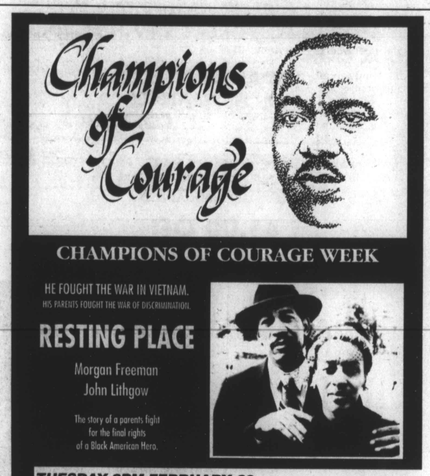
Outstanding Black publishers and editors



Whenever one talks about the Black Press, a legion of great people immediately come to mind.

People like Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm, Frederick Douglass, T. Thomas Fortune, W. E. B. DuBois, Ida B. Wells;

Charles S. Abbott, Carl Murphy, Chris Perry, C. A. Scott, P. B. Young, William O. Walker, John Johnson and others.

But other Black-press notables are sometimes bypassed because they made their marks in other fields and endeavors, and historians tend to forget that they were journalists also.

Five such notables are Marcus Garvey, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkens, Daisy Bates and Elijah Muhammad.

Garvey, who holds an indelible mark in the pages of history for his revolutionary vision in linking African-Americans with Africa, was also a fiery editor and publisher.

From 1918 to 1933, he published and edited the **Negro World**, a weekly publication that reflected the dynamism of Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association.

In the late 1920s Garvey also began the irregular publication of a monthly magazine, **Black Man**, until around 1940.

Just as the **Crisis** was, at least partially, a house organ of the National Association of Colored People, and **Opportunity** a house organ for the National Urban League, **Negro World** was a house organ for the UNIA and Garvey's "back to Africa" movement.

In the pages of a Mar. 24, 1923 **Negro World** one can still experience in print the great oratory style for which Garvey was so noted:

"To fight for African redemption does not mean that we must give up our domestic fights for political justice and industrial rights.

"It does not mean that we must become disloyal to any government or to any country wherein we were born.

"Each and every race outside of its domestic national loyalty has a loyalty to itself; therefore, it is foolish for the Negro to talk about not being interested in his own racial, political, social and industrial destiny.

"We can be as loyal American citizens or British subjects as the Irishman or the Jew, and yet fight for the redemption of Africa, a complete emancipation of the race."

In this same issue, Garvey wrote, almost prophetically:

Hon. Elijah Muhammad

A. Phillip Randolph

"In another 20 or 30 years we will have a changed world, politically, and Africa will not be one of the most backward nations;

"But Africa shall hold up the torchlight of civilization and bestow the blessings of freedom, liberty and democracy upon all mankind."

That struggle, of course, continues on the African continent, but it was Garvey who envisioned it and never doubted its outcome.

Garvey also debated many of his fellow leaders and publishers of the time and took issue with what he considered the misguided approach of the varied socialist and communist movements of the period, the weak approach of the NAACP, and the backward approach of Booker T. Washington.

They, in turn, used their publications, or publications to which they had access, to retaliate.

Eventually, Garvey, a Jamaican, would be jailed and deported from the United States, but others would continue to publish the **Negro World** until 1933 and **Black Man** until around 1940.

A. Philip Randolph, like Garvey, is more noted for his life as an activist than as a publisher.

His place in history is secured by his role as organizer and leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for 43 years.

He is also called the father of the modern Civil Rights Movement in that he organized the first planned non-violent March on Washington Movement in 1941.

Though the march was called off in the eleventh hour, it was only after President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 outlawing employment discrimination in government and the defense industries.

But Randolph, a self-proclaimed socialist, was also an editor, publisher and prolific writer.

From 1917 to 1928, he would publish **The Messenger**, a monthly magazine of poetry, political commentary and analysis, described by a 1919 justice department document as "the most able and the most dangerous of all the Negro publications."

The Messenger, which would evolve from a socialist magazine to a house organ for the porters union, would take the lead among Black publications in espousing support for Third World struggles, the emancipation of American labor and the full emancipation of women.

The justice department document would note, for example, the significance of the magazine in that "for the first time a Negro publication comes out openly for sex equality."

So militant was the magazine in its early years that it was stripped of its second-class mailing privileges for three years for publishing articles considered treasonous by the U.S. government.

