Manuscript Collections from the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

Guide to the Scholarly Resources Microfilm Edition

Series 3: CIVIL RIGHTS ADVOCATES

William Pickens Papers

Oakley Johnson Papers

Richard Parish Papers

Alexander Crummell Collection

Published in Cooperation with the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division: The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

Primary Source Media



General Preface

This inventory is one of several prepared as part of the archival preservation program at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, a division of The New York Public Library.

The Schomburg archival preservation program involves the organization and preservation of primary source material held by the Center and of significance to the study of the black experience. It also prepares detailed inventories to these records, thereby making the information contained therein accessible to scholars.

The staff and supplies for this program were made available through a combination of funds and services provided by the Research Libraries, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the state of New York.

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Scope and Content

This record group is a collection of personal and professional correspondence, manuscripts, editorials, and financial and medical records of William Pickens, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from 1920 to 1942. It is divided into four series, which correspond to Pickens's own arrangement of his records.

Series I, Correspondence of William Pickens, 1911–1954, is subdivided chronologically and topically into five parts and includes letters to and from Pickens. The first division, "General Correspondence, 1911–1954," is further subdivided into six chronological units, arranged alphabetically by correspondent. The second division, "Lecture Correspondence, 1918–1920," contains letters relating to a series of lectures that Pickens delivered in various cities across the country while serving as dean of Morgan College, Baltimore; these letters are arranged alphabetically by location. The third, "Selective Service Correspondence, 1937–1941," contains material relevant to his activities as a member of the Appeals Board of Draft Board No. 5 in New York City. The fourth, "U.S. Treasury Correspondence, 1942–1951," contains material relevant to his term as director of the Interracial Section of the Savings Bond Division of the Treasury Department. The fifth, "Personal Family Correspondence, 1946–1954," includes correspondence between Pickens and his family.

Series II, Editorials by William Pickens, 1922–1953, includes drafts, essays, editorials, manuscripts, news releases, clippings, and some letters relating to editorials. Again, the series is subdivided chronologically, with Pickens's manuscripts of a 1952 Mediterranean trip filed at the end. Within each unit the material is arranged alphabetically according to person or subject.

The third series, **Financial Records of William Pickens**, 1905–1954, includes four divisions. The first two, "General Receipts, 1905–1949" and "General Receipts, 1920–1933," comprise such records as insurance policies, banking and property tax receipts, and water and rent receipts; the bulk of the material covers the period up to the 1930s. The latter two, "Income Tax Matters, 1946–1953" and "Tax and Financial Records, 1950–1954," contain material relating to income and real estate taxes, leases, property upkeep, Social Security records, etc. The last group includes a number of Xerox copies of unsorted financial records that are filed as received. This series is arranged alphabetically by subject.

Series IV, Morgan College Fund Raising Campaign, 1918–19, is comprised of letters, programs, and leaflets pertaining to a fund-raising drive while Pickens served as dean of the college in Baltimore.

Introduction

William Pickens was born in Anderson County, South Carolina, on January 15, 1881. When he was seven years of age, his parents moved to Arkansas, where he graduated from Union High School in Little Rock, in 1899, as the valedictorian of his class. Pickens then entered Talladega College in Alabama and finished the Bachelor of Arts course in 1902, after which he entered Yale University, where in 1904 he earned a B.A. in linguistics. At Yale, Pickens received the Phi Beta Kappa Key and was in the highest-ranking group of his class.

Upon completion of his degree, Pickens began teaching foreign languages and other subjects at Talladega College. After spending ten years there, he went to Wiley University in Texas, where he served as head of the departments of Greek and sociology for one year. In 1915, Pickens accepted the position of dean of Morgan College in Baltimore. He remained at Morgan for five years, serving as vice president in the last two years; although his tenure as dean was brief, he would be known for many years afterward as Dean Pickens.

While pursuing his career in academia, Pickens also received the following degrees: a diploma from the British Esperanto Association in 1906, a Master of Arts from Fisk University in 1908, a doctorate in literature from Selma University in 1915, and an LL.D. from Wiley College in 1918. Earlier, in 1905, he married Minnie Cooper McAlpine of Meridian, Mississippi, who had earned her B.A. from Tougaloo College. They subsequently had three children: William Jr., Harriet, and Ruby.

In 1913, Pickens made the first of many trips abroad to attend conferences and deliver lectures in England, Scotland, Germany, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, and Austria. An inveterate traveler throughout his life, he visited most of Europe, Central America, the West Indies, and Canada. It was also during this period that Pickens acquired a reputation as an author and lecturer. He wrote *The Heir of Slaves*, an autobiography; *The New Negro*, a collection of essays; *The Vengeance of the Gods*, short stories; *Bursting Bonds*, another autobiography; and *American Aesop*, after-dinner stories, among other works. He also wrote articles for leading periodicals and for twenty-five years was a contributing editor of the Associated Negro Press.

On February 1, 1920, abandoning the field of education, he became field secretary and then director of the branches for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.). Always intensely interested in the welfare and progress of black people, Pickens had been a member of the noted Niagara Movement, which antedated the N.A.A.C.P. He remained with the N.A.A.C.P. until 1942. During his tenure he successfully used his organizing and oratorical skills to raise funds and increase the membership. At this time he also served as a leader in the Federal Forums Project conducted by the U.S. Department of the Interior during 1937 and 1939. In addition, under appointment by Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York, he served as a member of the Selective Service System on draft and appeals boards in New York City.

At the request of the U.S. Treasury Department, Pickens took a leave of absence from the N.A.A.C.P. in May 1941 and went to work for the Defense Savings Staff Section. He was designated chief of the Interracial Section, Savings Bond Division of the Treasury in 1942, when he formally severed his employment with the N.A.A.C.P. and became the first black affiliated with the Treasury Department in twenty-five years.

During World War II, Pickens led black bond buyers through eight successful drives—seven War loans and one Victory loan. When the war ended, rebuffed by N.A.A.C.P. executive

secretary Walter White in his attempt to return to that organization, Pickens continued to sell to blacks the idea of thrift through government securities. His duties took him all over the United States, and he traveled from 15,000 to 40,000 miles per year for the ten years he was with the Treasury Department. He gained prominence as one of this nation's top War and Savings Bond salesmen.

After his retirement from the Treasury Department at age seventy in 1951, Pickens, writing articles for various newspapers, traveled extensively throughout the world. He died aboard the S.S. *Mauritania* on April 6, 1954, off Kingston, Jamaica, while on a Caribbean cruise. At his wife's request, William Pickens was buried at sea.

