

# Annotated Bibliography

## Here I Stand: Paul Robeson's Legacy of Leadership

### Primary Sources

Agapov, A. Paul Robeson in Moscow. Photograph. 1960. 599371. RIA Novosti.

This is a high-quality photograph of Paul Robeson being warmly welcomed to the Soviet Union. I featured the image on my page entitled "Artist-Activist" to illustrate Robeson's close ties to the Soviet Union.

Alan, Robert. "Paul Robeson—the Lost Shepherd." *The Crisis*, November 1951, 569-73.

"Paul Robeson—the Lost Shepherd" was published in *The Crisis* in November 1951 under the pen name Robert Alan. It is a damning criticism of Paul Robeson and his leadership style. This primary source taught me about criticism of Robeson in the black community, because *The Crisis* is the official publication of the NAACP.

"All God's Chillun Got Wings." Performed by Paul Robeson. On *Retrospective: Paul Robeson - Ol' Man River (1925-1945)*. Retrospective Records, 2009, compact disc.

I featured a segment of the song "All God's Chillun Got Wings" on my page entitled "Renaissance Man" because it suited the uplifting tone of the page. The song is also relevant to a discussion of Robeson's career because Robeson was in the play *All God's Chillun Got Wings* and because it is a Negro spiritual that Robeson would have performed as a singer.

Alston, Charles H. *Paul Robeson - Actor, Artist, Athlete*. Illustration. 1943. 535624. National Archives and Records Administration, Still Picture Branch, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 7, 2015. <http://research.archives.gov/description/535624>.

This illustration taught me about Paul Robeson's soaring popularity in the 1940s. He was recognized as a Renaissance man by the black community and the general public alike. The image was produced by the Office of War Information and Public Relations in 1943 as part of a campaign to "foster goodwill with the black citizenry."

Bauman, Frank. *Paul Robeson, Eslanda Robeson, and Paul Robeson Jr.* Photograph. 1941. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. New York Public Library.

I used this photograph of Paul Robeson with his wife and son as the header for my page entitled "Conclusion." The fact that Robeson is looking into the distance suggests a vision for the future, so I thought that the photo would be relevant to a discussion of Robeson's legacy. Additionally, I wanted to feature Eslanda and Paul Jr. on my website because they were committed to carrying on Paul's legacy after his death.

Berezovskii, B., and M. Solov'ev. *Under the Leadership of Great Stalin— Forward to Communism!* 1951. Accessed April 7, 2015. <http://images.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/i/image/image-idx?view=entry;subview=detail;cc=stalinka;entryid=x-GR000016>.

I used this Soviet poster extolling Stalin's leadership to accompany a section about the Cold War on my page entitled "Backlash."

*Cap and Skull Society Members, Class of 1919*. Photograph. 1919. Rutgers Special Collections and University Archives.

I included this image of Paul Robeson and the Cap and Skull Society on my page entitled “Early Life” to provide a visual example of Robeson’s academic accomplishments as a student at Rutgers University.

Douglas, Aaron. *Aspects of Negro Life: From Slavery to Reconstruction*. 1934. New York Public Library, New York, NY. Accessed April 7, 2015.  
<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/634ad849-7832-309e-e040-e00a180639bb>.

I featured the oil painting *Aspects of Negro Life: From Slavery to Reconstruction* on my page entitled “Renaissance Man.” The painting works like a timeline, beginning with the days of slavery on the far left and ending with the Harlem Renaissance on the far right. I chose this painting because it provides some historical context while also illustrating the caliber of artwork created during the Harlem Renaissance.

Du Bois, W.E.B., Elijah Anderson, and Isabel Eaton. *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

Originally published in 1899, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* by W.E.B. Du Bois discusses the conditions of black Philadelphians in the late nineteenth century in great detail and with extensive statistical evidence. It provided me with context on the status of black Americans at the turn of the century.

*Hearings Before the House Un-American Activities Committee* (1956) (statement of Paul Robeson). Accessed April 9, 2015. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6440>.

Paul Robeson’s testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee provided me with insight into Robeson’s defiance and resolve, even late in his career. I quoted his testimony on my page entitled “Backlash.”

“The House I Live In.” Performed by Paul Robeson. Orchestrated by Lawrence Brown. Recorded 1940s. On *Songs of Free Men*. Sony BMG Music Entertainment, 1997, compact disc.

