

# LABOR, POLITICS, AND AFRICAN AMERICAN IDENTITY IN MINNEAPOLIS, 1930–50



Leaders Anthony Cassius, Nellie Stone Johnson, and Cecil Newman worked to expand employment opportunities for Minnesota blacks; (left) assembly line at St. Paul's Ford Motor Company, which employed a few black workers in industrial jobs, 1935.

WHEN ANTHONY BRUTUS CASSIUS walked into Minneapolis's Midland National Bank in the fall of 1949 to borrow \$10,000, he was greeted with skepticism and laughter. Like most banks, Midland considered black borrowers to be a poor risk and normally refused them loans. After a few minutes alone with the bank president, however, Cassius secured the money he requested for buying a restaurant. What convinced the bank president to take the risk? As Cassius tells the story, it was the fact that he had been a union leader. He recalls that the president told him: "I believe you'll make it. Everybody else that's in the labor movement'll make it and I like your style."

**JENNIFER DELTON**

As a black man, Cassius was perceived as a racial category, but as a union leader he became an ambitious individual.<sup>1</sup>

In the labor movement of the 1930s and 1940s, black Minnesotans like Cassius achieved status and individual autonomy in a world that had denied them both. A new generation of black leaders, typified by *Minneapolis Spokesman* editor Cecil Newman, translated their experiences in the labor movement into political power, urging ordinary black Minnesotans to organize themselves as a political force. African American participation in the labor movement was both the outcome of a long struggle for civil rights in Minnesota, built on earlier legislative victories, and also the beginning of a new kind of activism that linked the political power of organized black people to a liberal, New Deal agenda of full employment and economic justice. Black Minnesotans such as Anthony Cassius, Albert L. Allen Jr., Nellie Stone Johnson, and Cecil Newman saw the labor movement as a way to integrate themselves into mainstream economic and political life in a state where they were truly a minority.

**THE MOST IMPORTANT FACT** about the African American population in Minnesota was its small size. The 1910 census counted just 7,084 blacks in a population of more than two million. While Detroit's black population increased sixfold and Cleveland's threefold during World War I, the Twin Cities saw only a 50 percent increase. By 1940, some 4,646 African Americans lived in Minneapolis, 0.9 percent of the total population, while 4,139 lived in St. Paul, 1.5 percent of that city's population. Between 1940 and 1950, Minnesota's African American population rose to 14,022, a 41 percent increase, but still only 0.5 percent of the total.<sup>2</sup>

As elsewhere, African Americans in Minnesota suffered discrimination. Despite antidiscrimination laws, many restaurants and clubs refused them service, swimming pools were segregated, and restrictive covenants barred them from most neighborhoods. The most pervasive form of discrimination in Minnesota was economic: white employers simply refused to hire African

Americans. The few jobs open to blacks were primarily in service industries and on railroads.<sup>3</sup>

Racial violence was rare, but not unknown. In 1920 six black circus workers were lynched in Duluth. Only two members of the white mob were convicted (for rioting). In 1931 Arthur Lee moved into an all-white Minneapolis neighborhood, and a mob of 4,000 besieged and stoned his home for four days. Civic leaders diffused the situation by convincing Lee to sell his house (although he apparently stayed). Later that year, citizens in Anoka threatened to lynch a black man, who was taken to Minneapolis for safety.<sup>4</sup>

African Americans fought discrimination and violence in the courts and through newly founded civil rights organizations. In 1890 John Q. Adams and Frederick McGhee helped found the National Afro-American League with Booker T. Washington. McGhee later helped W. E. B. Du Bois and others organize the Niagara Movement, an alternative to Washington's accommodationist philosophy. Attorney Frank Wheaton won a seat in the state legislature in 1898 and authored a law banning discrimination in bars. Chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were begun in St. Paul and Minneapolis in 1913 and 1914. The NAACP fought housing discrimination, the identification of race in crime reporting, and the screening of *Birth of a Nation* in 1915. In 1917 lawyer J. Louis Ervin won an acquittal for a black man accused of murdering a white man. Duluth founded an NAACP branch in 1920 after the lynching. Settlement houses helped blacks deal with the effects of discrimination: St. Paul's Welcome Hall Community Center (1916) and Hallie Q. Brown House (1929) and Minneapolis's Phyllis Wheatley House (1924) provided limited health and welfare services for the unemployed.<sup>5</sup>

The St. Paul Urban League, founded in 1923 to address the problem of unemployment, was perhaps the most active black organization in Minnesota. Before World War I, African Americans seeking employment in St. Paul consulted S. E. Hall or his brother O. C. Hall, two barbers who cultivated relationships with their white clients to secure jobs for black workers. By 1923, however, newcomers to the state overwhelmed the barbers' capacity to find work for the newcomers. After months of negotiation with the Chamber of Commerce and promises by black leaders to curb the further influx of southern migrants, St. Paul's black leaders

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Many blacks worked in service jobs, including kitchens such as the one at Minneapolis's Chicken Shack on Sixth Avenue North, 1930, owned by Tiney Baker Holder (wearing white cap)

finally got the Urban League off the ground. The new organization concentrated on convincing Twin Cities employers to adopt hiring and promotion policies for blacks. St. Paul's Ford Automobile assembly plant, Minneapolis Moline, and Northland Greyhound lines were among the companies that agreed to hire and maintain ten black workers. The League also sponsored population surveys, race-relations research, and educational services, including job-interview and health-improvement classes. As a result of their success, Urban League leaders became the main spokespeople for the Twin Cities black communities.<sup>6</sup>

While black leaders in the Urban League, in churches, and in the settlement houses provided some challenge to racism in the years before the Great Depression, they were less successful in rousing ordi-

nary black Minnesotans to activism on their own behalf. The small size of the population made it difficult to sustain mass protest organizations, but class issues were also at play. The consciously interracial Urban League was made up of white philanthropists and entrepreneurs and a small group of black professionals and businessmen. It worked closely with white capitalists and civic leaders to secure jobs for black workers, but it offered little to integrate them into mainstream political life. Similarly, settlement houses provided essential services but gave African Americans no public presence. Legal victories cleared obstacles to integration but did not in themselves bring black Minnesotans forward. The interracial NAACP, which in other cities sowed seeds of mass activism, was constantly short of members. Not until the mid-1930s did ordinary black

Twin Citians discover the kind of political relevance and clout lacking in these earlier forms of activism. They would find it in the labor movement.

