struggles through a global lens. Neither had a history of direct employment with an African American newspaper. Their articles exemplify the methods through which the correspondents undertook their internationalist mission. Useful for illuminating wider strategies but problematic for drawing conclusions about the strategies and beliefs of the correspondents at large, their articles offer a point of comparison for the American correspondents who came into the war without the background and experiences of transnational, and internationalist, Dunbar and Padmore.

Representing what Peter Esedebe has referred to as the strong militant socialist influence that characterized the Pan-Africanism of the 1940s, George Padmore was a Trinidadian author, activist, and Marxist.[9] Cut from the same cloth as the similarly famous C.L.R. James, Padmore belonged to the generation of Caribbean activists whose worldview was shaped by their upbringing as subjects of imperial Britain and by their strong left-wing identification, and whose aptitude with the pen dovetailed with their activism. "A notorious anti-colonial organizer" prior to the war, as one biographer puts it, and a man for whom race and imperialism were inseparable, Padmore was a key organizing figure of the 1945 Pan-African Conference in Manchester, where resolutions were passed that demanded immediate self-determination for certain colonies, social and constitutional reforms including native enfranchisement for all colonial states, and a declaration of solidarity with the struggles of African Americans.[10]

9. P. Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1963* (Washington, DC.: Howard University Press, 1982), 172.
10. Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 162-169; James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, 8.

Padmore carried these same ideals though to the articles he wrote during the war. Based in London, Padmore kept his readers in the *Chicago Defender* and *Pittsburgh Courier* abreast of not only the latest war news, but of how the war was influencing the struggle of African and colonial peoples for independence and equal rights. Prefacing the black press's utilization of the hypocrisy of the government's democratic rhetoric, Padmore's journalism drew much of its power from the appropriation and manipulation of white voices. As Leslie James has noted, Padmore "relied upon reprinting, often verbatim, statements from the House of Commons and editorials from the British press. By presenting these proclamations and statistics in colonial newspapers, Padmore worked hard to literally turn British declarations of a benevolent empire on their head."[11] Often his articles would recount the latest parliamentary debates on the future of England's colonies, with particular attention paid to those critical of the government's continued acceptance of the colonial status quo.[12] These articles he augmented with those written in his own forceful voice. While the radicalism of his Marxist leanings did not fully manifest itself in his articles, his opinions were clear nevertheless.[13] He criticized Churchill as being "a die-hard imperialist", referred to the "conquest" of British West Africa, and asked his readers the question of whether the war was being fought "for the security of Europe to enjoy the Four Freedoms" while keeping colonial peoples in their "pre-war status."[14] He frequently and openly criticized the government of South Africa for its policies of racial segregation and reluctance to use native soldiers in the war, mocking their fear of an armed native

11. James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, 77.

12. For some examples see: George Padmore, '"Natives Have No Pride In Citizenship," Lord Tells Parliament', *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 11, 1942; 'Suggests Mandate For Africa After The War', *Pittsburgh Courier,* September 5, 1942; "Africa Must be Given Freedom, Declares M.P.", *Pittsburgh Courier,* December 12, 1942.

13. For more on Padmore's radicalism, see Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom*.

14. George Padmore, 'Free India Plea Made In Commons', *Pittsburgh Courier,* October 10, 1942; 'British Applying Far East Lessons In Africa', *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 31, 1942; 'Nigeria Questions Intent Of The Atlantic Charter", *Chicago Defender,* January 12, 1942.

uprising.[15] Padmore also used his articles to commit to record the many achievements of African natives. Much as the black press saw it as their role to give black soldiers the exposure that mainstream media outlets would not provide them, so Padmore took up the crusade for the neglected and forgotten soldiers and activists of Africa.[16] In his pan-Africanist stance he was unequivocal: "Africans have long been asleep but they are now awakening. They are no longer willing to continue to bear uncomplainingly the white man's burden."[17]

Of all the correspondents, the one who most closely mirrored Padmore's approach to his work was, like Padmore, a correspondent not native to the United States. Rudolph Dunbar, the ANP's London correspondent prior to and during the war, was from the beginning of hostilities set apart from his American colleagues. Not a radical activist like Padmore, he was instead a man who conducted his life upon the premise of transnational blackness, his advocacy for 'negro' and 'colored' rights paying no heed to divisions marked by borders or language. For him the struggle for rights in the United States was of equal importance to that in the islands of the Caribbean, the gains made by black workers in the factories of Liverpool as important as progress in the colonies of Central Africa. Most importantly, Dunbar's articles suggest a oneness of race, that all these struggles were being waged by, and for the benefit of, a singular brotherhood of non-white peoples.

Born a subject of the British Empire at the turn of the twentieth century, Dunbar spent the first two decades of his life in his birthplace of British Guiana, before moving to New York City at the age of twenty to study music at the Institute of Musical Art, now the

15. George Padmore, 'Britain May Arm Africans', *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 25, 1942; '"Arm Natives Against Axis" Plea Grows', *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 8, 1942; '"Racial Policy in South Africa Failed" – Smuts', *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 29, 1942.

16. George Padmore, 'Anglo-American Cooperation Extended to West Africa', *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 5, 1942; 'Colored Gunners Saved Egypt From Rommel', *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 12, 1942.

17. George Padmore, 'Indian Declares Natives Tired Of Dominion', *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 2, 1943.

Juilliard School.[18] Primarily a clarinetist, Dunbar spent his time in New York surrounded by those whose work fueled the Harlem Renaissance. Despite making connections and some close friends, Dunbar's American stay was short, and in 1925 he relocated to Paris to further his musical career, taking up the study of journalism and philosophy while there. By 1931 he had settled in London, writing about and performing music, eventually trying his hand as a conductor of bands and orchestras. More a product of the long nineteenth century than the short twentieth, Dunbar maintained an interest in classical music, classically influenced jazz, as well as the standard jazz that he was trained in. Though never mentioning Booker T. Washington by name, Dunbar spoke in interviews of how his father had instilled in him a strong sense of what could be called Washingtonian ethics. Aware of the limitations imposed on him by others on account of his race, Dunbar's father impressed upon him that "whatever I undertook to do, must be done thoroughly, or not at all," and that any successes that came from his hard work were an important positive reflection on all "colored" peoples.[19] This attitude, more than any other, was to shape his coverage of the war.

Dunbar was a darling of the domestic black press. In 1942 he was the first black man, and the youngest man of any race to conduct the London Philharmonic. He was the first black man to conduct the Berlin Philharmonic (1945), first person to conduct a Festival of American Music in Paris (1945), and the first black man to conduct orchestras in Poland (1959) and the Soviet Union (1964).[20] Coming at a time when jazz was asserting itself as

18. There seems to be little consensus on the year of Dunbar's birth, though more biographies settle on the 1899 date than the 1907. Joseph Southern, "W. Rudolph Dunbar: Pioneering Orchestra Conductor," *The Black Perspective in Music* 9, (1981): 193-225; Miranda Kaufmann, "Dunbar, Rudolph (1899-1988)," David Dabydeen, John Gilmore, and Cecily Jones, eds., *Oxford Companion to Black British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 135-136.

19. Rudolph Dunbar, "When I Conducted the London Philharmonic", *Chicago Defender*, August 22, 1942.

20. Southern, "W. Rudolph Dunbar," 193.

the dominant form of popular music, Dunbar's achievements European achievements in classical music saw him breaking into the tight-knit European cultural elite and loosening the white stranglehold on 'high' culture. That news of his 1942 conducting of the London Philharmonic was carried in most major black papers was evidence of its importance.[21] Dunbar chose as the centerpiece of the performance the London premiere of *Afro-American Symphony* by African American composer and Dunbar's close friend, William Grant Still. Taking place at the Royal Albert Hall, the performance was hailed by the *Pittsburgh Courier* as "a triumph for the colored music world" not only for Dunbar's personal success, but also for exhibiting the very best of African American composition in one of Europe's great concert halls.[22] The success of the Albert Hall concert was such that Dunbar was quickly invited to conduct other orchestras across the United Kingdom in performances of Still's work, including the Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, and at the Bournemouth Music Festival.[23] Early in the following year Dunbar once again conducted in London, this time leading the London Symphony orchestra in a performance of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's *Toussaint L'Ouverture*.[24]

Dunbar's choice of repertoire illuminated the thinking that was to similarly shape his articles. Choosing not to perform works familiar to white European audiences, he instead selected works that were directly linked to his own transnational blackness. In *Afro-American Symphony* Dunbar chose to present to the cultural elite of England a work by an

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21. "Rudolph Dunbar to Conduct Symphony", *Chicago Defender*, February 28, 1942; "Dunbar to Conduct", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 28, 1942; "Rudolph Dunbar, Clarinet Artist, To Conduct London Philharmonic", *Atlanta Daily World*, March 9, 1942; "Rudolph Dunbar to Conduct London Philharmonic", *Journal and Guide*, April 18, 1942; "Rudolph Dunbar to Conduct London Philharmonic Sunday", *Afro-American*, April 25, 1942.

22. "London's Music World Lauds Rudolph Dunbar", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 23, 1942.

23. "Again Leads Symphony In Ol' England", *Chicago Defender*, November 7, 1942; "Rudolph Conducts Music Festival", *New York Amsterdam Star News*, June 20, 1942.

24. There is a chance that Dunbar could have in fact conducted the London Philharmonic for this performance, as the papers were often guilty of equating the Symphony Orchestra with the Philharmonic. George Padmore, "Dunbar Hailed by Critics And Patrons In London Music Hall", *Chicago Defender*, January 9, 1943.

African American composer, whose subject was the experiences of the African American poor. In *Toussaint L'Ouverture* he gave his audiences a celebration of the iconic Caribbean freedom fighter and figure of non-white independence in a work written by an English composer of Sierra Leone Creole descent. Summing up the man himself, these works brought blackness to stages that had been bastions of white culture, a blackness which drew as much from the British Empire, Africa and the Caribbean as it did from black America.

These far-reaching influences were instantly evident to any who read Dunbar's articles during the first half of the war. Until mid-1944, when he transitioned into a more typical coverage while assigned to cover the Allied advance from the beaches of Normandy, Dunbar reported on, and was an advocate for, 'Negro' and 'colored' peoples in the widest sense of the words. Not beholden to the dictates of any particular newspaper in his position as ANP correspondent, Dunbar channeled his father's advice, reporting the successes of non-white peoples the world over. His coverage was measured, focusing on both the achievements of individuals and on the changing perceptions of colonial states among the British populace. He praised Grenadian-born preacher and labor organizer Uriah Butler. He reported with pride on the first black woman to be appointed as a magistrate in British West Africa. He followed the story of a West Indian student elected by his peers to the office of President of the Oxford Union.[25] Dunbar cast a similarly wide net when reporting on the martial successes of non-white soldiers. He relayed to readers the praise he had heard from high ranking French military officials for the combat record of their colonial troops, a subgenre of article that was to become common to most of the correspondents.[26] He also wrote with pride, and a little derision, of the physical deficiencies

25. Rudolph Dunbar, "Lauds Uriah Butler for Role in B.W.I. History", *Chicago Defender*, April 6, 1940; "British Give Royal Welcome to American Negro Troops", *New York Amsterdam Star-News*, September 19, 1942; "Lauds Britons' Treatment of Non-Whites", *Chicago Defender*, September 12, 1942.

26. Rudolph Dunbar, "France Proud of Race Troops Officer Says", *Atlanta Daily World*, February 19, 1940.

of the "cream of the British intelligentsia" that rendered them unsuitable for positions as pilots in the R.A.F., positions that were being filled by 'colored' subjects of the Empire. He revealed that it was a recognition of the combination of the "academic and physical" attributes of these men saw the R.A.F. opening its doors to black pilots, turning racist tropes of the value of the brute strength of black men on their head.[27] Most interesting was Dunbar's inclusion of reports of the fighting abilities and wartime contribution of troops from nations as far afield as Tonga and Fiji, nations without any links to Africa but still "colored".[28]

Despite his largely positive coverage of the reception of colonial workers and soldiers in Britain during the war years, Dunbar was, like Padmore, more than happy to openly criticize British actions and policy when they ran contrary to his internationalist goals. Writing of the "lamentable slowness" of the British government to recognize the independence of the newly liberated Ethiopia, Dunbar suggested greed as the primary motive behind the delay. He condemned Churchill and his government, and bade readers be wary of the envelopment of the African nation into the British colonial machine were it not to be properly protected.[29]

Despite the clarity of their views and their linkages of the domestic civil rights movement and global anti-imperialist movements, both Padmore and Dunbar shared in a distance between themselves and their fellow correspondents. Neither was American, nor did their experiences in any way align with their counterparts from the U.S. As Leslie James has pointed out, by the time the war had started, Padmore "had witnessed the great post-war strikes in Port of Spain in 1919, experienced life in the United States Jim Crow

27. Rudolph Dunbar, "RAF Opens Doors to Black Pilots", *Atlanta Daily World*, January 19, 1941.
28. Rudolph Dunbar, "Dusky Queen Rules with Regal Bearing", *Atlanta Daily World*, January 30, 1944; "Islanders Over Eager When Put On Enemy Trail", *Atlanta Daily World*, June 6, 1943; "War with Japan Makes Remote Fiji Islands Front Page News", *Journal and Guide*, March 4, 1944.
29. Rudolph Dunbar, "Abyssinia to be Protectorate?", *Atlanta Daily World*, November 17, 1941.

South, stood with Stalin in Red Square on May Day, survived arrest and interrogation by the newly elected Nazi regime just two weeks after Hitler came to power, been expelled from the Communist Party to which he had committed five years of his young life, raged against the League of Nations' complacency as Ethiopia was invaded by fascist Italy, and led rallies in Trafalgar Square in solidarity with striking Caribbean workers in 1937 and 1938."[30] In contrast, David Orro of the *Pittsburgh Courier* had never left the United States, and had been employed primarily as a society writer and poetry editor. Randy Dixon was a sports reporter, as was Art Carter. Meanwhile, those who travelled with Rudolph Dunbar during the European invasion noted levels of incomprehensibility in his interactions with African American soldiers; his inability to understand most American slang compounded by an accent "so British that half our boys can't follow [his] questions."[31]

Global Democracy

Though their personal history set them apart, Dunbar and Padmore's approach to conceptualizing and reporting on the war was largely shared by the correspondents from the United States. Writing one of his pre-deployment opinion pieces in 1942, the NNPA's Frank Bolden urged his readers to consider the idea that without the utilization of 'colored' manpower, domestic and international, there would be a very strong chance that the Allies would lose the war.[32] The war was too large, and too important to the shape of the world that would come after it for racial prejudices to win out against the practical necessities of global total war. Besides, in the war against fascism, did not the colored people of the world also not have a significant stake? The conceptual groundwork that had been laid by

30. James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, 15.
31. Ollie Stewart, "Normandy Land of Plenty Despite War, Stewart Says", *Afro-American*, July 22, 1944.
32. Frank Bolden, "Pan-America Should Be Considered A Colored Ally in the Present Conflict", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 31, 1942.

Padmore and Dunbar in their coverage of the early years of the war, and built upon throughout, was not limited only to their own articles. The message was taken up and shared by many of the correspondents of the black press, most of whom came into the war without any background in global non-white freedom struggles.

This internationalist mission aligned with the foreign element of the Double-V. Edgar Rouzeau, continuing his habit articulating his thought processes and arguments in such a way as to render him an invaluable historical source, had this to say:

> Where white America must fight on foreign soil for the salvation of these United States and for the preservation of 'democracy,' black Americans must fight and die on these same battlefields, not merely for the salvation of America, not merely to secure the same degree of democracy for black Americans that white Americans have long enjoyed, but to establish precedent for a world-wide principle of free association among men of all races, creeds and colors. That's the black man's stake.[33]

Bolden and Rouzeau were aligning the contribution of black soldiers, American and otherwise, to the democratic world that was to be the result of an Allied victory. Again and again correspondents linked the war effort and the foreign dimension of the Double-V not just to a victory of American democracy or the restoration of democracy in Nazi-occupied lands, but to establishment of democracy as a cornerstone of nations the world over. From David Orro's characterization of the war as a "second war for democracy" to Edward Toles' proud description of a black combat unit in Alsace giving their all "for democracy for all peoples of the world," the equation between the African American war effort and the spread of global democracy was clear to any who read black newspapers.[34] There was little

33. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'Black America Wars on Double Front for High Stakes' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, Febraury 7, 1942.

34. David Orro, "Fiji Youths Lead Marines Stalking Japs in Solomons", *Chicago Defender*, July 24, 1943; Edward Toles, "Heroic Battalion Cracks Nazi Wall in Bloody Battle", *Chicago Defender*, January 20, 1945.

to differentiate George Padmore's depiction of an enemy who sought "colonial domination and revision of the world" from Edward Toles' struggle of American soldiers "to break the back of fascism all over the world."[35]

This democratic mission was not the responsibility of African Americans alone. Despite the localization of the Double-V to the domestic black press, the internationalization of the mission for democracy encouraged readers to see it as a task undertaken by 'colored' soldiers the world over. It was the *Courier*, the same paper that carried most of Padmore's articles, that led this charge. Soldiers from African colonies, the Caribbean, India, natives of New Zealand, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific were contributing not just to the war effort, but to the war as a democratic mission.[36] One article by the *Courier*'s Randy Dixon article was for all intents and purposes a list of 42 minor non-white nations whose soldiers were doing their part for the war against fascism.[37] Edgar Rouzeau was the same. Before his deployment he wrote of the cast of disparate black heroes making up the allied war effort: "the Hindu engineer...the colored airplane mechanic...the colored cockney messman…Nono, the African tribal chief…the colored army doctor, Harsba F. Bouyer of Chicago…They all seemed to have a common message. As they see it, this is NOT a white man's war, but a war of the common people, without regard to race, creed or color."[38] Regardless of nationality or background, these soldiers, 'colored' men all, had "cast their lot with democracy's forces," and were giving their lives

35. George Padmore, "'Negroes in Forefront of African Invasion' – Padmore", *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 21, 1942; Edward Toles, "Our Troops Fought, Died on Historic Beachhead", *Chicago Defender*, July 1, 1944.

36. For a few examples see: Frank Bolden, " 'Recognition of Color Problem Will Save United States Future Embarrassment' – Bolden", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 4 1942; Randy Dixon, " 'Dripping Blood of Colored Soldiers Will Help Cleanse Europe' – Dixon", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 19, 1943; Randy Dixon, " 'Race Hate Dying' – Dixon", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 9, 1944; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Black Belgians Unsung Heroes in Allied Cause", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 21, 1943.

37. Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 30, 1943.

38. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Troops At Peak, Rouzeau Cables", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 3, 1942.

"in the hope that the end of this appalling conflict will bring about a fresh concept of human values to a blood-drenched world."[39]

When the *Journal and Guide*'s John Q. Jordan characterized the Ethiopian war as the first action of World War II, he was not merely referring to the timeline of violence that ended with the surrender of Japan in 1945, but of the ideological foundations of the war. Jordan was expanding on the logic of the Double-V, transforming it from a propaganda strategy to a political ideology.[40] This was better explained in a 1943 article by Randy Dixon. In it, Dixon wrote of the "new black man," who knew that the war in Ethiopia, and later Europe, was not merely the result of Italian greed, but of global structures that legitimized and permitted imperialist expansion and the subjugation of non-white peoples, structures that saw their logical conclusion in Nazism. These new black men were aware the war was just one part of greater and much harder struggle, a struggle that would "include the purification of the mentality of contemporary generations, corrupted by incompatible ideas."[41] Dixon noted that he had encountered in his travels "amazingly large numbers of U.S. Negro troops" who displayed this "broadened racial consciousness."[42] He did not however, go into any detail as to just what this new consciousness entailed. In the same article, he warned his readers that the colonial interest of white nations was far from over, and even smaller European nations such as Spain and Belgium had their eyes on retaining and expanding their colonial holdings. The vocabulary had been established. At the same time that avowed socialist and pan-Africanist George Padmore was referring to British plans to turn Ethiopia into a British protectorate as "a policy as dangerous as it is

39. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Troops at Peak, Rouzeau Cables", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 3, 1942.
40. John Q Jordan, 'Il Duce Tells Fascists Colored Troops Facing Them 'Earth's Scum", *Journal and Guide*, February 10, 1945.
41. Randy Dixon, 'Ethiopian Fighter Pilots Join Allies; Want Revenge on Italy', *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 28, 1943.
42. Randy Dixon, 'Interest in Colonial Possessions On Upswing', *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 21, 1944.

dishonorable," Dixon, a sports reporter, was writing of the global struggle against the systemic and structural persecution of non-white peoples.[43]

In what form Internationalism?

As well as aligning with Dunbar and Padmore's characterization of the war as one in which all 'colored' people had a stake, a war in which an Allied victory would lay the groundwork for new rights for non-white peoples and the dismantling of the apparatus of colonialism, American-born correspondents also shared Dunbar and Padmore's methods for communicating the ideas and practicalities of the international struggle to their readers. Unlike Dunbar and Padmore, who spent a substantial portion of the war working from their offices within the British Ministry of Information in London, and surrounded by the day-to-day of colonial governance, most correspondents were frequently, some constantly, on the move. This state of perpetual motion necessarily impacted the types of articles they were able to write. Articles that relied upon political contacts and access to the flow of global news were replaced by those that addressed the immediate and personal. Roaming correspondents produced far less of the Padmorean recounting of the proceedings of parliament or the outcome of international conferences. Forced to look to their immediate surroundings for observations and inspiration, the correspondents adapted. Articles that recounted political maneuverings and big picture stories were neglected in favor of those that championed the achievements and contributions of non-white soldiers to the Allied war effort. It was through the heroism of colonial soldiers that the correspondents could carry forward their promises of a global Double-V.

43. George Padmore, 'Britain Denounces Attitude Towards Haile Selassie In Bitter Tirade', *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 27, 1942.

This restriction to shorter articles based on the correspondents' immediate observations and surroundings did create some problems, lending an element of opacity to articulations of their internationalism. The correspondents could not write the well-articulated and reasoned arguments of an essay penned by an academic or activist, the result of many hours behind a desk and in a library. Nor could they often reproduce the same types of full page articles that typified much of Padmore and Dunbar's coverage, articles that led readers through the logic of anti-colonialism and extrapolated upon the consequences of parliamentary debates and changes to colonial law. Readers would not find within their morning newspaper a coherent and persuasive argument against colonialism written from the forests of the Ardennes or a port in New Guinea.

The forced economy of expression means that while a complex internationalism cannot be found within their articles, how the key elements of the American correspondents more simplistic internationalism were expressed and translated for readers is clearly visible. This distillation makes it clear that for correspondents, the final realization of the international democratic mission of the war effort was dependent upon the independence and self-determination of non-white states. In an interview with the *Courier*'s Edgar Rouzeau, the great French Guianan colonial administrator and Free French leader, Félix Éboué, thought it important to relay to the newspaper's readers a message of solidarity. "We fight for the same aims," he told Rouzeau, "*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*."[44] Although drawing on these broad ideals, important as much for their historical connotations as for the fundamental principles they announced, there was a more literal reading of these three values. While *fraternité* would prove itself problematic — as will be addressed in the next chapter — *égalité*, and more important, *liberté*, defined the core of the correspondents' ideology. Edward Toles was outraged that liberated France had "no intention of granting

44. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'We Fight Together' – Eboue", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 12, 1943.

independence to colonial members of her empire," after words given by Paul Giacobbi, French Minister of Colonies.[45] Deton Brooks wrote that "tragically but certainly," Annamite independence from France was doomed.[46]

Ideas of nationhood had long influenced African American conceptualizations of the correct path for the future of the non-white world. The turn of the century revelation that was Japanese power had shown observers in the U.S. what could be accomplished if non-white nations successfully adopted the practices of the white industrial state. The American Communist Party of the 1920s advocated the creation of a black nation in the southern Black Belt, as well as preaching global self-determination for 'colored' peoples.[47] The early twentieth century internationalisms of Pan-Africanist and African Nationalist movements had seen black America's liberation as entwined with the emergence of Africa from beneath the pall of colonialism. Predicated upon a return of African Americans to Africa, bringing with them the enlightening and galvanizing force of Western science, a new unified African nation would arise to challenge white hegemony.[48] As Sarah Claire Dunstan has noted, delegates to the 1919 Pan-African Congress "sought to ensure rights for the black African population through the framework they knew best: nation-state belonging and citizenship."[49] Given their ties to the continent, most internationalists of the pre-war period had understandably looked towards Africa for situations most analogous to their own. Some however looked further afield for their conceptual linkages. Hubert Harrison, described by A. Philip Randolph as "the father of Harlem radicalism," wrote widely on the need for the

45. Edward Toles, "Won't Free Colonies: France", *Chicago Defender*, July 28, 1945.
46. Deton Brooks, "Allied Arms Block Indo-China Hopes of Freedom", *Chicago Defender*, October 27, 1945.
47. Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom*, 133.
48. Wilson Jeremiah Moses, ed., *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).
49. Sarah Claire Dunstan, "Conflicts of Interest: The 1919 Pan-African Congress and the Wilsonian Moment," *Callaloo* 39, (2016), 146.

ideological unification of African American freedom struggles and non-white anti-colonialism world-wide.[50] He called for the creation of a "colored international," with members recruited from the Middle East, Caribbean, East and South Asia, as well as from all over colonial Africa.[51]

The correspondents worked with Harrison's scope, but without his radicalism. Aligning with the goals of the 1919 and 1945 Pan-African congresses but on a global scale, the correspondents repeatedly returned to ideas of independence, self-determination, and nationhood in their articulations of the global struggle for true democracy. Not the "black republic of Africa" championed by Marcus Garvey, the correspondents instead envisaged an Africa and a non-white world built upon the foundations of independent, self-governing states, the existence of each underpinning the legitimacy and moral authority of the whole.[52] Randy Dixon told his readers of the proposed transfer of the West Indies from British hands to American. Such a plan was unacceptable both for its perpetuation of imperial rule and for its omission of any native voices. West Indians he had talked to, reported Dixon, wanted independence, and wanted it now.[53] Conversely, Deton Brooks wrote of the wave of optimism that swept across the "Orient" at the news of Winston Churchill's loss in the 1945 General election, a key figure of the maintenance of British imperial governance silenced just as the post-war world was to be shaped.[54]

These sentiments were in line with how historians have seen the development of internationalism into the 1940s. Many have explored domestic African American activists'

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50. In Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), 79.
51. Hubert Harrison, "Wanted – A Colored International" (1921), in *A Hubert Harrison Reader*, ed. Jeffrey B. Perry (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 223.
52. Marcus Garvey in address at Newport News, 1919, in Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism*, 246.
53. Randy Dixon, "West Indians Against Proposed Rule by U.S.", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 2, 1943.
54. Deton Brooks, "Orient Views British Labor Victory Hopefully", *Chicago Defender*, August 11, 1945.

arguments that independent African and non-white nations "would help their struggles for political, economic, and social rights in the United States."[55] Many of these same historians have also shown how this focus on self-determination and independence evolved into the Cold War Years. As internationalism became increasingly unpalatable in the American political climate, its links and allusions to communism, socialism and left-wing politics making it an easy target for anti-communist crusaders in the early Cold War years, African American activists adjusted their strategies. Realizing that the U.S. government would need to be placed under external as well as internal pressure in order to enact meaningful change, activists looked towards international organizations and agreements for support. Aiming "to make human rights the standard for equality," activists sought the enactment of global policies that would force the hand of U.S. administrations, giving those seeking civil rights an even greater power to appeal to.[56] These strategies had already been presaged by events such as the Paris Peace Conference, where Japanese and African American groups had sought to co-opt Wilsonian rhetoric to insert racial discrimination clauses into the Treaty of Versailles.[57] The Double-V itself was a soft form of this, attempting to formalize the utterances of a promissory government.

Although lacking the clearly defined strategies of activists who targeted the formulation of human rights as a means to civil rights, the correspondents' articles nevertheless suggest a primitive formulation of this approach. In the aftermath of the 1944 Quebec Conference, where Churchill and Roosevelt met to discuss war strategy and the shape of the post-war world, British newspapers were rife with editorials supporting Churchill's reported insistence of the maintenance of Britain's imperial holdings. Some

55. Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire*, 3. See also: Borstelmann, *The Cold War and The Color Line*; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*; Patricia Sullivan, "Movement Building During the World War II Era: The NAACP's Legal Insurgency in the South," in *Fog of War*, 70-87.

56. Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 2.

57. Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

newspapers even made the case for the expansion of the Empire, Italian and German colonies in need of reclamation. Randy Dixon of the *Courier*, in London at the time, harshly criticized these views, noting that "all reference to the aspirations and aims of subject peoples as voiced in various war declarations remain unmentioned."[58] He noted that for the sake of realism and expediency, Allied governments were neglecting the promises that had been made in the spirit of democratic liberation at the outset of the war. Although not a fully realized thesis, this demand that Allied powers to keep the promises they had made and oversee the extension of democratic rights to all subjugated peoples at a supranational level, represents a nascent form of the later focus on human rights.

While Dixon's comments can perhaps be shrugged off as a little vague, the correspondents' attitudes to the Atlantic Charter were much more visibly in line with later activism built around human rights. The Atlantic Charter, a declaration released by Roosevelt and Churchill in August 1941, included within its pages what was believed by many African Americans to be a symbolic promise of colonial self-determination. Not much was made of the Charter by the correspondents for the first year of its existence. That all changed in November 1942 when Winston Churchill told the House of Commons: "I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."[59] This comment was seized upon by many of the correspondents. Frank Bolden wrote: "evidently the Atlantic Charter must not be for the people of the Pacific beyond the confines of Australia and New Zealand. Imperialism must not perish in the post-war period, according to Mr. Churchill."[60] In the wake of Churchill's words the Atlantic

58. Randy Dixon, "U.S., British Imperialists Seek Pre-War Status Quo", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 30, 1944.
59. "Mr. Churchill on Our One Aim", *The Guardian*, November 11, 1942.
60. Frank Bolden, "'Four Freedoms' Tarnished by Diplomatic Blunders", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 5, 1942.

Charter had taken on a new importance, one that both correspondents and domestic activists were aware of.[61] Whether or not the correspondents had actually believed the Charter's promises, its existence as a symbolic rod for colonialism's back made it a favored discussion point.[62] In a rare expansion of internationalist consciousness to the soldiers that they covered, Vincent Tubbs noted the popularity of Wendell Wilkie's internationalist and anti-colonialist travelogue *One World* among African American troops stationed in Australia.[63] *One World* directly addressed Churchill's backpedaling on the promises of the Atlantic Charter, which Willkie argued should be expanded across the globe.[64]

Despite the breadth of the correspondents' internationalism, pride of place was held for their coverage of India. With its independence movement powerfully developed by the time the United States joined the war, its leaders were household names and its goals known the world over, India's struggle was met with great interest by the correspondents and wider black press. The Indian independence struggle and the American civil rights struggle had a long history of association. Expressions of unity between African Americans and Indian anti-colonialists were common in the years following World War I.[65] Intellectual friendships and collaborations blossomed during the inter-war period, W.E.B. Du Bois urging India to "stand as representatives of the colored races."[66] In 1942, a Pittsburgh *Courier* survey of 10,000 African Americans found 87.8% supported India's insistence on

61. Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize*, 16.
62. Deton Brooks, "U.S. Ignores Atlantic Charter, India Fears", *Chicago Defender*, November 11, 1944; George Padmore, "Gen. DuGualle Promises Africans Application of Atlantic Charter", *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 29, 1944.
63. Vincent Tubbs, "Bible and Willkie are Among Tubbs's 4 Books", *Afro-American*, November 13, 1943.
64. Wendell L. Willkie, *One World* (London: Cassell and Company, 1943), 143.
65. Gerald Horne, *The End of Empires: African Americans and India* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009); Seema Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance & Indian Anticolonialism in North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 202.
66. Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 91-92; W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Clash of Color: Indians and American Negroes," *The Aryan Path* 7, (1936), 114.

self-rule as a necessary condition for support for the British war effort.[67] Interestingly, correspondents for the black press were initially barred by the U.S. government from traveling to India. It was not until late in 1944, following almost a year of negotiation between black publishers and the government, that Frank Bolden, correspondent for NNPA, was allowed entry into the China-Burma-India theater.[68]

In the middle of 1945, the leaders of the India's independence movement met with Viceroy the Lord Wavell in the city of Simla to formulate an acceptable plan to facilitate Indian independence. The Simla conference was a failure, delegates from the Indian National Conference and the All-India Muslim League unable to reach a compromise regarding representation of India's Hindu and Muslim religious majorities. As part of their continuing coverage of the Indian independence struggle, the black press sent its own representatives to the conference, who "were treated on a basis of cordiality and respect, being free from segregation and discrimination".[69] Frank Bolden was one of those covering the conference.

In the aftermath of the Simla conference, Bolden took the opportunity to interview the three most recognizable figures of the Indian independence movement.[70] Representing India's Hindu and Muslim populations, Jawaharlal Nehru, Muhammed Ali Jinnah, and Mohandas Gandhi were by the middle of the 1940s all global names, synonymous with anti-imperialism and the rights of colonized, non-white peoples. Bolden's interest in the three men echoed an ongoing fascination African American elites and activists held for the figureheads of the Indian independence movement, and his appraisal of them was

67. Von Eschen, "Civil Rights and World War II in a Global Frame," in *Fog of War*, 176.
68. "Publishers Finally Get War Correspondent into India", *Journal and Guide*, October 7, 1944.
69. Frank Bolden, "Indian Hosts Cordial to Colored Newsmen", *Afro-American*, August 25, 1945.
70. Frank Bolden, "Nehru Finds India's Problems Akin to U.S. Negroes' – Bolden', *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 11, 1945; 'Jinnah Explains Stand of India's Moslems to Frank Bolden', "British Must Go if India Is to Have Unity' – Gandhi', *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 18, 1945.

glowing.[71] He admired their intelligence, gentleness, their nobility, and most of all their unwavering stance in their struggle for independence. Asking Gandhi why British proposals that granted India dominion status had been turned down, the Mahatma gave the answer that India wanted independence, and nothing less. While white settler nations founded by Britain could rationalize their dominion status through a racial and cultural link, India had no such ties, and, for Gandhi, "if a status is so conferred it means that we are not free."

In later articles Bolden expanded upon this racial difference, suggesting Gandhi's words may have hit their mark, or at least aligned with Bolden's own ideas. Bolden observed the poverty in which most native Indians lived, the scarcity of food and the starvation that followed. He contrasted this to the lavish seventeen course meals that the ruling classes enjoyed, dinners that he, with his connections to the United States, was occasionally invited to. He would leave these dinners satiated and content, but stepping outside would witness locals fighting in the gutters over scraps.[72] Coming closest to Padmore's structural critique of imperialism and capitalism, Bolden placed the fault for this disparity solely at the feet of western imperialism and the exploitation of non-white peoples, exploitation that was now entering a new stage as capitalism grew upon the foundations laid down by racist colonization.[73] What Bolden saw in India shaped his message. Fulfilling the standard duties of returned correspondents, Bolden gave a series of post-war talks on his experiences and observations. On a Wednesday afternoon in October, 1945, Bolden addressed a luncheon at a Pittsburgh YMCA. Assessing the potential for an end to discrimination, he declared India "living proof that the leading powers of the world do not believe in practicing democracy."[74]

71. See Horne: *The End of Empires*.
72. Frank Bolden, "No. 1 Problem in India is Food, Bolden Reveals", *Afro-American*, September 8, 1945.
73. Frank Bolden, "India's Tragedy", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 8, 1945.
74. "Bolden Says: Revolution in India is Certain", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 27, 1945.

Unlike many of the struggles of African nations for independence, nations who still lacked sufficient political infrastructure and clout to lay claim to immediate and full emancipation, the fruition of decades of Indian activism seemed imminent. In one of his early opinion articles, Edgar Rouzeau pointed to Indian anti-colonial organizations as an example from which African Americans could learn, arguing that the comparative lack of organization and unified purpose between African American organizations had left them voiceless in American politics.[75] Anticipating historians' arguments regarding African American activists internationalizing their own domestic struggles, Rouzeau explained in one of his opinion pieces that "India's fate may well decide the future of Black America."[76] An independent India would "soften" the color prejudice of white peoples, both conceptually and legally, and inspire similar independence movements worldwide. The global importance of the Indian independence movement was also not lost on internationalists like George Padmore. Displaying an impressive level of prescience at a time when the world was swept up in democratic rhetoric, Padmore saw the struggle of India as the perfect challenges to the promises of the language used by the 'United Nations'. "A cursory review of the economic importance of India to the whole structure of Britain," he wrote in 1942, "will enable us to realize why the ruling class of this country will resist any change in the status quo, Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms notwithstanding."[77]

Frank Bolden was not the only correspondent to meet with the big three of the Indian independence movement. Deton Brooks, correspondent for the *Defender*, also took

75. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "India's Message to American Negroes Calls for Great Unity of Leaders", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 11, 1942.

76. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'An Independent India Would Help Black America Get Rights' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 4, 1942. For one of the clearest articulations of the perceived importance of Indian independence for the momentum of the domestic civil rights movment, see Horne, *The End of Empires*.

77. George Padmore, "'India Heading Toward Revolution' – Padmore", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 10, 1942.

the opportunity of his Indian assignment to interview Gandhi and Nehru. Brooks' articles displayed similar concerns about what an unsuccessful campaign for Indian independence would mean for global rights of non-white peoples. After the second Quebec conference of 1944, he reported on Indian fears that the United States, despite its public advocacy of freedom and democracy, would not stand up to Britain and similar colonial powers in combatting imperialism.[78] It was a concern he addressed directly in his interview with Nehru. Asking the Indian leader what would be the global repercussions of Indian independence, he was given the reply that "India's freedom will inevitably lead to the end of various imperialisms in Asia, and to some extent, in Africa as well".[79] Nehru also assured Brooks that if granted independence, the Indian state's long-term goals would be the support of self-determination of non-white peoples, and an end to racial discrimination.

Both Bolden and Brooks stressed the conceptual links between the Indian independence movement and the civil rights struggle in the United States. Bolden in particular noted how both Gandhi and Nehru at times turned the interview on its head, quizzing him on the state of domestic race relations and the challenges facing America's black citizens. To Brooks Nehru gave a message of support and solidarity to take back to his readers. However, Brooks was careful to note Nehru's qualification that the practicalities of the problems facing African Americans were "very different from ours," despite being at their heart issues of race and democracy. Nehru went on to emphasize the differences further: on the one hand the ancient Indian race, its lineage traceable and unbroken, on the other hand the "young, vital people" that were African Americans. Admitting that race was the United States' number one problem, Nehru saw clearly where

78. Deton J. Brooks, "U.S. Ignores Atlantic Charter, India Fears", *Chicago Defender*, November 11, 1944.
79. Deton J. Brooks, "India's Nehru Sends Freedom Message to American Negroes", *Chicago Defender*, July 21, 1945.

their place was, sending Brooks home with the assurance that "I have no doubt they have a great future ahead of them in America".[80]

Promoting the Race

Despite the importance of their message of self-determination, it was in the form of 'promotion of the race' articles that the correspondents' internationalism most often took form. Compared to their articles charting the course of non-white independence, articles on the successes of non-white individuals were exceedingly common. The correspondents worked from the same principles that governed their coverage of their own troops. By reminding their audience that "historians will do well to emphasize the important part played in the operations by West African Negro troops," correspondents were once again casting themselves as journalists who were bringing to readers the untold stories of the war.[81] That white nations would do well to remember the contribution of the non-white and colonial troops to the war effort was a refrain frequently repeated by the correspondents.[82]

Most often these articles praised the abilities and contributions of non-white peoples as fighting men. Edgar Rouzeau lauded the wartime contribution of soldiers from the Belgian Congo.[83] David Orro wrote of the excellent record and subsequent modesty of R.A.F. pilots sourced from Britain's colonial empire.[84] In many cases the correspondents

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80. Deton J. Brooks, "India's Nehru Sends Freedom Message to American Negroes", *Chicago Defender*, July 21, 1945.

81. Rudolph Dunbar, "African Troops Play Huge Part in Recent Victories", *Atlanta Daily World*, June 9.

82. Max Johnson, "Gap Opened, Senegalese Move to Southern Front"', *Afro-American*, December 2, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "Germans Fear Maquis; Give Up to Americans", *Journal and Guide*, September 9, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "French Colonials Drive Into Marseille", *Journal and Guide*, August 26, 1944; Edward Toles, "French Colored Colonials Found Crack Fighters in Colmar Mountain Battle", *Chicago Defender*, April 3, 1945.

83. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Black Belgians Unsung Heroes in Allied Cause", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 21, 1943.

84. David Orro, "Colored RAF Aces Win Glory Over Axis Fortress", *Chicago Defender*, October 23, 1943; David Orro, "Ace RAF Pilot Wins Glory In Spitfire Over Dieppe", *Chicago Defender*, March 13, 1943.

provided reasoning and further context to their praise. Orro, when reporting on the decoration for valor and bravery under fire of three West African soldiers, cast their service in the narrative of the fight against social Darwinism. The proof that these African solders had given of their excellence made is so "that the house-painting warlord of Munich, if he ever finds time, may have to revise his infamous Mein Kampf, especially those chapters in which he extolled the invincible superiority theory of his allegedly pure Aryan Teutons."[85] In this Orro's aim was explicit. As he had done with American troops, Orro was providing evidence to combat negative racial stereotypes and racialized thinking that had in part inspired Nazism. Rouzeau summed up the same idea, but in fewer words. Praising the contributions of Indian and Maori soldiers during the North Africa campaign, Rouzeau reminded readers of the truth of which they would have already been aware, that "the pigment of one's skin has no bearing whatsoever on the stoutness of one's heart."[86]

Rouzeau's inclusion of Maori troops in the annals of the contribution of 'colored' soldiers showed just how inclusive the correspondents were. The war for them truly was an international affair. The correspondents wrote of the "gallantry under fire" of native South Africans.[87] Articles were written praising the work of Punjab, Sikh and Gurkha troops.[88] Natives of New Guinea were hailed as some of the best scouts in the world, their shooting ability "phenomenal."[89] The correspondents made a cult hero of Filipino guerrilla leader Frank Merritt, the "Black Robin Hood of Samar," son of a Filipino mother and a black

85. David Orro, "Orro Sees Officer Graduates Win Stripes…And A Couple Of Kisses", *Chicago Defender*, February 27, 1943.

86. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Mixed Court-Martial Hears Cases in Egypt", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 10, 1942.

87. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Natives Show Unusual Bravery Under Fire", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 24, 1942.

88. Frank Bolden, "Colonials' Yeoman Service in Burma Drive Recalled", *Afro-American*, June 2, 1945; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "India's Fighting Men Excel in Valor, Courage", *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 7, 1942.

89. Fletcher Martin, "New Guinea Natives Praised For War Role", *Chicago Defender*, December 18, 1943; 'Scoop' Jones, "New Guinea Natives Said to be Colorful War Heroes", *Atlanta Daily World*, December 28, 1942.

American father, who could "out-drink, out-dance, out-curse and out-fight most of his fellow soldiers."[90] Similar praise was reserved for "the Papuan Pancho Villa…crossing to and fro at will, through the Nipponese line of defense," a man who "constantly rained terror, destruction and death in the midst of Tojo's recruits."[91] Nepalese soldier Subedar Lalbahadur Thapa made news when he was awarded the Victoria Cross, the British Commonwealth's highest award for gallantry.[92] Articles were written that included tales of heroism and bravery, sacrifice and professionalism from soldiers from Brazil and Fiji, Jamaica and Nigeria, Senegal and China.[93] Wherever non-white soldiers fought, the correspondents were there to record their deeds.

Aside from being proof of the ability of non-white soldiers, these articles could not have been read by those in America without thinking on the restrictions that African American soldiers were faced with in their own attempts to involve themselves in the military. In a 1945 article, Deton Brooks of the *Defender* wrote on one of his few encounters with British colonial soldiers from Africa. Using the softest of racial stereotypes, he wrote of the "natural rhythm" of the men making them very well suited to duties involving Morse code. The African soldiers also made excellent nurses, their size and strength belying a natural gentleness. Brooks noted that were they to have applied for

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90. Fletcher Martin, "'Black Robin Hood of Samar' Wins Fame in Philippine Guerrilla War", *Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1945.

91. 'Scoop' Jones, "Sergeant Katue More Colorful Than Pancho", *Atlanta Daily World*, June 4, 1943.

92. Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 16, 1943; Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 27, 1943.

93. Frank Bolden, " 'Chinese Deserve Better Recognition in War' – Bolden", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 20, 1942; Randy Dixon, " 'More Than 3 ½ Million Colored Troops In War Overseas' – Dixon", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 11, 1943; Randy Dixon, "Native Indian Commands Battalion in Eighth Army", *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 27, 1943; Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 1, 1944; Randy Dixon, "Black Troops Spearhead Big Push Into Rhineland", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 2, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "92nd Slowed Down by Grim Nazi Defence of Tough Gothic Line", *Journal and Guide*, September 23, 1944; John Q. Jordan, "92nd Heroes Decorated", *Journal and Guide*, October 28, 1944; David Orro, "Fiji Youths Lead Marines Stalking Japs in Solomons", *Chicago Defender*, July 24, 1943; David Orro, "Race Pilot Aids RAF Unit Down 3 Nazi Raiders", *Chicago Defender*, February 27, 1943; David Orro, "Negro Troops Tunisia Prize; Capture von Armin", *Chicago Defender*, May 22, 1943; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Our Boys with AEF in Africa", *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 14, 1942; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Fear Unknown to the Warriors of Nigeria", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 19, 1942; Ollie Stewart, "Troops in N.Africa Eager for Expected Big Push in Europe", *Afro-American*, March 20, 1943.

the American military they would have been immediately refused, their illiteracy and levels of education not at the standard required of the even an average soldier, let alone a signal man or nurse. Brooks drew particular attention to this because the men were not only employed in these more advanced duties as well as combat duties, from which African Americans also frequently found themselves barred, the colonial soldiers were excelling in all of them. For this the troops had to thank the British willingness to adapt their training methods to account for the soldiers' lack of formal education. The British had catered to the specific needs of these men and provided them with the opportunity and specialized training to pursue a rewarding and valuable career in the military.[94] Amidst all the criticism of British empire, the correspondents were willing to concede that measures taken to aid non-white peoples were nothing but positive.

Given the nature of the correspondents' duties, most stories were of the successes of 'colored' peoples as soldiers. Most correspondents spent their time chasing black units through the different theaters of the war, their day-to-day taking place in the workplace of war, and their interactions with those for whom war was their profession. However there were occasions where correspondents were able to expand their praise to those who exemplified the best qualities of non-white races in a way other than soldiering. In a rare appearance of women in this form of article, Randy Dixon wrote a small biography of two cousins, recently graduated from university. Born of a pair of English brothers and Sierra Leonean sisters, these young women were stepping out into the world, one a barrister, one a surgeon, to prove the capability of women of color to succeed in the most demanding of fields.[95]

94. Deton J. Brooks, "Scribe Finds Africans Feared by Burma Japs", *Chicago Defender*, March 24, 1945.
95. Randy Dixon, "Girls Follow Careers of their Fathers", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 24, 1943.

Surveying the recovery of Europe in the aftermath of War, the *Afro*'s Ollie Stewart found himself at first disappointed, then furious. Stewart had written little on internationalism during the war. Following some of the most famous African American units through some of the bloodiest and most important battles of the war he had instead filled his articles with the contributions of America's black soldiers as they fought through North Africa, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and finally Germany. However his sense of the international democratic mission of the war was strong. As he watched Europe rebuild, he began to realize that what had been promised in war was being forgotten in peace. In December of 1945 he wrote of his concern that the contribution of colonial soldiers was already being erased in France, its people and politicians instead looking to return to the strong imperial position they held before the war.[96] One month later he wrote of the "selfishness of millions of Frenchmen, Dutch, British, Italians and even Belgians…The same eyes that looked through a veil of tears to American for arms and men, today looks to America for arms and men to slaughter colonials who also heard the cry of freedom."[97] By May he was urging African Americans back home to do all they could to fight the United States' proposed loan to Britain. The loan, he decried, would never be paid back; each taxpayer dollar spent on supporting the United Kingdom would also be a dollar spent subsidizing the Empire, subsidizing the exploitation and subjugation of native peoples who had fought for the new democratic world that had been promised.[98]

Internationalism and anti-imperialism played a strong role in the articles penned by the correspondents. At a time when African American activists within the United States were looking outwards to the non-white world and forming conceptual links that aligned

96. Ollie Stewart, "Racial Aspect of French Crisis Analyzed", *Afro-American*, December 8, 1945.
97. Ollie Stewart, "Treatment of Colonials Proves War Aim was to Save Europe", *Afro-American*, January 19, 1946.
98. Ollie Stewart, "Lend no Billions to England, He Pleads", *Afro-American*, May 11, 1946.

global movements for independence and self-determination with the civil rights movement, the correspondents, with their unique view from the world outside, were writing towards the same aims. "When, on the soil of Alsace," Randy Dixon of the *Courier* write, "thousands of native blacks are dying for the freedom of France, when Jewish fighters enroll in the FFI en masse, when Negroes are seen in the U.S. units and Maoris in the Australian ones, this is proof that all peoples of all races have united in brotherhood against Hitlerism."[99] Following the example set by Rudolph Dunbar and George Padmore, men who had already found a way to weave their internationalist viewpoint into their role as foreign correspondents, war reporters from America did their part to internationalize the war. Expanding conceptions of the Double-V, they linked service in the war to democracy not just for their own sake, but for all 'colored' people. They focused their attention on the fight for self-determination and independence, building the expectation that the culmination of the war, the final achievement of the fight, would be the dismantling of colonialism and the handing over of power from distant European elites to the natives who had fought in the war against fascism. Continuing their argument against the logic of racism, they highlighted the capabilities of non-white peoples, showing once again that race was no indicator of ability.

However the American correspondents were not famous and influential intellectuals nor globe-trotting activists. Despite the vigor with which they advocated cause of internationalism and anti-colonialism, their critiques were often shallow. It is unclear if they saw the reportage of the successes of non-white troops or updates on anticolonial struggles as the type of material that would force change. Regardless, their continual coverage of such events speaks to their focus. Historians have prioritized the internationalism of George Padmore and Rudolph Dunbar when characterizing the internationalism of the wartime

99. Randy Dixon, "'Race Hate Dying' – Dixon", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 9, 1944.

black press. This focus is justified. Dunbar was a globe-trotting, sophisticated, almost stateless man of the world. Padmore was a famous and radical activist who had worked with both the elite and at the ground level to bring about change. In moving the scope of inquiry away from them, and onto men with little background in the internationalist struggle, an expected, though nuanced picture emerges. Lacking the sophistication and biting critique of the two notable men, the correspondents nevertheless communicated to their readers the sense that the African American contribution to the war was but one part of the wider struggle for the rights of all peoples, the Double-V writ large, and a victory that would span the globe. But it is also a victory that was expressed at arm's length, at a distance that would be at times troubling, and one that would represent a move away from the ties of kinship that had so characterized earlier language.

Chapter 6
"Color Doesn't Make a Brother": Correspondents and the Non-White World

Within the basement archive of Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center reside the drafts and manuscripts of much of the post-war work of the *Afro*'s prolific correspondent, Ollie Stewart. Within this collection is a piece written early in 1975. Although the front page of the manuscript indicates that it was sold to a publication, the name of which is unrecorded, little evidence of the piece exists beyond the box within which it is contained. 'Color Doesn't Make A Brother' was Stewart's brief exploration of one of the most important facets of black soldiers' experience of the war: the direct interaction of black Americans with the non-white world. "I have been trying to make friends with black people from various parts of the world since I arrived in London in World War II," Stewart wrote, "I followed the war through North Africa, back to Europe, and all the way to Berlin, and since the thing ended I have lived permanently in Paris — but I still haven't made a breakthrough with dark people of other nationalities."[1] Focusing predominantly on peoples of the African continent, Stewart pointed to pre-existing barriers that hampered meaningful interaction, barriers born out of the lack of shared culture, the great disparity in wealth, the difference in language, and even the lack of shared sporting interests. For Stewart the divide was further widened by African people's colonial status. Unlike black Americans, Africans had been brought up with 'Old World' values and

1. Ollie Stewart, "Color Doesn't Make A Brother" (manuscript, March 2, 1975), *Ollie Anderson Stewart Papers*, Box 200-1, Folder 12, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

manners, their propriety at odds with the freedom, individualism, and expressive nature of African Americans. Perhaps most importantly, and a point Stewart was most firm on, was that "however we may feel, they certainly don't see us as brothers because we're black."

Stewart was not alone in his awareness of the gulf between himself and people of color from other nations; the contrast between seemingly genuine internationalism and depictions of an exotic, primitive, and wholly alien non-white world is the most striking feature of the correspondents' body of work. Despite their overt internationalism, their solidarity with anti-colonial struggles, their promotion of the contributions, abilities, and potential of non-white peoples across the globe, when faced with the lived reality of the non-white world, correspondents' articles communicated the same sense of difference and disconnection that troubled Stewart thirty years later. What makes this contrast all the more shocking is that the exploration of this difference was cast in the language of prejudice, arrogance, and imperialism. The correspondents' articles interlaced their narratives of solidarity with those of contempt, support with revulsion. While the *Courier*'s Randy Dixon would write in 1943 of the "broadened racial consciousness" of African American soldiers, he would, in the same year, rank the levels of primitiveness of native Africans.[2] Deton Brooks, who championed the cause of Indian independence, made frequent use of racial epithets when reporting on Japanese, and once described Chinese hospital patients as "jabbering like monkeys."[3] For each article articulating the internationalist aims of the war effort there was an article on the discomfort African American soldiers felt in non-white spaces, for each example of non-white bravery and ingenuity an example of backwardness. Even casual readers of black newspapers, looking for the latest news from far-flung locales

2. Randy Dixon, "Ethiopian Fighter Pilots Join Allies; Want Revenge On Italy", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 28, 1943; Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 20, 1943.

3. Deton J. Brooks, "Negro-Staffed Hospital Stands by for GIs Who Miss Ledo Road Turn", *Chicago Defender*, April 14, 1945.

and for the opinions of those who witnessed the war first-hand, would have received the message. The non-white world was alien, primitive, and completely unsuitable for African Americans.

Many authors have pointed to the cultural, as well as the political connections between African Americans and the non-white world. The Pan-Africanism and African Nationalist movements that arose in the early twentieth century and peaked during the interwar period looked to "regenerate and unify" Africa and the African diasporic world.[4] Though support for a 'oneness' of people of African descent waned in the 1930s, those seeking to create a new, hyphenated identity within the United States still looked towards Africa for inspiration. This identification with Africa gave shape to the 'New Negro,' as "African American leaders, intellectuals, clergymen, and clubwomen alike theorized Africa to their own political, cultural, and intellectual ends."[5] The celebrated Harlem Renaissance found its inspiration in turning its gaze eastwards; "the cultures and politics that made Harlem distinctive…revolved around Africa."[6] Increasingly 'black' became less synonymous with the underdeveloped and savage, and more with the positive 'primitivism' that took the world by storm, producing figures such as the legendary Josephine Baker.[7] Further afield, sites of transnational and transcultural interaction, such as Paris, saw African American writers, artists and intellectuals rub shoulders and exchange ideas with those from all over the subaltern world.[8] The interwar period also saw limited cultural and

4. Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 1-3. See also: Shana L. Redmond, *Anthem: Social Movements and the Sound of Solidarity in the African Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 21-62.

5. Jeanette Eileen Jones, *In Search of Brightest Africa: Reimagining the Dark Continent in American Culture, 1884-1936* (Athens: GA, The University of Georgia Press, 2010), 45.

6. Corbould, *Becoming African Americans*, 10. See also John Cullen Gruesser, *Black on Black: Twentieth-Century African American Writing About Africa* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000).

7. Gates Jr., "The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black," 129-155; Gruesser, *Black on Black*; Jones, *In Search of Brightest Africa*, 177-210.

8. Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Stovall, *Paris Noir*, 97.

intellectual exchange between African Americans and Asian nations, particularly those of China and Japan, as hands were extended to 'colored' peoples across the Pacific.[9]

Those who have focused on the period of the 1940s and the transition of wartime attitudes into Cold War attitudes have noted that following the highs of the 1920s and 1930s, these cultural solidarities and inspirations were at "a low ebb."[10] Although ideological and political links remained strong, cultural connections and evocations of 'blood ties' were on the wane. Importantly for the continuing development of the historiography, some have shifted their inquiry away from intellectual elites and activists, and towards more everyday African American interactions with non-white world. Chief amongst these is James T. Campbell's *Middle Passages*, which discusses the moments that revealed to a variety of African American travelers the alienness of the African continent, "moments bringing them face-to-face with Africa's unfamiliarity and their own painful Americanness."[11] In the Asian context, Michael Green has deliberately looked beyond African American elites and radicals to everyday black soldiers, finding the prominence of internationalist voices in the historiography overstated.[12] It is to this that more can be added.