In its heyday it would reach an estimated circulation of 45,000 and through its pages Randolph would engage in great ideological debates with the leading publishers and editors of his time.

These included Garvey, DuBois, T. Thomas Fortune of the **Amsterdam News**, Robert Vann of the **Pittsburgh Courier** and Charles Abbott of **The Chicago Defender**.

It was Randolph, in fact, who served notice in a 1922 editorial that **The Messenger** was "firing the opening gun in a campaign to drive . . . Garveyism . . . from the American soil."

In the last three years of the magazine's existence — from late 1925 to mid-1928 — Randolph put **The Messenger** on a course that fully supported the beginning of the Porters Union's bitter 12-year struggle to become the first Black union to gain recognition by, and a negotiated contract with one of the wealthiest and most powerful companies in the nation.

After the demise of **The Messenger**, Randolph published **The Black Worker**, a weekly union newspaper from 1929 to 1968.

When the name of Daisy Bates is noted, it is usually as a civil rights activities in Little Rock, Arkansas in the fight for school desegregation in the mid-1950s during the terrible tenure of Governor Orval Eugene Faubus.

But those involved in that fearful struggle also know Ms. Bates and her husband, L. C. Bates, as the fearless publishers of the Arkansas **State Press**, a weekly newspaper founded by the two in 1941.

Like Cornish and Russwurm, Daisy and L.C. founded the **State press** specifically as a crusading press designed to allow African-Americans to speak for themselves and to lead the fight for freedom.

In her autobiography, Daisy Bates makes it clear that profit was not their first motive for publishing.

"Our decision was based on the conviction that a newspaper was needed to carry on the fight for Negro rights as nothing else can," she says.

"If we could get advertisers to support a crusading paper, all well and good. If not — well, that was part of the gamble."

And so the **State Press**, which would reach a top circulation of 20,000, began its tireless crusade — first against police brutality, especially that enacted against African-American soldiers stationed in Arkansas during World War II — but later against discrimination, judicial injustice and school segregation.

In 1946, while L.C. was on vacation, Daisy got her first public attention as a fearless writer.

In his 30 days absence, L.C. would say, Daisy has "ac-

(Continued on Page E5)

—Outstanding Black publishers and editors

(Continued from Page E4)

cused one of the state's biggest judges of dishonesty on the bench, questioned the honesty of the jury commissioners and jury panels, and attacked the integrity of the entire court and its administration of justice."

By the mid-1950s and the time of the African-American struggle for integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Daisy's reputation was fully established.

She had become president of the NAACP chapter and was leading the fight for desegregation on the streets, in the community, in the courts and in the press.

Then, in August 1957, a rock with a note tied to it crashed through the Bates window. The note read simply: "Stone this time, dynamite next."

Then, one day in the early fall of 1957, Daisy recalls, a group of "Southern Christian women" visited her home and told her to withdraw her support for the struggle.

If she didn't, they told her, "You'll be destroyed — you, your newspaper, your reputation. Everything!"

But this did not stop her from continuing the fight, and both the note and the warning proved prophetic.

The Bates's home was bombed, advertisers were threatened, and the newspaper was forced to stop publication.

Again in the autobiography, Daisy Bates describes the scene on Oct. 29, 1959: "The door was closed on the **State Press** and on 18 years of our lives. No last good-byes, no final editorials.

"The break had to be clean and sharp, for the pain was too deep. At exactly 5 p.m., the **State Press** had breathed its last word."

But the determination of Little Rock's African-American community would prevail, of course, and the mission of the **State Press**, even in the wake of its interment, would be accomplished.

Unlike the rotund, outspoken Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad was a small, soft-spoken man.

But he took many of Garvey's notions and turned them into a movement that would prove to be larger than anything Garvey had ever been able to accomplish.

Like Garvey, Mr. Muhammad emphasized African-American self-determination, racial separation, familyhood and economic independence.

And like Garvey, his message had the greatest appeal among the working class and disenfranchised segments of the African-American community.

But Mr. Muhammad's was not a secular political movement, but a religious movement which called itself the Nation of Islam, an Islamic religion that catered specifically to African-Americans.

But like Garvey, Mr. Muhammad would see that his message and philosophy — religious or otherwise — got to the masses through his weekly newspaper.