**BLACK MINNESOTANS** had good reasons for not embracing the labor movement before the 1930s. Although a few blacks—most notably Charles E. James, who organized shoe workers' locals and served three terms as president of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly—joined unions, most unions barred blacks from membership. (In turn, this was a primary reason listed by employers for not hiring African American workers.) The Urban League's negotiation with white employers to secure jobs further exacerbated conflicts between black workers and white unionists. The New

Deal, however, changed the terms of racial politics and made the labor movement a viable avenue for black political participation, nationally and in Minnesota.<sup>7</sup>

The New Deal was a hodgepodge of federal programs designed to relieve the effects of the depression and mend the economy. In Minnesota, New Deal jobs programs widened the activities of the black settlement houses and integrated them into a growing network of state and federal social services. Programs such as the Civil Works Administration (CWA), Public Works Administration, National Youth Administration, and Work Projects Administration (WPA) provided funds for daycare centers, libraries, and educational activities at the houses. These programs found jobs for the unemployed, in many cases jobs formerly off-limits to

**WPA printing and typesetting class, St. Paul, 1936**



blacks. Among the 72 positions secured for black workers through the CWA in 1934, for example, were the first black nurse, hospital file clerk, and bookbinder. CWA projects also hired blacks as skating instructors, librarians, and housing surveyors. WPA projects hired semiskilled construction workers. Settlement-house workers expressed hope that these New Deal programs would open previously closed employment areas and “go a long way in conquering prejudice.” Instances of racial prejudice in New Deal programs brought immediate protest and organization.<sup>8</sup>

The New Deal not only changed traditional employment patterns in the Twin Cities, but it also helped give labor unions political and economic legitimacy. Section 7b of the National Industrial Recovery Act (1933) and the Wagner Act (1935) protected unions and workers from employers. When grateful unionists became loyal Democratic Party constituents, they gained a voice in politics and, in turn, made American politics more attuned to economic-justice issues.<sup>9</sup>

The most significant new organization to emerge during this period was the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Recognizing that racial and ethnic divisions were the most serious impediments to strong industrial unions, CIO organizers campaigned extensively to teach workers how employers pitted ethnic and racial groups against each other. The CIO also began to integrate its unions, most successfully in Chicago and Detroit. In Minnesota, radicals in the Farmer-Labor Party and black leaders joined forces with the new CIO unions to begin education about integration.<sup>10</sup>

**THE FIRST INTEGRATED UNION** in Minnesota, however, was not a CIO union, but an American Federation of Labor (AFL) trade union of miscellaneous hotel workers: Local 665 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union. Started at a picnic in 1935 sponsored by either a Bulgarian-Macedonian or Swedish workers’ club, the local had been discussed for a long time among its organizers: George Naumoff, a Greek socialist and elevator operator at the Minneapolis Athletic club; Swan Assarson, a Swedish socialist; Bob Kelly, a local communist and bellhop at Minneapolis’s Curtis Hotel; and Anthony Brutus Cassius, a waiter and head of the all-black waiters union at the Curtis Hotel. These leaders of existing unions wanted to organize

the miscellaneous hotel workers—elevator operators, maids, and receptionists, many of whom were black, most of whom were women—in order to strengthen their own unions’ bargaining power with hotel management. Cassius’s waiters union was already involved in suing the Curtis Hotel for equal wages with white waiters at other hotels. In order to carry out its threat of a complete shutdown, the union needed support from the vast body of unorganized miscellaneous workers. After the picnic, Naumoff enlisted Albert Allen, the Athletic Club’s athletic coordinator, and Nellie A. Stone (later Nellie Stone Johnson), a service-elevator operator at the club, to recruit black members for the new union. Cassius, Allen, and Stone represented a broad diversity of motivations and ideologies that would come to inform African American labor activism.<sup>11</sup>

Cassius had gotten involved in organizing unions after discovering that white waiters at other hotels made about \$50 a month more than the black waiters at the Curtis. Rebuffed by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, which did not accept black workers, he organized Local 614 of the Hotel and Restaurant Waiters’ Union, an all-black local chartered by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International (AFL) in 1930. As head of Local 614, Cassius sued the Curtis Hotel, demanding not only equal pay with white waiters at other hotels, but back wages as well. The hotel scoffed at the idea of his black local finding support among white unions to strike, but Cassius cultivated the support of the Teamsters, the most powerful union in the city after 1934, and secured as attorneys for the suit two left-wing labor activists, Ralph Helstein and Douglas Hall. Helstein and Hall publicized the plight of the tiny black local and introduced Cassius to members of other unions in order to garner support for a possible strike. In 1940 they eventually won their case against the Curtis without striking and attained a \$13,000 wage increase (on a par with white workers’ wages), and \$3,500 in back wages.<sup>12</sup>

While fighting 614’s long battle, Cassius became involved in the labor movement and local politics. He manned soup kitchens during the 1934 Teamsters’ truckers strike, served as a delegate to the 1936 Farmer-Labor convention, socialized at the Bulgarian-Macedonian Workers Club on Third Avenue, and registered black voters. Cassius also helped build Local 665,



**Bellhop assisting guests leaving Minneapolis's Curtis Hotel, 1948, where Cassius had organized Local 614 of the Hotel and Restaurant Waiters' Union**

which was crucial to the waiters' eventual victory against the Curtis Hotel. He recalls meeting daily for coffee with Bob Kelly, a Curtis bellboy, at a nearby Greek sweet shop and discussing how to organize the ethnically and racially diverse workers.<sup>13</sup>

For Cassius, the idea of organizing into unions represented progress and educated thinking, a way to rise above menial labor and fulfill one's individual potential; the labor movement provided opportunity for edu-

cated blacks to be leaders, not peons. As a waiter, Cassius was just another subservient black man, but as a union leader he was a powerful individual who took on Curtis Hotel executives and won. While his scraps with the Curtis management repeatedly cost him his job and even brought FBI harassment, these challenges only strengthened his identity as a successful union leader. As he noted proudly, just about everyone in the labor movement was questioned by the FBI (and the Central Labor Union always got him his job back). In his 1981 recollections, he highlighted his central role in events by contrasting himself with the passive, clannish waiters he wanted to organize:

I thought, "This can't be right, we working here 'cause our faces are black for \$17 a month." So I attempted to organize, which was very difficult because black people were afraid of organizations. The only organizations that they knew anything about was the churches and a few lodges, and it was awful hard to sell it to them. But through persistence and effort and having a few blacks in the Curtis Hotel who had finished high school [I] was able to talk to them and get some kind of understanding.<sup>14</sup>