Expanding the scope of enquiry to the articles the correspondents published reveals a clear and largely unified message they transmitted to readers. Strategic or epiphanic, intentional or inadvertent, the correspondents' articles on the non-white world reiterated to readers the practical difference between African Americans and the 'colored' world. This

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9. William H Bridges IV and Nina Cornyetz, eds., *Traveling Texts and the Work of Afro-Japanese Cultural Production: Two Haiku and a Microphone* (Lanham: MD Lexington Books, 2015); Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan & China*; Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*; Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism*; Redmond, *Anthem*, 81-87; Etsuko Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative: Geographic Imaginings of Race and Empire between the World Wars* (Lebanon, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2014).

10. See: Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 3; Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire*, 5; Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 107.

11. James T. Campbell, *Middle Passages: African American Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2006), 211.

12. Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*.

chapter will explore not only how they presented this difference, but how their articles reinforced the Americanness of African Americans, and further inserted them into western culture, modernity, and narratives of western superiority and dominance. As such, this chapter constitutes the second element of the 'definition' of African Americans by the correspondents in a global context, building upon their alignment with the people of white, western nations.

The chapter first addresses how the correspondents used the political potential of travel writing in their descriptions of space and their relationship to it. Highlighting the unsuitability of African American bodies for the exotic, uncomfortable, and at times dangerous spaces of non-white countries, and emphasizing the adversarial relationship between soldiers and these spaces, the correspondents distanced themselves and black soldiers from what they perceived as the primitiveness of the subaltern world. The correspondents enhanced this distance by constructing the non-white world as a pseudo-frontier space, with African American soldiers playing the role of bringers of civilization to the raw and untamed land. The focus then shifts to depictions of non-white peoples. As with the land upon which they lived, the peoples of the non-white world were depicted as primitive and backwards, different from African Americans. Correspondents fixated on instances of uncleanliness, technological backwardness, and poverty, in each turn setting these against the standards they were used to at home. Again, the correspondents inserted African Americans into these cultures in the role of benevolent educators and developers, spreading western civilization, religion, and technology. Special attention is given to how the correspondents constructed spaces that had ties to the United States and U.S. imperialism, specifically Liberia and the Philippines. Finally the chapter will examine the correspondents' coverage of Japan and the Japanese people toward the war's end and in its aftermath, and how these ideas were brought together and amplified, resulting in an

unprecedented level of vitriol and the elevation of black Americans over a once admired people.

Space

> High on the side of a 4,500-foot peak of the dense, vast green tapestried jungle on the Patkai Mountain Range at Tagap, in upper Assam province, where the black panther craftily stalks his arch enemy, the Bengal tiger, through a dim, primordial world which for centuries afforded the elephant, the cobra, and the devil-tormented aborigine a refuge from the encroaching tides of civilization, nestles the only hospital in Asia entirely staffed by Negroes.[13]

From the plains of Africa, to the deserts of the Middle East, and the jungles of Asia and the Pacific, the correspondents sent home to their readers vivid images of a world that previously had only existed in the pages of adventure novels or on the Hollywood screen. Frank Bolden's description of the landscape that surrounded an isolated military hospital along the Ledo Road, high in the northern mountains of Burma, exemplified the vocabulary of isolation and exoticism. This "primordial" space, untouched and raw, a sanctuary for the exotic and wild, and where primitive tribes remained untouched by civilization, was now for the first time being trespassed upon by the outside world. Anne McClintock, drawing upon the work of Walter Benjamin and G.W.E. Hegel, has noted the importance of 'anachronistic space' to imperialist narratives and justifications. Anachronistic space, space that was "prehistorical…inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity," justified western intervention and dominance.[14] The correspondents' usage of the language of anachronistic space was part of the adoption of a wider vocabulary and a set of tropes that had long been associated with Western imperialist discourses. Stories of "heroic white

13. Frank Bolden, "Burma Hospital has All-Negro Personnel", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 30, 1945.
14. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 40.

men, endangered white women, man-eating beasts (both human and feline), naked 'savages' and hostile nature" had dominated western writing on the non-white world throughout the nineteenth century, later integrating themselves into popular imaginings of the twentieth century.[15] Part commentary on the successes (and failures) of the modern world, part titillating stories of the forbidden and exotic, it was a genre that elevated western culture and western advancement, while simultaneously justifying the imperialist project. Though a heroic black male had replaced the heroic white male, and the endangered white woman had been erased completely, the depictions of the danger and savagery of the land remained. Reflecting on his time in India and Burma, the *Afro*'s Francis Yancey made this link explicit when he noted to readers that what he had seen on his travels had only confirmed the stories told of these "far-off, mysterious" lands.[16] African Americans had set foot in an alien space, a space wild and untamed, a space "far from any semblance of civilization".[17]

At a time when elements within the government and military hierarchy maintained that the racial characteristics of African Americans made them better suited to the extremes of harsh jungle and desert landscapes, the correspondents were invested in showing that foreign lands were fundamentally unfit for the African American soldiers who temporarily inhabited them, disassociating black American men from the primitiveness with which they were associated. Uninhabited areas of Europe were described in idyllic and picturesque terms, the only significant complaint of the soldiers stationed there the coldness of winter. When European landscapes were described unfavorably it was due the destruction wrought

15. Cornelia Sears, "Africa in the American Mind, 1870-1955: A Study in Mythology, Ideology, and the Reconstruction of Race" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1997), xviii, 118. The first chapter of Sears' thesis deals in detail with the trope of 'Darkest Africa' in nineteenth and twentieth century America. See also McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.

16. Francis Yancey, "Hands A-Plenty", *Afro-American*, October 27, 1945.

17. Fletcher Martin, "Troop Rotation Boosts Jungle Fighter Morale", *Chicago Defender*, April 8, 1944.

by the war, rather than any intrinsic properties of the land itself. The world outside of Europe, "the green hell" of the jungle, did not receive such sympathetic treatment.[18] The jungle "has only two predominating factors," Billy Rowe of the *Courier* wrote, "heat and rain…heightened by sundry disgusting odors."[19] Rowe described the unpleasantness of marching "through jungle so dense at times the sky could not be seen…under foliage so dense that it served as an umbrella against the penetrating downpour that soaked the men to the bone at each clearing."[20] The rains of the monsoon season were a frequent source of dismay for soldiers and correspondents alike. Enoc Waters noted that soldiers in New Guinea routinely experienced rain so heavy and sustained that it "would have made front page news" back home.[21] When not raining, soldiers were forced to contend with "snakes, rats, insects, trees crowding each other for room to grow and the pungent odor of decaying vegetation on the soft damp jungle floor."[22] Soldiers deployed to Iran faced an entirely different set of problems, the climate forcing them to be up early and work until 1pm, where the heat and dryness of the day chased them undercover to await the reprieve of evening.[23]

The greatest mercy came when soldiers were at last able to leave these locations. Frank Bolden noted the muted celebrations of soldiers in Burma at the news of the German surrender. Finding it hard to summon sufficient energy for rejoicing, soldiers were instead focusing their attentions on the difficulty and unpleasantness of their current jobs, any hint

18. Frank Bolden, "Peace Means These GIs Can Leave Jungle Hell", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 1, 1945.
19. Billy Rowe, "These are the Brave", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 14, 1944.
20. Billy Rowe, "93rd Gets New Chief", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 20, 1944.
21. Enoc Waters, "Rains Flood Jungle Camp After Long Convoy Voyage", *Chicago Defender*, January 1, 1944.
22. Enoc Waters, "Rains Flood Jungle Camp After Long Convoy Voyage", *Chicago Defender*, January 1, 1944.
23. Frank Bolden, "Bolden Locates 4,000 Tan Yanks in the Middle East", *Afro-American*, August 26, 1944.

of a reprieve from their jungle duties preferable to good news from overseas.[24] Enoc Waters felt this relief himself when he arrived back in Sydney after his first foray into the islands to Australia's north. Delighted to be taking a "brief respite from the primitive existence I have been living for several months in New Guinea," Waters noted that Sydney should be the destination of choice for black soldiers taking their furlough, being the most American of Australia's major cities. Waters interviewed a similarly relieved black soldier, who informed the journalist that "it's good just to get back to civilization."[25] On one occasion it was African American soldiers themselves who were the reprieve. Riding along with a black trucking convoy through Iran, Frank Bolden noted the unit's arrival at an isolated desert camp, a camp manned by white American soldiers. Though regularly visited by locals, the men of the camp shared with Bolden their relief and happiness at finally encountering others "from civilization." Eager not to waste this connection to home and the 'civilized' world, the white soldiers entertained their visitors as guests, providing them with food and sitting down to eat, drink, smoke and converse together.[26]

These harsh and alien lands were not passive obstacles; correspondents cast them in the role of antagonist against which African American soldiers would manfully struggle in their own battle against the "malevolent forces of nature".[27] As noted, much of the correspondents' coverage of African American service personnel attempted to find within these unglamorous and maligned roles a sense of masculine struggle and danger. In the case of soldiers in Europe, with their constant proximity to the enemy, bombing raids and artillery strikes engendered this sense of danger. In the wilds of the non-white world, where service personnel were often more isolated and less likely to encounter the enemy, it was

24. Frank Bolden, "V-E News Brings No Rejoicing", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 19, 1945
25. Enoc Waters, "Racial Mixture Found Widespread in Australia", *Chicago Defender*, October 16, 1943.
26. Frank Bolden, "Negro GI's Thread Trucks Over Tough Hell's Highway", *Atlanta Daily World*, November 3, 1944.
27. Enoc Waters, "Negro Troops in Rabaul Push!", *Chicago Defender*, January 29, 1944.

the land itself that served this purpose. These articles could take on simple forms: comments on the ever-present nuisance of blood-sucking insects upon which one was waging an unceasing "war," to the "battle" against the diseases and infections of the tropics.[28] In most cases however it was more than just insects that the men were fighting. The Ledo Road in particular became a site of struggle against the wilds. The road, in large part constructed by black service personnel, ran over 1,000 miles from India, through northern Burma and into China, allowing the Allies to run supplies to Chinese forces free from Japanese harassment. Despite the lack of human enemy, the construction and maintenance of the road was no easy task. Praising the men who worked the road, men "with guts of Atlas," Bolden cast the land itself in the role of adversary. For every inch that the road advanced, black soldiers were waging their own war on the "malaria, cobra, tiger-infested and heat-punishing, monsoon-drenched swamp land" that each day attempted to slow their advance, undo their progress, and in many cases even take their lives.[29] Such was the struggle of the Ledo Road that Deton Brooks, also covering the road's construction, saw fit to declare that "no battle in any theater has taken greater courage nor been wrought with greater danger than the fight against nature here."[30]

Success against environmental challenges was more than just a badge of manhood and masculinity, it was also a testament to the part African American soldiers played in the taming of primitive land. By setting up camps and bases, by taking part in the construction of aerodromes and port facilities, by besting the hazards of the jungle to construct the Ledo Road, black soldiers were bending the wilderness to their will. Just as there had been a transferal of the language of the 'wild frontier' to depictions of Africa in the nineteenth and

28. Francis Yancey, "Yancey Wages War with Squad of Biting Insects", *Afro-American*, March 17, 1945; Enoc Waters, "Negro Troops in Rabaul Push!", *Chicago Defender*, January 29, 1944.
29. Frank Bolden, "Tan Yank Engineering Feat was 'Impossible'", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 14, 1945.
30. Deton J. Brooks, "Negro Engineers Write History in Heroic Job on Key Ledo Road", *Chicago Defender*, November 4, 1944.

twentieth centuries, and just as frontier terminology and symbolism was finding new life in white American interpretations of their place in the Pacific War, so the correspondents made their own use of frontier rhetoric when describing the interactions between black soldiers and the foreign spaces to which they travelled.[31] When Enoc Waters declared that "little or no attempts have been made by the white man to settle the wild jungle" of the Pacific Island of New Britain, he was not only establishing the island's untouched wilderness, but also showing that black Americans were now taking up the mantle of development.[32] Associating frontier struggle with manliness and the advancement of civilization, the correspondents were writing African Americans into a narrative that had shaped the American republican tradition itself.[33] Riding with the first convoy to enter China along the Ledo Road, the *Defender*'s Deton Brooks declared the road "a tribute to American engineering genius and to the strength and toughness of the ordinary GI."[34] To illustrate his point, Brooks credited both white and black GIs for the road's construction. This inclusivity gave readers a view of events that placed African American contributions as essential to the transplanting of America into the Far East, bringing American technological prowess to bear.

The importance of black soldiers to the transformation of the wild and untamed into the advanced and civilized remained common to the correspondents' articles. It was a topic of which Vincent Tubbs, the *Afro*'s correspondent to Australia and the Pacific, was

31. Sears, "Africa in the American Mind, 1870-1955," 120-178; Peter Schrijvers, *The GI War Against Japan: American Soldiers in Asia and the Pacific During World War II* (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 2002).

32. Enoc Waters, "Negro Troops in Rabaul Push!", *Chicago Defender*, January 29, 1944.

33. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, *Empires and the Reach of the Global: 1870-1945* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 35.

34. Deton J. Brooks, "Brooks Tells of Entry Into China with First Convoy on Stillwell Road", *Chicago Defender*, February 10, 1945. Enoc Waters also used the construction of modern roads as a key indicator of the positive transformation of wild spaces and the western ingenuity of African American soldiers: Enoc Waters, "Pacific Patter", *Chicago Defender*, February 5, 1944.

particularly fond. He wrote of the pride black soldiers could feel in having brought "twentieth century civilization" to "stone age" New Guinea."[35] The implications of the anachronistic space of the Pacific islands were brought to the fore. Black soldiers were not only transforming the landscape of New Guinea, they were bringing it into the modern era. Like Brooks, Tubbs' presented this frontier mission of civilization as an integrated pursuit. "The most impressive thing about the tour," he wrote whilst in New Guinea, "is how this marshy jungle island has been converted into first rate supply depot and attack base as a result of the work of colored service troops, co-operating with Aussies and white Americans."[36] A few months later Tubbs was once again island-hopping through the Pacific, noting from the air the prominence of landing strips laid down by black soldiers, spreading American influence through engineering and technology.[37]

The distribution of black soldiers across the non-white world meant that most articles that explored the transformation of frontier spaces were focused in Asia and the Pacific. However, in 1943, the *Defender*'s David Orro wrote disparagingly of west African states as "country so undeveloped as to be unmarked even by so much as a single native footpath."[38] What had drawn Orro's attention to this "undeveloped" region of Africa was not a desire to see the region improved for the sake of its populace, but the opportunity it presented to those with the will and desire to put in the work and make use of the vast untapped natural resources that West Africa had to offer.

35. Vincent Tubbs, "GIs Take Civilization into N. Guinea Jungle", *Afro-American*, April 1, 1944.
36. Vincent Tubbs, "Troops Turn Jungles Into Stepping Stones to Tokyo", *Afro-American*, February 26, 1944.
37. Vincent Tubbs, "Tubbs Describes Thrills of a Dive-Bombing Mission", *Afro-American*, June 17, 1944. For articles sharing a similar sentiment, see: Enoc Waters, "Pacific Patter", *Chicago Defender*, February 5, 1944; Charles Loeb, 'Guam, Retaken from Japs, Now A Beehive of Activity', *Atlanta Daily World*, August 14, 1945.
38. David Orro, 'Find New Supply of Rubber Trees In West Africa', *Chicago Defender*, October 30, 1943.

Peoples

Just as the correspondents painted images of non-white spaces as exotic and primitive, so too did they take that same brush to their peoples. Positive comparisons, such as Fletcher Martin's assertion that the only difference between African American and Fijian soldiers was the uniform, were dwarfed by the mass of articles that highlighted the differences between black American soldiers and non-white peoples.[39] Racial and cultural stereotypes, condemnations, mockery, all were brought into play by the correspondents to highlight the gulf between African Americans and the peoples whose anti-colonial struggles they supported. In some cases the correspondents took a soft approach to this difference. Traveling through India, the *Afro*'s Francis Yancey noted with incredulity the concept of the Indian "sacred cow," noting that it seemed a foolish superstition in a land wracked by famine.[40] Similarly, and careful to make it clear that he was not bigoted, the *Courier*'s Edgar T. Rouzeau confided to readers that he was finding it difficult to become accustomed to "the frock wearing Egyptian male."[41]

Other representations of non-white peoples were more problematic. Undoubtedly many African Americans entered these spaces with an expectation of the exoticism of their native peoples. An unnamed black soldier noted to Rouzeau his surprise when, at a dance held for black soldiers in Liberia, native women arrived in western dress. "I had the impression from motion pictures and magazine drawings back home that all African women wore G-strings," he later told Rouzeau.[42] At a time when the NAACP was actively

39. Fletcher Martin, "An Unusual Picture", *Chicago Defender*, April 15, 1945.
40. Francis Yancey, "India's Sacred Cow", *Afro-American*, November 3, 1945.
41. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Cairo Shows No Ill Effects of War, According to Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 2, 1943. See also Enoc Waters' discussion of the "skirts" of New Guinea natives: Enoc Waters, "Pacific Patter", *Chicago Defender*, August 14, 1943.
42. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "African Girls Graceful Dancers, AEF Finds", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 12, 1942.

combatting negative stereotypes that accompanied popular representations of non-white peoples, the correspondents' characterizations of these same peoples would only have served to set back the organization's cause.[43] Terms such as "backwards," "quaint," and "medieval" were all applied to people of the 'colored' world.[44] Jokes were made about quality of housing in Ethiopia, and of the inability of Asian peoples to master correct English pronunciation.[45] Native celebrations were led by "witch doctors", whose "mumbo-jumbo" chants whipped natives up into frenzies of primitive and semi-erotic dance, stopping only when exhausted.[46] At one point the NNPA's Charles Loeb even attempted his own amateur taxonomic analysis, noting that natives of New Guinea were instantly recognizable for their "unkempt hair and extremely flat feet."[47]

Though predominantly occurring in non-white spaces, occasionally these observations expanded to cover interactions with non-white peoples in the white world. Covering Operation Dragoon, the Allied landings on the Côte d'Azur, the *Defender*'s Edward Toles encountered Senegalese soldiers taking the fight to German forces in the forests of Southern France. Toles' visceral article described in detail the actions of a "huge" Senegalese soldier, known locally as "Guillotine". Though the article was an attempt to display the bravery and martial excellence of these French colonial soldiers, Toles' writing quickly became animated with stereotypes of African tribal barbarity and primitiveness. He observed that the Senegalese soldiers of Guillotine's unit could often be seen "wearing scarcely nothing at all." Though based in admiration, Toles' depiction of the savage

43. For information on the NAACP and similar campaigns, see: Jones, *In Search of Brightest Africa*, 177-210.

44. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Black Belgians Unsung Heroes in Allied Cause", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 21, 1943; Vincent Tubbs, "Javanese a Quaint People, Says Tubbs", *Afro-American*, September 11, 1943; Enoc Waters, "Troops on New Guinea Furnish Own Amusement", *Chicago Defender*, June 10, 1944.

45. David Orro, 'London Calling', *Chicago Defender*, October 23, 1943; David Orro, "Firecrackers, Orientals Give Orro Case of Jitters on Ocean Convoy", *Chicago Defender*, April 17, 1943.

46. Frank Bolden, 'Convoy GI's See Kachin Dance as Jap Guns Roar', *Afro-American*, March 31, 1945.

47. Charles Loeb, "93rd Champs at Bit for Pacific 'Big Show'", *Atlanta Daily World*, January 16, 1945.

tribesmen was only worsened when described Guillotine striding into the forest with his "native" machete, and, "with a curse and a slashing of the wrist" he "severed the heads of many a Nazi."[48]

If there was a single theme that dominated the articles written on the non-white world, it was that of cleanliness. The pages of black newspapers were filled with references to the "narrow, staking streets" of "filthy, disease-ridden Calcutta."[49] A night out in Iran involved braving establishments that resembled an "upholstered sewer."[50] This was typical of the "general uncleanliness" of Iranian cities, something that Frank Bolden could never fully come to terms with.[51] Though praising their friendliness, Thomas Young characterized Arab communities as ones of "filth, squalor, ignorance, and superstition."[52] Even as strong an ideological ally as India was not safe from the scorn of correspondents who were used to a higher standard of living. Bolden wrote with disgust of hotel rooms "infested with vermin".[53] Both he and Deton Brooks found third class train carriages to be like pig-sties, and the neighborhoods of local Red Cross clubs dirty and unsanitary.[54] Criticisms were also made of the practices of native peoples. Bolden and Brooks were both horrified at the sight of natives in Iran and India drinking from the same water sources as the local fauna.[55]

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48. Edward Toles, "Senegalese In France Fearless Fighters", *Chicago Defender*, September 23, 1944.
49. Deton J. Brooks, "Negro GI's Jim Crowed in India; Red Cross Worker Quits in Protest", *Chicago Defender*, July 14, 1945; Deton J. Brooks, "Calcutta Social Whirl Welcome Escape from Burma Jungle for Colored GIs", *Chicago Defender*, January 27, 1945.
50. Frank Bolden, "Persian Jump Joints Far From 'Groovey'", *Afro-American*, October 21, 1944.
51. Frank Bolden, "Engineers, in Iran Two Summers, Eager for Shift", *Afro-American*, November 4, 1944.
52. Thomas W. Young, "Africa is Mixture of the Ancient and the Modern", *Journal and Guide*, October 2, 1943.
53. Frank Bolden, "War Scribe Escapes Death When Door of Plane Opens", *Afro-American*, March 24, 1945.
54. Deton J. Brooks, "Gandhi Still India's 'No. 1'", *Chicago Defender*, July 28, 1945; Frank Bolden, "Discrimination Cause of Low Morale Among Tan Yanks in India and Burma", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945.
55. Frank Bolden, "Shepherds, Goats Drink from Same Water-Hole in Iran", *Afro-American*, October 7, 1944; Deton J. Brooks, "Spring in India Prelude to Blazing Inferno for GIs", *Chicago Defender*, May 19, 1945.

The fixation on cleanliness had long been an integral part of the language of the European imperial project. Scholars have pointed out how hygiene and cleaning practices served as a primary method of distinction between the unclean and primitive world and the clean, modern, and scientific European world. This fixation engendered a cultural authority, adding to the many constructed justifications for interference with a world that needed the guiding light of western education and proper practice for the sake of its own health.[56] Some of this same reasoning was evident within the correspondents' articles, which were more than just expressions of shock. When Deton Brooks placed responsibility for India's cholera epidemic at the feet of the nation's "teeming millions," who knew "nothing about basic sanitation," he was relocating moral authority towards 'correct' western knowledge and practices.[57] Similarly, the *Afro*'s Max Johnson commended the steps taken in North African cities to construct "modern" buildings. These first steps were however tempered by the still widespread uncleanliness of many of the older neighborhoods.[58] Both men aligned the modern with the clean. That which was unclean was, by extension, that which hampered progress towards modernity.

Occasionally the correspondents came to more abstract characterizations of non-white peoples. Fresh from his coverage of Operation Dragoon, Max Johnson turned a critical eye towards how African American soldiers related to 'colored' North Africa. These observations led Johnson to advance the idea that black American soldiers preferred France to North Africa, due to the "friendlier attitude and more democratic spirit" of the locals.[59] If it was indeed the case that black American soldiers found white French citizens to be

56. See McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 207-231; Sean Quinlan, "Colonial Bodies, Hygiene, and Abolitionist Politics in Eighteenth Century France", in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 106-121.

57. Deton J. Brooks, "Famed Pianist, Cholera Victim, Dies in India", *Chicago Defender*, May 26, 1945.

58. Max Johnson, "GIs Think Afro's John Jasper Sent Them Over", *Afro-American*, May 6, 1944.

59. Max Johnson, "Former AAA Outfit Now Trucking Supplies to Front", *Afro-American*, October 7, 1944.

friendlier than North Africans then their preference could largely be understood. But in linking soldiers' preference to as abstract a concept as the democratic ideals of the white French populace, Johnson was painting with very broad strokes. Generalizing two immense groups of people, Johnson was suggesting that the differences between black Americans and black North Africans rested on adherence to ideals that linked African Americans to the west, the modern, and the progressive. It was a similar thought process that led Edgar Rouzeau to despondently note of the many African tribesmen of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), "only a few are capable of understanding underlying principles on which this war is based."[60]

Despite his widespread condemnation of Iran, its filth, poverty, and the backward practices of its people, Frank Bolden did find time to praise the nation's treatment of women. However, his praise was comparative. Bolden's argument hinged less on a detailed analysis of the state of women's rights in Iran, and more on how closely Iranian women's freedom of dress mirrored what he was used to back home. It was Bolden's belief that that Iran had a long way to go in its treatment of its female population. However, in comparison to the other Muslim nations to which his travels had taken him, Iran was to be commended for the freedoms and agency it allowed women. Though still a culture that was to be criticized for restricting women's movement and presence in the public sphere, Bolden grounded his praise on his observations that Iranian women faced far fewer restrictions in the clothing they were permitted to wear, largely liberated from the constraints of full veils.[61] The mark of civilization by which the people of Iran were judged was their similarity to Western practices.

60. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Colonial Tribes Loyal to British War Effort", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 24, 1943.
61. Frank Bolden, 'Iranians Eat no Pork; Prefer Bread to Money', *Afro-American*, January 20, 1945.

Improvement

The equation of civilization with western practices was not new, nor was the belief that African Americans could play a role in global uplift because of their intimate association with these practices. In his opening address at the 1919 Pan-African Congress, Blaise Diagne, newly elected President of Pan-African Association, spoke of the cultural elevation of westernized blacks over inherently backward native Africans, who needed the guiding hand of more civilized black people to set them on the correct path.[62] It was a sentiment often expressed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As historians have noted, many African American authors, activists, religious and community leaders, including such luminaries as W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey, saw the civilizing of Africa "as an opportunity for African Americans to demonstrate their own relative progress and thereby advance their claim to full American citizenship."[63] Similar thoughts were presented to readers of the black press decades later from their correspondents overseas.

In June 1943, the *Defender*'s London correspondent, David Orro, penned a large article on the post-war expectations of African soldiers that explicitly linked the uplift of African peoples to the adoption of western practices. A celebration of the contributions of Britain's colonial troops to the war effort, the article took readers inside the mind of "Jnorge" a fictional East African soldier. Though longing for a return to the leisure days of his youth as a farmer in Nairobi, Jnorge was nevertheless thankful for the opportunity to experience the world that military service had granted him. He had found that white men could be friendly and compassionate, sharing in labor and good company. He admired the

62. Dunstan, "Conflicts of Interest," 146.

63. Campbell, *Middle Passages*, 144. See also: Gruesser, *Black on Black*; Elizabeth Mazucci, "Going Back to Our Own: Interpreting Malcolm X's Transition from 'Black Asiatic' to 'Afro-American,'" in *Transnational Blackness: Navigating the Global Color Line*, ed. Manning Marable and Vanessa Agard-Jones (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 245-264; Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans*; Ross, *Manning the Race*, 15.

"better education" of the English Tommy, finding himself drawn to the idea of establishing European schools back home. The article ended with a rallying cry from Orro: "It is doubtful if he will long remain content with the old poverty, filth, and under-nourishment. It would be a tragedy if he were allowed to remain so. He needs leadership to bring out the new potentialities gained through his contact with European peoples and customs — a more understanding independence, a craving for education and a taste for higher standards of living."[64] As Jeanette Jones points out, "the very notion that Africa needed saving, articulated either as environmentalist discourse or as Pan-Africanist politics, presupposed a continent whose people were incapable of enforcing environmental protection or enacting self-determination on their own terms."[65] Jones's point illustrates a continuation of the assumptions that supported condescending language and attitudes towards non-white peoples by 'westernized blacks'. Orro's sentiments can be read as a desire to shoulder the burden of the promise of the Four Freedoms, enacting the democratic rhetoric that was so important to the Double-V. What is critical about Orro's comments about the extrication of Africa from its current state of "poverty" and "filth" — aside from such confident descriptions of a region he had never visited — was that such upliftment was to be a direct result of the adoption of western culture. Although Orro afforded his fictional hero some measure of agency in the desire for these changes, Jnorge's destination was one rooted in the culture of America and the European imperial powers. Frank Bolden shared many of the same sentiments as Orro. Inspired by his meetings with the leaders of India's independence movement, Bolden confidently declared that that nation's destiny "cannot be denied" and that it would one day stand on its own on the global stage as a true non-white power. He was however careful to include the caveat that India would have to first overcome rampant

64. David Orro, "African Soldiers Routed 'Old Order' in Libya, Hope For Freedom At Home", *Chicago Defender*, July 17, 1943.
65. Jones, *In Search of Brightest Africa*, 4.

illiteracy, abandon its acceptance of child marriages, and move on from the backwardness of herbal remedies and instead adopt western medicinal practices.[66]

Absent from the correspondents' writing was what Anne McClintock has described as the "erotics of ravishment," the feminizing of 'virgin' and 'verdant' non-white spaces which invited dominion and exploitation.[67] Similarly, the correspondents avoided feminizing and infantilizing non-white peoples, with the marked exception of the Japanese. After all, the correspondents' seemingly genuine internationalism relied upon showing that black men and women could excel in any area that whites had deemed off-limits to people of color. Both Orro and Bolden felt a clear sense of excitement for the potential of non-white peoples. Given the right circumstances and guidance, African and Indian peoples could achieve excellence, and more importantly, power and respect on a global scale.