Reel Contents

Series I: Correspondence of William Pickens, 1911–1954

General Correspondence

1911 то 1931

| Reel No. | Box No. | Fold | ler/Contents |
|-------------|------------|--|---|
| 1 | 1 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 | A B (2 folders) C D F G H, I, J L, M, N, O, P (2 folders) P R, S S T W X (X-rays) |
| | | | 1931 то 1935 |
| 1 | 2 | 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 | A B C D E G H, I, J K, L M N P R S T W |
| | | | 1935 то 1938 |
| İ | 2 | 30 31 32 | A B C |

| Reel No. | Box No. | Folder/Contents |
|-------------|------------|---|
| 3 | 5 | 113 Five County Federal Forum Project, 1938–1941 114 G 115 H 116 K, L 117 M 118 N, O 119 P, Q 120 R 121 S 122 T, U, V 123 W |
| 2 | _ | U.S. Treasury Correspondence, 1942-1951 |
| 3 | 6 | 124 A 125 C (2 folders) 126 E, F 127 G 128 H, I, J 129 K, L 130 M 131 N 132 R 133 S 134 T, U, V 135 W |
| | | Personal Family Correspondence, 1946-1954 |
| 3 | 6 | 136 A 137 B 138 C 139 E 140 H, I, J 141 M 142 N, O 143 P 144 R 145 S 146 W |
| | | Series II: Editorials by William Pickens, 1922–1953 |
| | | Editorials, 1922–23 (including undated material) |
| 4 | 7 | 1 A 2 B 3 C |

| Reel | Box | | | |
|------|-----|--|--|--------------|
| No. | No. | Folo | ler/Contents | |
| 1 | 2 | 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 | D E, F G H, I, J K, L M N, O P R S T | |
| | | | | 1937 то 1941 |
| 2 | 3 | 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 | A B C D E, F G H, I L M N, O P R S T, U, V W X, Y, Z (X-ra | ays, etc.) |
| | | | | 1946 то 1951 |
| 2 | 3 | 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 | A B C D E, F G H, I, J K, L | |
| 2 | 4 | 69 70 71 72 73 | M N, O P R S | |

| Reel No. | Box No. | Folder/Contents |
|-------------|------------|--|
| 2 | 4 | 74 T, U, V 75 W 76 Y |
| | | 1952 то 1954 |
| 2 | 4 | 77 A 78 B 79 C 80 D 81 E, F 82 H, I, J 83 K, L 84 M 85 N, O 86 P 87 (photographs and clippings) 88 R 89 S 90 T, U, V (including income tax returns for 1949 through 1954) 91 W 92 Y, Z |
| | | Lecture Correspondence, 1918–1920 |
| 3 | 5 | 93 A 94 B 95 C 96 D 97 F 98 G 99 H, I, J 100 L 101 M 102 N, O 103 P 104 R 105 S 106 T, U, V 107 W 108 Y |
| | | Selective Service Correspondence, 1937–1941 |
| 3 | 5 | 109 A 110 B 111 C 112 F |

| Reel No. | Box No. | Folder/Contents |
|-------------|------------|--|
| 4 | 7 | 4 D 5 F 6 G 7 H 8 K, L 9 M 10 N, O 11 P, Q 12 R 13 S 14 T, U, V 15 W, X, Y, Z |
| | | Editorials, 1923–1928 (including undated material) |
| 4 | 7 | 16 A 17 B 18 C 19 D 20 E, F 21 Garvey, Marcus 22 H, I, J 23 Ku Klux Klan 24 L 25 Lynching 26 M 27 N, O 28 P 29 R, S 30 T-Z |
| | | Editorials, 1929–1932 (including undated material) |
| 4 | 8 | 31 A 32 C 33 D 34 E, F 35 H, I, J 36 L 37 M 38 R 39 Scottsboro Case, 1931 |
| | | Editorials, 1932–1937 (including undated material, and N.A.A.C.P., Pickens versus White, 1942) |
| 4 | 8 | 40 A 41 B |

| Reel No. | Box No. | Folder/Contents |
|-------------|------------|--|
| 6 | 11 | 46 C 47 E, F 48 G 49 H, I, J 50 K, L (leases) 51 P, Q 52 R (real estate matters, including names of brokers and repairmen) 53 S (Social Security pamphlets, etc.) 54 T, U, V 55 W 56 Unsorted financial papers, ca. 1940–1951 (Xerox copies) 57 Taxes: water and rent tax records, 1950 (Xerox copies) |

Series IV: Morgan College Fund Raising Campaign, 1918–19

6 12 A C 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 D E, F H L M N P 10 S T, U, V 11 12 13 $\overset{\overset{\cdot }{W}}{Y}$

| Reel No. | Box No. | Folder/Contents |
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| 4 | 8 | 42 C 43 D 44 E 45 F 46 G 47 H 48 I 49 J 50 L 51 M 52 N (2 folders) 53 P |
| 5 | 9 | 54 R 55 S 56 T 57 U 58 W 59 Y, Z |
| 5 | 9 | Editorials, 1950–1953 (including undated material) 60 A 61 B 62 C 63 D 64 E, F 65 H, I, J 66 K, L 67 M 68 N, O 69 P, Q 70 R 71 S 72 T, U, V 73 W 74 Manuscripts of Mediterranean trip, 1952 (7 folders) |

Series III: Financial Records of William Pickens, 1905–1954

General Receipts, 1905–1949

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5 10 1 Index
2 A
3 B
4 E, F
5 G
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| Reel No. | Box No. | Fold | ler/Contents |
|-------------|------------|--|---|
| 5 | 10 | 6 7 8 9 10 | K, L N, O P, Q, R T (including New York City real estate tax receipts, 1948–49) W (including New York City water bills) |
| | | | General Receipts, 1920–1933 |
| 5 | 10 | 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 | A B C D E, F G H, I, J (including income tax forms) K, L M N, O P, Q R S T, U, V W Y, Z |
| | | | Income Tax Matters, 1946–1953 |
| 6 | 11 | 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 | (Income tax figures and records) A B C D E, F G H, I, J K, L (including leases) M N, O P, Q R S T, U, V W Y, Z |
| | | | Tax and Financial Records, 1950–1954 |
| 6 | eproved. | 44 45 | A B |

William Pickens Papers (Additions)

Scope and Content

The Additions to the Pickens Papers encompass the years from 1909 to 1950. Pickens had a long and active career, and for most of his life he was on the fringe or near the center of most black political activities, fighting for the cause of black advancement and the improvement of race relations in the United States. These Additions span the period in his professional life when he was affiliated with both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) and the U.S. Treasury Department. The bulk of the material relates to his activities with them. Also included are his writings, mainly his Associated Negro Press editorials, as well as newspaper columns, manuscripts for articles, typescripts of speeches, and correspondence requesting his services as a speaker. In addition, these papers document his interest in organizations concerned with national and international political issues and humanitarian causes, such as the Scottsboro Case, American Civil Liberties Union, League for Industrial Democracy, Council for Pan American Democracy, Anti-Imperialist World Congress, and Ethiopian World Federation.