As part of the labor movement, Cassius saw himself as a mover of history, defying the passive destiny to which he felt his racial identity bound him. In relating his story, Cassius inserted himself personally into labor history. He shared a YMCA room with the Reuthers. He was in San Francisco when Harry Bridges was indicted for throwing a bomb. He heard Samuel Gompers speak. In a statement that conflated the labor movement's success with his own, Cassius recalled: "I had the potential, if I'd stayed in the labor movement, of being a great man, a big man in it anyway."<sup>15</sup>

When Cassius left the labor movement in the late 1940s to open the Cassius Club Cafe with his brother, his connections to the labor movement proved key to his business success. In a battle against City Hall for a liquor license, his experiences and friends in labor helped him skirt the pitfalls of city politics. When the



Albert L. Allen Jr.

fight against City Hall depleted his bankroll, his labor experience helped him get a loan from Midland Bank.<sup>16</sup>

**ALBERT L. ALLEN JR.**, one of the principal organizers and president of Local 665, shared Cassius's desire to transcend a narrow racial identity, and, like Cassius, he did so by becoming a labor leader. Ironically, Allen recalled that, at the time, he regarded himself as "anti-union" and a strict "individualist," who believed fervently in climbing to the top by sheer ability. In his 1981 oral history, Allen remembered that as a star tennis player in high school, he was treated as "an individual," but off the tennis court he became "one of those, well, there was a derogatory term, but I would say here it was a 'Negro.'" When Allen went to work at the Minneapolis Athletic Club in the 1930s, he tried to recapture that nonracialized individual identity. Working his way up to a prominent position as the athletic coordinator, he arranged strategic tennis and handball matches between executives, potential clients, and buyers. This made him feel integral to the wheelings and dealings of the high-powered business world. Other black employees looked up to him as someone who had escaped the confines of prescribed black work.<sup>17</sup>

It would be as a labor leader, however, that Allen felt the most empowered. His prominent position in the athletic club prompted organizer Swan Assarson to approach him about helping unionize the miscellaneous hotel workers in 1934. When Allen reluctantly attended a meeting, he was discomfited by the dark room and "foreign-born" unionists, and he recalled thinking that there was "no power here." But because the organizers had identified him as a man other black workers looked up to, he agreed to help on the condition that blacks "come in just as individuals" like everyone else.

In his oral history Allen claimed that he remained ambivalent about the labor movement until the day a boss who learned about Allen's new role remarked that he had always thought Allen was smarter than the foreign-born troublemakers. This, he recalls, galvanized



him to accept the labor movement. His was no epiphany about solidarity but, rather, a desire to show his boss that he was a force to be reckoned with and smarter than the other workers. Unlike Cassius, Allen remained in the labor movement, and he subsequently organized and was president of Local 3015 of the Clerical Workers Union at the Minneapolis airport. He served as president of the Minneapolis NAACP from 1946 to 1949 and was a member of the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practices Committee in the early 1950s. Like Cassius, he attributed his success in life to the labor movement and the opportunity it gave him to be an individual.

**ANOTHER ORIGINAL LOCAL 665 ORGANIZER**, Nellie Stone Johnson, went a step further and explicitly linked her new sense of personal power to the political arena. Unlike Cassius and Allen, who saw the labor movement in terms of their own success, Johnson saw it as labor historians like to see it: as a collectivist struggle for economic security and racial justice.<sup>18</sup>

Born in 1904, Johnson arrived in Minneapolis in 1925, found work as an elevator operator at the Minneapolis Athletic Club, and helped organize Local 665. She marched in the rallies and strikes that enveloped the Twin Cities in the 1930s. She attended education programs sponsored by the trade-union movement, traveling to Chicago for seminars and workshops. There she met other organization activists. The union paid for classes at the University of Minnesota, where she became involved with the Communist Party and attended its seminars and rallies.

As a unionist, Johnson worked in the Farmer-Labor Association (FLA), the “educational” wing of the Farmer-Labor Party that endorsed, funded, and campaigned for candidates. Here Johnson discovered not only that she enjoyed planning political campaigns and framing issues, but that politics offered a genuine avenue for social and economic change. The Minneapolis labor movement controlled the Farmer-Labor Party after 1938, largely through the FLA, making organized labor’s goals of full employment, health insurance, job security, and affordable housing relevant in state politics. As an involved member of her union and the FLA, Johnson saw her issues and candidates become part of the political mainstream. When black civil rights emerged as a social issue during World War II, Johnson was one of the activists who tied it to the

liberal goal of full employment and thrust it into the political arena.<sup>19</sup>

In 1945 Johnson entered politics herself by running successfully for a seat on the Minneapolis Library Board. She recalls that Hubert Humphrey, who was campaigning for mayor, encouraged her to run because she would be Minneapolis’s first black elected official and would speak for labor and equality “from experience.” According to Johnson, she campaigned alongside Humphrey, each benefiting the other. Most of her campaign support came from the academic community, and Johnson regrets that more rank and file did not join in. Significantly, the *Minneapolis Tribune’s* list of city candidates did not include her photograph, as it did most of the other candidates, although it did list her union credentials and labor endorsement. She won the seat by a large margin, not as a lone black pioneer but as a representative of a viable political force—the unions and the DFL.<sup>20</sup>

After her six-year stint on the library board, Johnson decided to return to being a behind-the-scenes, grassroots activist. Unlike Cassius and Allen, she eschewed leadership positions in the labor movement. It was as though by remaining part of the rank and file, she kept the labor movement genuine for herself.<sup>21</sup>

As a ground-level political activist, Johnson transcended the ideological and factional struggles that tore the labor movement apart in the late 1940s. Had she been a paid union organizer or an elected official, she would have had to take positions on these issues. Instead, her relative anonymity allowed her to work all sides of the fence in pursuit of her political goals: jobs and economic security. An AFL union member, she nonetheless ran off strike sheets for the CIO. (“Oh, if [AFL president] Bill Green had caught up to us at the time, he’d have excommunicated us, gosh.”) Despite her links to the Communist Party, she adored anti-Communist Hubert Humphrey, personally and for his political agenda of a full-employment welfare state. In the 1948 election, while the Progressive and DFL Parties tore each other down, Johnson worked for both; she wanted Hubert Humphrey to win, but she wanted him, and the Democratic Party, to incorporate the values and agenda of the Progressive Party. She saw this as simple pragmatism, and she prided herself on this kind of political savvy. After the election, she quit the Progressive Party and dedicated herself to working within the Democratic Party. She later opened a small