And for the 15 years of its existence, **Muhammad Speaks**, publishing on its own presses in Chicago, achieved a circulation in the African-American community like no other newspaper owned by African-Americans has ever achieved.

In 1962, its first year of publication, **Muhammad Speaks** claimed a circulation of over 360,000.

And by 1971, the **Editor and Publishers Yearbook** would list its circulation as 700,000 among a total African-American newspaper circulation of almost 5.6 million.

Thus, for the year ending 1970, **Muhammad Speaks** had almost 20 percent of the total circulation of African-American weekly newspapers.

And while the philosophy of the Nation of Islam was religious, the copy in its pages was consistent in its vociferous criticism of South African apartheid, U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia and the Third World, and police brutality in the African-American and non-White community.

Muhammad Speaks also led the way with consistent advocacy coverage for controversial subjects generally left uncovered at all by the daily circulation press of that time.

These included such subjects as positive stories on Fidel Castro's Cuba, Chicano and American Indian struggles for human rights, Palestinian struggles for a homeland, Puerto Rican struggles for independence and African-Americans struggles for equality.

It ran its first anti-Vietnam War story as early as April 1, 1963 when U.S. forces in Vietnam were still below 1,500.

Its anti-war and peace-movement coverage would pick up significantly in 1964, 1965 and 1966, become a major focus by 1967, run in every issue by 1970, and continue to run in 1972 and 1973, even months after the official U.S. troop withdrawal and the signing of the cease fire.

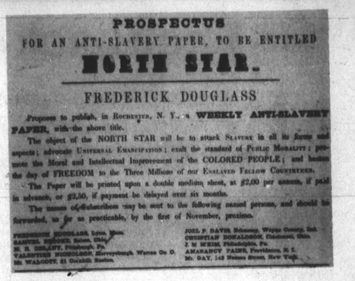
Meanwhile, its cartoons provided a moral framework from which it criticized, ridiculed and lampooned African-Americans who indulged in alcohol, tobacco, drugs, promiscuity, or who were conservative, passive, pacifistic, or believers in a God who did not look like them.

The photographs in **Muhammad Speaks** also were decidedly slanted toward the anti-war peace movement — not in the point of view of the photographer, but in the way the captions were written.

The captions applied to typical wirephoto copy depicted the North Vietnamese people as victims or heroes, U.S. troops as invaders, peace activists as heroes and wounded U.S. veterans as duped or unwitting victims.

When it discontinued shortly after the death of its publisher in 1973, **Muhammad Speaks** left behind an old-time legacy.

At a time when the prevailing winds had blown toward objectivity, balance, and even-handedness, it provided a dose of good old-fashioned advocacy and protest journalism.



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The Daily

Often portrays African Americans in a dim light and highlights and stresses the negatives in the African-American community.

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The Black Press

Portrays African Americans in a rich, vibrant light.

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ROLAND HAYES:

He brought spirituals to the concert stage

Tenor Roland Hayes was described as the leading African American concert singer from the 1920s to the 1940s. A new Smithsonian Collection of Recordings released has captured his performances in "The Art of Roland Hayes," a single compact disc.

Hayes was the first African American to perform with a symphony orchestra and the first to bring the old Negro spirituals to the classical concert stage.

Born to ex-slaves in 1887 in Curryville, Ga., Hayes began singing lessons at an early age, despite his mother's belief that African Americans could not make a living from singing.

While at Fisk University — he began his studies there in 1905 — Hayes sang at musical events to earn his way at the school.

After a trip to Boston with the Fisk Jubilee Singers, Hayes did not return to the South. He decided to find work in Boston and pay for private music and voice lessons.

By 1915, he was earning $175 a week singing the compositions of Schubert, Beethoven and Rubenstein.

The following year he was ready to give his first public recital, however, no professional manager would represent him because he was Black.

Using his savings of $200, Hayes rented Boston's Jordan Hall. The concert met the approval of critics, but was a financial failure.

Although he was told that it was foolish for a Black man to want to become a concert performer, Hayes became his own concert manager and promoter.

In 1917, he rented Boston's Symphony Hall and with the help of co workers at John Hancock Life Insurance Co. where he worked as a page, every seat was sold for the concert and 700 people were turned away.

However, due to his race he was still not accepted as a concert artist. It was only after years of performing in Europe that he received a positive response in America, returning in 1923.

Roland Hayes

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