Alongside articles that testified to the transformative power that African Americans were bringing to bear on the wild and untamed spaces of the non-white world, were those of African American involvement in the transformations of lived spaces, and of hearts and minds. Vincent Tubbs directly referred to the "civilizing of New Guinea" due to the work done by black soldiers improving the island's infrastructure and spreading "true Christian democracy" to its populace.[68] Frank Bolden profiled college educated soldiers who in their spare time had set up a night school for locals in Iran.[69] Ollie Stewart wrote of how U.S. supplies and aid were being distributed to thankful locals in Morocco.[70] Deton Brooks made explicit the link between African American soldiers and American benevolence when

66. Frank Bolden, "No. 1 Problem in India is Food, Bolden Reveals", *Afro-American*, September 8, 1945.
67. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 22.
68. Vincent Tubbs, "Beef, Beans Most Despised Delicacy", *Afro-American*, February 26, 1944; Vincent Tubbs, "Tubbs Tells of Christmas on New Guinea", *Afro-American*, January 1, 1944. See also: Vincent Tubbs, "Americans Civilize Australian Natives", *Afro-American*, October 16, 1943.
69. Frank Bolden, "GI's in Iran Have Something on Ball", *Afro-American*, November 11, 1944.
70. Ollie Stewart, "Stewart Finds Arabs Short of Sugar, Soap", *Afro-American*, January 9, 1943.

writing on the rebuilding of the Burmese town of Myitkyina. "True to American tradition," he wrote, placing African Americans firmly within this sphere of 'American tradition,' "our forces are now building with the same fury they destroyed…civilization is returning to Myitkyina."[71]

This newfound transformative power and influence was also made visible to readers in surprising new power dynamics that were taking hold in the non-white world. Max Johnson was pleased to report that natives of North Africa found Americans, including African Americans, to be "very rich."[72] This wealth, which was to cause so many problems for American soldiers in Australia and the United Kingdom while endearing black soldiers to children in occupied Germany, generated a massive trade in souvenirs and trinkets for black soldiers eager to send a little piece of the exotic non-white world back home.[73] As representatives of the United States, black soldiers increasingly found themselves taking charge of native work gangs, supervising the unloading of trucks and ships, overseeing construction, and acting as foremen on large scale projects.[74] For Frank Bolden this was a pleasing state of affairs, being of the opinion that black soldiers made better overseers than white soldiers, who mistreated workers and took for granted their positions of power.[75] While readers at would have perhaps sympathized with Bolden's point of view, the fact that he was writing of gangs of "coolies" dutifully going about their work under the watchful eye of African American foremen was significant.[76] Readers would doubtless have been

71. Deton J. Brooks, "Negro GIs Rebuild Shelled Burma Town", *Chicago Defender*, November 11, 1944.
72. Max Johnson, "GIs Think Afro's John Jasper Sent Them Over", *Afro-American*, May 6, 1944.
73. Ollie Stewart, "Boys Rush to Buy Souvenirs in Africa", *Afro-American*, January 16, 1943. For information on U.S. soldiers' wealth and the issues it caused in the United Kingdom and Australia see: Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull*; John H. Moore, *Over-Sexed, Over-Paid, and Over Here: Americans in Australia 1941-1945* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981). For African American soldiers' wealth and its impact on relations with the German people during the occupation see: Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*; Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*.
74. Deton J. Brooks, "No Color Problem in India Red Cross Club", *Chicago Defender*, December 12, 1944.
75. Frank Bolden, "380th Port Battalion Still Setting Records in Iran", *Afro-American*, January 20, 1945.
76. Frank Bolden, "Transportation Units in Iran Cited by Commander", *Afro-American*, September 30, 1944.

cognizant of the creation of fresh hierarchies overseas that saw white and black Americans sharing the same tier of power and influence over non-white peoples. As one of the NNPA's syndicated reporters Bolden had a wide reach. His articles were reprinted in most major papers, as well as many newspapers — particularly Southern newspapers — that did not have the resources to employ their own dedicated correspondent. For many black Americans whose careers rested on catering for the needs of wealthy white travelers and tourists within the United States, Bolden's stories from Iran of being swamped by native "coolies" and porters eager for his custom would have been quite a display of the power that an American had in the non-white world.[77]

Of all the attitudes towards the non-white world, few were more clearly articulated than those of the *Courier*'s Edgar T. Rouzeau during his time in Africa in 1943. With a circulation that already exceeded 350,000 at the opening of the war, the *Courier* was the largest of the black newspapers.[78] Extreme in presentation, the underlying ideas that Rouzeau put forward were no different from those shared by many of his peers. Though happy to refer to his arrival in Africa as a return to "the ancient land of my ancestors," the articles he wrote in his eight months in Africa, most of which he spent in Liberia, saw Rouzeau distance African Americans from native Africans, elevating the former above the latter.[79]

For Rouzeau the symbolic importance of Liberia was immense, describing the small African republic as "despised, maligned through more than a century by Europe's statesmen who have discerned in her nominal existence a forthright menace to imperialistic

77. Frank Bolden, 'Our Troops in Gulf of Persia Master Native Language', *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 7, 1944.
78. Stevens, "From the Back of the Foxhole", 1.
79. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Roosevelt Reviews Famed 41st", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 6, 1943.

ambitions on this continent."[80] He held the nation up as the hope of non-white peoples the world over, an example of what black men could achieve. But, as he was careful to point out, it was to the United States that Liberia owed its present and future.[81] It was this link back to America that was key to how Rouzeau understood Liberia. "Colored people must think globally in terms of freedom and democracy for colored people everywhere," he wrote, drawing on the rhetoric of the Double-V, "colored Americans are merely asking for the complete integration into the American democratic structure, but even if their aspirations were to be granted tomorrow those gains would be subject to constant threats as long as colored people were exploited in other parts of the world."[82]

Despite his rhetoric of solidarity, the images of Liberia he painted for his readers were less than flattering. Rouzeau established as what he saw as the stark divide between "uncivilized" native Liberians, and those "civilized" Liberians descended from repatriated African Americans.[83] "Liberians are divided into two distinct civilizations," he wrote, "on one hand we have the civilized America-Liberians who have descended from the original ex-slaves who colonized this country in 1818, and on the other the aboriginal Africans who roamed this land before the colonists came over."[84] He described the natives of Liberia as "bare-footed, half-naked…none more than five feet tall, who gibbered at one another in tribal dialects."[85] He mixed bemusement with scorn when describing life outside the cities, villagers clothed only in the common "wrap-around", naked from the waist up.[86] This style

80. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Exclusive Story Reveals History Of Negro Republic", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 12, 1942.
81. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Liberia, Hope of Darker Races Across the World", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 13, 1943.
82. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'Hitler Is Only A Symbol Of World Exploitation' -- Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 23, 1942.
83. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "A War Correspondent's Diary", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 12, 1943.
84. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Kakata! – A Key to Liberia's Past!", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 26, 1942. Rouzeau further expanded upon his 'two civilizations' thesis in: Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Finds Liberian Culture Similar To America's", *Pittsburgh Courier*, 26 December, 1942.
85. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Taylor was 1st, Rouzeau Second", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 12, 1942.
86. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Kakata! – A Key to Liberia's Past!", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 26, 1942.

he used as evidence of the backwardness of the natives, still in what he deemed the "loin-cloth stage" of development.[87] Of their religion and cultural practices he was equally disparaging. He took aim at the natives' widespread illiteracy and the revelation that they "still practice fetishism and worship pagans." Worse still was the "evil" of polygamy, "widely practiced among the heathen tribes."[88]

Rouzeau's fascination with the "backward," "uncivilized natives" of Liberia, like that of his colleagues, hearkens back to language applied to Africa by African Americans as early as the mid-1800s, and to wider imperialist discourses.[89] His fixation on the 'native' Liberians' sexual practices was part of a long tradition within western writing that looked to sociosexual deviance to indicate savagery in non-white peoples.[90] His representations of Liberia also shared much with 'back-to-Africa' movement of the mid-nineteenth century. A movement that advocated the recolonization of Africa by African Americans, it was cast in the language of messianic Christian upliftment.[91] In the spring of 1878 Henry Turner, African American minister and politician, and staunch advocate of the 'back-to-Africa' movement, urged African Americans to "take back the culture, education and religion acquired here…until the blaze of Gospel truth should glitter over the whole continent."[92] Despite being separated by almost a century the similarities between the language used by Turner and Rouzeau were many. Rouzeau's "two civilizations" of Liberia echoes the distinction Turner made between the educating African Americans and the to-be-educated

87. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Liberia, Hope Of Dark Races Across The World", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 13, 1943.

88. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'Greed Depopulating Africa,' Eboue Charges", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 26, 1943; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Rouzeau Finds Polygamy Abounds In Liberia", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 22, 1943.

89. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Liberia, Hope Of Dark Races Across The World", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 13, 1943; "A War Correspondent's Diary", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 26, 1943.

90. Jennifer L. Morgan, "Male Travellers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770," in *Bodies in Contact*, 61.

91. Moses, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms*, 50.

92. In Campbell, *Middle Passages*, 110.

native Africans.[93] Turner's proud talk of "Gospel truth" rested on the same assumptions and standards as Rouzeau's criticism of the "fetishism" and religious practices of Liberian natives.

Rouzeau had nothing but praise for the transformative effect of the American presence in Liberia. From the spread of Christianity to the construction of modern infrastructure, the positive impact of American benevolence upon the African state was clear.[94] Channeling Marcus Garvey, who saw Africa as "the primary site where black manhood could be realized and asserted," Rouzeau catalogued not only the changes African American men were imparting on Liberia, but also their own growth because of it. [95] He wrote of the impressive Booker T. Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute, where "native youths of the Liberian hinterland, the majority of whom have mastered nothing but tribal dialects, are starting toward useful careers."[96] At times he moved dangerously close to advocating for the exploitation of Liberia's resources and native peoples by a new generation of business-savvy African American entrepreneurs and industrialists, in much the same way that white men of the Western world had found their fortunes in the exploitation of their African colonies.[97]

Though an ardent supporter of Liberia as a representation of the potential of black self-determination, Rouzeau's praise for the nation remained for the most part abstract and ideological. Though happy to point out that Liberia had been sustained as a beacon for

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93. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Liberia Tempered By A Two-Toned Civilization", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 20, 1943.

94. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "A War Correspondents' Diary", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 26, 1943; "Liberian School Grew From Mission", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 3, 1943; "Exclusive Story Reviews History Of Negro Republic", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 12, 1942; "Liberia Under Colored Rule For Nearly 100 Years", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 20, 1943.

95. Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents*, 81.

96. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "White Educator Sets Up Liberian 'Tuskegee'", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 6, 1943.

97. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Rouzeau Finds Liberia 'Black Man's Paradise'", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 12, 1942; "Liberia, Hope of Darker Races Across The World", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 13, 1943.

black peoples "by a succession of brilliant Negro statesmen, international jurists, and politicians," he also happily pointed out that this procession of brilliant man had been enabled by the American schools and educators who had formed the foundation of the nation's intellectual elite.[98] The contrast between the symbolic importance Liberia held to Rouzeau, and the disdain in which he held the reality of the nation was best summed up in an article in which he cast his gaze over the nation as a whole: "The first Negroes brought over by the American Colonization Society settled in 1822 on an island less than 200 yards from the mainland which we now know as Monrovia. It is now inhabited by one of Liberia's primitive tribes and is dotted with palm-thatched mud huts. It seems a pity that the government does not repossess this island and establish a museum."[99]

In contrast to the extremity of Rouzeau's position, but displaying the same attitudes taken by the correspondents, was the coverage of the liberation of the Philippines. Presaging the unique contact zones that were occupation spaces in the post-WWII world, the involvement of black soldiers in the American seizure and dominion over the Philippines had placed them into a strange cultural and racial penumbra. Ultimately though, for the black soldiers who took part in the invasion and occupation of the Philippines, "national identification was stronger than racial sympathy…the Filipino might be less foreign, but he was still not to be confused with an American of any race or color."[100] By World War II this distinction still existed. The images the correspondents painted of the Philippines and its "pleasant little brown people" still contained all the hallmarks of

98. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "U.S. Schools Paced Liberian Culture", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 26, 1942.

99. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Liberia, Hope of Darker Races Across The World", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 13, 1943.

100. Richard Welch, *Response to Imperialism: The United States and Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 112. See also: Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: NC, University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Scot Ngozi-Brown, "African-American Soldiers and Filipinos: Racial Imperialism, Jim Crow, and Social Relations", *The Journal of Negro History* 82, (1997), 42-53.

imperial paternal benevolence.[101] Depictions of "grinning Filipinos, wading behind mud-covered buffaloes" gave articles from the Philippines an air of rural bliss and contentedness under American rule, friendly and harmless.[102] Like other peoples of the Pacific, Filipinos "live in filth." However, and unlike other Pacific peoples, this was not a failing on their part. Francis Yancey was quick to point out that despite the squalor in which many Filipinos lived, their attempts at personal cleanliness would put any American to shame.[103]

The correspondents' position had slightly softened from that of African Americans of 1902. The forgiveness afforded the people of the Philippines for the sin of uncleanliness may have been linked to the semi-American status to which they were now afforded by the correspondents. Soldiers fresh from the barbarity of 'stone age' jungles entered the Philippines with relish. The citizens of Manila were "the first 'civilized' people they have encountered in three dreary jungle-filled years overseas."[104] The reasons were simple. "Here, for a change, were people who spoke a language they could understand, and who wore clothes!"[105] The elements of American culture that the Philippines had absorbed through almost half a decade of U.S. dominion had granted its people a comparative level of civilization to the rest of the Pacific. The "Kiss of Democracy" had been planted upon the Philippines by the United States, and although Charles Loeb did compare Filipino insurrections to slave revolts in the history of African Americans, he also praised the steps taken for the provision of Filipino independence, comparing them to "the series of measures

101. Charles Loeb, "Manila Returns to Normal, Blots Out All Racial Lines", *Afro-American*, April 21, 1945.
102. Francis Yancey, "Yancey Sees Tan Yanks Help Liberate Philippines", *Afro-American*, February 3, 1945.
103. Francis Yancey, "The Week", *Afro-American*, February 24, 1945.
104. Charles Loeb, "Pacific Troops See First 'Civilized' People in Luzon; Find Women Pretty – But Wise", *Journal and Guide*, February 24, 1945.
105. Charles Loeb, "Filipinos Receive 'Beeg Tan Hued' GI's Joyfully", *Philadelphia Tribune*, February 17, 1945.

given birth by President Roosevelt in an effort to give colored Americans a fuller share of democracy."[106]

The softening of the language regarding the Philippines did not preclude usage of the same language of uplift and dominance that the correspondents applied across the non-white world. African American soldiers took part in the "liberation" of the Philippines and were venerated by the locals for the role they played.[107] Wealthy black soldiers brought their purchasing power to bear, stimulating local economies and spending freely.[108] Black soldiers worked with white soldiers and civilian authorities to restore "order" to the streets of Manila. Not just a restoration of the rule of law, "order" in this case also referred to the repair and implantation of modern amenities, running water, and sanitation.[109] The hand of African American beneficence was being extended to the Philippines, and was met with gratitude and enthusiasm.

Friendship

Amongst the condescension and mockery there was the occasional article that did give readers the sense of racial camaraderie that the correspondents' internationalism promised. Charles Loeb happily noted that Filipinos were "indifferent to racial segregation and its significances," and were happy to spend time with black soldiers, and even invite them to their homes.[110] Despite his own overwhelming condemnation of Iran, Frank Bolden

106. Charles Loeb, "Liberation of Manila Seen as Precedent for America", *Afro-American*, March 31, 1945.
107. Francis Yancey, "Yancey with GI's Entering Manila", *Afro-American*, February 10, 1945; Charles Loeb, "Filipinos Welcome Tan-Hued Yanks; Glad Free of Japs", *Call and Post*, February 24, 1945.
108. Charles Loeb, "Manila Returns to Normal, Blots Out All Racial Lines", *Afro-American*, April 21, 1945.
109. Charles Loeb, "Manila Slowly Regains Feet After Battle K.O.", *Journal and Guide*, April 14, 1945.
110. Charles Loeb, "Blind to Racial Differences Luzon Filipinos Fete GI's", *Afro-American*, February 24, 1945.

noted with pride that native Iranians preferred working with black soldiers, who treated them better and with more respect than white Americans.[111] He later declared the shuttling of supplies through Iran "a truly United Nations affair" for its employment of black, white, Russian, and native drivers.[112]

Bolden was one of the main sources for stories on friendship with non-white peoples. Most articles on non-white friendship were related his brief entry into China with black drivers along the Ledo Road. As 1944 drew to a close, and the road neared completion, rumors began to circulate that Chinese authorities had asked the United States military command to bar the entry of African Americans into China. Bolden, as well as editors and reporters back home, took up the call, spreading awareness and haranguing the military and government to not bow to the wishes of ungrateful allies. The decision was made that black soldiers, many of whom had directly contributed to the construction of the monumental road, would be allowed to make up part of the first convoy along the road and into China. Riding with that first convoy, Bolden noted the trepidation of black drivers, who feared that the rumors suggested an underlying Chinese racism. Upon their arrival however, black soldiers found themselves warmly welcomed by both Chinese military personnel and civilians.[113] Over the next few weeks Bolden penned several articles on the "courtesy and hospitality" of Chinese who encountered black soldiers, including one with photographs taken by Bolden himself of Chinese and African American troops smiling and talking together, and in one case, embracing.[114] The potential of an ulterior motive behind

111. Frank Bolden, "Negro, Russian, and White Troops Work Side by Side", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 21, 1944.

112. Frank Bolden, "Negro Correspondent Visits Camp Stalingrad", *Call and Post*, November 4, 1944.

113. Frank Bolden, "Deny Move on to Keep Tan GIs Out of China", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 17, 1945.

114. Frank Bolden, "Tan Drivers Lead Convoy to China Over Ledo Road", *Afro-American*, February 20, 1945; Frank Bolden, "Call our Troops 'Indians'", *Atlanta Daily World*, March 14, 1945; Frank Bolden, "Tan GIs in Convoys to China Increase", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 2, 1945; Frank Bolden, "Tan GIs in Convoys to China Increase", *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 2, 1945.

these stories of friendship is a strong one. By providing evidence of good relations between black soldiers and Chinese Bolden could show the folly of such policies, which were often based on assumptions of racial friction. Regardless of intention, those opening their newspapers in 1945 found themselves reassures of the good relations between African Americans and their Chinese allies.

Echoing the precedent set by correspondents writing from white nations, articles on the friendly interaction between black soldiers and non-white peoples often took place under the uniting influence of jazz. In three separate reports from the India-Burma theater, Deton Brooks gave to his readers stories of racial integration and frivolity, interactions lubricated by the "jumping jive" of bands made up of GIs and local musicians. From a benefit for wounded soldiers in Bombay, where "an Alabama girl danced with one soldier, while a Parsi Indian girl danced with another," to a Red Cross club along the Ledo Road where British and Indian soldiers were admitted as guests of their African American hosts to see the performances of an integrated GI band, music facilitated interaction and friendship between black Americans and their 'colored' hosts.[115]

Despite these friendships, a return home remained the "cherished privilege" of black soldiers stationed in non-white locales.[116] Aside from the obvious pull exerted by friends, families, and familiarity back in the United States, black soldiers, in the accounts by correspondents, were coming to think that the U.S. was simply a better place to live. Frank Bolden's articles from Iran were explicitly comparative, a realization of the comfort and

115. Deton J. Brooks, "Burma Missionary Sets up Red Cross Club for Negroes at India Base", *Chicago Defender*, October 14, 1944; "No Color Problem in India Red Cross Club", *Chicago Defender*, December 2, 1944; "Calcutta Social Whirl Happy Escape from Burma Jungle for Colored GIs", *Chicago Defender*, January 27, 1945.

116. Enoc Waters, "Pacific Theater Vets Slated for Furloughs", *Chicago Defender*, February 5, 1944.

wealth one could find in the United States.[117] In the Middle East, Edgar Rouzeau sought soldiers' opinions on how they were enjoying their time as tourists and guests. "Being here has made me appreciate Georgia," replied one sergeant, "in America, we are at least a thousand years ahead of most of the people we have met on our travels."[118] Though all agreed that though there was still much to be done, nowhere offered black Americans "as many opportunities and advantages" as America itself. At home, readers were reaching the same conclusion. In late 1944 Frank Bolden received a letter from one of his friends back home. "It was certainly interesting to hear about the conditions there," he wrote, "and I guess we all will have to agree that America is the best place to live after all, especially in view of the backward conditions in other countries."[119]

Japan

Japan was far down the list of nations that African Americans would have chosen to go to war with. Black civilians and soldiers were conflicted, called upon to take part in a war that was overtly racialized, against a nation that before the war had been championed by African Americans as the exemplar of what non-white peoples could achieve.[120] The last two decades have seen several works published that track the intellectual, political, and ideological solidarities between African Americans and Japan through the 1920s, 1930s,

117. Frank Bolden, 'Our Troops in Gulf of Persia Master Language of Natives, *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 7, 1944; Frank Bolden, 'Iranians Eat no Pork; Prefer Bread to Money', *Afro-American*, January 20, 1945.

118. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "Rouzeau Finds 'Peggler's Hero'", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 10, 1942. See also: Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'American Soldiers in Egypt Enjoying Experience' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 24, 1942.

119. Letter to Frank Bolden from 'Ches', August 30, 1944, *Frank E. Bolden Papers, 1930-1967*, Box 2, Folder 37.

120. John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 173-178; Gerald Horne, "Tokyo Bound: African Americans and Japan Confront White Supremacy," in *Transnational Blackness*, 191.

and 1940s. From the Nation of Islam's reverence for Japan to the links made between Japanese progress and African American potential by figures as influential as Du Bois, Garvey, and Booker T. Washington, to the anticolonialism of Richard Wright, African American political leaders, intellectuals, writers and artists, all made connections with, and to, Japan. As Japanese aggression began to make news across the world, African American leaders distanced themselves from the expanding Empire to varying degrees, some more slowly and with more reluctance than others.[121] Though some black newspapers were criticizing Japanese imperialism, others, such as the *Afro-American*, were asking readers if Japan was not merely acting out its own Monroe Doctrine, a question posed to readers by the *Afro*'s editorial the day before the attack on Pearl Harbor.[122]

Japan's early successes were met with a degree of repressed celebration from African Americans.[123] As well as striking blows against white imperialism, Japanese victories at Pearl Harbor and Singapore illustrated the vulnerabilities and falsehoods of white racial arrogance. Domestically, black editors and newspapermen blamed American racism for these initial defeats, making the point that the longer America and its allies underestimated Japan the longer the war would go on.[124] To a small extent this sentiment was echoed by the correspondents. Edgar Rouzeau advocated this view in one of his pre-

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121. See: Bridges and Cornyetz, *Traveling Texts and the Work of Afro-Japanese Cultural Production*; Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan & China*; Horne, "Tokyo Bound", 191-204; Elizabeth Mazucci, "Going Back to Our Own: Interpreting Malcolm X's Transition from 'Black Asiatic' to 'Afro-American,"' in *Transnational Blackness*, 245-264; Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism*; George Lipsitz, "'Frantic to Join...The Japanese Army': The Asia Pacific War in the Lives of African American Soldiers and Civilians," in *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*, ed. Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd (London: Duke University Press, 1997); Vijay Prashad, *Everybody was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001); Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative*.

122. "In Fighting Japan Our Own Hands are Not Clean", *Afro-American*, December 6, 1941. The *New York Amsterdam News* seemed to share a similar viewpoint in its editorial of July 20, 1940. For criticisms of Japan, see for example the *Chicago Defender* editorial of October 19, 1940, the *Atlanta Daily World* editorial of July 15, 1940, and the *Pittsburgh Courier* editorial of April 20, 1940.

123. Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 37; Horne, "Tokyo Bound", 199; Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 70.

124. Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan & China*, 117. See also the *New York Amsterdam News* Editorial of December 13, 1941 and the *Pittsburgh Courier* editorial of December 20, 1941.

deployment opinion articles, and Frank Bolden wrote of the Japanese soldier as "formidable and resourceful…he has proved himself to be cunning, ruthless, skillful, and well trained."[125] However in most cases the correspondents did not toe the same line.

The contrast between depictions of the occupation of Japan and the occupation of Germany was stark. Revealing the distance between black intellectual elites and those on the ground, correspondents' attitudes towards Japanese people and culture continued, and even extended, the criticism directed at other non-white peoples. Bearing much more in common with attitudes expressed in white newspapers, the correspondents echoed much of the language of the Pacific "race war" as it was articulated by white America.[126]

Quickly the "yellow men of Japan" were dehumanized by the correspondents.[127] Unlike the Germans, whose faults lay in their ideals, but were otherwise to be respected, the strength of "fanatical Japs" lay in less wholesome traits.[128] When Deton Brooks wrote of "sallow Japs" and "haughty Germans," the contrast between the racialized Asian and unracialized European enemy was clear.[129] "Stolid, almost expressionless", Japanese "hordes" had rampaged over Asia, "short-statured" and "malicious."[130] The term "nips" was often used to refer to the Japanese.[131] Though not the most aggressive or offensive of

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125. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'War is Leveling Process' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 18, 1942; Frank Bolden, "Ledo Road Diary", *Journal and Guide*, April 14, 1945.

126. See Dower, *War Without Mercy*.

127. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'War is Leveling Process' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 18, 1942.

128. Deton Brooks, "Burma Ack-Ack Units Fight Off Jap Zeroes with Crack Marksmanship", *Chicago Defender*, January 6, 1945.

129. Deton Brooks, "Pilots Beg to Stay in Air, Set for Crack at Fascists", *Chicago Defender*, September 11, 1943.

130. See: Deton Brooks, "Scribe Hears Catholic Nun's Tale of Horrors", *Chicago Defender*, May 26, 1945; Charles Loeb, "Victim of Japs Has Given Life to Army", *Afro-American*, May 12, 1945; Charles Loeb, "ETO Veterans Attached to 8 Companies Supply Occupational Troops in Japan", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945; Fletcher Martin, "'Black Robin Hood of Samar' Wins Fame in Philippine Guerrilla War", *Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1945.

131. See for example: Deton Brooks, "Tan GI's Take Jap-Held Town", *Chicago Defender*, April 28, 1945; 'Scoop' Jones, "Sergeant Katue More Colorful than Poncho", *Atlanta Daily World*, June 4, 1943; 'Scoop' Jones, "Troops Wage New Guinea Supply War on Japanese", *Atlanta Daily World*, August 2, 1943; Fletcher Martin, "24th Inf. Takes Jap's Stronghold", *Chicago Defender*, May 6, 1944; Francis Yancey, "Yancey Sees Tan Yanks Help Liberate Philippines", *Afro-American*, February 3, 1945.

racial epithets, its usage by a group of men who knew the power of language to marginalize, particularly those who had grown up in southern states, was notable.