# 22nd Anniversary Lenin Memorial Meeting



MRS. NELLIE STONE

**Hear: WILLIAM L. PATTERSON**  
Nationally Known Negro Communist Leader, Fighter for F.R.P.C.  
and outstanding Champion of Labor's Struggles

**Hear: NELLIE STONE**  
Minneapolis Trade Union Leader and  
First Negro Elected to Public Office in Minneapolis

*Others:*

**ROBERT I WISHART** LEADING MINNEAPOLIS  
TRADE UNIONIST

**ROBERT T. KELLY** RECENTLY RETURNED  
VETERAN



W. L. PATTERSON

**Meridel L. Sauer, Author, Chairman**  
**ENTERTAINMENT . . . Wilbur S. Broms, Singing, "The House That Built Me"**

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Speaker Nellie Stone (Johnson), billed as a trade-union leader and elected official for this Communist Party-sponsored event

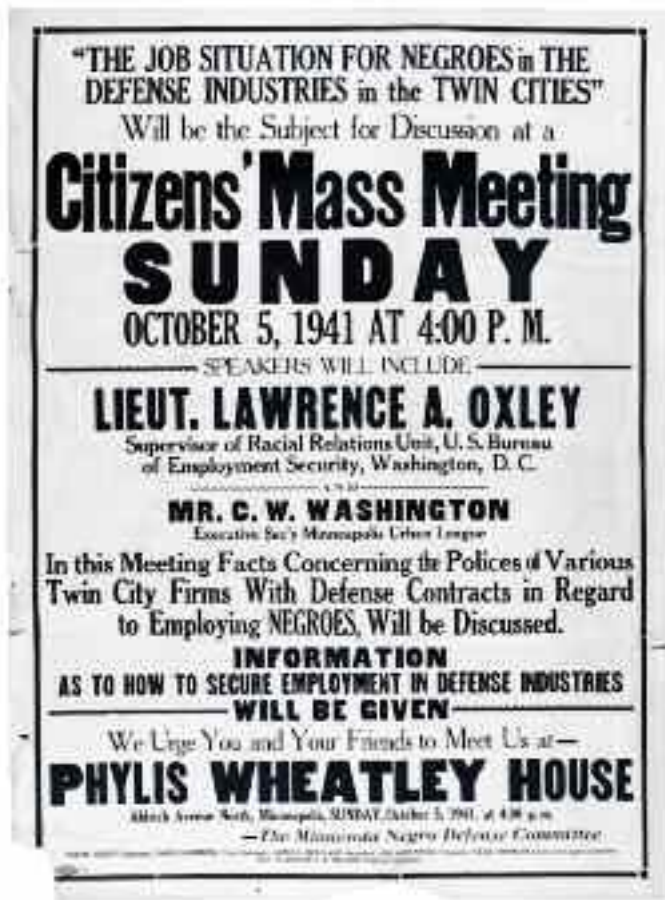
tailoring shop in Minneapolis and focused her political efforts on trying to build a multiracial, labor-oriented Democratic Party.<sup>22</sup>

**THE RECOLLECTIONS OF CASSIUS**, Allen, and Johnson reveal that they saw the labor movement as an integrating force that pulled the isolated black community into the political and social mainstream. Other black unionists in the Twin Cities labor movement, including Maceo Littlejohn, who in 1938 led the drive with Hector Vassar and Maceo Finney to organize Local 516 of the Dining Car Employees Union, Frank Boyd of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Frank Alsup, who helped organize the South St. Paul meat-packing plants for the CIO in the late 1930s, had similar notions.<sup>23</sup>

In trying to convince black citizens of the benefits of unionization, these leaders became deeply involved with black organizations around the city, mainly the

Urban Leagues, churches, and settlement houses. Their presence transformed and revived these organizations. Maceo Littlejohn held the first mass meeting of the Joint Labor Negro Council at Wheatley House in March 1940. There, the leader of the Ames Lodge of Elks spoke on his difficulties in obtaining a job at the Speed-O-Lac Paint Company. Cassius frequently worked evenings for the Urban League with no pay after finishing his shift and lectured at Wheatley House about why black workers should join unions. Frank Boyd's union activities got him thrown off the deacon's board at Pilgrim Baptist church, but he continued as an active member, which, Nellie Stone Johnson remembered, enhanced his reputation as a unionist and a Baptist.<sup>24</sup>

By 1938 Minnesota's Urban Leagues and settlement houses recognized the labor movement as an important component in the struggle for racial justice. At the 1938 meeting of the National Federation of



Poster announcing a meeting to pressure defense contractors about hiring black workers

Settlements, social workers from Wheatley House heard the director of Chicago's Hull House affirm the role of labor in their own work: "Those of us who have advocated Social Security and other reforms must bow our heads in recognition that none of our proposals became law until organized labor backed them." This particular speech was excerpted for Wheatley staff, along with a four-point plan to work with the labor movement. Social workers invited black and white labor activists to settlement houses, and representatives from the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union, the Trotskyist wing of the Teamsters, the CIO, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, the Farmer-Labor Party, and others spoke at the houses in the late 1930s. Wheatley House sponsored a weekly forum devoted to world events and national political and economic issues. Organized in part by Selma Seestrom, a white, left-wing Farmer-Laborite, the

Forum, as it was called, sponsored debates about the Negro and Communism, the Negro and the labor movement, Pan-Africanism, the Spanish Civil War, Ethiopia, and race relations in America. Participants recall that the Forum was a place where individuals from different sectors of the black community came together to discuss and debate racial problems in the city. According to a 1945 Minnesota survey, blacks were clearly moving into unions, with 109 unions reporting 646 black members and 54,334 white members.<sup>25</sup>

The influence of the labor movement in settlement houses, the Urban Leagues, and the Twin Cities in general contributed to the perception that black citizens had to form their own organizations in order to gain participation in public life. The labor movement demonstrated what could be accomplished when apparently powerless individuals united to improve their situation, but more importantly it suggested that black leaders need no longer depend simply on the largesse of rich white employers. It is no coincidence that the new leaders most insistent on organizing as blacks came out of the labor movement.