The William Pickens Papers (Additions) are divided into seven series. Series I, **Personal Papers**, 1929–1950, n.d., focuses on the Pickens family and personal business correspondence (banking, house rentals and maintenance, and income taxes). Business correspondence includes letters from the influential Harlem realtor and businessman John E. Nail, brother-in-law of James Weldon Johnson. There is a small amount of correspondence between Pickens and his wife and other family members; highlighted in this series is correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt concerning his daughter Harriet's accomplishments as one of the first black naval officers in World War II. Additionally, biographical and autobiographical sketches of Pickens's life are included as well as information relating to the sales of, and critical reactions to, his writings.

General Correspondence, 1925–1949, n.d., the second and largest of the series in this collection, is comprised of incoming and outgoing correspondence between Pickens and his friends, acquaintances, fellow scholars, and business associates. Included is correspondence with many organizations with which Pickens was involved, such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), League for Industrial Democracy, Socialist Party of America, National Council of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and the Council for Pan American Democracy. Pickens corresponded with a wide range of notable figures in government, education, and other fields. He also received, and did not stint in acting upon and answering, requests from strangers seeking his help concerning education or jobs. In addition, he maintained a correspondence with a number of African students.

The series contains revealing correspondence concerning Pickens's feelings about the treatment of blacks in the areas of public transportation and accommodations; he wrote many letters, particularly to railroad lines, complaining about his treatment at the hands of their employees and received a number of apologetic replies. A large amount of correspondence passed between Pickens and Claude A. Barnett and Percival L. Prattis, his associates at the Associated Negro Press. He also corresponded frequently with E. Kinkle Jones of the National

Reel Contents

Series I: Personal Papers, 1929–1950, n.d.

| Reel No. | Box No. | Folder/Contents |
|-------------|------------|---|
| 7 | 1 | Biographical Family Correspondence, 1929, 1930–1949, n.d. Business Correspondence, 1929–30 Business Correspondence, 1940–1950 Banking and Financial Correspondence, 1943–1949 Income Taxes—Correspondence, 1929–30 Income Taxes—Correspondence, 1943–1946 Books—Correspondence, 1924, 1926, 1929 Books—Correspondence, 1930 Books—Correspondence, 1931 Books—Correspondence, 1932 Books—Correspondence, 1933 Books—Correspondence, 1933 Books—Correspondence, 1934–35 Books—Correspondence, 1936–1941, n.d. Books—Account Book, 1933–1938 |
| | | Series II: General Correspondence, 1925–1949, n.d. |
| 8 | 2 | 1 A-Z, 1925-1928 2 A-F, 1929 3 G-Z, 1929 4 A-B, 1930 5 C-E, 1930 6 F-Z, 1930 7 A-B, 1931 8 C-D, 1931 9 E-G, 1931 10 H-J, 1931 |
| 9 | 3 | 1 K-L, 1931 2 M-O, 1931 3 P-V, 1931 4 W-Z, 1931 5 A, 1932 6 B, 1932 7 C, 1932 8 D-F, 1932 9 G-J, 1932 10 K-L, 1932 |

Urban League and with two New York clergymen, John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church and William L. Imes of St. James Presbyterian Church. In the field of politics he corresponded with Roger Baldwin (ACLU) and Socialist leader Norman Thomas.

While correspondence for 1930 through 1940 was voluminous and varied, after Pickens's confrontation with the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee and during his latter years as a government employee he curbed his correspondence with "controversial" organizations. The correspondence in this series is filed chronologically and therein alphabetically by person or institution and, in a few instances, topically. Thus, letters from individual correspondents may be found in more than one location within the series.

Series III, General Subject Files, 1926–1945, is divided into three subseries. The first subseries contains correspondence and other material primarily relating to Pickens's early travels abroad to attend conferences, his trip to Cuba with Mary McLeod Bethune in 1930, his service on draft and appeal boards in World War II, and the damaging effect on his career of charges brought against him by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Correspondents of note in this subseries are Helen Keller, Dorothy Parker, and Thyra Edwards. Subject files are arranged chronologically according to topic or organization.

"Speaking Engagements, 1928–1942," are covered in the second subseries. Pickens was an extremely popular speaker and was in constant demand to fulfill engagements for organizations throughout the country from 1926 until 1950, when he retired from the Treasury Department. Full documentation for the speaking engagements after he joined the department is scant. Within the Treasury Department series, however, there is a file entitled "U.S. Treasury Department Travel Receipts, 1946–1947," from which it can be ascertained that Pickens traversed the United States twice, during the latter portion of 1946 and 1947, making speeches for sales of U.S. Savings Bonds.

While many of Pickens's speaking engagements related to his work with the N.A.A.C.P. and the Treasury Department, he was also popular on his own with such organizations as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., churches, colleges, charities, and political groups. There was a considerable drop in demand for his services after his confrontation with the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1942–43. The correspondence in this subseries is filed chronologically (commencing when correspondence was first generated by the organization to secure Pickens's services) and arranged by organization.

The third subseries, "Forums, 1931–1945," has been treated as a separate category from Speaking Engagements because of the nature of the sponsoring organizations for the Forums. Included in this subseries are the Federal Forums Project, which was government sponsored and funded, and two private, nonprofit forum bureaus, the Adult Education Council of Chicago and the Open Forum Speakers' Bureau, which acted as agents for organizations requiring speakers. The Federal Forums Project material has been arranged according to administrative files concerning the entire forum format throughout the country, and then by individual cities and states in which Pickens was directly involved. Forums are filed by state, in chronological order.