Japanese soldiers were feminized, their manhood and manly honor called into question. Fletcher Martin recounted to readers of the *Defender* the "woman-like, unearthly yells" of Japanese soldiers when attacking U.S. installations in Bougainville.[132] Interviewing soldiers who had recently been transferred to the Pacific after a tour of duty in Italy, John Jordan found that although black soldiers considered Germans tougher fighters, they nevertheless preferred service in Europe. "The Japs are dirty fighters," one told Jordan, being "more of the sticking a man in the back type."[133] This was later echoed by Charles Loeb, whose coverage of the Allied landings on Okinawa was made all the more dangerous by 'dead' Japanese soldiers, who would "rise to shoot you in the back."[134]

As well as the racial dimension of the correspondents' attacks on Japan and its people, Japanese culture also came under fire. Again making the somewhat contradictory association between Japanese inferiority and fighting prowess, it was the opinion of Charles Loeb and Deton Brooks that Japanese soldiers' fervent belief in an afterlife made them so fearless. This laughable "Nipponese heaven," that "so many of these foolish little people seem to crave," inspired Japanese soldiers, sailors, and airmen, to "fanatical" and "suicidal" action, only increasing the danger they posed.[135] If not criticizing their fervent devotion to

132. Fletcher Martin, "One Move Means Death in Bougainville Foxhole", *Chicago Defender*, May 13, 1944.

133. John Q. Jordan, "Fought Japs and Germans, Find Nips 'Dirty Fighters'", *Journal and Guide*, February 3, 1945.

134. Charles Loeb, "Loeb Witnesses Burial of Slain Tenth Army General", *Atlanta Daily World*, June 22, 1945.

135. Charles Loeb, "Atlanta Marine is 'Chief of Staff'", *Atlanta Daily World*, July 5, 1945; Deton Brooks, "Brooks Sees British Tommies in Action Against Japs in Jungle", *Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1945.

the cause, correspondents were mocking the English skills of captured Japanese soldiers, correspondents often using the phrase "so solly" to ridicule Japanese prisoners.[136]

The language that the correspondents adopted in their approach to Japan was not merely a result of Japan's position as enemy, as attacks on Japanese culture and peoples continued into the post-war occupation. Although Deton Brooks told readers that none of the soldiers who were on their way to Japan to begin occupation duties held any ill-will toward the Japanese, the articles that came out of the occupation where almost unanimously negative, and in many cases contained a level of contempt and vindictiveness beyond what readers had already experienced.[137] The main sources of information from occupied Japan were the NNPA's Charles Loeb and the *Afro*'s Vincent Tubbs.[138] Loeb, a Louisianan whose occupation articles appeared in most major black papers, entered Japan with the desire to act as an "unbiased" observer.[139] The task ahead of him was significant, "psychologically Japan is one of the most secluded countries in the world to-day." Clearly Loeb had already decided upon the exoticism and alieness of the people and culture. Conversely, Tubbs' first article from Japan, entitled 'Japanese Hate Us,' was a scornful diatribe against a people who Tubbs felt had betrayed the non-white cause.[140] Although arriving with different intentions, the content and the tone of the men's articles matched. They mocked Japanese entertainment and musical culture, Japanese dress sense, and the Japanese political process.[141] Free to roam the conquered land, they were impressed by the resemblance

136. For a good example of this see: Fletcher Martin, "Lt. Jack Shearin Throws Fear into Jap Soldiers", *Chicago Defender*, July 22, 1945.

137. Deton Brooks, "Negro GI's Poised to Invade Tokyo", *Chicago Defender*, September 1, 1945.

138. I have already written in detail on Vincent Tubbs and his less than complementary attitudes towards the Japanese during his coverage of the occupation: Longley, "Vincent Tubbs and the Baltimore Afro-American".

139. Charles Loeb, "Find Difficulty in Attempt to Probe 'Conquered' Japanese Mind", *Atlanta Daily World*, October 21, 1945.

140. Vincent Tubbs, "Japanese Hate Us," *Afro-American*, September 22, 1945.

141. Charles Loeb, "A Day at the Opera – In Japan", *Journal and Guide*, November 10, 1945; Charles Loeb, "Queerish People", *Call and Post*, October 27, 1945; Vincent Tubbs, "Jap's 89th Imperial Diet Called 'Comedy of Errors'", *Afro-American*, January 12, 1946.

Japanese urban centers bore to northern cities back home, but appalled at primitiveness of the countryside. This "medieval setting" of Japanese rural life made a profound impact on Loeb. Almost thirty years later he would recount to interviewers that travel beyond the confines of Japanese cities, "and you were back 3,000 years."[142] It was not only the countryside that evoked the same primitiveness that Loeb and his colleagues had criticized throughout the non-white world, but also "the squalor of the rural inhabitants" that made rural Japan so repellent.[143] One had to be particularly careful around Japanese on account of their poor hygiene, the correspondents warned readers, almost all could do with a bath, and close proximity to any but the most refined Japanese citizen was running the risk of picking up any number of parasites or infections.[144]

But it was the faults within the Japanese psyche that most drew the correspondents' attention, and were used to explain the inevitability of Japanese defeat. Vincent Tubbs emphasized what he saw as the cowardice and anxieties within the Japanese mind. He suggested that the reason that Japanese cars, buildings, and furniture were small was to make an insecure people feel larger by comparison, and told readers that he only felt unsafe in Japan when asleep, fearing a "Fu Manchu" murder at the hands of natives too cowardly to attempt anything while he was awake.[145] Charles Loeb mocked the Japanese people for accepting their defeat "in characteristic Oriental resignation," noting that the Japanese would give even the best Uncle Tom a run for his money with the amount of "bowing and

142. Charles Loeb, "NNPA Writer Describes Life in Japan", *Afro-American*, October 27, 1945; Charles Loeb, "Yokosuka and Yokohama Become More than Names as Loeb Travels in Japan", *Call and Post*, October 20, 1945; Oral History Interview with Charles Loeb (1971), *Black Journalists Project*.

143. Charles Loeb, "Yokosuka and Yokohama Become More than Names as Loeb Travels in Japan", *Call and Post*, October 20, 1945.

144. Charles Loeb, "NNPA Writer Describes Life in Japan", *Afro-American*, October 27, 1945; Vincent Tubbs, "Many Jap, African Customs Alike", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945.

145. Vincent Tubbs, "Fascists are Queer", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945; Vincent Tubbs, "Tubbs Details 'Exciting' Life of a Correspondent", *Afro-American*, November 17, 1945.

scraping" that took place.[146] Comparing Japanese culture to an ant colony, he declared: "Japanese Joe is no individualist. He is first the subject of the Emperor, then the son of his father, then, and only last, himself…How we ever expect to make a 'democrat' out of him is beyond comprehension."[147] The legacy of Japan's feudal past was seen by many in the west as the largest hurdle to the occupation's goal of the implementation of democracy, and the correspondents were no different.[148] The Japanese were a culture of "yes-men," wrote Tubbs, the idea of freedom of speech at odds with their nature.[149] The Japanese was "the world's best mimic," Deton Brooks informed readers of the *Defender*, "he has imitated the worst in western imperialism."[150] Loeb shared Tubbs' and Brooks' amusement at Japan's ultimately futile attempts to emulate western powers, looking down upon a people who had at one time been seen as the future of the non-white world. Japan was now to be mocked for attempting to rise above its station. Surveying the ruins of Hiroshima, the power of the west made manifest in destruction, he offered his brief explanation for the defeat of "these little people who weren't quite Westernized enough to tackle the greatest free nation on the globe."[151]

The correspondents reveled in their roles as shapers of the Japanese future, placing black Americans firmly within this new American military empire.[152] Aware of what Tubbs at one time referred to as the Japanese "hierarchical basis of whiteness," Deton Brooks

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146. Charles Loeb, "Correspondent Finds Japanese Glad War Over", *Atlanta Daily World*, September 2, 1945; Charles Loeb, "Japs go Uncle Tom One Better in Kow-Towing", *Journal and Guide*, October 27, 1945.

147. Charles Loeb, "Find Difficulty in Attempt to Probe 'Conquered' Japanese Mind", *Atlanta Daily World*, October 21, 1945.

148. Mire Koikari, "Gender, Power, and U.S. Imperialism: The Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952," in *Bodies in Contact*, 346.

149. Vincent Tubbs, "Japs Given Freedom of Speech but Remain Silent", *Afro-American*, December 8, 1945.

150. Deton Brooks, "Scribe Helps Bomb Japs in Propaganda Mission", *Chicago Defender*, January 6, 1945. Vincent Tubbs also wrote of the Japanese as "master copyists." Vincent Tubbs, "Find Jap Models of American Jeep", *Afro-American*, December 15, 1945.

151. Charles Loeb, "Loeb Reflects on Atomic Bombed Area", *Atlanta Daily World*, October 5, 1945.

152. For a wider discussion of African American investment in these roles, see: Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*.

predicted the irony that was to come with the arrival of black members of the occupying army.[153] "The sudden impact of thousands of well-trained, well-fed and well-clothed dark-tinted GIs will call for revaluation of their notion of him. Coming as he does, representing the conquerors and not as an underdog puts an added twist of interest to the situation."[154] Histories of interactions between black occupation soldiers and Japanese locals have noted the eagerness with which black GIs adopted "the victorious American attitude," conducting themselves within the context of their enhanced status as members of U.S. occupation forces.[155] This eagerness was shared by the correspondents, who over the course of few months produced several articles describing the new powers held over Japanese civilians. A new hierarchy was established, with black soldiers in the role of overseers, supervising, educating, and "strawbossing" Japanese workers.[156] Loeb also noticed that it wasn't long before Japanese workers began to adopt phrases used by their black bosses, "exchanging Japanese words and phrases for a collection of pure Harlemese."[157] It was not just a position of military and political power that African American soldiers found themselves in, the correspondents also keen to point out instances of cultural and economic power. From buying Japanese kimonos and 'zooting' them, to starting a jazz craze in Japanese nightclubs, to relegating Japanese locals to the 'Japanese only' carriages on trains when on sightseeing trips, black soldiers were appropriating, influencing, and guiding Japanese day-to-day life.[158] Just as the domestic black press criticized Japanese when they attempted to

153. Vincent Tubbs, "Racial Prejudice Increases in Japan", *Afro-American*, December 8, 1945.
154. Deton Brooks, "Negro GI's Poised to Invade Tokyo", *Chicago Defender*, September 1, 1945.
155. Okada, "Race, Masculinity, and Military Occupation", 187; Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 54.
156. Charles Loeb, "Jap Friendliness to GIs Increase", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945; Charles Loeb, "Jap Soldiers Replacing Tan Yanks as Laborers", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945; Vincent Tubbs, "Sign Language Used by GI's to Boss Jap Stevedores on Yokohama Docks", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945; Vincent Tubbs, "3-Year-Old 78th Signal Battalion Rated 1 of Army's Top Communications Units", *Afro-American*, December 15, 1945.
157. Charles Loeb, "Jap Friendliness to GIs Increase", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945.
158. Vincent Tubbs, "Reveal 14,866 Tan GI's in Tokyo", *Afro-American*, December 15, 1945; Vincent Tubbs, "Former Dancer with Hampton Credited for 'Jit' Craze in Japan", *Afro-American*, January 19, 1946; Charles Loeb, "Jap Friendliness to GIs Increase", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945.

transgress upon these new boundaries, the correspondents spoke with pride of moments when black soldiers reminded locals — sometimes violently — of the mistake of "feeling that they are equal with the conquerors."[159]

In his work *Proudly We Can Be Africans*, James Meriwether notes that for most African Americans of the nineteenth century, 'civilization' as a concept was one and the same as western civilization, one directly equating to the other.[160] Many of those same ideas were carried on by the correspondents into at least the middle of the twentieth century. The articles represented the darker side to the correspondents' internationalism. Uplift was to follow the 'correct' routes established by western societies, and importantly routes that African Americans had already walked. Throughout their travels in the non-white world, the correspondents repeatedly emphasized the differences between themselves and the native populations they encountered. Running contrary to a historiography that posits a mid-century growth of diasporic identity and that moved away from the condescension of earlier African American attitudes towards the non-white world, the language the correspondents adopted in their articles bore the hallmarks of the language of imperialism.

The correspondents either did not feel, or completely omitted, any sense of a diasporic identity. Both the 'Black Atlantic' and the 'Black Pacific' were ideas more reserved for the intellectual and political elite than those on the ground. NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White's famous statement that "World War II has given the Negro a sense of kinship with other colored — and oppressed — peoples of the world" is not borne out by

159. Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 34; Vincent Tubbs, "Japanese Hate Us", *Afro-American*, September 22, 1945; Vincent Tubbs, "3-Year-Old 78th Signal Battalion Rated 1 of Army's Top Communication Units", *Afro-American*, December 15, 1945.

160. Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans*, 15.

the correspondents.[161] Though the war was highlighting to the correspondents the fallacy of white superiority, it was showing that western superiority was still the lens through which to perceive the world. Their treatment of the non-white world allowed the correspondents to dissociate African Americans from the backward and primitive, and instead induct them into the progressive, modern, and powerful western world. As they had done in Britain, Australia, France, and Germany, albeit through very different means, the correspondents were proving the 'Americanness' of the black Americans they covered.

161. Walter White, *A Rising Wind* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1945), 144.

Chapter 7
The American Century: Celebration, Silence, and Contestation

As Europe began its slow recovery from the ravages of war, and its refugees and displaced peoples returned to their homes, Ollie Stewart resentfully passed another Christmas away from his own home and family. By the beginning of 1946 most correspondents had returned to their homes, only Stewart and Dunbar remaining in continental Europe.[1] "I realize that many of you wonder why my boss keeps me over here long after the war is over," Stewart confessed to his readers, "I don't know the reason any more than you do." Despite his concerns that he had been reduced to writing "reams of trash" in the hope of unearthing a small "jewel of information," his post-war articles prove just as interesting as those that preceded them.[2] As the reconstruction of Europe commenced, the true scope of the damage done to the powers of the Old World dawned on Stewart. Towns and cities had been levelled, infrastructure was crippled, and basic necessities were largely unavailable. But Stewart also noticed the smaller things. He noticed the stares of passers-by when on the streets of major European cities, stares that were due partly to the colour of his skin, but more so for the fact that he was the only man within miles to be wearing dress shoes made of real leather.[3]

1. Ollie Stewart, "Stewart Holds Unique Position Abroad as Only Colored American in Mufti", *Afro-American*, February 9, 1946.
2. Ollie Stewart, "GI Jitterbugs Revert to Type in Europe", *Afro-American*, January 12, 1946.
3. Ollie Stewart, "Stewart Holds Unique Position Abroad as Only Colored American in Mufti", *Afro-American*, February 9, 1946.

It was a conspicuous display of wealth and property in a time of significant want for Europeans. Stewart's position was shared by the black occupation soldiers he reported on, each among them having "more money than he knows what to do with."[4] In the five years since Roosevelt's State of the Union address it seemed that the war had made the 'Freedom from Want' a far more pressing concern for Europeans than for Stewart and his black countrymen. The contrast had become such that markers of wealth and plenty set Stewart apart from those around him not only as an individual, but on a national level. Writing on the increase of white French antipathy to people of African descent in the early post-war years, Stewart noted that when going out in public without his markers of Americanness — his uniform, cigarettes, and chocolate bars — he too became the subject of native ire. Without those physical links to the bounty of his homeland he was reduced to "just another black man."[5] As time passed jealous eyes turned towards an America physically untouched by a war that had dramatically reduced the living standard of millions of Europeans. Stewart became cognizant of the fact that post-war Europeans had come to admire and envy "American wealth, food and material comforts."[6] This envy was aimed at America's black soldiers as well as its white. Stewart and his countrymen now represented the material power that Europe had lost.

Extolling the virtues of the United States as economic and cultural power, *Life* publisher Henry Luce's 1941 article, entitled 'The American Century,' urged Americans to "accept wholeheartedly our duty and our opportunity as the most powerful and vital nation in the world and in consequence to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence."[7] The article, whose title is now synonymous with the period of the middle to latter half of

4. Ollie Stewart, "GI Jitterbugs Revert to Type in Europe", *Afro-American*, January 12, 1946.
5. Ollie Stewart, "War Need Is Over, French Reveal Basic Prejudices", *Afro-American*, April 6, 1946.
6. Ollie Stewart, "Americans Hated by Ungrateful Europeans Year After Liberation, Stewart Discloses", *Afro-American*, May 18, 1946.
7. Henry R. Luce, "The American Century," *Life*, February 17, 1941, 63.

the twentieth century, came hot on the heels of Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' speech of January that same year. Both Roosevelt and Luce advocated an end to America's isolationist foreign policy, and, to varying degrees, the spread of American values and influence across the world. For Luce the spread had already commenced, driven organically by the power of American ideas and industry. "There is already an immense American internationalism," he wrote, "American jazz, Hollywood movies, American slang, American machines and patented products," recognized as belonging to a great American whole by "every community in the world, from Zanzibar to Hamburg."[8]

The correspondents' adoption of the language of the American mission of civilization had already shown significant alignment to this internationalist, quasi-imperialist vision of the spread of American influence. But Stewart's articles from post-war Europe further attested to the accuracy of Luce's words. Foreigners recognized the 'Americanness' of black soldiers and of Stewart himself through their connection to the abundance and consumer power that characterized the United States of the mid-twentieth century.[9] Stewart was not alone. Other correspondents recognized that American industrial and economic might shaped their sense of normalcy. David Orro mocked the size of London's buildings when compared to American skyscrapers and referred to England as "the land where quality reaches its zenith in antiquity."[10] Vincent Tubbs made quips about the unique Australian ability to keep a car made in 1927 running, so common were antiquated cars to the country's streets.[11] Max Johnson noted that the U.S. would do well to send its French allies some "modern locomotives" to replace their old, slow, and

8. Luce, "The American Century,", 65.

9. For a discussion of the importance of abundance and consumerism to foreign perceptions of 'Americanness' see Emily S. Rosenberg, "Consuming the American Century," in *The Short American Century: A Postmortem*, ed. Andrew J. Bacevich (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 38-58.

10. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, November 6, 1943; David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, April 24, 1943.

11. Vincent Tubbs, "Aussies' Autos Are Glamourless Sight", *Afro-American*, August 14, 1943.

underpowered trains.[12] Each in his own way displayed pride in his nation, a pride derived from America's technological sophistication and new position as world leader.

The war also marked the period where U.S. popular culture consolidated its position as the western world's dominant cultural form. European cultural production, hamstrung by the damages inflicted by the war, could not compete with the increased output of a wartime U.S. economy backed by a government that saw mass culture as the perfect vehicle for the dissemination of pro-U.S. propaganda.[13] American soldiers entered Europe and Australia to find their hosts' expectations shaped by a familiarity with American film and music. The correspondents were quick to take advantage of this knowledge. Writing on the ways in which the peoples of white nations accepted American culture, and in particular American music, the correspondents constructed a narrative that further entrenched African Americans not only into American culture, but into western culture as a whole. If this were to be the 'American Century', the correspondents were determined to show that African Americans were as much a part of Luce's "powerful and vital nation" as their white countrymen.

Serving as one of the many avenues through which they explored the link between race and nationality, the correspondents' writings on the spread of American power also performed a second purpose. Assessing the growth of the United States into super-power in the early twentieth century, historian Nikhil Pal Singh notes that as the power and influence of the still young nation spread, its black population became increasingly "skeptical of the kind of internationalism that the 'American Century' might bring, more importantly…which version of Americanism would be internationalized."[14] The

12. Max Johnson, "Rides 3 Days on French Freight; Goes 307 Miles", *Afro-American*, October 7, 1944.
13. Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture Since World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 33.
14. Nikhil Pal Singh, "The Problem of Color and Democracy", in *The Short American Century: A Postmortem*, ed. Andrew J. Bacevich (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 66.

correspondents were more than happy to point to themselves and the black troops they were covering as representatives of American industrial, cultural, and economic might. The spread of American racial attitudes that accompanied it was much harder to reconcile.

The correspondents amplified, suppressed, and challenged elements of the spread of American power overseas to ensure that the message the sent home was a positive one, and to do what they could from their admittedly weak position to shape the America that was so influencing the globe. Representing African Americans as inextricably entwined with modern American cultural and economic power, the correspondents' engagement with the African-American place in American modernity is most visible through their writings on jazz, Hollywood, and segregation.

Working from the same logic they had applied to their promotion of a modern black masculinity through their coverage of soldiers as fighting and working men, the correspondents' coverage of jazz and its popularity in Europe cemented African Americans as key to the expanding influence of modern American culture. Emphasizing the importance of African Americans to jazz and its derivatives, the correspondents repeatedly affirmed the popularity of jazz to people of allied nations, both as a pastime, as a symbol of youth and anti-Nazi rebellion, and as a testament to the cultural legacy, creativity, and ingenuity of African Americans.

Conversely, the correspondents met the overseas popularity of Hollywood films and their less than flattering portrayals of non-white peoples with conspicuous silence. Unable to rationalize or spin the popularity of American films that were still using African Americans in roles that entrenched the inequality they faced domestically, the correspondents instead remained silent on their presence overseas, only occasionally

referencing the embarrassment they felt that such content was so readily exported from their homeland.

Finally, the correspondents used their narrative of white acceptance to contest the United States' exportation of segregation. Continuing and expanding what was one of the key aims of the civil rights struggle of the twentieth century, the correspondents utilized their stories of the welcome afforded them by the citizens of white nations to challenge segregation. Showing not only that there could exist easy cooperation between white and black peoples, the correspondents reported on the harm done by American attempts to enforce segregation in foreign nations, hindering the war effort as well as negatively influencing America's relationship with its allies.

Jazz

To this day memories of World War II conjure images of swinging bands and jitterbugging couples as much as they do of Spitfires or the raising of the flag on Iwo Jima. The music of household names such as Glenn Miller and the Andrews Sisters provide the soundtrack to the conflict, and famous images of the bandleader or the female trio in their U.S. uniforms only reinforce the link between the American war effort and the popularity of American forms of music. Jazz and swing were already popular in Europe. First taking hold in France, which "fell in love" with the American art form, jazz had spread across the continent through 1920s and 1930s.[15] Europe became one of the few destinations outside of the United States to which the jazz musicians of the inter-war period would tour, their

15. Stovall, *Paris Noir*, 20.

demand for artists such as Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington insatiable.[16] Even in far-flung Australia, jazz and other forms of American music, such as country and western, had taken hold of the public's imagination.[17] As the war in Europe developed, jazz and similar American music, banned by the Nazis, became symbols of resistance and democracy.[18] Even in America, where performance and consumption of the music was not an act of resistance, jazz and the dances related to it became associated with the egalitarianism and democracy of American propaganda.[19] Collective listening was a key part of an American soldier's life on deployment. One in six of America's fighting men owned a radio, often the only defense against the boredom of military life.[20]

In her history of the place of radio in the wartime civil rights struggle, Barbara Savage locates the radio campaigns initiated by black activists, newspapers, and the Office of War Information (OWI) as fitting firmly within the "politics of inclusion" that dominated domestic civil rights discourse from the beginning of the decade.[21] Unlike the activism of previous decades, which had predicated African American freedom on a departure from America's shores or a solidarity with foreign non-white peoples, the 1940s saw increased uses of mass media to demonstrate the already existing link between African American and wider American culture. It was the 'American' within 'Negro American' that was emphasized. Radio shows such as the federally sponsored *Freedom's People* elucidated the

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16. John Edward Hasse, *Beyond Category: The Life and Genius of Duke Ellington* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1993), 169-175; Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 9.

17. Philip Bell and Roger J. Bell, *Implicated: The United States in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993), 72-75.

18. Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 22-29.

19. Sherrie Tucker, *Dance Floor Democracy: The Social Geography of Memory at the Hollywood Canteen* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

20. Barbara Dianne Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom: Radio, War, and the Politics of Race, 1938-1948* (Chapel Hill: NC, University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 106; Lauren Rebecca Sklaroff, "Variety for the Servicemen: The Jubilee Show and the Paradox of Racializing Radio During World War II," *American Quarterly* 56, (2004), 952.

21. Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*, 243.

many ways that African Americans had contributed to American history, science, and culture, and were continuing to do so.[22] Frank Capra's long called for information film on the African American contribution to the war, *The Negro Soldier*, linked African American service to civic duty and the defense of American culture and values. Overseas, the Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS) used many black musicians, singers, and comedians in their broadcasts, and was praised by Truman Gibson and Gen. Benjamin O. Davis Sr., men who were responsible for monitoring the morale of black soldiers serving overseas. The all-black radio show *Jubilee* in particular was singled out for its positive influence on soldier morale and its presentation of positive black voices rather than the more negative stereotypes associated with black entertainers.[23]

Jazz and swing provided the same soundtrack to the correspondents' writings as it does to the war in popular memory, and their treatment of it as an art form and as a cultural movement both continued the trend of the 'politics of inclusion.' Edward Toles walked the streets of Brussels as "muffled notes of hot jazz seeped invitingly outside to passers-by."[24] English jukeboxes blared out the latest hits from St. Louis while English audiences went wild for African American vocalists Adelaide Hall and Lena Horne.[25] The liberation of Rome was quickly followed by the liberation of extensive Roman record collections, hidden away from destructive Nazi hands.[26] In Paris, Ollie Stewart "sat in on the rebirth of swing in this music loving city."[27] The correspondents even saw a return to the Germany of

22. Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*, 63, 78.
23. Sklaroff, "Variety for the Servicemen," 945.
24. Edward Toles, "Tan GIs Still Novelty in Biggest Belgium City", *Chicago Defender*, September 30. 1944.
25. David Orro, "Air Raid and Blonde Give Orro His Baptism of Fire", *Chicago Defender*, February 20 1943; Rudolph Dunbar, "Adelaide Hall Quits London As Bombs Fall", *Chicago Defender*, September 7, 1940; Rudolph Dunbar, "'Stormy Weather' Sweeps London Under Lean's Feet", *Afro-American*, May 6, 1944.
26. Art Carter, "Romans Step to US Jazz as Nazis Go", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944.
27. Ollie Stewart, "Nazi-Free Paris Starts Swaying to Swing", *Afro-American*, September 9, 1944.

old, as jazz and swing brought life back to the cabaret clubs that had brought such life to the Weimar years.[28] Seemingly everywhere the correspondents went in the western world, whether to allied nations or those of former enemies, white peoples were embracing American musical forms whole-heartedly.[29]

The implications for African Americans were great. The Double-V campaign had predicated itself on involvement and service, sacrifice for American ideals so that American ideals might become American practices. The correspondents were carrying this forward, using jazz to induce the epiphany that American culture and African American culture were at the very least intertwined and interdependent, at most one and the same. The war came at a transitional period in jazz. The artists and groups that are most associated with the war, such as the aforementioned Andrews Sisters and Glenn Miller, were all white. At the same time the war was going on, artists such as Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie and Miles Davis were forging a new path of jazz in the basement bars and clubs of New York and Chicago. Bebop, the revolution that would once again take jazz out of the hands of white Americans, was a reclamation that some black artists saw as a necessity in the face of increased commercialization and white-washing of the genre. Though not a member of the Bebop revolution, Duke Ellington's famous quip that "jazz is music, swing is business" sums up these attitudes well.[30] But this commercialization and white washing had resulted in the dissemination of the music form to its wider ever audience, an audience who knew where the music's roots lay. It was black musicians and the jazz that they had created that had

28. Rudolph Dunbar, "Correspondents in Berlin; Find Negroes Throughout Germany", *Atlanta Daily World*, July 14, 1945.

29. See also: Rudolph Dunbar, "Paris Blossoms Again With Negro Music As The Theme", *Chicago Defender*, November 11, 1944; Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 29, 1943; Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 16, 1943; George Padmore, "Negro Troops In England Break Records As They Supply AEF", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 19, 1942; Edward Toles, "Paris Dances to Nazi-Banned Swing Music Again In Once Gay Montmartre", September 30, 1944.

30. In Hasse, *Beyond Category*, 203.

dominated the airwaves in the early days of radio, black musicians and jazz that had opened up the new form to America, and then the world.[31]

The correspondents were aware of the racial link, and played upon it where they could, walking a delicate balance between showing jazz as an American art form, while maintaining the special connection it had to African Americans. Most frequently this was represented in the way that white locals connected to black soldiers through jazz. John Jordan, covering the invasion of southern France, wrote on an encounter he had with French woman, who insisted that now that *black* Americans had arrived in Marseille, the city's nightclubs *must* be reopened.[32] In the same vein, George Padmore noted at a dance in Britain that the local women preferred to dance with black GIs rather than white, white Americans often left without partners while all the black men were greedily taken.[33] Ollie Stewart noted the same phenomena in women in Germany, who were keen to learn the jitterbug in the hands of a black soldier.[34] Again and again, the correspondents reiterated that African Americans had a special connection to the music that was growing in popularity in the western world, and that their hosts knew it. Art Carter wrote that the best army band in Italy belonged to a black engineering unit, the band's ability recognized by soldiers and civilians alike.[35] David Orro wrote of each large scale African American visit to England as jumping their musical culture forwards. When black troops had stopped in England during World War I they had left behind ragtime, this time they were teaching the natives swing music and the jitterbug.[36]

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31. Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*, 67.
32. John Q. Jordan, "Reporter Turns Artillery Expert in France", *Journal and Guide*, September 9, 1944.
33. George Padmore, "Red Cross Workers Win British Public", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 24, 1942.
34. Ollie Stewart, "Santa Claus Visits Twice in Germany, Stewart Says", *Afro-American*, January 5, 1946.
35. Art Carter, "Castliers Sandwich Music Between Passing Ammunition and Guard Duty", *Afro-American*, April 1, 1944.
36. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, November 6, 1943.