**NO ONE MORE EFFECTIVELY ARTICULATED** the benefits of an independent black interest group than the Pullman-porter-turned-newspaper-editor, Cecil E. Newman. Born in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1903, Newman moved to Minnesota as a child, worked as a bellhop and a porter, and wrote for the *Twin Cities Herald*. In 1934 he began publishing the *Minneapolis Spokesman* out of a barbershop in southeast Minneapolis. Other black newspapers had floundered, but Newman quickly made his paper a main source for news about the Twin Cities black communities for both black and white readers. While reporting the news, he also used the paper to foster black citizens' full participation in industrial, civic, and political life.<sup>26</sup>

Like Nellie Stone Johnson, Newman focused on jobs and employment issues. Unlike Johnson, however, who believed that the labor movement was the best place to fight for better jobs, Newman saw the political arena as key. It was a small difference and one of emphasis, since Newman also recognized the value of the labor movement and Johnson the importance of politics. Newman's philosophy was consistent with many 1930s black activists and intellectuals, who recognized that the New Deal had strengthened the federal government and legitimized the labor movement, thereby

changing the terms of black political organization. Complacency and dependence on white largesse were no longer necessary.<sup>27</sup>

Using the tactics and issues of the labor movement, Newman sought to make the Twin Cities' tiny black population into a viable political force. In the mid-1930s he organized a boycott of the local brewing industry, whose all-white unions kept out black workers. In 1935 he also helped organize picketing against Barney's Cafe for discrimination against black patrons, forcing it to hire a black counter person. He exhorted his black readers to organize in some way, any way; "Let's Form a Club' Slogan of the Hour," one 1940 headline declared, suggesting that the clubs would then form a federation to win jobs from establishments patronized by blacks. Another headline announced the slogan of the Minneapolis Council of Negro Organizations: "Every Minneapolis Negro in Some Organization in 1941." Much of the *Spokesman's* main news was about new groups such as the Cosmopolitan Club, the revitalized Minneapolis NAACP, and a slew of interracial

labor-civil rights committees. The paper reported diligently on the groups' aims, meetings, and achievements, urging Twin Cities blacks to participate and scolding those who did not.<sup>28</sup>

Under Newman, the *Minneapolis Spokesman* attacked the community's complacency, isolation, and middle-class pretension. While organized blacks in Chicago, Detroit, and New York were taking advantage of 1930s political and economic changes to fight for racial justice, blacks in the Twin Cities seemed more content with their lot, Newman observed. He blamed the black elite, who had presented themselves as the "thinking" or "better element of Negroes." These older, comfortable families with their ice-cream socials and silver tea sets refused to participate in the larger movement for racial equality sweeping the nation. *Spokesman* columnist Nell Dodson Russell skewered the middle-class elite's obsession with respectability and acceptance of rhetorical bones tossed their way by white politicians: "All a candidate has to do is mutter something about 13,000,000 Negroes, 'Democracy,' and getting us out

Newman's *Spokesman* announced Local 614's victory in the Curtis Hotel strike and listed labor leaders Anthony Cassius and Maceo Littlejohn as outstanding citizens.

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## WAITERS WIN \$13,000 RAISE

### Reader Selects Ten Most Outstanding Negroes for Year 1939 in Twin Cities

By Staff Correspondent

What Minneapolis Negroes considered most outstanding for 1939 are listed below. The names are listed in order of preference as determined by a poll of the paper's staff.

1. Maceo Littlejohn, 2100 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

2. Anthony Cassius, 1200 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

3. Maceo Littlejohn, 2100 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

4. Anthony Cassius, 1200 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

5. Maceo Littlejohn, 2100 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

6. Anthony Cassius, 1200 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

7. Maceo Littlejohn, 2100 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

8. Anthony Cassius, 1200 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

9. Maceo Littlejohn, 2100 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

10. Anthony Cassius, 1200 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. (1939)

### St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly Backs Resolution

The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly has passed a resolution endorsing the Minneapolis Council of Negro Organizations' boycott of the local brewing industry.

The resolution, adopted by a vote of 150 to 10, calls for a boycott of all breweries in the Twin Cities until they agree to hire black workers on an equal basis with white workers.

The assembly also passed a resolution endorsing the Minneapolis Council of Negro Organizations' campaign to organize all black workers in the Twin Cities.

### CUBAN MAGAZINE CARRIES ARTICLE ON JOHN CENAULT

The Cuban magazine, *El Mundo*, has carried an article on John Cenault, a prominent black leader in the Twin Cities. The article, written by a Cuban correspondent, praises Cenault's leadership in the fight for racial justice.

Cenault is described as a man of great courage and determination, who has dedicated his life to the cause of his people.

### New Instructor

Miss M. J. [Name] has been appointed as the new instructor at the Curtis Hotel. She has been with the hotel for several years and is well known to the staff.

### Curtis Hotel Waiters Union Sign Agreement Including \$3,500 Back Pay

The Curtis Hotel Waiters Union has signed a new agreement with the hotel management. The agreement includes a 13% raise in wages and \$3,500 in back pay for the period of the strike.

The new agreement also provides for a 10% increase in wages for the following year and a 5% increase for the year after that.

### Talmage B. Carey Seriously Ill

Talmage B. Carey, a prominent black leader in the Twin Cities, is seriously ill. He has been in the hospital for several days and his condition is reported to be serious.

Carey is a well-known figure in the black community and has been active in many of the organizations mentioned in this paper.

### Condition of St. Paul Man Auto Victim Serious

The condition of the St. Paul man who was injured in an auto accident is reported to be serious. He was taken to the hospital and is being treated by a team of doctors.

The accident occurred on [Date] and resulted in the man being thrown from the car.

### St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly Hits Lynching

The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly has passed a resolution condemning lynching. The resolution calls for a boycott of all businesses that do business with lynch mobs.

The assembly also passed a resolution endorsing the Minneapolis Council of Negro Organizations' campaign to organize all black workers in the Twin Cities.

### Nicholas Wright, Bethelca Deacon, Dead at 75

Nicholas Wright, a prominent black leader in the Twin Cities, has died at the age of 75. He was a member of the Bethel Church and was well known to the community.

Wright was a man of great faith and courage, who dedicated his life to the service of his people.

### New Staff Workers

The Curtis Hotel has hired a new staff of workers. The new staff includes several black workers and is expected to begin work in the near future.