The material found in Series IV, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1905–1945, n.d., documents Pickens's long and distinguished career with the organization. The N.A.A.C.P. records have been organized into two subseries: the Administrative Files, and the Department of Branches Files. Included in the Administrative Files are correspondence, files of the Board of Directors, memoranda, reports, and conference-related materials. A good picture of the overall goals and day-to-day workings of the N.A.A.C.P. are provided

by this material. Of particular interest are letters documenting the contentious relationship between Walter White and Pickens, and Pickens's stormy severance from the N.A.A.C.P. Both issues also are documented in the correspondence and the Board of Directors' minutes.

The second subseries, the Department of Branches Files, contains plans, itineraries, and reports for field work in the branches. Pickens's extremely active role as field secretary, in visiting and making speeches all across the United States, is reflected in the itineraries. The number of branches increased significantly under Pickens's directorship. Correspondents of particular importance are James Weldon Johnson, Walter White, Mary White Ovington, Arthur B. Spingarn, Joel E. Spingarn, Roy Wilkins, Thurgood Marshall, and W. E. B. Du Bois. The N.A.A.C.P. correspondence is arranged chronologically, then alphabetically within each year. The remainder of this series is arranged chronologically.

Series V, United States Treasury Department, 1941–1950, n.d., is divided into official and general correspondence, reports, and meetings. At some points the official and general correspondence overlap because much of the general correspondence is with Pickens's fellow workers in the Treasury Department. The reports and meetings categories are scant but clearcut in nature, providing an adequate picture of his activities.

In arranging the sixth series, **Writings, 1911–1949, n.d.**, the identification or labeling of the material as "Manuscript" or "Editorial" established by Pickens has been maintained. Manuscripts form the bulk of the writings, although it is not clear in what form or if the manuscripts were published. The writings have been arranged alphabetically by title with the inclusive dates given. This series is divided into four subseries: "Manuscripts"; "Editorials"; "Speeches"; and "Columns."

Series VII, **Printed Material, 1923–1944, n.d.**, is divided into "Newspaper Clippings" and "Scrapbooks." The first subseries includes articles and clippings about Pickens as well as miscellaneous clippings on a variety of subjects that were collected by him. The clippings about Pickens are of articles mainly dealing with his numerous speaking engagements, arranged in chronological order with the inclusive dates given; articles collected by him are arranged similarly.

The second is two scrapbooks that contain items collected by Pickens. Some of the material is about him, but the bulk involves issues of the day of interest to him and pertinent to blacks. A small amount of manuscript material concerning his encounter with the House Un-American Activities Committee is also included in vol. 2 of the scrapbooks.

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| 11 | 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | A-B, 1934 C-G, 1934 H-L, 1934 M-P, 1934 R, 1934 S, 1934 T-Z, 1934 |
| 12 | 6 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | A-D, 1935 E-L, 1935 M-Z, 1935 A-Z, 1936 A-D, 1937 E-L, 1937 M-R, 1937 S, 1937 T-Y, 1937 A-C, 1938 |
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| 19 | 13 | 7 8 | Des Moines Public Forums—Expenses, 1939 North Carolina Public Forums—Correspondence, 1937 |
| | | 9 | Portland, Oregon, Public Forums—Correspondence, 1937–38 |
| | | 10 | Seattle Public Forums—Correspondence, 1937–38, 1943 |
| | | 11 | Seattle Public Forums—Outlines, 1931 |
| | | 12 | Seattle Public Forums—Outlines, 1937 |
| | | 13 | Seattle Public Forums—Outlines, 1938 |
| | | 14 | Seattle Public Forums—Reports, 1937–38 |
| | | 15 | Seattle Public Forums—Program, 1937 |
| | | 16 | Seattle Public Forums—Newsletters, 1937 |
| | | 17 | Seattle Public Forums—Clippings, 1937 |
| | | 18 | Seattle Public Forums—Expenses, 1937 |
| | | 19 | South Carolina Public Forums—Correspondence, 1938 |
| 1 | | 20 | South Carolina Public Forums—Reports, 1938 |
| 1 | | 21 | South Carolina Public Forums—Programs, 1938 |
| | | 22 | South Carolina Public Forums—Expenses, 1938 |
| | | 23 | West Virginia Public Forums (TRICO)—Correspondence, 1937 |
| 1 | | 24 | West Virginia Public Forums (TRICO)—Report, 1937 |
| | | 25 | West Virginia Public Forums (TRICO)—Programs, 1937 |
| | | 26 | West Virginia Public Forums (TRICO)—Clippings, 1938 |
| | | 27 | Adult Education Council of Chicago, 1931–1934, 1937–1945 |
| | | 28 | Open Forum Speakers Bureau, 1930–1934, 1936, 1937–1945 |

Series IV: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1909–1945, n.d.

Administrative Files, Correspondence

| 20 | 14 | 1 | A-Z, 1925–1926, 1928 |
|----|----|----|----------------------|
| | | 2 | A-Z, 1929 |
| | | 3 | A-Z, 1930 |
| | | 4 | A-B, 1931 |
| | | 5 | C-G, 1931 |
| | | 6 | H-L, 1931 |
| | | 7 | M-O, 1931 |
| | | 8 | P, 1931 |
| | | 9 | R, 1931 |
| | | 10 | S-V, 1931 |
| | | 11 | W, 1931 |
| | | 12 | A-Z, 1932 |
| | | 13 | A–Z, 1933 |
| | | 14 | A-Z, 1934 |
| | | | |
| 21 | 15 | 1 | A-Z, 1935-36 |
| | | 2 | A-Z, 1937-1939 |
| | | 3 | A–Z, 1940 |
| | | 4 | A–Z, 1941 |

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| 15 | 9 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 | A-B, 1941 C-F, 1941 G-L, 1941 M-N, 1941 O-P, 1941 R-S, 1941 T-Y, 1941 A-E, 1942 M-S, 1942 T-Z, 1942 A-B, 1943 C-D, 1943 E-I, 1943 J-L, 1943 M-N, 1943 O-P, 1943 R-T, 1943 U-Z, 1943 |
| 16 | 10 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 | A-B, 1944 C-D, 1944 E-I, 1944 J-L, 1944 M-O, 1944 P-V, 1944 W-Z, 1944 A-B, 1945 C-D, 1945 E-I, 1945 J-L, 1945 M-N, 1945 O-R, 1945 |

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Scope and Content

The Oakley Johnson Papers, numbering eight boxes, focus on the activities and interests of Oakley Johnson, English professor and civil liberties advocate, from 1946 to 1959. Of special interest are the data relating to his involvement with the Louisiana Civil Rights Congress and his manuscripts of writings on racial prejudice in the United States. The collection is organized into two series, corresponding to Johnson's years of teaching in the South in the late 1940s and his activities after returning North in 1952.