In each instance the link between African Americans and jazz in the eyes of Europeans was positive. The correspondents either avoided or were silent on the potential for such associations to reinforce minstrel and entertainer stereotypes. For some this was a legitimate concern when encountering European enthusiasm. African American author James Baldwin spent time in post-war Paris, and took a more cynical view of the situation, writing that the French "consider that all Negroes arrive from America, trumpet-laden and twinkle-toed, bearing scars so unutterably painful that all the glories of the French Republic may not suffice to heal them."[37] Historian Michel Fabre offers his own defense of French attitudes against Baldwin and other critics of perceived fetishization of black Americans and their link to jazz. "The black American first had difficulty in separating paternalistic attitudes from what he might believe to be his own hypersensitivity: a Frenchman's asking a black American to sing the blues or play jazz did not mean a subtle way of 'putting him in his place' in a snobbish salon but rather a genuine admiration for the people who had brought the world jazz and the blues and a desire to share a highly valued cultural contribution."[38] In all cases, the correspondents sided with Fabre's side of the argument over that of Baldwin. The implications of this focus on acceptance and the special association of black soldiers with jazz went far beyond mere proof of friendliness.

In Höhn and Klimke's *A Breath of Freedom*, the authors discuss how for many Germans during the occupation, the dark skin of America's black soldiers legitimized their Americanness.[39] Unlike white Americans, many of whom traced their lineage back to the European nation of their ancestors, African Americans had lost this direct link to a non-American past. African Americans themselves were, in the eyes of the German people, indisputably and authentically American. Their point echoes Lizabeth Cohen's argument

37. In Fabre, *From Harlem to Paris*, 168.
38. Fabre, *From Harlem to Paris*, 170.
39. Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*, 46.

that unlike other American ethnic music, which was used to insulate a group against American culture, jazz "became a vehicle for making a claim on mainstream society that racism had otherwise denied."[40] The correspondents, through their repeated stories on the popularity and prevalence of jazz in wartime Europe and the special position that black soldiers held relative to jazz in the eyes of Europeans, were enacting this very claim. Not only were they showing that in the eyes of the world African Americans had left their mark on American culture, they were expanding this idea to show that they were also an indelible part of western culture.

Their ideas were not that much of a reach from what was occurring at the time. Louis Armstrong had already been given the nickname "Ambassador Satch" for the goodwill derived from his tours of Europe and his role in the spread of jazz internationally during the 1930s.[41] During the war the OWI sent music "banned or disfavored" by the Nazis over the airwaves as part of its radio campaign. Almost 50% of these broadcasts were made of American popular music, rooted in jazz, and were intended to show the Germans that United States was a cultural superpower, capable of producing its own native music.[42] Even into the 1950s U.S. agents and diplomats were conscious of claims from across the Iron Curtain that America lacked its own native, sophisticated cultures. In response government agencies sponsored modernist art shows as well as jazz tours aimed to win converts to "the American way of life"[43]

It was in this capacity that jazz represented the modern, youthful, and innovative. Throughout the course of the war, several of the correspondents had the chance to meet the

40. Cohen, *Making A New Deal*, 156.
41. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 9.
42. David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945-1953* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 14.
43. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*; Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999).

cultural icon that was Josephine Baker, Ollie Stewart even 'marrying' the star in a mock wedding towards the war's end. Baker, though not strictly a jazz musician, and middle-aged by the time of the war, was nevertheless revered by both American blacks and Europeans alike for her role in the explosion of the popularity of styles of music and dance that had their roots in Africa and America. Although she had emigrated to France, the correspondents were always careful to note her American roots, setting her upon the same pedestal on which they had already placed Joe Louis.[44] Baker had been the vanguard of modern, black America, one that was aligned with the rhetoric of a youthful and innovative United States. As early as the 1920s the United States "had come to stand in a vague and symbolic way for modernity." Those in Europe who rejected jazz often stood for the old ways, the new musical form the battle-cry of the continent's intellectuals and avant-garde.[45] Described by historian Emily Thompson as "the soundscape of modernity" jazz was an aural manifestation of the modernized world, its rhythms and harmonies made for and in the image of the factories and skyscrapers of the American metropolis, an "aesthetics of acceleration" that captured the essence of the machine age.[46]

In Europe the correspondents emphasized the "despotic hold" that swing, jazz and jive had upon Europe's younger generation.[47] Jazz was the present and the future. Black

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44. Max Johnson, "If You Hear Joe Lost Her Voice, Here's Why", *Afro-American*, December 9, 1944; Max Johnson, "Infantry Unit in N.Africa Awaits Jo Baker's Visit", *Afro-American*, May 6, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Big Guns Move Up", *Afro-American*, May 1, 1943; Ollie Stewart, "Davis, Jo Baker Reach Paris", *Afro-American*, October 21, 1944; "Stewart Back from the War", *Afro-American*, March 4, 1945.

45. Pells, *Not Like Us*, 11-14. For more on the links between African American music, culture, and modernity in Europe, see: James Donald, *Some of These Days: Black Stars, Jazz Aesthetics, and Modernist Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels*, 16.

46. Emily Ann Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); Joel Dinerstein, *Swinging the Machine: Modernity, Technology, and African American Culture Between the World Wars* (Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 7. See also: Robert M. Crunden, *Body and Soul: The Making of American Modernism* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Eric Porter, *What is This Thing Called Jazz? African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

47. Rudolph Dunbar, "Paris Blossoms Again With Negro Music As The Theme", *Chicago Defender*, November 11, 1944.; Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 16, 1943.

America's musical heroes were innovators, directing culture down the paths that they themselves forged, a culture that a new generation of Europeans were embracing whole heartedly. In one of the more remarkable stories, Ollie Stewart recounted how he personally introduced Sgt. Floyd Smith to Europe's greatest jazz talent, Django Reinhardt. Smith, who in peace time was the guitarist in Andy Kirk's popular swing band, joined Reinhardt in his Paris apartment for an impromptu jam session, spending the afternoon "making the kind of music you can't hear in public."[48] Lauren Rebecca Sklaroff has noted that the innovation of the jazz musician also meant that these artists presented a view of African Americans that contradicted the harmful minstrel stereotype that had dominated black music in the early twentieth century.[49] Given that David Orro wrote that despite the great beauty of spirituals sung by black troops, they often provided white Americans with "the smug comfort of others who somehow feel that spirituals sort'a keep the boys in that strange location popularly known as 'their place,'" Sklaroff's assessment of the capacity of jazz to break away from the more negative associations with African American music seems perceptive.[50]

Writing on the Harlem Renaissance, Anne Elizabeth Carroll notes that "perhaps the most obvious goal of the work produced during the New Negro movement was to replace derogatory images of African Americans with ones that drew attention to their achievements and their contributions to American society and culture."[51] The same analysis can be applied to the wartime correspondents in respect to jazz. They relentlessly underscored the importance of jazz to modern European culture and people, once again

48. Ollie Stewart, "World's Top Git-Players Sit Down in Strum Fest", *Afro-American*, January 6, 1945.
49. Sklaroff, "Variety for the Servicemen," 946.
50. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, October 2, 1943.
51. Anne Elizabeth Carroll, *Word, Image, and the New Negro: Representations and Identity in the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 223.

defining African Americans to themselves through the gaze of sympathetic foreigners. They articulated the Americanness of jazz, but also its link to black American culture. As with their claims to manhood and their involvement with the mission of civilization, the correspondents used jazz to refute claims of backwardness, inferiority, and irrelevance.

Hollywood

Where jazz inherently advanced an idealized view of African Americans as innovators and participants in the creation of the modern world, the part they played on the silver screen was far more problematic. More so than jazz, film was the United States' principal cultural export. The problem was a large one for African Americans. By the 1930s Hollywood films already occupied 80% of the world's screens.[52] In smaller nations with less production power this disparity between locally produced and imported films was even greater. By 1926, 90% of films screened in Australia's movie houses were from the U.S., and the popularity of Hollywood would continue right into the war years, shaping how Australians understood Americans before any face-to-face interactions occurred.[53] In nations with a stronger film industry, such as France and Italy, these numbers still rested around the 70% and 65% mark.[54]

In 1943 the OWI, aware of the propagandistic potential of the hypocrisy of the democratic rhetoric of the war and therefore anxious to change what it saw as an industry that harmed perceptions of African Americans, analyzed how blacks were represented in these films that were being distributed across the globe. The study found that of the films

52. Clayton R Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 2.
53. Bell and Bell, *Implicated*, 77, 101; Campbell, *Heroes and Lovers*, 58.
54. Pells, *Not Like Us*, 16.

released in 1942 and early 1943, blacks appeared in 23% and were shown as "clearly inferior" in 82% of them.[55] The global success of *Gone with the Wind* in 1939 meant that audiences worldwide were exposed to images of African American men and women as slaves, content with their place and needing white guidance. However inferiority was not limited to just this one type of character, but covered all walks of black life. Dalton Trumbo, among the highest paid screenwriters of the time and later one of the Hollywood 10, wrote of a Hollywood that made "tarts of the Negro's daughters, crap shooters of his sons, obsequious Uncle Toms of his fathers, superstitious and grotesque crones of his mothers, strutting peacocks of his successful men, psalm-singing mountebanks of his priests, and Barnum and Bailey side-shows of his religion."[56] The financial muscle of the studies and the relative lack of a powerful black film industry meant that black actors lacked any real bargaining power or influence over creative direction. If they wanted to work in Hollywood they had to accept roles that forced them into the narrow and negative stereotypes envisioned by white writers.[57]

There were a few small victories for the push for fairer treatment of blacks in film. As part of their efforts to improve the morale of African Americans on both the home front and deployed overseas, the OWI, with support from liberal members of the government and the NAACP, adopted a strategy of 'writing out' negative black characters in scripts that they found too on the nose. For the first time, African Americans began to appear in films in 'normal' roles. Wartime films such as *Lifeboat*, *Sahara*, and *Bataan* all included a sympathetic African American character.[58] In a bigger conceptual victory, integrated units

55. Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 179.
56. In Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 179.
57. Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900-1942* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 5.
58. See: Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*; Thomas Cripps, *Making Movies Black: The Hollywood Message Movie from World War II to the Civil Rights Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

appeared in war films before anything close to official military integration was implemented.[59] For the most part however these concessions came too late and too infrequently to significantly alter content that audiences overseas had access to.

It is no surprise that such stereotypes concerned the correspondents, who often found themselves working against expectations that had already been established in the minds of their hosts.[60] Vincent Tubbs noted that he found it "particularly embarrassing" watching Hollywood films while in Australia, especially in the presence of black soldiers whose efforts the stereotypes were directly hindering.[61] Even in non-white nations a trip to the theater was accompanied by feelings of "shame" and "disgust". Charlie Loeb of the NNPA wrote of the irony that Filipinos were going to theaters constructed by black soldiers, only to bear witness to the supposed inferiority of those same troops. This frustration was shared by the black soldiers he talked with, one black GI telling him: "We try for weeks to offset the vicious propaganda being used against us among these friendly Filipino people who have been told that we are all ignorant, servile, boisterous and illiterate. We tell them of our lawyers and doctors, our scientists and teachers, our businessmen and politicians. Then we invite them to our movies to see Negroes in roles that represent the worst that has been said about us. It's not only humiliating, but disgusting."[62]

Aside from these few complaints, the correspondents remained significantly silent on the matter of Hollywood. In comparison to the constant stream of articles attesting to the popularity of jazz overseas and its importance to the modern world, the correspondents gave readers almost nothing on the popularity of Hollywood films. Though film was as

59. Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 180.
60. Randy Dixon, "'No Longer Happy Here' – Randy Dixon", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 20, 1944; George Padmore, "New Ideas Picked Up by Our Troops in War Zones", *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 18, 1943.
61. Vincent Tubbs, "Tubbs Visits Camp in Australia; Finds it Equal to Best in U.S.A.", *Afro-American*, June 12, 1943.
62. Charlie Loeb, "GIs Resent Uncle Tom-ism on Screen, Radio", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 1, 1945.

popular a form of entertainment as music, it was almost never mentioned in the correspondents' articles. The deliberate nature of this silence was somewhat revealed by the exception made for the overseas success of *Stormy Weather*. The film's popularity with foreign audiences as well as black servicemen, particularly that of black leading lady Lena Horne was worthy of the correspondents' attention, and was reported on extensively.[63] Otherwise the correspondents adopted a strategy of omission, responding to the disheartening overseas successes of Hollywood with silence. From their position overseas they had little influence over the small but incredibly powerful section of coastal California. There was also little point in drawing further attention to something that was so deeply entrenched when they had many more positive stories at their fingertips.

The Campaign against Segregation and Discrimination

One of the fundamental premises upon which Lee Finkle constructs his criticism of the 'militancy-watershed' hypothesis of wartime black activism is his analysis of the place of anti-segregation rhetoric in the black press. The 'militancy-watershed' hypothesis, that the war marked a highpoint of black militancy, and set the wheels in motion for the 'classic' civil rights era to follow, was criticized by Finkle, who instead argued that African American activism during the war years was far more conservative in its methods and aims, editors and journalists keen to "avoid a direct assault on segregation" and instead looked to "traditional avenues for change."[64] Stating that the revolutionary image of World War II black activism was due more to "the adoption of a new rhetoric rather than the formulation

63. Rudolph Dunbar, "'Stormy Weather' Sweeps London Under Lena's Feet", *Afro-American*, May 6, 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "Hail Nina Horne As Bronze Goddess", *Atlanta Daily World*, May 6, 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "'Stormy Weather' Entertains London As Bombs Hit Berlin", *Chicago Defender*, May 6, 1944; Edward Toles, "Joes In London Want More Pics Of Lena Horne", *Chicago Defender*, May 20, 1944; Enoc Waters, "Soldiers in New Guinea See, Like 'Stormy Weather'", *Chicago Defender*, September 18, 1943.

64. Finkle, "Conservative Aims of Militant Rhetoric," 693.

of new approaches," Finkle characterized the Double-V as being much more akin to the 'Close Ranks' of World War I than a strategy with tangible and quantifiable goals.[65] Finkle's criticisms are, at the time of writing, almost half a century old. His arguments have been largely undermined, not by studies of World War II, but by recent histories that place the seeds of the classic civil rights movement — as discussed in chapter 3 — in the more radical and union based activism of the Depression and New Deal Era. However his voice is still one that echoes through the historiography of World War II black activism. Importantly, his claims of the softness with which black activists approached the issue of segregation in the armed forces do not reflect the correspondents' articles.

The manner in which the correspondents wrote about the foreign element of segregation during the war sits somewhere between Finkle's extreme expectations, and the conservatism of which he accuses the black press of World War II. Though not a call to down tools, it was nevertheless a vocal attack on the institution of segregation and the discrimination that it inspired. Both in its imposition within the military, and in its official and unofficial exportation to Allied and occupation nations by white personnel, segregation and its impact on America's black soldiers was a topic the correspondents returned to time and again. Doing their part in the campaign which had dominated the black press's coverage since the commencement of the war, and which was one of the cornerstones of all civil rights campaigns from emancipation onwards, the correspondents based their criticism of segregation upon its harmful effects on America's war effort, and to America's relationship to, and legitimacy among, the nations of the world over which it was now casting its influence.

65. Finkle, "Conservative Aims of Militant Rhetoric," 693, 713.

Even before the United States had entered the war the black press had a reputation among African American soldiers for not only publicizing instances of segregation and discrimination within the armed forces, but for channeling this publicity into tangible results. In April of 1941 the Pittsburgh *Courier* received a letter from "All the soldiers of the 2nd Battalion" of the 25nd Infantry Regiment, stationed at the time in Fort Bowie, Texas. The letter was a plea, based on the soldiers' experiences at the hands of white southern officers, and sent because they had "noticed that you've helped soldiers in various Jim Crow problems."[66] This trend continued overseas. In August of 1944, the men of the 477th bombardment group in the Pacific wrote to the *Afro* specifically requesting that Vincent Tubbs be dispatched to cover their unit, so disheartened were they with their treatment at the hands of white officers.[67]

Much of the domestic black press's case against segregation within the military rested on it being harmful to the war effort, both through the inefficiencies it created and the depression of black morale. The correspondents' coverage of segregation followed a similar path. Max Johnson used his experiences during the invasion of France to substantiate his claims of military inefficiency. The segregation of military units was, in his eyes, resulting in situations where white units were understaffed with vital personnel, especially medics. At the same time black units contained a surplus of those essential staff the white units needed most.[68] Elsewhere, Johnson wrote of the unhappiness of soldiers in North Africa, who found that their lives were being governed by an interpretation of military regulations that largely mirrored the practices that shaped race relations in the

66. Letter to 'Pittsburgh Courier Pub. Co.', from 'All the Soldiers of the 2nd Battalion', April 13, 1941, in McGuire, *Taps for a Jim Crow Army*, 104. *Taps for a Jim Crow Army* is filled with such letters, written both at home and overseas, in which black soldiers wrote to black newspapers to seek aid in their personal and collective struggles against Jim Crow within the military.

67. Letter to Editor, *Afro-American*, August 12, 1944.

68. Max Johnson, "5 Medics Replace Whites with Engineers In France", *Afro-American*, October 14, 1944.

South.[69] Ollie Stewart linked segregation to poor morale so often that he at one stage apologized for the frequency with which he mentioned it. Interviewing a white Colonel who shared Stewart's opinion that black units ought to be commanded by black officers, he begged his readers' pardon, writing that "I keep mentioning colors and races in this and other articles. I'm sorry. But everywhere I go it pops up...the Army functions on racial lines…Officers talk race, not ability."[70]

In most cases the complaints regarding segregation and discrimination in the armed forces were due more to the leadership of particular white officers, most of whom had their roots in the South. In his post-war defense of the combat record of the 92nd Infantry Division in Italy, the *Journal and Guide*'s John Jordan voiced his opinion that a large part of the unit's failings was due to the attitudes and policies of white southern officers. Reminding his readers that "you can take the white man out of the south, but too often you can't take the south out of him," Jordan felt that with the end of wartime censorship, he was finally able to put these feelings to paper.[71] Jordan was correct on one of these counts. The imposition of southern attitudes and mores was a major point of concern and discontent among black soldiers serving overseas. The increase to American power and the mass movement of men that came with a large-scale war meant that the white man of the South was no longer contained in Birmingham or Macon, he was now also in London, Calcutta, Brisbane and Berlin. Less accurate were Jordan's fears that censors would suppress stories concerning southerners and their racial attitudes. Though there was a measure of censorship

69. Max Johnson, "Colored Units in N.African Anxious to Fight Nazis", *Afro-American,* May 6, 1944.

70. Ollie Stewart, "53 Motor Transport Units Under 1 Leader in France", *Afro-American,* August 5, 1944. For some examples of the types of articles Stewart was apologising for, see: Ollie Stewart, "Ambulance Drivers in France Are Tough Lot", *Afro-American,* August 26, 1944; "Port Battalions Rest White Officers", *Afro-American*, January 20, 1945; "Port Battalion Has Best Food in Marseille", *Afro-American,* August 25, 1945.

71. John Q. Jordan, "A Little "Secret" About the Brazilians in Italy; Morale in The Much Discussed 92nd", *Journal and Guide,* December 29, 1945.

of the criticism of white officers, particularly the notorious 'Directive no. 500' which prohibited "copy critical of the command of the 92nd division," such criticism did nevertheless make it to the pages of the black press.[72]

The issue of officers' race reared its head time and again in the correspondents' articles. Not only did many white officers treat black soldiers as if they were south of the Mason-Dixon Line, the army's lack of black officers to adequately staff black units was an insult that reinforced segregative practices on multiple levels, stemming from an unwillingness of the military hierarchy to have black soldiers outranking white, or commanding white troops. In an interview with General Almond, commander of the 92nd and with his own problematic view on race, John Jordan directly pushed the General on the issue.[73] Almond shirked responsibility, claiming that he mostly promoted on the recommendations he received from those below him. Of course, those below him were mainly white officers. Collins George noted that of all the problems facing the 92nd, it was these forms of segregation that were most negatively impacting morale.[74] This inequality saw Ollie Stewart labelling the shortage of black officers as the "most serious problem" to face black soldiers in the North African theater.[75] Conversely, Art Carter, writing on an ordinance unit involved in the fighting Italy, attributed the unit's exceptional morale to the fact that it was entirely staffed by black officers.[76] Even when not going into detail, the correspondents left no doubt as to the racial makeup of a unit's officer corps. As with

72. Lem Graves, "Now it Can be Told", *Journal and Guide*, January 12, 1946.
73. John Q. Jordan, "92nd General Answers Talk Officers Denied Promotions', *Journal and Guide*, December 30, 1944.
74. Collins George, "Bias Perils 92nd Morale", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 10, 1945.
75. Ollie Stewart, "Stewart Mentions Soldiers Seen in North Africa", *Afro-American*, May 29, 1943.
76. Art Carter, "609th Has Passed Shells for 3 Invading Armies", *Afro-American*, November 18, 1944.

college education and sporting achievements, small references to how many black and white officers a unit contained were commonplace when setting the scene of an article.[77]

Despite the popularity of such articles, they did not constitute the main avenue through which the correspondents attacked segregation and the imposition of Jim Crow. The transferal of southern attitudes and southern customs overseas was one of the most common themes within the correspondents' writing. The dark side of the spread of American power, the correspondents were forced to negotiate the fact that the global American influence that saw them substantiate their claims for full citizenship and a place in the modern world was the same influence that was attempting to impose on them the same restrictions that they faced at home. It is unsurprising that the chief target among these stories was the imposition of segregation in foreign nations.[78] Unlike their approach to Hollywood, the correspondents had the raw material to challenge attempts to export segregation and discrimination.

Building off stories of the acceptance of black soldiers by white peoples were stories that told of the harmful effects of segregationist and restrictive practices of the military. Encompassing official military regulations and more localized practices imposed

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77. For some examples, see: Art Carter, "2 Port Units in New Invasion", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944; Art Carter, "Rear Echelon Engineers in Italy Reconstruct Cities After Victory", September 9, 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "Engineers Build City in France", *Journal and Guide*, August 12, 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "Color Lines Smashed in Germany", *Journal and Guide*, August 12, 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "Race Officers in Command of Heroic Red Ball Unit", *Atlanta Daily World*, November 10, 1944; Max Johnson, "48th Regiment Takes Over at Camp Holabird", *Afro-American*, October 19, 1940; Max Johnson, "Engineer Unit in France Keeps Allies Moving by supplying Floating Bridges", *Afro-American*, September 16, 1944; Charles Loeb, "Crack 477th Amphibious Truck Outfit Veteran of Four Pacific Invasions", *Afro-American*, July 14, 1945; Charles Loeb, "Eight Service Companies Land at Yokohama", *Atlanta Daily World*, September 8, 1945; George Padmore, "Padmore Finds Colorful Characters in Second AEF", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 26, 1942; George Padmore, "Padmore Meets the Boys from Home in an Intimate Visit with the ARF", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 3, 1942; Ollie Stewart, "Colored Flyers in Siege of Tunis", *Afro-American*, May 8, 1943; Enoc Waters, "Ack-Ack Units Take Up Permanent Guinea Posts", *Chicago Defender*, January 15, 1944; Francis Yancey, "Service Unit in Manila Push", *Afro-American*, March 3, 1945; Thomas W. Young, "Army Drivers Aid Rangers", *Journal and Guide*, June 19, 1943.

78. For works on domestic black campaigns against segregation during the war, see: Alkebulan, *The African American Press in World War II*; Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American*; Michaeli, *The Defender*.

at the discretion of individual commanders, the correspondents contrasted their warm welcome in white nations to their treatment at the hands of their countrymen. When Walter White, head of the NAACP, toured Italy in 1944, he was please to find that black soldiers were winning the confidence and respect of "people everywhere." What worried White was a minority of southern white officers who "want to transplant Mississippi into foreign countries."[79] Such acts of transplantation and transferal were frequently flagged by the correspondents. Max Johnson contrasted Marseille's reputation as "democratic France's second city" to its current appearance as "one of the first in Dixie," he was establishing the contrast between the France that the correspondents had established as welcoming and democratic, and the American discrimination that white southerners were transplanting into it.[80] Wherever segregation occurred, even if enforced by local authorities, the correspondents made it clear that it was as a result of American pressure and regulations.[81]

The correspondents often pointed to ways in which different instances of segregation had a negative effect on the morale of black soldiers. Soldiers in France complained to Johnson that despite the warm welcome of the French people, African American soldiers were confined to their base, much as they were in the southern camps in which they had been trained. This decision, they said, came not from Army policy but from the prejudice of southern officers.[82] Deton Brooks wrote from Calcutta to inform his readers of the "smashing victory" won by the forces of "Dixie tradition." The swimming pool set

79. Art Carter, "Red Cross Compromising Itself Abroad, Says White", *Afro-American,* March 18, 1944.
80. Max Johnson, "Army Pollutes Marseilles With Dixie Jim Crow", *Afro-American,* December 9, 1944.
81. Frank Bolden, "Find Port Unit, Jim Crow in Iran", *Afro-American,* January 13, 1945; Max Johnson, "Col. Howard Queen's Unit Assigned to War Front", *Afro-American*, May 13, 1944; Charles Loeb, "Rout Jim Crow Out of Manila", *Atlanta Daily World*, March 22, 1945; George Padmore, "British Resent U.S. Color Bar", *Pittsburgh Courier,* September 12, 1942; George Padmore, "Authorities Act To Avoid Race Friction Among Troops In London", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 22, 1943; Ollie Stewart, "Will Give Attention to men Stationed in Great Britain", *Afro-American,* October 30, 1942; Francis Yancey, "The Week", *Afro-American,* February 24, 1945.
82. Max Johnson, "Ex-Cavalrymen in Bridge-Building Outfit in France", *Afro-American,* October 7, 1944.

aside for American troops in the city had been designated white only at the behest of southern white officers. Coming in the heat of the Indian summer the decision was met with discontent and resentment by black soldiers, particularly as they had found themselves welcomed in the integrated city. Brooks was however quick to point out that the soldiers in question were warmly welcomed to the swimming pool set aside for British troops.[83]

As Paul Alkebulan has pointed out, the domestic wartime press was quick to publicize clashes between African American soldiers and their white countrymen.[84] Often these stories were written with whites cast in the role of instigators, blacks as innocent and injured parties. These stories aligned well with the goals of the Double-V, linking segregation and racism to acts harmful to the war effort, allowing the black press to effectively advocate for both victories of the Double-V, making each dependent upon the other. The precedent that the correspondents had established in painting a picture of a receptive and friendly Europe and Australia allowed them to do even more with these types of articles. Writing on the imposition of Jim Crow regulations and attitudes in Britain, George Padmore assured readers that "the [British] public will not tolerate Southern arrogance."[85] Only three months later, David Orro was sending home news of the "increasingly bitter battle over the color bar" that was taking place in Britain.[86] What was different about these instances of conflict between black and white Americans is that they were beginning to involve locals. As Orro spent his entire assignment in the United Kingdom, he often reported on these fights. In February of 1943 he noted that "on several occasions when our boys have engaged in little knuckle-fests with their fair kinsmen from

83. Deton J. Brooks, "Negro GI's Jim Crowed in India; Red Cross Worker Quits in Protest", *Chicago Defender*, July 14, 1945.

84. Alkebulan, *The African American Press in World War II*, 56.

85. George Padmore, "Authorities Act to Avoid Race Friction Among Troops In London", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 22, 1943.

86. David Orro, "14 Face Court in MP Clash", *Chicago Defender*, October 23, 1943.

down beyond the Mason-Dixon, Tommy Atkins [British] or Canada, uninvited, have slung a few fists for the suntan side."[87] Unlike at home, where segregation, discrimination, and racial violence were domestic issues, the presence of such conflict in Allied nations was harming America's relationship with its allies.