### Cecil Newman in Chicago for Three Days

Cecil Newman, a prominent black leader in the Twin Cities, has been in Chicago for three days. He is attending to business and is expected to return to Minneapolis in the near future.

### National Negro Congress Meets Late in April

The National Negro Congress is scheduled to meet in Minneapolis late in April. The meeting is expected to attract a large number of delegates from across the country.

The meeting will focus on the issues of racial justice and economic equality.

### Red Caps Leader

The Red Caps, a group of white supremacists, have been active in the Twin Cities. They have been known to harass and intimidate black workers and leaders.

The Minneapolis Council of Negro Organizations has been active in fighting against the Red Caps and their activities.

Talmage B. Carey, prominent black leader in the Twin Cities, is seriously ill.

the kitchen; and from then he can ease by on the reputation of being the greatest liberal since good old Abe, God rest his soul!" The alternative to relying on white beneficence, Dodson urged, was "organizing ourselves into a solid unified political bloc and pressure group that will have them all losing sleep."<sup>29</sup>

To create this voting bloc, Newman advocated new, class-inclusive black organizations that would bring together the old families with the newer generation of workers. Blacks, he wrote in 1940, should "stick together, the professionals rubbing elbows with the workers." The groups would also be boldly integrationist, seeking white allies, not benefactors. They would be less stodgy and more confrontational. In particular Newman celebrated organizations that downplayed the social and fraternal aspects of clubs and instead stressed political activism—the new, multiracial Cosmopolitan Club at the University of Minnesota, for example. In response, readers affirmed his message, one urging an "All Negro Day," where blacks of all classes would stop fighting and work together.<sup>30</sup>

Was the older generation as complacent as the younger generation painted it to be? After all, black elites such as the Hall brothers and the Hickmans participated in the new organizations. The *Twin Cities Observer*, edited by Republican Milton G. Williams, targeted an older, more genteel readership and seems at first glance to affirm Newman's assumptions. It was preoccupied with guest lists and church news. It periodically called for race purges of "men and women of ill-repute." On the other hand, the *Observer* also reported diligently on national and international political events and boasted that it had the Northwest's only black correspondent in Russia. It reported on events in Africa and other colonized areas, a feature absent from the *Spokesman*. Like the *Spokesman*, the *Observer* followed and encouraged the formation of new groups, with the noticeable difference being that the *Observer* paid more attention to all-black cooperatives and all-black organizations than the *Spokesman*, which celebrated interracial organizations. Politically, the *Observer* followed Republican Party politics, while the *Spokesman* tended toward the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party, but both editors recognized that black interests transcended party affiliation. Finally, readership of the two papers overlapped, and many readers wrote letters to both. In sum, the older elite was not nearly as complacent or parochial as Cecil Newman and the younger generation drew it, but its continued obsession with respectability made it an easy foil for activists trying

to create a clear alternative to "traditional" middle-class leadership.<sup>31</sup>

**WHEN WORLD WAR II** revived white interest in racial justice, Newman lost no time in alerting Twin Cities black communities to the possibilities for change. No longer need they be merely supportive observers of struggles going on in New York, Chicago, and Dixie. Newman's paper buzzed with local and national stories about the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), local black soldiers abroad, the fight for a "double victory" over racism and fascism, and American wartime propaganda about interracial unity. The *Spokesman's* pages divulged that black Minnesotans were participating as delegates and organizers in national groups such as the Democratic and Republican Parties, the CIO, and Washington's new bureaucracies. Clarence Mitchell resigned from the St. Paul Urban League to take a position with the Office of Production Management. Frank Boyd and Nellie Stone Johnson served on the committee that merged the state's Farmer-Labor and Democratic Parties in 1944. St. Paul native Mildred Vernon went to work for the War Department in Washington, where she refused to

Attending a 1954 NAACP event were Anthony Cassius (far left), publisher Milton G. Williams (third from left), Howard Bennett, later appointed Minnesota's first black judge (second from right), and activist Nellie Stone Johnson (far right).



join a committee to select separate black and white Miss Valentines. Black organizations took part in A. Phillip Randolph's March on Washington Movement, which demanded an equal chance for wartime jobs and desegregation of the armed forces, and Randolph came to the Twin Cities to galvanize support for a permanent FEPC.<sup>32</sup>

Newman believed that the most important issues to come out of the war were fair employment and jobs. Randolph's successful threat of direct action had forced President Franklin Roosevelt in 1941 to create by executive order the FEPC, which forbade discrimination in defense industries. After the war, liberals and civil rights activists made the struggle for a permanent FEPC part of a broad program of federally insured prosperity and social security.

Not merely an issue for blacks, creation of a permanent FEPC was now part of a national liberal agenda to reform the Democratic Party and strengthen the federal government. This meant that black activists who engaged in the struggle were an integral part of something larger than "Negro rights," and their activism was important. As Newman stressed in his paper, blacks were no longer wards defined by skin color, but players in a tumultuous political arena. As activists and voters they could shape their world and their fates.

Newman frequently reminded readers, white and black, of black voters' growing political influence in national elections. Since the war had begun, two million black Americans had migrated out of the South, where they could not vote, and resettled in northern cities, where they could. Black voters' potential influence lay not in their numbers, he argued, but in their "strategic diffusion in the balance-of-power and marginal states" whose electoral votes were essential to the winning candidate. While Newman understood that Minnesota was not one of these key states, he drew on national excitement about the growing black vote to



**Charles L. Horn, president of the Federal Cartridge Corporation, which hired more than 1,000 black workers during World War II**

invigorate local participation in political coalitions with a stake in a strong federal government. First among them was the labor movement.<sup>33</sup>

Newman articulated black citizens' interest in a strong federal government. He monitored congressional attempts to dismantle federally controlled agencies, noting any potential transfer of power away from the executive branch to the southern-dominated Congress. "The only time when Negroes north or south get any real benefit from federal funds is when Uncle Sam administers such funds himself," he wrote in 1949. He lambasted Republican Party conservatives who joined with southern Democrats to revent legislation empowering the federal government. He followed the Republicans' attempts to shut

down the Office of Price Administration (OPA) and condemned the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act throughout 1947. Newman's antipathy toward the Republican Party was based not on its record on black civil rights, which in any case was stronger than the Democrats', but rather on Republicans' opposition to a strong federal government.<sup>34</sup>