The first series, **Southern Period**, 1946–1952, contains material relating to Johnson's academic pursuits at Talladega College (Alabama), Dillard University (Louisiana), and Tillotson College (Texas) as well as data concerning his role as executive secretary of the Louisiana Civil Rights Congress from 1949 to 1951. This material (pamphlets, transcripts and briefs, press releases, clippings, and correspondence) involves the legal activities of the Congress, particularly its attempt to secure justice for Paul Washington and Ocie Jugger, two men accused, convicted, and sentenced to die on a charge of rape. The last two subseries deal with his study of "Unequal Justice in Louisiana" and general items.

The second series, **Post-Southern Period**, **1952–1959**, covers Johnson's teaching, writing, and civil rights activities after he returned to New York in 1952. Notes, source materials, and manuscripts of his extensive writings on civil liberties and segregation are included in this section, together with material concerning a trip through the South in 1957.

A three-folder Appendix is comprised of additional material received after the collection's initial completion in August 1968.

Chronology

| March 22, 1890 | Born in Standish, Michigan; son of Calvin and Elizabeth Gibbon Johnson |
|-----------------|--|
| 1908–1912 | Served as rural schoolteacher and took summer courses at Ferris Institute, Big Rapids, Michigan |
| 1912 | Joined Socialist Party of America |
| 1913 | Married Mary Olmsted (d. 1949) |
| 1917 | Received diploma and state teachers' life certificate from Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti |
| 1919 | Delegate to Chicago Communist Party Organizing Convention |
| 1920 | Received A.B. degree cum laude (Phi Beta Kappa) from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor |
| 1920-1928 | Instructor in English and rhetoric at the University of Michigan |
| 1921 | Received M.A. degree in English from the University of Michigan |
| 1925 | Coauthor of The Way of Composition |
| 1927 | Author of The Arguer's Handbook |
| 1928 | Received Ph.D. in English from the University of Michigan; subject of his doctoral dissertation: "Literary Allusion in Contemporary American Literature," as characterized in the field of rhetoric and aesthetics |
| 1928-1930 | Assistant professor of English at Long Island University, Brooklyn, New York |
| 1930–1932 | Instructor of English at the College of the City of New York (evening session) |
| 1933–1935 | Newspaper reporter (<i>Daily Worker</i>), editor (<i>The Monthly Review</i>), teacher (New York Workers' School), and lecturer |
| 1935–1937, 1939 | Traveled in Europe |
| 1935–1936 | Assistant professor of English at the Institute of Modern Languages, Moscow, USSR |
| 1938–1942 | Taught intermittently at the Workers' Schools in New York City and Philadelphia |
| 1940-1944 | Served on the staff of the Daily Worker |
| 1945–46 | Taught at Augusta Savage School in Harlem, New York City |
| 1946–47 | Assistant professor of English at Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama |
| 1947–48 | Received Carnegie Grant-in-Aid for a study of "Preventive Remedial English in the Negro Secondary School" |
| 1947–1951 | Associate professor of English, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana |
| 1948 | Married Mary Lea Johnson |
| 1949–1951 | Served as executive secretary of the Louisiana Civil Rights Congress |

| 1951 | Received Carnegie Grant-in-Aid for a study of "Unequal Justice in Louisiana" |
|------------|--|
| 1951-52 | Associate professor of English, Tillotson College, Austin, Texas |
| 1954-55 | Taught at Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City |
| April 1957 | Investigated by the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities for alleged Communist activities |
| | Took extended trip through the South, during which involved in the defense of the Jenkins couple |
| | Author of The Day Is Coming |
| 1967 | Author of An American Century |

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policies of the union led to a walkout by five hundred delegates at the AFT's 1970 convention and the subsequent creation of the AFT Black Caucus. In 1971 the United Action Caucus was formed and members of the Black Caucus were urged to join. Both groups desired greater democracy in the union as well as in the American educational system and took stands on economic, social, and political issues.

The United Federation of Teachers (UFT), the New York City local of the AFT, was established in 1960 when the New York Teachers' Guild and the Committee for Action through Unity merged. In 1963 a UFT-sponsored contingent of teachers and students established in Prince Edward County, Virginia, the first Freedom School. The accord of black and white members of the union, however, was disrupted by the community control issue and the 1968 teachers' strike. The UFT Black Caucus, founded at this time, attempted to open a dialog between the two groups and to encourage greater black participation and responsibility in the union.

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU)

The CBTU was formed when the AFL-CIO's leadership declared its neutrality in the 1972 presidential election. Although black caucuses existed in many unions, for the first time these groups coordinated their efforts in order to register voters and solicit support for Senator George McGovern. This organization, based in Washington, DC, and representing as many as forty-five unions, continues to take positions on social, economic, and political issues.

Community Teachers' Association (CTA)

The CTA, affiliated with the Federation of Negro Civil Service Organizations, was a local black teachers' group dedicated to improving educational standards in neighborhood schools. Founded in 1956 and originally known as the Negro Teachers' Association, the CTA helped win an open enrollment policy for victims of segregated schools and initiated a tutorial program in 1964.

JFK Library for Minorities

The JFK Library for Minorities was formed in 1970 in Brooklyn, New York, as an educational corporation to collect and provide information about American history and government to minority groups.

National Education Association (NEA)

The NEA is a professional organization representing over one million teachers. Although the national organization is not affiliated with any union, in the 1960s and 1970s some NEA locals merged with AFT locals. The first state-level merger occurred in New York in 1972.

Negro Labor Committee (NLC)

The NLC was founded in 1935 by Frank R. Crosswaith at a conference of trade unionists. This organization, with Crosswaith as its long-term chairman, consisted of member unions that selected delegates to the NLC's assembly. The NLC encouraged blacks to join the labor

Introduction

Richard Parrish, teacher and labor leader, devoted much of his life to civil rights activities. As a teacher in New York City, he belonged to both the local and national teachers' unions, holding office and working for civil rights within the unions and educational system. Parrish also became an officer in black labor organizations such as the National Afro-American Labor Council and the Negro Labor Committee. These groups strived to end discrimination in the labor movement and cooperated with other civil rights efforts to promote social and political as well as economic equality in the United States.