I featured the song “The House I Live In” on my page entitled “Conclusion” because it expresses Robeson’s patriotism and commitment to working-class people.

*Is This Tomorrow*. N.p.: Catechetical Guild Educational Society, 1947. Accessed April 7, 2015. <https://archive.org/details/IsThisTomorrowAmericaUnderCommunismCatecheticalGuild>.

The 1947 comic book “Is This Tomorrow” is a cautionary tale about how a small group of communists could enforce its will upon the majority of Americans, with horrifying consequences. Reading “Is This Tomorrow” taught me about how rampant fear of communism was during the Cold War. “Starvation, murder, slavery, force,” and other horrors could be unleashed upon America in a matter of days, according to the author of this comic book. The author explicitly states that anti-fascism is a front for communism and that communists are involved in a massive conspiracy that is responsible for nearly all of the problems in society. In addition to reading “Is This Tomorrow,” I featured the dramatic cover of the comic book on my page entitled “Backlash” to illustrate the height of Cold War hysteria.

“It Ain’t Necessarily So.” Performed by Paul Robeson. On *Retrospective: Paul Robeson - Ol’ Man River (1925-1945)*. Retrospective Records, 2009, compact disc.

I chose to feature this song on my page entitled “Artist-Activist” because it literally combines Robeson’s artistry (he is singing the song) and activism (the song has a subversive tone).

Levy, Jean-Jacques. Paul Robeson addressing the World Conference of Partisans of Peace in Paris. Photograph. April 20, 1949. LC-USZ62-119697. New York World-Telegram and the Sun Newspaper Photograph Collection. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 7, 2015. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97521110/>.

This photograph shows Paul Robeson fervently addressing the Paris Peace Conference in 1949. I featured the image on my page entitled “Artist-Activist” because it features Robeson speaking out politically.

Look behind the mask! Illustration. c. 1950s. LC-USZ62-80757. Prints and Photographs Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 7, 2015. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002709883/>.

I used this anti-communist poster on my page entitled “Backlash” to accompany a section about the Cold War. The image demonstrates the negative perception of Joseph Stalin.

Paul Robeson and Civil Rights Congress Picketing the White House. Photograph. August 1948. Julius Lazarus Archives. Rutgers Special Collections and University Archives.

This is a photograph of Paul Robeson and the Civil Rights Congress protesting Jim Crow laws at the White House. I featured the image on my page entitled “Artist-Activist” because it demonstrates Robeson’s involvement in the early civil rights movement.

Paul Robeson and the Rutgers football team. Photograph. November 24, 1917. Rutgers Special Collections and University Archives. Accessed April 8, 2015. [http://www.njdigitalhighway.org/enj/lessons/paul\\_robeson/?part=athlete\\_activity\\_one](http://www.njdigitalhighway.org/enj/lessons/paul_robeson/?part=athlete_activity_one).

I used this photograph of Paul Robeson playing on the Rutgers University football team to emphasize his athletic accomplishments in college. The image is located on my page entitled “Early Life.”

*Paul Robeson, Junior at Rutgers University.* Photograph. 1919. Rutgers Special Collections and University Archives. Accessed April 8, 2015.

[http://www.njdigitalhighway.org/enj/lessons/paul\\_robeson/](http://www.njdigitalhighway.org/enj/lessons/paul_robeson/).

This is a photograph of Paul Robeson as a student at Rutgers University. I featured the image on my page entitled “Early Life” to accompany a section about Robeson’s experiences at Rutgers.

Paul Robeson signing autographs. Photograph. Accessed April 8, 2015.

<http://www.criterion.com/current/posts/2244-paul-robesson-the-artist-in-pictures>.

I featured this photograph of Paul Robeson signing autographs on my page entitled “Renaissance Man” to accompany text about his rising stardom. One reason that I chose this specific image is because the crowd is racially diverse.

Paul Robeson singing at the May Day rally in Glasgow’s Queen’s Park. Photograph. May 1, 1960. Glasgow Trades Union Council Archives.

I used this image as the header for my page entitled “Artist-Activist” because it shows Paul Robeson singing to a large crowd at a May Day celebration in Glasgow. Because May Day is a political celebration, this photo showcases both the artistic and the activist sides of Paul Robeson.