By urging black Minnesotans to be political actors, Newman hoped to create a more even balance between black leaders and white industrial and political elites. The personal challenge this created was illustrated in Newman's relationship with businessman Charles Lilley Horn. President of the Federal Cartridge Corporation, Horn hired 1,000 black workers at the start of the war. Newman wrote an article titled "Experiment in Industrial Democracy" about this event for the National Urban League's *Opportunity* in 1944. The article described how Horn, the first paid subscriber to the *Spokesman*, was one of the few Twin Cities manufacturers to comply with the president's order barring discrimination. Horn had contacted Newman about finding black workers, and Newman suggested using the



Editor Cecil Newman in the mid-1950s with political friends: Orville L. Freeman (left, chairman of the DFL party, 1948–50, and governor, 1955–61), and Hubert H. Humphrey (right, senator 1949–64)

the white elite, Minneapolis mayor and later Senator Hubert Humphrey, was less complicated. Humphrey shared Newman's commitment to the political principles of inclusion, cross-class organization, and a strong, socially responsible federal government. Their relationship was based on friendship and shared ideals, but it was also based on political opportunism. Newman used his connections to Humphrey to sustain his leadership among Twin Cities African Americans, while Humphrey leaned on Newman for black support in local political skirmishes within the labor movement and the newly created Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.<sup>37</sup> For Newman, how-

ever, this was a far cry from the old one-sided relationship between black leaders and white politicians. For a variety of complicated reasons, Humphrey and his allies in the labor movement needed and wanted black citizens' support for their liberal agenda. Humphrey's solicitation of Newman's endorsements and favors acknowledged that black citizens in Minnesota were finally relevant.

Urban League, which was set up for exactly these kinds of placements.<sup>35</sup> On one level, Newman's mediating efforts resemble barber O. C. Hall's earlier attempts at soliciting jobs for black migrants. Newman was quick to differentiate his ties with Horn, a conservative Republican opposed to big government, from past practices, however. For Newman the important thing was that the federal government stood behind him. Furthermore, Newman wrote, Horn wasn't engaged in any "maudlin sympathy of the Negro" but hired them on the premise that "Negro workers are citizens and thereby entitled to all of the rights and privileges of taxpayers—which include the right to work and earn a living." Unlike earlier leaders, then, Newman could urge blacks to look to Washington rather than to individuals for economic change.<sup>36</sup>

Newman's relationship with another member of

Whether or not this political relevance would deliver the material improvements promised by the labor movement is open to debate. What is striking, however, about African Americans' involvement in the Minneapolis labor movement is less the achievement of economic or racial justice than the excitement of newfound political possibilities. African Americans successfully used the labor movement to make themselves independent actors in the political arena, becoming part of a larger public that they ultimately transformed. □

## NOTES

1. Anthony Brutus Cassius, interview by Carl Ross, Dec. 1, 1981, transcript, p. 13–14, 20th Century Radicalism in Minnesota Project (hereinafter, Radicalism Project), Minnesota Historical Society Library (MHS), St. Paul.

2. United States, *Census*, 1950, vol. 2, pt. 23, p. 44, table 14; Governor's Commission on Interracial Relations, *The Negro Worker in Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1945), 3; Earl Spangler, *The Negro*

*in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: T. S. Denison, 1961), 90–95; David V. Taylor, "The Blacks," in *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups*, ed. June D. Holmquist (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1981), 80–83.

3. Spangler, *Negro*, 107; Governor's Commission, *Negro Worker*, 21, citing studies based on 1936 relief rolls. See also David V. Taylor, "John Adams and *The Western Appeal*: Advo-

cates of the Protest Tradition” (master’s thesis, University of Nebraska, 1971); oral history interviews, Minnesota Black History Project, 1970–75, MHS Library. For descriptions of Minnesota’s black communities, see S. Edward Hall, interview by David Taylor, Dec. 19, 1970, Minnesota Black History Project; Evelyn Fairbanks, *Days of Rondo* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1990); Anna Arnold Hedgman, *The Trumpet Sounds* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); Eula Taylor, “Growing Up in Minnesota,” *Ramsey County History* 27 (Winter 1992–93): 4; Randall Kenan, *Walking on Water: Black American Lives at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 165–200.

4. See Michael Fedo, *The Lynchings in Duluth* (1979; reprint, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2000); *The Crisis*, 38 [40] (October 1931): 337–39; *Minneapolis Star*, Sept. 7, 1931; *Minneapolis Tribune*, July 15, 16, 17, 1931.

5. Spangler, *Negro*, 71. David Taylor argues that John Q. Adams, the editor of the *Western Appeal*, made St. Paul a thriving black intellectual center, attracting leaders like Du Bois, Washington, and William Trotter; see David Taylor, “Booker T. Washington and *The Western Appeal*,” unpublished manuscript, David Taylor Papers, MHS Library. For more on settlement houses, see Alice S. Onqué, “History of the Hallie Q. Brown House” (master’s thesis, University of Minnesota), 1959, and “Phyllis Wheatley House, 1924–1934,” tenth anniversary booklet, box 1, Phyllis Wheatley Community Center records, MHS Library. See also NAACP, St. Paul Branch, minutes and related records, 1904, 1905, 1934–42, both MHS Library.

6. Hall interview, Dec. 19, 1970; S. Edward Hall, interview by Ethel Ray Nance, May 28, 1974, transcript, MHS Library; Governor’s Commission, *Negro Worker*, 21–22. Black leaders and white employers conspired to keep migrants out of the Twin Cities by advertising that no jobs were available. See Spangler, *Negro*, 67, citing interview with Cecil Newman and J. Louis Ervin. On the Urban League, see Whitney Young, “History of the St. Paul Urban League” (master’s thesis, University of Minnesota, 1947); and Spangler, *Negro*, 105.

7. Young, “Urban League,” 39; Governor’s Commission, *Negro Worker*, 33–34; Dave Riehle, “When Labor Knew a Man Named Charles James,” *St. Paul Union Advocate*, Labor History series, www.workdayminnesota.org; *St. Paul and Minneapolis Appeal*, Sept. 22, 1923.

8. Phyllis Wheatley House, Annual Report, 1933–34, box 1, Wheatley Center records, MHS; *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Jan. 19, 1940; Onqué, “Hallie Q. Brown,” 40.

9. On the dynamic relationship among unions, the New Deal, and politics, see Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) and David Plotke, *Building a Democratic Political Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

10. For examples of the Minnesota labor movement’s interest in organizing African American workers, see the *St. Paul Union Advocate* throughout the 1930s.