After joining the New York City school system in 1947, Parrish became a member and officer of the New York Teachers' Guild and the subsequent local union, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). He served as vice president and assistant treasurer of the UFT and was a member of its executive board from the union's inception in 1960 until 1970. In addition, Parrish became a vice president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the national union.

At the 1956 AFT convention, Parrish successfully concluded the fight for the ouster of segregated AFT locals. In 1963 he led a contingent of teachers and students to Prince Edward County, Virginia, where the local school board had closed the public schools rather than integrate. In 1964 the AFT expanded this Freedom School concept to include the Deep South. Parrish served as chairman of the union's Civil Rights Committee and acted as liaison between the schools and the national office. He also chaired the AFT's 1966 conference on "Racism in Education." During the New York City teachers' strike of 1968, Parrish formed the UFT Black Caucus. In 1970 the AFT Black Caucus was established with Parrish serving as its chairman from 1970 to 1973. Other teachers' organizations of which Parrish was an officer included the Community Teachers Association (CTA) and the United Black Caucus of Teachers. He was a founder and president of the CTA from 1956 to 1965 and also chaired the United Black Caucus of Teachers in the early 1970s.

Parrish also was active in black labor organizations. He served as treasurer of the National Afro-American Labor Council (NALC) from 1960 to 1974, when he became president. A 1970 conference of labor and civil rights groups, sponsored by the NALC, led to the creation of the United Black Coalition for Jobs in the Construction Industry; Parrish cochaired the conference and the subsequent organization. He also was a member of the Negro Labor Committee (NLC), holding the office of coordinator and heading the committee for the Frank R. Crosswaith scholarship award program. Parrish was a member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and served on the advisory board of the JFK Library for Minorities. In addition to his activities in civil rights and labor groups and work as a teacher, Parrish unsuccessfully ran for New York state comptroller in 1949 and the New York City Council in 1963 on the Socialist Party ticket.

Parrish was born on August 9, 1914, in Wildwood, New Jersey, and moved with his parents, Cora Elizabeth Flowers Parrish and Leslie Franklin Parrish, to New York City the following year. Graduating from high school during the Great Depression, Parrish worked as a clerk in the Navy Department and became active in labor organizations. Returning to school, he graduated from City College in 1947 with a degree in economics. He taught in the New York City school system from 1947 until his retirement in 1976.

National Afro-American Labor Council (NALC)

By the late 1950s the civil rights movement in the United States was in full bloom. The Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954 and the success of the Montgomery bus boycott in Alabama in 1956 had led to the emergence of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a charismatic leader and to a new awareness of the effectiveness of protest politics in the black community. A militant grass-roots campaign led by established black organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) spread throughout the country in order to eradicate discrimination and segregation in American society.

Industry and "Jim Crow" unions, however, continued to deny fair employment opportunities to black workers in spite of an alliance between black leaders and the national labor unions in the civil rights movement. In 1959, A. Philip Randolph, vice president of the AFL-CIO and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, thought that labor was not moving fast and effectively enough to address the grievances of black workers. Pointing to what he called a "moral revolution" among these workers—a spontaneous surge forward to gain full social and economic status in labor and industry—Randolph called for a conference of seventy-five black trade-union leaders in July 1959 to "consider the problems confronting the 1,500,000 negroes who are members of organized labor." The founding convention of the Negro American Labor Council (the original name of the organization, later changed in 1968) was held on May 27–29, 1960, in Detroit.

According to the NALC constitution, the purpose of the organization was to seek equality of opportunity in industry and to remove discrimination in trade unions as well as to serve as a clearinghouse for black grievances and interests within the AFL-CIO. The NALC initiated and participated with the SCLC, the NAACP, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in the 1963 March on Washington. It can also be credited with the adoption of better racial trade-union practices within the AFL-CIO. In February 1961 the organization held the Workshop and Institute on Racial Bias in Trade Unions, Industry, and Government in Washington, DC, which was cosponsored and attended by prominent persons such as Roy Wilkins, president of the NAACP, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and King. In addition, the NALC organized various economic conferences.

During its existence the NALC claimed a membership of over ten thousand nationally and a network of over thirty chapters across the country. Randolph, a founding member, served as its president from 1960 until 1966. He was succeeded by Cleveland Robinson, president of the Distributive Workers of America, and in 1974 by Richard Parrish, a founding member and the treasurer from its inception. Other leading members of the NALC included L. Joseph Overton, secretary from 1960 to 1970; Joseph R. Brown, treasurer since 1974; Oliver Montgomery, secretary since 1970; and Willoughby Abner, Joseph A. Beavers, and Lola Belle Holmes. The NALC ceased its operations in 1976.

American Federation of Teachers (AFT)

The AFT is the national teachers' union affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Its civil rights activities included the establishment of Freedom Schools in the Deep South in 1964 and the sponsorship of a 1966 conference entitled "Racism in Education." Dissatisfaction with some of the

movement and promoted equality of responsibility and benefits for all union members. With its headquarters at the Harlem Labor Center, the NCL was a focal point for community and nonpartisan political activities in Harlem. In the 1960s the organization, headed by Robert Russell, sponsored the Riverside Park housing project in West Harlem.

United Black Caucus of Teachers

The United Black Caucus of Teachers was founded in 1970 as a local teachers' organization, not affiliated with any labor groups or political party. It aimed to become a political force by working to prevent discrimination and to improve the educational system for the black community.

United Black Coalition for Jobs in the Construction Industry

The United Black Coalition for Jobs in the Construction Industry was an outgrowth of an NALC-sponsored conference of forty labor and civil rights organizations in 1970. The group worked for the enforcement of and compliance with equal opportunity laws in the building trades.

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Scope and Content

The Richard Parrish Papers (1950–1975) consist of correspondence, transcripts of speeches, minutes, and convention proceedings, articles, printed material, newspaper clippings and photographs describing the activities of labor and civil rights organizations of which Parrish was an officer or member, primarily the NALC. In addition, information about Parrish's teaching career is included. The collection is organized into three major series: Personal Papers, National Afro-American Labor Council, and Other Organizations.

Series I, **Personal Papers** (1950–1975), contains a limited amount of incoming personal correspondence; an article about Parrish and another by him; newspaper clippings concerning civil rights and labor issues, including specific information about the National Afro-American Labor Council and the United Federation of Teachers; and printed material and correspondence relating to Parrish's teaching career. Information within the folders is arranged chronologically. A 1950 letter from Constance Baker Motley to the New York Teachers' Guild on the Sweatt and McLaurin cases is included in the personal correspondence.