While domestic correspondents could report on Jim Crow and its impact on America's black citizens, overseas correspondents were able take this a step further, and show how southern attitudes and policies were impacting foreign peoples. David Orro's story of British and Canadian soldiers standing shoulder-to-shoulder with African American soldiers against white American racism were good, but they were just a different way of showing that African Americans were accepted by people who found American racism distasteful. However a story of November 1943, which informed readers of a violent clash between white American soldiers and black British sailors was proof that American racial attitudes were damaging beyond the boundaries of the United States.[88] Many similar stories were published through war. George Padmore covered the story of a white American private, who was dishonorably discharged and sentenced to two years prison as a result of trying to enforce southern racial codes. The private had taken issue with a West Indian RAF officer dancing with a white English girl, and after confronting the officer, slapped him.[89]

Where they could the correspondents integrated white voices of authority into these reports. Both George Padmore and Randy Dixon covered the court proceedings following incidents resulting from white Americans attempting to enforce Jim Crow. In both cases the correspondents found it useful to directly quote the judge presiding over each case, using

87. David Orro, "London Calling, *Chicago Defender*, February 20, 1943.
88. David Orro, "British Seamen Clash with Whites", *Chicago Defender*, November 20, 1943.
89. George Padmore, "Slaps RAF Officer; Two Years", *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 23, 1944. See also Padmore's articles: "Authorities Act to Avoid Race Friction Among Troops in London", August 22, 1942; "'Army Officers Worried, But no Problem Exists!' – Padmore", August 29, 1942; "British Tolerance, Answer to Color Issue Overseas, Writes War Correspondent", January 2, 1943; "GIs Bring Dixie Hate to London", September 29, 1945; all in *Pittsburgh Courier*.

their words to articulate civil rights arguments. Dixon reported on the fallout from a fight started by American born sailors of the Canadian navy. The sailors had assaulted a pair of British Hondurans who were escorting two white British women for a night out. In his closing address, the judge, who had fined the Canadians, gave the men a dressing down: "These people are British subjects, serving and doing their bit. You have no right to interfere with them. Whether these men are colored or not, they have all their rights and must be treated properly and decently."[90] In Padmore's case the judge was equally critical when a British West Indian had been refused entry to a dance because of segregationist pressure on the hosts: "I think it is an impertinence that a country accepts colored people from any part of the world, and then says that its laws don't enable it to deal with them on terms of complete social equality."[91]

The most high profile case was that of Learie Constantine, who was denied entry to a London hotel on account of its American guests. Constantine, a native of Trinidad, was one of the greatest cricketers of the 1930s. Famous throughout the British Empire, he would later go on to be a lawyer, politician, Trinidad's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, knighted in 1962, before being made Britain's first black peer in 1969. He was influential in passing Britain's Race Relations act. The story of his rejection and his subsequent court case against the hotel was perfect fodder for the black press. Randy Dixon, George Padmore, and David Orro all deemed it worthy of coverage. Constantine's case was successful, and the correspondents were pleased to point out that both the British press and public praised the court's decision.[92] The correspondents of course emphasized

90. Randy Dixon, "Off the Cuff", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 9, 1943.
91. George Padmore, "British Judge Raps Race Bias", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 12, 1944.
92. Randy Dixon, "British Press Hails Hotel Bias Decision", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 22, 1944; David Orro, "Parliament May Get Jim Crow Dispute", *Chicago Defender*, September 11, 1943; George Padmore, "Hotel Manager Fined; Barred West Indian", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 8, 1944.

the role played by the expectations of the hotel's white American guests, using it as another example of the harmful consequences of the exportation of the south's racial attitudes.

It is clear from the scholarly work done in the post-war years, and from many of the articles of the correspondents themselves, that these stories of racial friction in foreign lands drew the censor's ire. As discussed, most censorship revolved around the provision of military secrets and troops movements, information that would enhance the enemy's capacity to wage war. However, censors did occasionally attempt to prevent information on racial clashes and discontent from reaching home.[93] In November of 1943 the *Defender* published a small article informing readers of the difficulties its reporters based in the United Kingdom had with stories on racial friction. Both George Padmore and David Orro had, on multiple occasions, run afoul of the censor for trying to send home news of American exportation of Jim Crow. The problem, the two reporters said, lay entirely with American censors, as the British censors who also looked over their articles had no such qualms about letting such stories see the light of day.[94] Clearly the men had hit a nerve. As is evident, the concerns of the censors was not enough to stop the steady flow of articles reporting on the poor behavior of white Americans reaching its intended audience. Upon his return the States in 1945, Frank Bolden, like many of the correspondents, wrote a 'Now it Can Be Told!' article, detailing the information that censors prevented him from publishing. In it was a story of gross and unjust segregation in Calcutta, a tale of the very worst of the transferal of Southern attitudes to a foreign locale, a story that the devious censor had forbidden Bolden from making public.[95] It was the story of the segregated swimming pool,

93. Frank Bolden, "Discrimination Cause of Low Morale Among Tan Yanks in India and Burma", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945; Stevens, "From the Back of the Foxhole", 15.

94 "U.S. Censorship", *Chicago Defender*, November 27, 1943.

95. Frank Bolden, "Bolden, Back from East, to Rewrite Censored Articles", *Atlanta Daily World*, September 11, 1945.

a story that Deton Brooks had already written about on two separate occasions for readers of the *Defender*.[96]

Integration

The counterpoint to the correspondents' coverage of the harm done by segregation was their willingness to report on instances of cooperation and friendship between white and black American soldiers overseas. Positive representations of race relations amongst American soldiers underlined the harmful nature of segregation. Serving almost as reports on social or psychological experiments, articles examined how the removal of restrictive segregative practices often cultivated warm relations between white and black Americans. Rudolph Dunbar declared it a "travesty" to suggest that black and white soldiers were unable to work together in "harmonious association."[97] Instead the correspondents' articles suggested that it was the process of segregation itself that engendered racial friction. When stripped of the infrastructure of racism, black and white individuals realized the similarities they shared.

The correspondents made a habit of including references to cooperation with soldiers of other nations. Simple statements such as "fighting side by side with white troops" and "working side by side daily with the sturdy sons and daughters of the USSR" were common, and showed readers that the welcome black soldiers received was not just limited to the civilian population.[98] As soldiers and workers they were part of an integrated

96. Deton J. Brooks, "Negro GI's Him Crowed in India; Red Cross Worker Quits in Protest", *Chicago Defender*, July 14, 1945; Deton J. Brooks, "Negro GIs Snub U.S. Jim Crow Pool; Swim with British Troops", *Chicago Defender*, July 28, 1945.

97. Rudolph Dunbar, "Army Paper Lauds Mixed Infantry", *Atlanta Daily World*, April 5, 1945.

98. Fletcher Martin, "93rd Pushes on In Drive Against Japs", *Chicago* Defender, April 22, 1944; Frank Bolden, "Negro, Russian And White Troops Work Side By Side", *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 21, 1944; Theodore Stanford, "Harmony Keynotes Negro-White GI 'Vacation'", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 7, 1945.

Allied force, be it on the front lines or in support roles. Some, like Ollie Stewart, directly liked these instances to wartime rhetoric and the Double-V. He reported on a black quartermaster company in Normandy who had adopted a handful of British soldiers who had become separated from their unit, feeding and housing them until they could find their proper place. Stewart noted that "These trivial incidents stand out in my mind…I would rather remember them than any battle I have tried to write about."[99] Where black units worked and operated in close proximity to white American units the correspondents made the same observations, integrated mealtimes of particular note given the importance of segregation to dining back home.[100] Occasionally the correspondents could work with more exciting material, such as when Randy Dixon recounted the story of a black Lieutenant and four white medics working frantically to rescue six black soldiers buried in a small landslide.[101] As with non-Americans, the same links to emancipatory rhetoric were made. Frank Bolden's first article as a war correspondent was written on an integrated troop transport, the journey to Iran "a pleasant experience watching democracy ride the high seas" as black and white soldiers on board wiled away the long hours in each other's company, a story that was carried by many of the major black papers.[102]

Given the military's stringent adherence to its policies of segregation, most of the examples that the correspondents used of instances of integration came with proximity to the front line. The closer one went to the fighting, the more military organization broke down and necessity and expediency became the rule. In the wake of World War I, black

99. Ollie Stewart, "Yankies and Tommies Bed Together in Italy", *Afro-American*, October 16, 1943.

100. Ollie Stewart, "Bronze Star to Truck Driver", *Afro-American*, September 30, 1944; Rudolph Dunbar, "White, Race Troops Fight Together in France", *Atlanta Daily World*, November 17, 1944; Art Carter, "Rear Echelon Engineers in Italy Reconstruct Cities After Victory", *Afro-American*, September 9, 1944.

101. Randy Dixon, "Negroes Integrated into All Parts Of Vast Allied Machine In France", *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 26, 1944.

102. Frank Bolden, "Color Line Forgotten, All One Family on Troop Ship", *Atlanta Daily World*, July 29, 1944. The story also appeared in the *Afro-American*, *Philadelphia Tribune*, and *Pittsburgh Courier* of August 5, 1944.

writers had turned frequently to 'no-man's land' as a space in which to explore American race relations. No-man's land, the desolate and ruined space between the trenches of the two armies, was a space in which societal convention had broken down. It was desegregated, owned by nobody, and in which the shattered bodies of soldiers were mixed together and exposed in all their mortality. It was a space of southern repentance and epiphany in many post-war works of fiction, where black and white would die together with the realization that they were equal.[103] World War II was lacking in such a space. The trench warfare that dominated World War I rendered obsolete by modern military technology and strategy. However the correspondents still used some of the ideas of their literary predecessors. Instead of no-man's land, it was proximity to combat that provided for the growth of "mutual respect" between white and black Americans.[104] The notion that "There are no color lines in fox holes" was often alluded to in their correspondents' writings, the same revelatory danger that had inspired the writers of the inter-war period was having the same effect on the correspondents.[105] "The common danger, the common foe and hardships of battle are bringing American troops closer together," wrote Ollie Stewart, "Soldier after soldier has told me he can never be narrow-minded again after such widespread human suffering."[106]

Despite combat's capacity to illuminate the artificiality of segregation, it was itself an extreme example. Readers could be forgiven for feeling cynical about their hopes for the deconstruction of segregation being contingent upon white America's exposure to front-line situations. As well these more extreme examples of successful integration, the

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103. Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro*, 69-73, 81.

104. Max Johnson, "GI's Give Views on Post-war Plans", *Afro-American*, September 16, 1944.

105. Ollie Stewart, "Race Shares Same Bottle", *Afro-American*, August 7, 1943; Rudolph Dunbar, "Color Lines Smashed in Normandy", *Journal and Guide*, August 12, 1944; Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'No Color Line On Battlefield' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 31, 1943; Theodore Stanford, "Infantrymen Rescue Paratroop Prisoners", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 5, 1945.

106. Ollie Stewart, "Race Shares Same Bottle", *Afro-American*, August 7, 1943. See also: Ollie Harrington, "No Signs on Anzio Foxholes", *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 1, 1944.

correspondents also reported on more mundane instances, ones more analogous to peace-time America. As addressed in Chapter 2, coverage of sporting events allowed correspondents to gently assert the power of black masculinity. But these events also gave the correspondents the raw material to supplement their promotion of integration. There was a significance to instances of integration within team sports, a domain that African Americans were excluded from at its highest level, major competitions such as Major League Baseball and the National Basketball Association remaining barred to black sportsmen until 1947 and 1950 respectively. As early as 1942 'Scoop' Jones, reporter for the ANP, wrote that soldiers in New Guinea were not going to "dilly dally" on the subject of racial discrimination and integration, they were going to do what they needed to ensure morale and unit spirit remained high. The result was an eight-team softball league made up of six white teams and two black teams. Jones proudly informed his readers that there had not been one incident of discrimination or racial tension within the league. Instead everybody involved enjoyed the chance to let off some steam and take part in a great American pastime.[107] The league was such a success that two months later Jones was reporting home with the news that it had expanded to fourteen teams.[108] The presence of African American teams had not deterred the white soldiers stationed in the area. Similar stories were reported from Italy, the 99th sponsoring a basketball team in a competition that pitted them against teams "of all races."[109] These instances of integrated leagues were not just limited to men. The 1945 Women's Army Corps German basketball league was won by a black team. Their reward, a skiing trip to Switzerland. The women in question had nothing but praise for their white opponents, and, much like the men of New Guinea, were

107. 'Scoop' Jones, "Organize Mixed Softball League in New Guinea", *Atlanta Daily World*, December 9, 1942.

108. 'Scoop' Jones, "Mixed Softball League Among U.S. Troops Now Has 14 Teams", *Atlanta Daily World*, February 27, 1943.

109. Art Carter, "99th Lads Also Excel on the Hardwood Floor", *Afro-American*, March 18, 1944.

reported to have experienced no racial prejudice.[110] However wartime integration of sports teams was not merely limited to distinct racial teams competing against each other. One of the biggest positives to come out of the European summer of 1945 for Ollie Stewart was the rise of fully integrated baseball teams.[111]

The final voice that the correspondents added to the advancement of integration was their own. The frantic and day-by-day nature of wartime reporting meant that quite often it benefitted correspondents to pool resources and information. The correspondents would often talk about sharing a jeep ride or a plane trip with white American correspondents. They referenced the friendships they made with white reporters, even mentioning them by name and listing the newspaper they represented.[112] In liberated France Ollie Stewart wrote home of a party he and other black correspondents had attended in honor of the press. Stewart rubbed shoulders with "just about everybody in the newspaper and radio world."[113] Often the articles mentioned interactions that would have incensed those back home who held on to the old racial status quo, interactions such as black and white correspondents sharing a drink, a meal, a Berlin mansion, and in one case a bed made from a bale of hay in a French barn.[114]

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110. Ollie Stewart, "European Wac Basketball Tournament Has One Colored Quint-It's Winner", *Afro-American*, February 2, 1946.

111. Ollie Stewart, "Big Leaguers, Sepia Stars Share Honors on Diamond", *Afro-American*, October 13, 1945.

112. For examples, see: Max Johnson, "Max Reaches Rhine but Can't Cross; Bridges Blown", *Afro-American*, December 9, 1944; David Orro, "Firecrackers, Orientals Give Orro Case Of Jitters On Ocean Convoy", *Chicago Defender*, April 17, 1943; Ollie Stewart, "War Correspondents Get Own Breakfasts – Stewart", *Afro-American*, August 5, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Our Troops in Paris", *Afro-American*, September 2, 1944; Ollie Stewart, "Ollie Stewart with Writers in Berlin", *Afro-American*, July 14, 1945; Ollie Stewart, "Newsmen Thumb Ride with General", *Afro-American*, July 28, 1945; Edward Toles, "Toles Hits Dirt As Nazi Shells Scatter Scribes", *Chicago Defender*, September 23, 1944.

113. Ollie Stewart, "Jeep Breakdown Blessing in Disguise for Stewart", *Afro-American*, September 16, 1944.

114. John Q Jordan, "Interesting Notes of Correspondent on Invasion Tour", *Journal and Guide*, September 9, 1944.

In the middle of 1943 David Orro was hospitalized during his stay in England. Confined to the ward, he made friends with other African Americans in the hospital, including a fellow Chicago native, Private Theodore Gaines. A week later, Orro was discharged: "I stopped in Theodore's ward to say goodbye. He was sitting on his bed playing black-jack with two fair-haired boys, one from Mobile, Ala., the other from Sweetwater, Texas. I tried to picture just how the game might have turned out if it were being played in either of those towns."[115] In their coverage of white nations, the correspondents had written of a world where segregation and discrimination didn't exist. But, looming in the distance, was the homeland they were to return to, a homeland where the specter of racism loomed. It was a homeland whose power and influence was spreading over the globe, a power that the correspondents were keen to write themselves into. But with that spread came the same institutions and attitudes that the correspondents were fighting against, the same omission that necessitated their presence overseas.

The correspondents addressed this tension. The spread of modern America provided them with further proof of the inventiveness, relevance, and modernity of African Americans. Through jazz they emphasized the importance of black culture not just to America, but to a world embracing new and innovative musical trends. They did their best to stifle the influential voice of Hollywood and its black characters that undermined the cause. Aware that the spread of American power brought with it the spread of American racial values, they contested the viability and efficacy of segregation. They showed how the exportation of segregation was harmful to war effort and to relations with America's allies. And, where possible, they showed that without the restrictions of segregation, people of all Allied nations cooperated with friendship and unity, in the cause of democracy.

115. David Orro, "London Calling", *Chicago Defender*, July 17, 1943.

Conclusion:
Returning Home

The speed with which the correspondents returned to normalcy following the declarations of peace could not have been more jarring. The build-up to the war had been a long, protracted process. African American eyes had been set firmly on Europe from the rise of Hitler and his Nazi party. Italian aggression in Ethiopia inspired pages of reportage and analysis within the nation's many black newspapers. For those not assigned to cover the occupations of Japan and Germany, the come-down was comparatively brief. By November of 1945 Charles Loeb had resumed his pre-war duties as city editor of the Cleveland *Call and Post*, while the *Afro*'s Art Carter was filing reports on the football match between Howard University and North Carolina's Johnson C. Smith University.[1] By 1946 Francis Yancey of the *Afro* had also returned to his duties as a sports reporter, once again standing ringside to document the boxing matches he so loved.[2] Frank Bolden received a promotion for his wartime work, immediately taking a place among the *Courier*'s editorial staff.[3]

Some were changed by the war, their experience of the world outside the United States forever souring their relationship to their homeland. Ollie Stewart, correspondent for the *Afro-American*, emigrated to France in the late 1940s, one of the few places in the world

1. "Loeb Back Home from War; Resumes Old Job", *Call and Post*, November 10, 1945; Art Carter, "Bears Defeat Lincoln; Smith Bulls Topple Howard", *Afro-American*, November 3, 1945.
2. Francis Yancey, "Washington Beats Gomez with Ease", *Afro-American*, February 2, 1946.
3. Letter to Frank E. Bolden, Editorial Rooms, from John R. Williams, *Frank E. Bolden Papers, 1930-1967*, Box 1, Folder 32.

where he felt accepted, and opened a perfumery in Paris.[4] Splitting his time between his business and work as a freelance journalist and essayist, he often wrote to his publisher to sound out the viability of topics such as the Red Ball Express, black soldiers at the Battle of the Bulge, and black forces in the post-war occupation of Europe.[5] Hawthorn Books asked him to write a biography of his good friend Josephine Baker but the plans eventually fell through.[6] He even wrote a manuscript entitled *No Way to Glory*, detailing his time as a war correspondent. The book was unfortunately rejected by publishers.[7] By 1951 the *Journal and Guide*'s Lemuel Graves and the *Courier*'s Ollie Harrington had also swapped America for France, more in a long line of African American pilgrims seeking an escape from persecution by making the journey across the Atlantic.[8]

Stewart was not the only one who tried to preserve his wartime experiences. The personal papers of Enoc Waters paint the picture of an increasingly frustrated man, attempting to keep alive the memory of the work done by the wartime correspondents, and being stonewalled at every turn. From haranguing Howard University about the creation of an archive on the black press, to attempting to organize conferences for discussion of black war correspondents, to seeking the publication of his memoirs, Waters spent the 1970s

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4. Business card, *Ollie Anderson Stewart Papers*, Box 200-1, Folder 1; Letter from Claude A. Barnett to Ollie Stewart, March 28, 1959, *Claude A. Barnett Papers*, Box 255, Folder 3.

5. Letters from Katherine Young to Ollie Stewart, October 25, 1973; August 28, 1974; September 20, 1974, *Ollie Anderson Stewart Papers*, Box 200-1, Folder 11.

6. Letter from Robert Oskam, Assistant Editor, Hawthorn Books, to Ollie Stewart, July 17, 1975; Letter from Katherine Young to Ollie Stewart, October 4, 1975, *Ollie Anderson Stewart Papers*, Box 200-1, Folder 11.

7. Letter From Bert Young, Editorial Assistant, Howard University Press, to Ollie Stewart, September 30, 1975, *Ollie Anderson Stewart Papers*, Box 200-1, Folder 11.

8. The reasons behind Graves' departure is unknown. Harrington left after being named a communist by Attorney General Tom Clark. Though not concerned for his own safety, Harrington did not want government agencies exploiting his links to the NAACP to discredit the organization, and so left the country. *Who's Who In Colored America: 1950*, (supplement), James G. Fleming and Christian E. Burckel, eds. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: Christian E. Burkel & Associates, 1950), Seventh Edition, 221; Ollie Harrington, "Why I Left America", in *Why I Left America and Other Essays*, ed. M. Thomas Inge (Jackson, MI: University Pres of Mississippi, 1993), 104.

grimly determined to enshrine the legacy of the black press of the mid-twentieth century.[9] Having trouble publishing his own work, Waters reserved special condemnation for the work of PhD dissertations on the black press, belittling them as "shallow histories…repetitious and [which] lack the intimacy that can only come from one who has been of the black press."[10] In 1979, almost defeated, he wrote to Toni Morrison, begging her aid in the publication of his memoir.[11] In 1987, that memoir was published by Path Press, *American Diary* coming in at just under half the length of its original 1000 page draft.

Most of the correspondents were young men when they served overseas, and as the post-war years passed, saw their careers bloom. Art Carter spent a great deal of time in Montgomery during 1955, covering the bus boycott, and twice served on the jury for the Pulitzer Prize.[12] Later he became an editor at the *Afro*.[13] Vincent Tubbs also became an editor, in his case for both *Jet* and *Ebony*, before becoming the first African American President of the Hollywood Publicists Guild.[14] Some saw their careers move outside of the press. Deton Brooks, who had written for the *Defender*, became Dr. Deton Brooks, Executive Director, Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, and was responsible for

9. See, for example: Letter to Howard University Black Press Archive from Enoc P. Waters, undated (mid-late 1970s), *Enoch P. Waters Papers*, Box 176-7, Folder 3, Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Letter to Enoc P. Waters from Jackson State University, November 17, 1978, *Enoch P. Waters Papers*, Box 176-2, Folder 3; Letters to various publishers throughout the late 1970s, *Enoch P. Waters Papers*, Box 176-1, Folder 15.

10. Letter to 'George' from Enoc P. Waters, July 27, 1978, *Enoch P. Waters Papers*, Box 176-1, Folder 19.

11. Letter to Toni Morrison from Enoc P. Waters, June 1, 1979, *Enoch P. Waters Papers*, Box 176-1, Folder 26.

12. "The History of the Black and White Press," 46; Obituary, *Washington Post*, May 24, 1988.

13. "The History of the Black and White Press," 41.

14. "Obituary: Vincent Tubbs; First Black to Head Motion Picture Union", *LA Times*, January 19, 1989.

many urban youth programs in Chicago during the 1960s aimed at combatting poverty and illiteracy.[15]

Those correspondents who looked back on the war in later years remembered it as a time of danger, adventure, and new experiences. But they also remembered the war, and their role in it, as something more. Both Loeb and Carter used the word "service" to characterize their time as correspondents, the importance of their writing going beyond mere reportage.[16] Vincent Tubbs believed that the fundamental aim of the black press was to write itself out of existence. If it was successful in illuminating and resolving the injustices within America it would cease to be necessary. It was a mission that he dedicated himself to in his wartime coverage.[17] Enoc Waters recalled the three years he spent as a war correspondent as one of the highlights of his career. "We were fighting two wars," he would later write, "one against the Japanese, our military enemy, and one against the racism that limited their [African American] roles and advancement both in the army and in their lives at home as civilians."[18] Though published more than four decades after the war's end, Waters' *American Diary* still conceptualized the war through the idealism of the Double-V.

It was the Double-V, both in practice and in spirit, that defined how the correspondents represented the war. The war pulled together the elements that had characterized the key wars of America's past, exaggerating and globalizing them to create a conflict like no other. Black men and women were called upon to fight for a nation in which they had little stake, and of which they could be excused for not feeling the same levels of

15. Minutes, meeting of Chicago Committee of Urban Opportunity, September 23, 1966, *Deton Jackson Brooks, Jr., Papers*, Chicago History Museum, Box 1, Folder 5.

16. Oral History Interview with Charles Loeb (1971), *Black Journalists Project*; 'The History of the Black and White Press: A Transcript of a Recorded Interview' with Mr. Arthur (Art) M. Carter, Publisher of the Washington Afro-American, November 9, 1941, Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, 34.

17. Oral History Interview with Vincent Tubbs (1971), *Black Journalists Project*.

18. Waters, *American Diary*, 395.

patriotic pride as their white countrymen. James G. Thompson's question to the *Pittsburgh Courier*, "Should I sacrifice my life to live half American?" was the same question that had been asked by America's black citizens throughout the nation's history. Like the Revolution and Civil War, World War II was fought with a clearly articulated cause, the rhetoric of democracy and equality trumpeted by media, citizens, and government alike. Unlike the Revolution and Civil War, this moral vocabulary of the war effort was not only turned inwards upon America, it was also projected outwards from America. Roosevelt's message of democracy, of the Four Freedoms, was to apply to "everywhere in the world."[19]

Not since the Civil War had black soldiers taken up arms against such a clear manifestation of racial hatred and bigotry, against an enemy that not only represented racism, but new, 'scientific' forms of racism that sought to codify and legitimize with the tools of modernity the proposition that not all were created equal. Alongside Nazi Germany stood fascist Italy, whose unlawful expansion into Ethiopia had dashed any hopes that the age of violent European colonial expansion had ceased. At the same moment, black soldiers were called to the Pacific to defend white prestige against a non-white enemy, asked to turn their weapons on the nation that, just a few years earlier, had been the model of what non-white nations could achieve.

It was a conflict that would see technology deployed as it never had been. From weaponry to communication, to the very logistics of warfare, mechanization and technology governed every facet of U.S. military life. For African Americans, still fighting the idea that their race rendered them unsuitable for the advancement of the modern world, it was an opportunity that could not be missed.

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19. Franklin D. Roosevelt: "Annual Message to Congress on the State of the Union," January 6, 1941. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=16092.

Finally, and uniquely, the fight against these three distant foes took African Americans outside of the borders of the United States on an unprecedented scale. Black men and women, from all walks of life, from all over America, the vast majority of whom had never even considered the possibility of experiencing the world outside their homeland, now travelled to Europe, to Asia, to Africa and the Pacific, interacting with the world at large, and seeing themselves through the eyes of others.

The Pittsburgh *Courier*, though not the first to recognize the need for a conceptualization of the war that encompassed these challenges and these opportunities, was the newspaper that captured African Americans' role in easily translatable terms. The Double-V, the victory at home and the victory abroad, was the rallying cry that guided the activist black press through the war. "Reduced to its very essence," *Courier* reporter and war correspondent Edgar T. Rouzeau wrote before he set out on his deployment, "this means that Black America must fight two wars and win in both. There is the convulsive war abroad. There is the bloodless war at home. The first must be fought with the destructive weapons of science. The other must be fought with the pen."[20] And fight they did.

The correspondents took up their pens, and set to the task of using their unique position to bring to America's black population an account of the war that not only informed them of the exploits of their family and friends in uniform, but performed the "service" that made the black press such a fierce advocate of the rights of African Americans. In a historiography that has largely ignored the foreign element of the Double-V campaign, the correspondents' articles show a depth that goes beyond mere surface level reportage, revealing an engagement with contemporary civil rights debates and strategies that is missing from scholarly accounts of the campaign, and bringing fresh perspectives to

20. Rouzeau, "'Black America Wars on Double Front for High Stakes' – Rouzeau", *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 7, 1942.

scholarly debates on the nature of African American activism in the middle of the twentieth century.

At their core, the articles produced by the correspondents of the black press constituted an argument for, and a demonstration of, the place African Americans held in America and in the modern, western world. Not just filling a gap in coverage left by unsympathetic white media outlets and an indifferent War Department, their wartime coverage served as a rebuttal of the racialized thinking that permeated all levels of their daily lives in America.

Most studies of the African American contribution to the war effort have honed in on the 'man-making' potential of warfare, of the deliberate enlistment of black men in America's armed forces in order to assault the white monopoly on manhood. The correspondents were no different in their coverage, emphasizing the fighting prowess of African American men, and the transformative capacity of military service. However the correspondents' bolstering of black masculinity throughout the war was not just the standard chest-beating of World War II coverage, though there was undoubtedly an element of that. The correspondents were also applying the same logic that guided the creation of Joe Louis's careful public face to the many thousands of men deployed overseas, re-directing violence away from its regular associations with black bestiality and aggression and towards the nobility of the citizen-soldier and the embodiment of martial manhood. Instead of skill in the ring they gave their readers of stories of skill in the battlefields of France, in the air above Italy, and in the jungles of the South Pacific. Normalizing their own 'greatest generation', the correspondents were taking part in the ongoing struggle to recast and reshape black masculinity and to elevate African Americans to a level that had been established by whites as the benchmark for civilization, value, and personhood.

The importance of the correspondents' approach to the re-casting of black manhood is the extent to which they used wartime service to also rehabilitate the image of the black man as worker and employee. Connecting the overseas element of World War II to domestic campaigns for workers' rights that had their roots in the Depression and New Deal years, the correspondents adapted their strategies, maintaining a focus on the essentiality of economic rights to wider civil rights while altering their approach to suit the restrictions and opportunities provided by the war. Creating a 'collective résumé' for black men, the correspondents used the employment of black soldiers in the highly technical service and support roles as a proof of their suitability for such roles in post-war America, cleverly co-opting and inverting what was seen as a shameful restriction to serve a nobler purpose.