Paul Robeson with the Law School Class of 1923. Photograph. 1923. Columbia Law School Library.

I used this photograph of Paul Robeson and the Columbia Law School Class of 1923 as the header on my page entitled “Early Life.” I chose this image because it features a young Paul Robeson and because he stands out in the crowd of otherwise white faces. It also sets a serious tone for the page.

Paul Robeson, world famous Negro baritone, leading Moore Shipyard [Oakland, CA] workers in singing the Star Spangled Banner. Photograph. September 1942. 535874. Records of the Office of War Information, 1926-1951. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 9, 2015.  
<http://research.archives.gov/description/535874>.

I chose to use this photograph on the home page of my website because it features a bold and powerful Paul Robeson leading a crowd of shipyard workers in singing the Star Spangled Banner. The diversity of the crowd demonstrates Robeson’s ability to unite different groups and to transcend cultural and racial barriers. I edited the photo on my computer to blur out the background so that the reader’s gaze immediately goes to Robeson in the center.

*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. “Group Confers with Truman on Lynching.” September 24, 1946, Final edition, 2.

I read this 1946 article from the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* to learn about Robeson’s involvement in the fight to end lynching. I used a quotation from the article on my page entitled “Artist-Activist.”

Protesters at Paul Robeson Concert. Photograph. 1949. Peekskill Museum.

This is a photograph of people protesting at a Paul Robeson concert in Peekskill, New York. I used this image as the header for my page entitled “Backlash” because it illustrates the opposition that Paul Robeson faced. I obtained permission from the Peekskill Museum to use this photograph on my website.

Robeson, Paul. *Here I Stand*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958.

I read Paul Robeson’s 1958 book *Here I Stand*, which is part autobiography and part political statement, to learn about Robeson’s life in his own words. It proved extremely helpful in constructing my argument and organizing my website. As I read the book, I saw how Robeson’s childhood and early experiences influenced his life and career. Because I read this book after I had already completed the bulk of my research, I was able to see Robeson’s interpretation of events that I had read about in other sources. The political statement part of the book also provided a good look at Robeson’s vision for “effective Negro leadership.” I ultimately chose to use *Here I Stand* as the title for my website because it expresses that Robeson took a stand and never compromised on his beliefs.

———“Ol’ Man River.” By Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein, II. On *Paul Robeson*. Supraphon, a.s. VT 9220-2 3, 1999, compact disc.

I chose to feature the final 38 seconds of the song “Ol’ Man River” on the home page of my website because it is Robeson’s most well-known song. I chose this specific rendition because it includes Robeson’s subversive alterations to the final lyrics (“I keep laughing instead of crying. / I must keep fighting until I’m dying” instead of “I get weary and sick of trying / I’m tired of living and scared of dying.”). I classified this song as a primary source because it was recorded by Paul Robeson during his lifetime.



———*Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918-74*. Edited by Philip Sheldon Foner. Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel Press, 1978.

I used this collection of Paul Robeson’s writings as a reference source throughout my research. Because I had a PDF file of the book on my computer, I could easily search through the entire book for a specific term I want to learn more about, all in Robeson’s own words. *Paul Robeson Speaks* was also very helpful for finding relevant quotations for my website.

“Scandalize My Name.” Performed by Paul Robeson. On *Paul Robeson*. Supraphon, a.s. VT 9220-2 3, 1999, compact disc.

I featured the dark song “Scandalize My Name” on my page entitled “Backlash” because its themes of controversy, betrayal, and alienation perfectly fit the tone of the page.

Scene from “Othello” with Paul Robeson and Margaret Webster [i.e. Uta Hagen as Desdemona]. Theatre Guild production 1943-44. Photograph. 1943 or 1944. LC-USW33-054945-C. Prints and Photographs Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 9, 2015. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8e02580/>.

This is a photograph of Paul Robeson in the role of Othello on Broadway. I featured the image on my page entitled “Renaissance Man” to accompany a section about Robeson’s career as an actor.

Scene from “Othello” with Paul Robeson as Othello and Uta Hagen as Desdemona, Theatre Guild Production, Broadway, 1943-44. Photograph. 1943 or 1944. LC-USW33-054943-ZC. Prints and Photographs Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 9, 2015. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8e02578/>.