The **National Afro-American Labor Council** (NALC) records (1960–1975) in Series II have been divided into material on the national organization (1960–1974) and files on individual chapters (1962–1975).

The National Organization File includes correspondence, the NALC constitution, executive board minutes, material on annual conventions and conferences, and mailing lists. The correspondence, arranged chronologically, contains many letters to and from Cleveland Robinson, president of the NALC. Folders for particular conventions and conferences include main addresses by A. Philip Randolph and Robinson (1964, 1967), resolutions (1965, 1968), transcripts of the proceedings (1968, 1972), and newspaper clippings (1968). Financial information on the 1965, 1967, and 1968 conventions and the 1971 and 1972 economic conferences has been placed at the end of each folder. A notebook with financial data for the 1965 and 1968 conventions is located in the 1968 Convention folder.

The Chapter File provides some information about the chapters' membership and activities. Information for the Baltimore and Chicago chapters is limited to one and two items, respectively. The New York City Brewery Cases folder describes the New York local's efforts to end discrimination in the hiring and promotion practices of the brewery industry and union. The Westchester County folder shows the NALC's involvement in improving the hiring practices at the Con Ed/Wedco Corporation Indian Point construction project.

Series III, **Other Organizations** (1957, 1963–1974) includes substantial information about the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and its New York City local, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) (1963–1974). Files for the AFT Black Caucus, AFT locals, the United Action Caucus, civil rights and printed material point out the issues besetting the union during the 1963–1974 period.

The AFT Black Caucus folder contains information about the group's support of Angela Davis as well as a history of the organization written by Parrish. The UFT folder contains documents concerning the 1968 teachers' strike and one newspaper clipping about the Prince Edward County, Virginia, Freedom School of 1963. The Civil Rights folder includes material relating to Freedom Schools in the Deep South, the "Racism in Education" conference of 1966, and the union's civil rights committee. Information within each folder is arranged chronologically.

Material in the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists folder (1972–1974) describes the organization's founding and purpose, its support of George McGovern for president, and its opposition to the nomination of Peter J. Brennan, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York, as secretary of labor. Documents include newspaper clippings, press releases, and articles.

The Community Teachers' Association folder (1957, 1963–1966) contains material about its after-school tutorial program in 1964. The JFK Library for Minorities folder (1970–1973) describes the purpose of the organization and lists its 1973 officers and board members, while the National Education Association (NEA) records (1973) are limited to documents opposing the merger of NEA affiliates with AFT locals and the constitution of the NEA's Official Black Caucus.

The Negro Labor Committee (NLC) folder (1968–1973) contains material about the Riverside Park housing project in West Harlem and the 1973 Frank R. Crosswaith scholarship award program; a brief biographical sketch of Crosswaith, but no correspondence or information relating to his tenure as chairman of the NLC, is included. The United Black Caucus of Teachers folder (1970–71, 1973) states some of the positions taken by the organization. And finally, the United Black Coalition for Jobs in the Construction Industry folder (1968–1972) contains material about the Con Ed/Wedco Corporation's Indian Point construction project as well as membership lists; a speech by Cleveland Robinson during the 1968 Poor People's Campaign and a transcript of testimony by Jesse Jackson, director of Operation Breadbasket, before the U.S. Department of Labor in 1969 are also included.

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Series I: National Afro-American Labor Council (NALC)—National Organization

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Richard Parrish Papers (Additions)

Scope and Content

The Richard Parrish Papers (Additions) and Richard Parrish Papers are two separate but complementary record groups. While the Richard Parrish Papers are centered on the activities of Parrish and include his personal papers as well as files from the different organizations that he worked with, the Additions primarily consist of the records of the NALC, of which Parrish was successively treasurer (1960–1974) and president (1974–1976). The bulk of the Richard Parrish Papers were created between 1966 and 1973, while the Additions contain the records of the office of the treasurer between 1960 and 1975, particularly under the presidency of A. Philip Randolph (1960–1966). Divided into two series, the latter papers also offer a general and in-depth understanding of the development and operation of an organization whose leaders and membership played a significant role in the struggle for equal rights in this country.

Series I, the records of the **National Organization**, includes the original copy and a 1970 revised edition of the constitution of the NALC, correspondence, minutes, reports, financial records, press releases, programs, and newspaper clippings. They are divided into three subseries: the Administrative Files, which include the records of the National Executive Board, those of Richard Parrish and L. Joseph Overton, respectively treasurer and secretary of the NALC, and the records of the Workshop and Institute on Racial Bias in Trade Unions, Industry, and Government; the General File; and the records of the NALC conventions.

The General File includes correspondence between John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the West Indian writer Paule Marshall and the officers of the NALC. Other letters from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Nelson Rockefeller, Roy Wilkins, and various trade-union leaders can be found in the Correspondence folder of the Workshop and Institute on Racial Bias in Trade Unions, Industry, and Government. The minutes of various meetings of the National Executive Board offer valuable information on the internal workings and structure of the NALC. In addition, different resolutions adopted by the 1960, 1961, and consecutive conventions as well as various addresses by Randolph—including his statement to the Steering Committee of the Proposed NALC in November 1959 (kept with other printed material of the founding convention)—document the general orientation and political choices of the NALC.

The NALC **Chapter Files** consist primarily of correspondence and membership records arranged alphabetically; within the folders the material is arranged chronologically by type. In a few cases the files contain information regarding the activities of the chapters.

The folder on the Buffalo chapter illustrates the general anti-Communist attitudes prevailing in the NALC during the 1960s. Stating that he would rather not have a chapter at all than one under Communist control, Randolph ordered the immediate dissolution of the Buffalo chapter when its president, John H. Coston, resigned due to "Communist infiltration and domination." The "Chicago Dispute" is another example of strong anticommunism in the NALC. Lola Belle Holmes, national vice president of the NALC in charge of the Chicago district, was an FBI informer who infiltrated the Communist Party-USA and the NALC; during a 1963 public trial of an alleged member of the Communist Party, she testified that local leadership of the NALC was controlled by Communists. Members of the Chicago chapter, disturbed by her destructive behavior, organized a petition to demand her removal from the NALC. The New

York City chapter documents the struggle of black artists to gain equal opportunities in the show business industry as well as the relationship between the Afro-American Music Society and the Greater New York chapter of the NALC. The Westchester County chapter folder includes transcripts of a lawsuit initiated by Local 664 of the United Auto Workers against the NALC.