But what truly set the correspondents apart from their co-workers and compatriots waging the domestic Double-V, what gives them their greatest value as historical sources, was their illustration of the new interactions between African Americans and the wider world. Reporting not only on the manner in which black troops experienced the world outside the borders of the United States, the correspondents reported on the way in which the world experienced African Americans. Staunch advocates of the rights of non-white peoples to self-determination, and conceptualizing the war as a global struggle for global democracy, the correspondents also used their articles on the interaction with the outside world to highlight the Americanness of African Americans. Though standing in solidarity with the non-white world, and illustrating the capacity of all 'colored' people to excel if given the opportunity, the correspondents nevertheless demonstrated the vast cultural differences between African Americans and other non-white peoples. Contrasting these differences with the ease with which black soldiers integrated themselves into white, western nations, socially and culturally, the correspondents argued that the treatment they received at the hands of white Americans was the exception, rather than the rule when it

came to interaction with white peoples. Not only highlighting the uniqueness of American racism, this strategy allowed the correspondents to demonstrate the essentiality of African American culture to modern American culture at a time when American culture was firmly establishing its dominance. Foreign peoples, and importantly white foreign peoples, recognized African American *as* American, and American *as* African American, entwined and inseparable.

The correspondents did all this with their eyes on the future. Both they, and the soldiers they covered, saw the war as a potential turning point in the struggle of African Americans for liberty and equality within their homeland. Lem Graves, covering the arrival of returning soldiers in his home town of Newport, wrote of men who "wanted to know if there was any greater share in American 'democracy' awaiting them than there was available to them when they left."[21] Theodore Stanford, writing from Europe in the aftermath of V-E Day, noted a "more matured and democratically determined" black man, ready to return home to carry with him the continuing fight against fascism and racism.[22] Edgar Rouzeau warned readers that "a victory abroad for the so-called forces of democracy will not relieve the plight of the American Negro unless a similar victory is achieved on the home front."[23]

In time, many such victories were achieved. Within twenty years of the war's end *Brown vs Board of Education* had overturned the legality of *de jure* segregation, and Congress had passed both the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. These changes had come about through the agitation by both those who had served, and the generation they had raised. Like those of the classic Civil Rights movement, the men and women of

21. Lem Graves, "Negro Veterans Glad to be Home but Hope to Find More Democracy", *Journal and Guide*, July 21, 1945.
22. Theodore Stanford, "Democracy Goal of Tan Yanks Abroad", *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 19, 1945.
23. Edgar T. Rouzeau, "The Negro Has Power to Dictate his own Position in U.S. Economic Scale", *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 7, 1945.

which adapted their approach to civil rights agitation to suit the new challenges of the Cold War period and the opportunities presented by the increased visibility that came with technologies such as television presented, the correspondents of the wartime black press illustrate the malleability of civil rights strategies. The old struggles for workers' rights, for the cultural place of African Americans within America, against racism legitimized by science, were all just as prevalent during the 1940s as they had been in previous decades.

Jacquelyn Dowd Hall has urged historians to look beyond the spatial and temporal limits of the classic civil rights movement to find the trends of African American activism that make up what she calls the 'Long Civil Rights' movement. Looking at the wartime period, and the overseas element of the black press's famous Double-V campaign, only small elements of the strategies of methods used by activists in the pre and post-war world are visible. However, in looking for the underlying aims that such activism is geared towards, much more is visible. Not a period where activism stopped or was redirected, the overseas element of the Double-V was merely a time when activism changed to suit the unique circumstances of war. The struggle continued, but it was given new forms and routed down new paths. Strategies unique to the period were formulated and deployed. Strategies that would grow to prominence in the new Cold War context saw their first steps taken. Strategies thought relegated to the turn of the century and largely abandoned by the late 1930s were resurrected.

Surprising as it is, there is still much about the African American experience of World War II that is yet to be explored. The direct continuity between World War II and the civil right gains that followed needs further exploration. *Victory at Home and Abroad* is a step in this process. Much good work has been done tracking the individual stories of black soldiers and nurses, of collecting and interpreting the day-to-day struggles against a Jim Crow military, when service was as much a fight against internal enemies as it was

external. But what makes war such a fascinating subject of study is that as well as the stories of individual heroism and courage, of hardship and sacrifice, are those of the mobilization of concepts and rhetoric, of the mass movement of peoples, of the upending of lives on a mass scale, only to be returned to a state of peace with the contexts and knowledge upon which people base their lives forever changed. *Victory at Home and Abroad* has sought to work in some way towards exploring this second element, this wider scale of the war, that re-worked how African Americans understand the world, and through that, themselves.

Appendix — The Correspondents

Herein follows a more complete record of the WWII correspondents of the black press.

By Newspaper

Afro-American (Baltimore)

Arthur 'Art' Carter — 1943-1944 — ETO & North Africa

One of the many sports reporters turned correspondents, Carter was also one of the most prolific, writing over two hundred and fifty articles during his fourteen months overseas. Arriving first in North Africa, Carter spent most of his assignment covering the high-profile 99th and 92nd, following the units through Sicily and into Italy. Understandably most of his articles revolved around black manhood and masculinity. He returned home primarily because his mother was so worried about his safety. After the war he served twice on the jury for the Pulitzer Prize.

Max Johnson — 1944-1945 — ETO, Italy & North Africa

Like Carter, Max Johnson was a correspondent for the *Afro* who arrived first in North Africa, before following the 92nd and 99th up the length of Italy. Late in 1944 he made the short trip westwards to cover the invasion of Southern France. Unlike other correspondents Johnson was not as fixated upon the glamor of the 92nd and 99th, spending a great deal of time covering black support units in the Italian theatre, as well as being one of

the most useful sources for depictions of the interaction between African American soldiers and Italian natives. His articles covered almost all facets of the war that this thesis deals with. At one stage during an interview with Joe Louis he made a bet with the boxing champion on the end date of the war. Both men picked dates in 1944.

Ollie Stewart — 1942-1946 — ETO, North Africa & United Kingdom

One of the highest profile correspondents of the black press, Ollie Stewart was also one of the longest deployed. Born in Louisiana in 1906, Stewart was a sports reporter in the late 1930s. In 1941 and 1942 he travelled across America reporting on conditions throughout the many military bases in which black units were stationed. Departing for England in August of 1942, he based himself out of London until the end of the year, relocating to North Africa in December. Continuing the standard set by Carter and Johnson, Stewart attached himself to the Tuskegee Airmen, arriving in Sicily late in July, 1943. He stayed in Italy until the end of the year, returning to the U.S. for a rest in January of 1944. In June of that year he was back in London, this time preparing to cover the D-Day landings. From this point Stewart followed the Allied advance into Germany until the surrender. He then stayed the cove the first months of the occupation, splitting his time between Paris and Germany. Finally, in June 1946, Stewart returned home. However he did not stay long, emigrating to Paris and opening a perfumery, working on the side as a freelance journalist. Stewart was prolific in his time as a correspondent, covering every topic on which this thesis focuses. An engaging writer, there was a positivity and enthusiasm to his articles, as well as an expressiveness that brought the war to life. He could charitably be described as quite a cad. Described by Roi Ottley as a “lone wolf, hunting down cognac and French whores,” Stewart’s personal papers are filled with accounts of his romantic exploits while overseas.

Vincent Tubbs — 1943-1946 — Australia, Japan & Pacific

Vincent Tubbs was the Pacific Theatre's equivalent of Ollie Stewart. Born in Texas, Tubbs' father was a printer, and from his childhood Tubbs knew his path would lead him to journalism. A graduate of Morehouse, Tubbs' pre-war work for the *Afro* was as a lynch reporter, traveling incognito to southern towns to cover the aftermath of lynchings, a job which often saw him threatened by local whites, and often shunned by African Americans fearful of being seen to associate with an employee of a northern paper. Tubbs' first duty as war correspondent was to cover the arrival of black troops in Australia. From June 1943 to August 1944, Tubbs covered the war in the Pacific, basing himself out of Australia, and making trips north to visit troops stationed across the South Pacific. He returned to the US late in 1944 for a rest of several months. He was dispatched to cover the war in Europe in 1945, but arrived just weeks before V-E day, barely having time to establish himself. In September of that year he arrived in Japan to cover the occupation. After the war Tubbs became an editor, working for both *Jet* and *Ebony*, before moving to Hollywood, eventually becoming the first African American President of the Hollywood Publicists Guild.

Francis Yancey — 1945 — CBI, ETO, Italy & Pacific

Arriving late in proceedings, Francis Yancey continued the Afro's tradition of using sports reporters for their correspondents. Limited in his output due to the lateness of his arrival and the amount of traveling he did, between February and November 1945, Yancey covered the liberation of the Philippines, returned to the United States, interviewed soldiers in Austria, covered the Tuskegee Airmen in Italy, had a personal holiday in Turkey, arrived in Burma to witness the surrender of Japanese forces there, briefly visited China, before returning to the U.S. via India and Jerusalem. A strong advocate for the work done by black service units, Yancey was perhaps the most widely traveled of all the correspondents. Also

a staff artist for the *Afro* prior to the war, Yancey produced many sketches for the newspaper during his assignment.

Chicago Defender

Deton J. Brooks — 1944-1945 — CBI, Japan.

A relative latecomer to events, Deton J. Brooks arrived in the China-Burma-India theatre late in 1944, staying there until sometime in September 1945. He very briefly travelled to Japan to witness the official surrender in Tokyo Bay, writing a small handful of articles from the Japanese capital. He was home by November 1945. He wrote heavily on India's struggles for independence, and was a strong advocate for black support troops involved in construction of the Ledo Road. He was constantly on the move, seeming to constant alternate between Indian cities and the jungles of Burma every few weeks. After the war he was awarded his doctorate, and spent much of his adult life in Chicago, rising to be the Executive Director of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, an organization aimed at aiding urban youth.

David Orro — 1943 — United Kingdom

David Orro had what he saw as the misfortune of being stationed to the United Kingdom in the period between after the excitement of the battle of Britain, but before the invasion of Normandy. Often bemoaning the lack of combat action, Orro put his skills as the *Defender*'s society editor to good use, detailing the day-to-day interactions between African American soldiers and the British population. It was rare that his articles did not include one scene from the inside of an English pub, or involve a black soldier hitting it off with locals. Within the seeming frivolity of his articles however was a strong undercurrent

of activism, his articles often pointing to the trouble being caused by white Americans seeking to export Jim Crow attitudes to the United Kingdom.

Edward Toles — 1944-1945 — ETO & United Kingdom

Judging by what was written on him by fellow correspondents, Edward Toles was the correspondent most effected by the war. Arriving in the United Kingdom in 1944, both ANP reporter Rudolph Dunbar and *PM* reporter Roi Ottley noted that Toles was "a wreck" from the constant V-1 attacks on London. Indeed, Toles' output while in London was minimal, his reports dry and infrequent. However in July 1944 Toles landed with American forces in Normandy, and from then on his output exploded, both in volume and in the expressiveness of his writing. He followed the Allied advance through France into Germany, covering the early months of the Allied occupation. He had returned home by September of 1945. As to be expected, much of his output revolved around martial masculinity and the defense of service personnel.

Enoc Waters — 1943-1945 — Australia, Pacific, & Japan

A writer of thoughtful and well-researched articles before the war Enoc (sometimes Enoch) Waters was a serious man who approached his duties as a war correspondent with dedication and professionalism. A keen race advocate, Waters took his enthusiasm for the cause to the Pacific, covering black soldiers at work in Australia and the islands to its north from June of 1943 to September of 1945, with a brief return to the States in December of 1944. Repeatedly emphasizing the acceptance of black soldiers by Australians, Waters is also a key source for the depiction of the wild and dangerous spaces of the Pacific, and the transformative capacity of such spaces to turn African American boys into African American men. Waters made a brief stop in Japan on his way home at the war's end. More than any other correspondent, Waters sought to preserve the legacy of the wartime

correspondents in the decades after the war, writing to many black organizations and figures with various ideas for ensuring that their expertise and experiences were not lost. His memoir, *American Diary*, is one of the few published works by a correspondent on their time during the war.

Journal and Guide (Norfolk, Virginia)

Lemuel 'Lem' Graves — 1944-1945 — Italy

Another sports reporter turned correspondent, Lem Graves was born in Tallahassee, Florida, in 1915. One of the less activist of the correspondents, Graves' articles from Italy during 1944 and 1945 were largely centered on the combat exploits of black troops. Only occasionally explicitly linking his observations to civil rights rhetoric, Graves instead produced several articles a week attesting to the prowess of combat units, predominantly the 99th. Though not overt as some of his compatriots in his linking of the war to civil rights, he nevertheless was clear on the importance that the success of combat soldiers would have for perceptions of black masculinity back home. After the war Graves frequently covered President Truman on overseas trips, being one of the first African American reporters to travel with a president. By 1950 Graves had emigrated to France.

John Q. Jordan — 1944-1945 — Italy, ETO

Having spent the early years of the war covering discrimination in war industries, John Q. Jordan arrived in Italy in July of 1944 keen to carry on the struggle for civil rights. Producing a steady output of between 4-6 articles a week, Jordan spent most of his time covering the men of the 92nd and 99th, with a brief trip to France to cover Operation Dragoon. A strong writer, Jordan used his time to fight segregation, promote the fighting and working ability of black men, and challenge the very assumptions of the 'master race'.

After the war Jordan became an editor for the *Journal and Guide*. There is a scholarship named in his honor for journalism students at Norfolk State University.

Thomas W. Young — 1943 — North Africa & ETO

Thomas Young had an unusual pre-war career for a wartime correspondent. Admitted to the Norfolk bar in 1933, Young was a journalist for the *Journal and Guide* from 1932-1939, and the paper's business manager throughout the 40s. His short overseas assignment came in 1943, when he traveled to North Africa and Italy to cover the 99th. Perhaps the least activist of the correspondents, his coverage comes closest to routine wartime coverage, presenting the facts of combat and little else.

Pittsburgh Courier

Haskell Cohen — 1944-1945 — Italy

The *Courier*'s white, Jewish reporter, Haskell Cohen, was, unsurprisingly, a sports reporter prior to the war. Arriving in Italy in 1944, Cohen's assignment was not a long one. He did however take to his task with enthusiasm, his vivid articles depicting the heroism, and martial intelligence displayed buy the men of the 92nd Infantry Division. Despite not having the same background as other correspondents, Cohen did occasionally take time to point to instances of segregation and race prejudice between black soldiers and white Americans, and the absence of these prejudices in black soldiers' dealings with local Italians. After the war Cohen continued his strange and interesting career, being instrumental in both the creation of the NBA All-Star game, and the introduction of the shot clock to the sport.

Randy Dixon — 1943-1945 — ETO & United Kingdom

Born in 1909 and with an association with black newspapers that began in his high school years in Philadelphia, Dixon was yet another sports reporter turned correspondent. Arriving in the United Kingdom in February of 1943, Dixon settled into life in England, reporting on the successes and talents of African American service personnel, the influence of American culture upon the people of the small island, and sending to reader the latest news on the ongoing struggles of colonial peoples for self-determination. Landing on the Normandy beachhead a few days after the D-Day landings in 1944, Dixon stayed as close as he could to the Allied advance, seeking out black units wherever they were taking the fight to the Germans. Though turning his focus towards combat stories, he still found time to track the progress of the anticolonial struggle. Described by Rudolph Dunbar as a very funny man, Dixon's articles were evocative and emotive, though at times he became carried away, often using three or four words where one would have sufficed.

Ollie Harrington — 1944 — Italy, ETO

The famous cartoonist responsible for 'Bootsie', Harrington's short stint covering soldiers of the 99th and 92nd in Italy was largely unremarkable. Equally so was his coverage of the Allied invasion of Southern France, an event that he predicted would provide him with brilliant material for his editor, but which disappointingly turned out to be a "dud". Like the *Journal and Guide*'s Thomas Young, Harrington's articles were largely without activist sentiment, and were mostly reports on the day-to-day of combat units. As is to be expected from a cartoonist, he often sent back with his articles sketches of black soldiers in action, many of which were published alongside his articles. After the war Harrington, named as a communist in McCarthyite America, left in self-imposed exile, living out the last three decades of his life in East Germany.

Collins George — 1945 — Italy

Collins George arrived in Italy too late to produce a meaningful body of work, only beginning his assignment late in February, 1945. Though not having time to write too much in the way of content, he did document the ongoing PR struggles of the 92nd Infantry Division as news of their retreat in Christmas 1944 made mainstream American newspapers. He returned to the United States immediately following the German surrender.

Edgar T. Rouzeau — 1942-1943 — Italy, North Africa, & West Africa

Edgar Rouzeau stands as one of the most interesting of all of the correspondents for the purpose of historical analysis of the period. Though sharing many of the strategies that his fellow correspondents adopted, Rouzeau was overt in his activism, and frequently articulated the meanings behind what it was he chose to report on, and how he chose to report on it. Though slightly more conservative in his views than other correspondents, he was a staunch advocate for the cause of civil rights, and most of his articles were explicitly geared towards enacting change. Prior to the war he had written expert opinion pieces for the *Courier*, articulating the best way to enact the goals of the Double-V. In September of 1942 he traveled overseas to North Africa, becoming one of the earliest of the black correspondents to be dispatched. He stayed in Africa for the next year, covering not only the Allied fight against the Afrika Corps, but also journeying to West African nations, most notably Liberia. He covered the invasion of Sicily and the part played by the 99th and by black support units. He returned to the U.S. in December of 1943, taking up a post in Washington to cover events in the capital for the *Courier*.

Billy Rowe — 1944 — Pacific

A society and entertainment reporter prior to the war, Billy Rowe arrived in the Pacific theatre in March of 1944, primarily to cover the men of the 93rd Infantry Division.

Though only overseas for a short period, and producing a small number of articles, Rowe nevertheless filled his articles with tales of bravery and manhood, of the trying, primitive conditions of the Pacific jungle, and of the difficulty of the task of pushing the Japanese northwards. After his return to the United States late in 1944, Rowe received a citation from white Brigadier General Leonard Boyd of the 93rd for "meritorious service" in aiding in the evacuation of wounded from the battlefield while under fire.

Theodore Stanford — 1945 — ETO

Like Collins George, Theodore Stanford arrived late to the European theatre, his first article from Paris written in March of 1945. Though doing his best to work with the limited time available to him, promoting the cause of black masculinity, his arrival in the theatre as the war wound down did provide him with many opportunities to look towards the postwar future, interviewing black soldiers looking to articulate the meaning of their service going forwards.

Associated Negro Press (ANP)

Rudolph Dunbar — 1939-1946 — ETO, Germany, & United Kingdom

Rudolph Dunbar, the British Guyanese musician and conductor, was the ANP's London correspondent in the lead up to the war. As German aggression grew, Dunbar's coverage of European news organically shifted towards war coverage. There are two distinct periods of Dunbar's writing. From 1939 to 1944 he worked from London's Ministry of Information, sending to readers the latest news on African American soldier stationed in the UK, as well as a strong focus on global race issues. From the middle of 1944 he followed black soldiers from the beaches of Normandy through Europe into Germany, his coverage shifting to reflect his change of duties, filling his dispatches with

tales of heroism and martial prowess. After the German surrender Dunbar stayed for a while on the continent, spreading his time between Germany and France. Criticized by *PM* correspondent Roi Ottley as being a nice man but not a journalist, Dunbar's prose was dry and stilted, and contrasted greatly with the other correspondents, whose careers as writers had honed their skills. An important figure in his own right, Dunbar routinely conducted white orchestras across the United Kingdom, and, in the aftermath of the war, across Europe.

Joe 'Scoop' Jones — 1942-1944 — Pacific

Born in Louisiana, 'Scoop' Jones was somewhat of an exception among the correspondents. Worked as a journalist for the *Lousiana Weekly*, Jones was drafted early in the war. Dispatched as a member of an engineering unit to the Pacific, Jones used his spare time to write articles for the ANP. At first sporadic, he managed to establish an impressive level of productivity. Eventually he was awarded official correspondents' accreditation, but continued to serve with his unit. His articles often discussed the difficulties soldiers faced in the wilds of the Pacific, the important roles being undertaken by support troops, and the cooperation black soldiers engaged in with white Americans and Australians away from restrictions of 'civilization'.

George Padmore — 1940-1945 — United Kingdom

Whole books have been written on the life of George Padmore. Having been kicked out of Germany by the arrival of the Nazi party, activist, organizer, and ex-Communist Party member George Padmore took up residence in London, writing for the ANP. By 1940 he was giving his expert opinion to events in the war, and how they impacted the global struggles of people of color. His coverage changed little throughout the war, as he

maintained a strong focus on using the war to push for the rights and self-determination of colonial peoples.

National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA)

Frank Bolden — 1944-1945 — Middle East, CBI

Frank Bolden was undertaking his PhD in Science at the University of Pittsburgh when America entered the war, and working for the Pittsburgh Department of Public Health. Initially employed solely by the *Pittsburgh Courier* as a "war analyst and feature writer", he lent his scientific expertise to the newspaper through 1942. One of his many bold predictions was the existence of the submarine equivalent of an aircraft carrier by the war's end, somewhat prefacing the plot of 1977's James Bond film, *The Spy Who Loved Me*. In the middle of 1944 he became a correspondent for the NNPA. Initially writing from the Middle East, he moved to the China-India-Burma theatre in January of 1945. He arrived back in the US in September of 1945. Quite a verbose, at times bombastic style of writing, his writings touched on most of the major issues the correspondents covered during the war.

Charles Loeb — 1944-1945 — Pacific & Japan

Another Louisiana born correspondent, Charles Loeb worked for the Cleveland *Call and Post* in the early years of the war, most notable for his weekly 'Editorial in Rhyme'. In October of 1944, Loeb left Cleveland for the Pacific, covering events for the NNPA, his articles appearing in black newspapers across America. Frequently moving across the islands of the Pacific, as well as spending some time in the Philippines, Loeb's articles communicated the constant dangers of the region, both natural as well as Japanese. He was also keen to point to the essential part played by black support personnel in the Pacific, the undeveloped state of many Pacific islands necessitation development to support the Allied

war machine. According to an interview he gave in the 1970s, Loeb was one of the first Americans in Tokyo. The story goes that Loeb and a few white correspondents had arrived in American held Yokohama the day before MacArthur's arrival. Not wanting to waste the day, the men hopped aboard a train to Tokyo and had a day out on the town. When command learned of this the men were severely reprimanded, and were almost kicked out of Japan altogether.

Fletcher Martin — 1943-1945 — Pacific

A writer of very direct, documentary style articles, Fletcher Martin wrote for the *Louisville Defender* prior to the war, traveling overseas for the NNPA in mid-1943 and working there until the end of the war. Much like Loeb, Martin used his experiences in the Pacific to elevate black martial masculinity and the status of black men was workers. He catalogued the many perils of the Pacific, and the scale of the task that faced black soldiers looking to 'civilize' the area. He wrote on the many friendships black soldiers formed with Australians operating in the Pacific theatre. In 1946 Martin became the first African American to be awarded a Nieman fellowship at Harvard University.

By Region

Australia

Vincent Tubbs	*Afro-American*	1943-1944
Enoc Waters	*Chicago Defender*	1943-1945

China-Burma-India

Francis Yancey	*Afro-American*	1945
Deton J. Brooks	*Chicago Defender*	1944-1945
Frank Bolden	*NNPA*	1945

European Theatre

Max Johnson	*Afro-American*	1944
Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	1944-1945
Francis Yancey	*Afro-American*	1945
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	1944-1945
Edward Toles	*Chicago Defender*	1944-1945
John Q. Jordan	*Journal and Guide*	1944
Ollie Harrington	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1944
Randy Dixon	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1944-1945
Theodore Stanford	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1945

Germany

Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	1945-1946
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	1945
Edward Toles	*Chicago Defender*	1945

Italy

Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	1943
Art Carter	*Afro-American*	1944
Max Johnson	*Afro-American*	1944-1945
Francis Yancey	*Afro-American*	1945
Thomas Young	*Journal and Guide*	1943
Lem Graves	*Journal and Guide*	1944-1945
John Q. Jordan	*Journal and Guide*	1944-1945
Edgar T. Rouzeau	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1943
Ollie Harrington	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1944
Haskell Cohen	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1944-1945
Collins George	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1945

Japan

Vincent Tubbs	*Afro-American*	1945-1946
Deton J. Brooks	*Chicago Defender*	1945
Enoc Waters	*Chicago Defender*	1945
Charles Loeb	*NNPA*	1945

Middle East

Frank Bolden	*NNPA*	1944

North Africa

Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	1942-1943
Art Carter	*Afro-American*	1943-1944
Max Johnson	*Afro-American*	1944
Thomas Young	*Journal and Guide*	1943
Edgar T. Rouzeau	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1942-1943

Pacific

Vincent Tubbs	*Afro-American*	1943-1944
Francis Yancey	*Afro-American*	1945
'Scoop' Jones	*ANP*	1942-1944
Fletcher Martin	*NNPA*	1943-1945
Charles Loeb	*NNPA*	1944-1945
Billy Rowe	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1944

United Kingdom

Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	1942, 1944
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	1939-1944
George Padmore	*ANP*	1940-1945
David Orro	*Chicago Defender*	1943
Edward Toles	*Chicago Defender*	1944
Randy Dixon	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1943-1944

West Africa

Edgar T. Rouzeau	*Pittsburgh Courier*	1942-1943

By Year

	1939	
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	United Kingdom
	1940	
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	United Kingdom
George Padmore	*ANP*	United Kingdom
	1941	
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	United Kingdom
George Padmore	*ANP*	United Kingdom
	1942	
Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	UK, North Africa
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	United Kingdom
'Scoop' Jones	*ANP*	Pacific
George Padmore	*ANP*	United Kingdom
Edgar T. Rouzeau	*Pittsburgh Courier*	North Africa, West Africa
	1943	
Art Carter	*Afro-American*	North Africa
Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	North Africa, Italy
Vincent Tubbs	*Afro-American*	Australia, Pacific
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	United Kingdom
'Scoop' Jones	*ANP*	Pacific
George Padmore	*ANP*	United Kingdom
David Orro	*Chicago Defender*	United Kingdom
Thomas Young	*Journal and Guide*	North Africa, Italy
Fletcher Martin	*NNPA*	Pacific
Randy Dixon	*Pittsburgh Courier*	United Kingdom
Edgar T. Rouzeau	*Pittsburgh Courier*	North Africa, West Africa, Italy
	1944	
Art Carter	*Afro-American*	North Africa, Italy
Max Johnson	*Afro-American*	North Africa, Italy, ETO
Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	United Kingdom, ETO
Vincent Tubbs	*Afro-American*	Australia, Pacific
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	United Kingdom, ETO
'Scoop' Jones	*ANP*	Pacific
George Padmore	*ANP*	United Kingdom
Deton J. Brooks	*Chicago Defender*	CBI
Edward Toles	*Chicago Defender*	United Kingdom, ETO
Lem Graves	*Journal and Guide*	Italy
John Q. Jordan	*Journal and Guide*	Italy, ETO
Frank Bolden	*NNPA*	Middle East
Charles Loeb	*NNPA*	Pacific
Fletcher Martin	*NNPA*	Pacific
Haskell Cohen	*Pittsburgh Courier*	Italy

Randy Dixon	*Pittsburgh Courier*	United Kingdom, ETO
Ollie Harrington	*Pittsburgh Courier*	Italy, ETO
Billy Rowe	*Pittsburgh Courier*	Pacific

1945

Max Johnson	*Afro-American*	Italy
Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	ETO, Germany
Vincent Tubbs	*Afro-American*	Japan
Francis Yancey	*Afro-American*	CBI, ETO, Italy, Pacific
Rudolph Dunbar	*ANP*	ETO, Germany
George Padmore	*ANP*	United Kingdom
Deton J. Brooks	*Chicago Defender*	CBI, Japan
Edward Toles	*Chicago Defender*	ETO, Germany
Lem Graves	*Journal and Guide*	Italy
John Q. Jordan	*Journal and Guide*	Italy
Frank Bolden	*NNPA*	CBI
Charles Loeb	*NNPA*	Pacific, Japan
Fletcher Martin	*NNPA*	Pacific
Haskell Cohen	*Pittsburgh Courier*	Italy
Randy Dixon	*Pittsburgh Courier*	ETO
Collins George	*Pittsburgh Courier*	Italy
Theodore Stanford	*Pittsburgh Courier*	ETO

1946

Ollie Stewart	*Afro-American*	Germany
Vincent Tubbs	*Afro-American*	Japan

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