I featured this image of Paul Robeson as Othello and Uta Hagen as Desdemona on my page entitled “Renaissance Man.”

Scene from “Othello” with Paul Robeson as Othello, Theatre Guild Production, Broadway, 1943-44. Photograph. 1943 or 1944. LC-USW33-054944-ZC. Prints and Photographs Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 9, 2015.

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8e02579/>.

I featured this photograph of Paul Robeson as Othello on my page entitled “Renaissance Man.”

Scene from “Othello” with Paul Robeson (center), Theatre Guild Production, Broadway, 1943-44. Photograph. 1943 or 1944. LC-USW33-054942-ZC. Prints and Photographs Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 9, 2015.

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8e02577/>.

I featured this photograph of Paul Robeson playing the titular role in William Shakespeare’s *Othello* on my page entitled “Renaissance Man.”

Scene from “Othello” with Paul Robeson (left) as Othello and Uta Hagen as Desdemona, Theatre Guild Production, Broadway, 1943-44. Photograph. 1943 or 1944.

LC-USW33-054938-ZC. Prints and Photographs Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 9, 2015.

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8e02573/>.

I featured this photograph of Paul Robeson as Othello and Uta Hagen as Desdemona on my page entitled “Renaissance Man.”

Scene from “Othello,” with Paul Robeson (left), Theatre Guild Production, Broadway, 1943-44. Photograph. 1943 or 1944. LC-USW33-054941-ZC. Prints and Photographs Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 9, 2015. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8e02576/>.

I featured this image of Paul Robeson as Othello and Jose Ferrer as Iago on my page entitled “Renaissance Man.”

Scene from “Othello” with Paul Robeson, Theatre Guild production, Broadway, 1943-44. Photograph. 1943 or 1944. LC-USW33-054946-ZC. Prints and Photographs Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed April 9, 2015. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8e02581/>.

I featured this photograph of Paul Robeson playing Othello on my page entitled “Renaissance Man.”

“Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child.” Performed by Paul Robeson. On *Paul Robeson*. Supraphon, a.s. VT 9220-2 3, 1999, compact disc.

I featured the traditional Negro spiritual “Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child” on my page entitled “Early Life.” I chose this song because it reflects the challenges that Paul Robeson experienced in his childhood and because it foreshadows his later performance of Negro spirituals.

Still of Paul Robeson as Joe in *Show Boat*. Photograph. 1936. Warner Archive.

This is a photograph of Paul Robeson in the 1936 film *Show Boat*. I used this high-quality image as the header of my page entitled “Renaissance Man” because it

features Robeson in his most well-known film role and because it sets an optimistic tone for the page.

Summons to Appear Before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Image. c. 1956.

Accessed April 7, 2015.

<http://www.criterion.com/current/posts/2244-paul-robeson-the-artist-in-pictures>.

I used this image of Paul Robeson's summons to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on my page entitled "Backlash" to accompany my section about HUAC.

White Studio. Portrait of Paul Robeson. Photograph. n.d. B11527529. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division. New York Public Library.

Accessed April 9, 2015.

<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/8e0981a2-4b10-a10a-e040-e00a18063089>.

This is a high-quality portrait of a young Paul Robeson. I featured the photograph on my page entitled "Renaissance Man" because it shows Robeson in his years of promise and achievement.

*William Drew Robeson (1845-1918)*. Photograph. Wikimedia Commons.

This photograph of Paul Robeson's father, Reverend William Drew Robeson, is in the public domain. I used the image on my page entitled "Early Life" to accompany text about William Robeson.

With fighters. Spain 1938. Madrid at the Battlefield. Photograph. 1938. LPF.0966. Joseph A. Labadie Collection. University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library).

I used this photograph of Paul Robeson with Spanish Republican soldiers on my page entitled “Artist-Activist” because it demonstrates Robeson’s involvement in the Spanish Civil War. Robeson was literally on the front lines with the soldiers fighting for democracy. In the image, Robeson appears to be singing with soldiers, which perpetuates his position as an artist-activist. I obtained permission from the University of Michigan to use this image on my website.

## Secondary Sources

*American Masters*. “Paul Robeson: Here I Stand.” Episode 3. PBS. First broadcast February 24, 1999. Directed by St. Clair Bourne. Accessed April 13, 2015.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BUki-v-NvoE>.