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Scope and Content

Series I contains letters, arranged alphabetically by correspondent. The remainder of the collection, Series II, consists of the manuscripts and, when available, the printed version of Crummell's sermons, filed numerically. A subject index to these sermons can be found at the beginning of Reel 2. At the end of Series II are three items under the heading of "Miscellany."

Introduction

The student of social history who may be seeking to know the experiences of the Negro scholar in nineteenth-century America would do well to consider Alexander Crummell. In his life so many of the broad social trends are reflected; so few of the struggles and triumphs of the Negro intellectual are missed. Nevertheless, there are two distinct variations from the norm: Crummell was never a slave, nor did he ever formally enter the abolition movement. He was religious rather than political, although when aroused he was an unfailing champion of his people.

Alexander Crummell, A.B., D.D., LL.D., was born on March 3, 1819, in New York City. His father, Boston Crummell, was the son of a West African chief in Timanee. On his maternal side, Crummell's ancestors had been free residents in New York for generations. At the age of thirteen, he entered the Mulberry Street School. In this Quaker establishment, the youngster met as schoolmates several bright, young minds who later were to merit mention: Patrick Reason, the engraver; Charles L. Reason, of the faculty of Central College; Ira Aldridge, the actor; James McCune Smith, who won his M.D. from the University of Glasgow, Scotland; Samuel Ringgold War who, like Lemuel Haynes, served as the pastor of a white congregation; and Henry Highland Garnet, the learned and militant abolitionist. Garnet proved to be a leader of this group of Negro students.

In 1831, Crummell and Garnet, among others, entered the high school established for Negro youth by Rev. Peter Williams. The next move came in 1835, when the abolitionists of New Hampshire made the radical departure of opening a school to all races and sexes. Accordingly, the young scholars enthusiastically embraced the opportunity and journeyed to the town of Canaan. However, the "silver lining" was soon chased away by clouds of prejudice and anger. Ironically, on the 4th of July the farmers and townspeople resolved to destroy the "abolition nest." A month later they hitched some ninety yoke of oxen to the schoolhouse and dragged it into the middle of a swamp. One night the very house in which the boys lived was attacked. Canaan turned out to be not quite "Canaan" after all.

Forced to leave New Hampshire, Crummell spent the next three years, 1836–1839, at the Oneida Institute, a manual training school at Whitesboro, New York. The young scholar, in due course, applied for admission to the General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church. Again, he met the color bar. Moreover, Crummell appealed the decision to the board of trustees of the institution. For this audacity, "Bishop Onderdonk sent for me and . . . set upon me with a violence and grossness that I never since encountered, save in one instance in Africa." Crummell became, henceforth, figuratively a marked man.

In contrast, there were those who rose to his defense. William Jay and John Jay, son and grandson of the John Jay who was the first Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, protested the action of the seminary. They and others assisted the student to Boston, where he met the venerable Bishop Griswold, who received him warmly. In retrospect, Crummell could write: "My removal from New York to Boston seemed a transition from the darkness of midnight to the golden light of a summer morning. . . . Just think of a simple black boy, in 1840 being received in the very Mecca of American culture, refinement, and piety, with courtesy and manly recognition, with Christian fraternalism!" In May 1842 he was ordained to the deaconate; two years later, to the priesthood.

Crummell was now a full-fledged Episcopal minister. He took his first charge in Providence, Rhode Island, and moved next to Philadelphia. Here he again encountered an Onderdonk—the New York bishop's brother—but it was the same color bar. To make matters worse, his congregations found his sermons very dry. His appeal was to the intellect rather than to the emotions. He nearly starved. Tired and depressed, he returned to his native New York.

In 1847, at the solicitation of John Jay and others, he visited England for a rest and to raise funds for a church in New York. He remained for five glorious years. During this time he studied for two years at Queen's College, Cambridge University, and received the bachelor's degree in 1853. He preached and lectured all over the British Isles and was friendly with high churchmen and such great names as Thackeray and Macaulay.

In England, Crummell's spirit may have blossomed but not his health. His physician insisted upon a warmer climate. Thus, in 1853, weak and worn, he landed in Liberia, the Negro Republic of West Africa, where the healthful climate gave him back his strength and energy. He remained there for twenty years as missionary and teacher. He served on the faculty of Liberia College and made extensive journeys into Sierra Leone. As ever, he steered clear of politics.

In 1873, Crummell returned to the United States. In Washington, DC, he founded St. Luke's Church, where he served as rector for nearly twenty-two years. In 1895 he resigned at seventy-six years of age. Despite the shadows of his declining years, he established on March 5, 1897, a significant cultural society—the American Negro Academy. This congress of Negro scholars of science and literature has included such men as John W. Cromwell, Francis and Archibald Grimke, Kelly Miller, Henry P. Slaughter, and A. A. Schomburg. The end came swiftly afterward. Crummell died on September 10, 1898, at Point Pleasant, New Jersey. He was buried from St. Philip's Church in New York City.

Paul Laurence Dunbar's laudatory poem, "Alexander Crummell—Dead," was published in *The Colored American* and reprinted in many other periodicals. Crummell was described by his contemporaries as tall, refined, and dignified, a brilliant conversationalist with a rich baritone voice. He believed in self-discipline and the so-called Yankee virtues. His public and private life were kept so separate that most biographers forget to mention that he was married and had several children.

The published works of Crummell, perceived as a graceful writer and literary scholar, include numerous essays, pamphlets, and three books: *The Future of Africa; Being Addresses, Sermons, etc., Delivered in the Republic of Liberia* (1862); *The Greatness of Christ and Other Sermons* (1882); and *Africa and America; Addresses and Discourses* (1891). This latter work contains the notable "Defense of the Negro Race," which has been termed a final and crushing answer to the Rev. J. J. Tucker, D.D., a Negrophobe Episcopal clergyman of Jackson, Mississippi. This volume also contains what proved to be Crummell's most unpopular lecture, "Common Sense in Common Schooling." The pamphlet, "The Black Woman of the South; Her Neglects and Her Needs," has a circulation of 500,000 copies.

The manuscripts of the Crummell Collection, in their fullness and number, illuminate the life and labor of this distinguished man. Happily for the reader, his handwriting is thoroughly legible. More than most Negro Americans of his century, the life of Alexander Crummell is available to the historian and biographer.

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