11. According to Johnson, out of the union’s eventual 1,300–1,400 members, 800–900 were women. One of the union’s first victories was equal pay for women; Nellie Stone Johnson, interview by Carl Ross, Nov. 17, 1981, transcript, p.



**Two generations of leaders: Martin Luther King Jr. (seated), in his mid-20s, and Cecil Newman (standing in dark suit), in his mid-50s. The 1957 photo (detail) was taken in St. Paul during King’s Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott. (Standing to Newman’s right are Rev. Denzil Carty and Walter Goins.)**

7–8, Radicalism Project. Ross interviewed Cassius, Allen, and Johnson in 1981–82 as part of a Local 665 series, now part of the Radicalism Project.

12. *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Mar. 1, 1940; A. B. Cassius to Central Labor Union, Mar. 8, 1940, Central Labor Union of Minneapolis Papers, MHS Library. According to the Minnesota Negro Council, however, in 1933 black waiters at the Curtis earned \$18 a month, and “after several wage negotiations in 1938, the men now receive \$62.50 per month with other favorable stipulations”; *News and Reviews*, May 22, 1938. The *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Aug. 8, 1940, reported Cassius as saying that



Negro waiters' wages jumped from \$21 to \$86 per month.

Helstein later became president of the United Packing-house workers, CIO, while Hall became involved with the left wing of the DFL Party.

13. Cassius interview, 7.

14. Cassius interview, 3, 13.

15. Cassius interview, 29.

16. Cassius interview, 13–14. On his battle against City Hall, see also *Minneapolis Spokesman*, June–Aug. 1947; *Minneapolis Tribune*, July–Aug. 1947.

17. Here and two paragraphs below, Albert Allen, interview by Carl Ross, June 17, 1981, transcript, p. 2, 10–12, Radicalism Project; Carl Ross, *Radicalism in Minnesota, 1900–1960: A Survey of Selected Sources* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1994), 35. See also Johnson interview, Nov. 17, 1981, p. 21.

18. Here and below, Johnson, interviews by Ross, transcripts, Nov. 17, 1981, and Mar. 1, 1988, Radicalism Project; Steve Perry, “The Good Fight: Nellie Stone Johnson’s 70 Years in Minnesota Politics,” *City Pages*, May 29, 1991. See also David Brauer, *Nellie Stone Johnson: The Life of an Activist* (St. Paul: Ruminator Books, 2000), and Kenan, *Walking on Water*, 183–88.

19. For a history, see Paul Holbo, “The Farmer-Labor Association: Minnesota’s Party within a Party,” *Minnesota History* 42 (Spring 1970): 301–09.

20. Brauer, *Johnson*, 129, 132; *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 13, 1945, p. 3L. No Humphrey biographers have mentioned this side-by-side campaigning.

21. Johnson interviews, Nov. 17, 1981, p. 9, and Mar. 1, 1988, p. 39.

22. Johnson interview, Mar. 1, 1988, p. 28.

23. Cassius interview, 17, 40; “Twentieth Anniversary of Joint Council Dining Car Employees’ Union Local 516, July 15, 1958,” MHS Library; Johnson interview, Mar. 1, 1988, p. 22. Littlejohn apparently approached the railroad brotherhoods first, but they refused to accept blacks into their unions, so he unionized with the hotel and restaurant workers instead.

24. *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Mar. 15, 1940; Johnson interview, Mar. 1, 1988, p. 6–7.

25. “Resume, National Federation of Settlements, Pittsburgh, June 1–5, 1938,” and calendars, Wheatley Center records; Cassius interview, 35; Interracial Commission of Minnesota, *The Negro Worker’s Progress in Minnesota: Report* ([St. Paul]: 1949), 56; Taylor, “Blacks,” 90.

26. See L. I. Liepold, *Cecil Newman: Newspaper Publisher* (Minneapolis: Denison, 1967); Lois Richardson, “Twin Cities Spokesman,” *Negro Digest*, July 1948, p. 66–70.

27. On black activism in the 1930s, see John Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era: Liberalism and Race* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980); Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

28. *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Feb. 14, 1941. On the brewery boycott, see *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Jan. 25, May 10, May 24, July 19, 1935. On Barney’s Cafe picket, see *Minneapolis Spokesman*, July 5, 1935; *Twin Cities Herald*, July 6, 1935. On clubs, see *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Mar. 15, May 3, May 31, 1940.

29. *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Feb. 2, Mar. 15, 1940, Feb. 15, 1946.

30. *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Jan. 19, Mar. 15, 1940, Mar. 14, 1941.

31. *Twin Cities Observer*, May 4, 1945, and elsewhere.

32. *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Jan. 19, Mar. 15, 1940, Apr. 18, 1941, Apr. 14, 21, 1944, Jan. 18, Feb. 8, 1946.

33. Henry L. Moon, *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1948), 198; *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Mar. 15, July 2, Oct. 15, 22, 1948.

34. *Minneapolis Spokesman*, July 26, 1940, Feb. 1, 8, 15, 1946, Aug. 29, Sept. 5, 1947, Aug. 6, 1948, Apr. 8, 1949. For example, see Newman reply to letter dated Mar. 24, 1948, regarding Ohio Senator Robert Taft’s positions on the FEPC and big government; *Minneapolis Spokesman*, Apr. 2, 1948.

35. *Opportunity* 22 (Spring 1944): 52–56, 89.

36. *Opportunity* 22 (Spring 1944): 53. Horn also monitored the activities of radicals in the labor movement. See Charles Horn to Hjalmar Petersen, Nov. 21, 1946, Hjalmar Petersen Papers, MHS Library. See also correspondence between Horn and the state Republican Party, indicating Horn’s monitoring of union newspapers, in Republican State Central Committee Papers, MHS.

37. On Humphrey and Newman, see Liepold, *Cecil Newman*; Timothy Thurber, *The Politics of Equality: Hubert H. Humphrey and the African-American Freedom Struggle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 38–39, 42–43; Jennifer Delton, “Forging a Northern Strategy: Civil Rights in Liberal Democratic Politics, 1940–1948” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1997).

*The photos on p. 432 and 433 are courtesy the Minnesota Spokesman-Recorder, Minneapolis; on p. 419 (center and right), courtesy the Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis Collection. The portraits of Cassius and Allen are from Centennial Edition of the Minneapolis Beacon (1956). All other images are from the MHS Library.*



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