I watched the documentary *Paul Robeson: Here I Stand* late in my research to fill in any holes in my knowledge and to hear a variety of historians’ and contemporaries’ perspectives on his life.

Clarke, John Henrik, ed. *Dimensions of the Struggle against Apartheid: A Tribute to Paul Robeson Held under the Auspices of United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid*. New York: African Heritage Studies Association, 1978.

I read this pamphlet, produced by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, to hear a multitude of voices discussing Robeson’s life and legacy. I quoted passages from *Dimensions of the Struggle against Apartheid* on my pages entitled “Backlash” and “Conclusion.” I classified this as a secondary source because it was written after Robeson’s death as a tribute to him.

Dorinson, Joseph, and William Pencak, eds. *Paul Robeson: Essays on His Life and Legacy*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2004.

This book is a compilation of 18 essays presented at a 1998 conference on Paul Robeson's life and legacy. I read some of the essays in order to develop my argument and find specific evidence about experiences in Robeson's life.

Duberman, Martin Bauml. *Paul Robeson*. New York: Knopf, 1988.

I read parts of Martin Bauml Duberman's extensive biography *Paul Robeson* to get a detailed look at specific incidents in Robeson's life and to examine how Duberman constructs his argument.

Mass, Warren. "A Mockery of Black Heritage." *The New American*, February 23, 2004. Accessed April 13, 2015.  
<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/A+mockery+of+Black+Heritage.-a0113895460>.

This 2004 article was written in response to the Postal Service's issuance of a Paul Robeson stamp as a part of its Black Heritage series. It demonstrates that Robeson's controversial nature persists to this day.

"Paul Robeson." In *Authors and Artists for Young Adults*, edited by Dwayne D. Hayes, 141-47. Vol. 63. Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson Gale, 2005.

I began my research by reading Paul Robeson's entry in *Authors and Artists for Young Adults*. The entry provided a helpful overview of Robeson's life and career. It also served as a good jumping-off point for my research because it directed me to other primary and secondary sources.

*Paul Robeson: Tribute to an Artist*. Directed by Saul J. Turell. Narrated by Sidney Poitier. Criterion Collection, 1979.

I watched a scene from the Academy Award-winning documentary *Paul Robeson: Tribute to an Artist* to learn about the Peekskill riots in 1949. I featured a forty-second segment of the scene on my page entitled “Backlash” to accompany text about the Peekskill riots. I classified this as a secondary source because, although it features direct footage, the film has been directed and edited by people who were not directly involved in the event. I obtained permission from the Criterion Collection to feature the clip on my website.

Public Broadcasting Service. “Paul Robeson: About the Actor.” American Masters. Last modified August 26, 2006. Accessed April 13, 2015.

<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/americanmasters/episodes/paul-robesson/about-the-actor/66/>.

This article, written to supplement the documentary *Paul Robeson: Here I Stand*, is a succinct overview of Paul Robeson’s career and controversy. I featured the image that accompanies this article on my page entitled “Conclusion” because it depicts Robeson late in his life.

Swindall, Lindsey R. *Paul Robeson: A Life of Activism and Art*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013.

*Paul Robeson: A Life of Activism and Art* provided a detailed look at Robeson’s career as an artist and activist. The biography was useful because it referenced many primary sources that I later explored independently.

Tipton, Jim. Paul Robeson Grave Marker. Photograph. Find A Grave. August 10, 2001.

Accessed April 13, 2015.

<http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=878>.

I used this photograph of Paul Robeson's grave marker to accompany a paragraph about his death on my page entitled "Backlash."

Weaver, Harold D., Jr. "Paul Robeson: Beleaguered Leader." *The Black Scholar* 5, no. 4 (December/January 1973-1974): 24-32. Accessed April 13, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41065643>.

This article, which I accessed through JSTOR, provided an overview of Paul Robeson's leadership style and career. It focused on the evolution of Robeson's politics and his work as an artist-activist.

Without Sanctuary. Last modified 2005. Accessed April 13, 2015. <http://withoutsanctuary.org/>.

Without Sanctuary taught me about lynching in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the United States. I included eight images from the digitized collection in a slideshow on my page entitled "Early Life." Although these images could be considered primary sources, I classified this source as a secondary source because the authors of the website chose how to present each image.