

Writing against the Grain: Biography, History, and the Long Freedom Movements

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Black Revolutionary: William Patterson and the Globalization of the African American Freedom Struggle. By Gerald Horne. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013. 300 pages. \$95.00 (cloth). \$30.00 (paper).

The Great Unknown: Japanese American Sketches. By Greg Robinson. Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2016. xx + 325 pages. \$45.00 (cloth). \$34.95 (paper).

The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks. By Jeanne Theoharis. Boston: Beacon, 2013. xvi + 304 pages. \$27.95 (cloth). \$18.00 (paper).

Stokely: A Life. By Peniel E. Joseph. New York: BasicCivitas Books, 2014. xiv + 399 pages. \$29.99 (cloth).

Several recent biographies extend the critical work of challenging the conventional narrative of the civil rights movement in ways vital to the scholarship of the past two decades. The intellectual work of accounting for the long Black freedom movement has changed the practice of historians and history teaching for some time now, in the writings of Gerald Horne, Nikhil Pal Singh, Penny Von Eschen, Brenda Gayle Plummer, Glenda Gilmore, Cedric Robinson, George Lipsitz, and Robin Kelley, and notably, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall in her 2004 presidential address to the Organization of American Historians.¹ But it bears repeating. Even the most famous of these activists—Rosa Parks and Kwame Ture (nee Stokely Carmichael)—remain frozen in time for broader publics, known in the popular imagination for a single act (the Montgomery bus boycott or the call to Black Power, respectively), or for their civil rights work *prior* to their popularization, but not for their longer years of struggle subsequent to that distinguishing incident.

These four books decenter the popular conception of the civil rights movement to show the work of ordinary people and collective, sustained struggle (away from the Great Man narrative), of everyday work (away from the spotlighted spectacular events), of women (away from a male-centered *history*), and of geographic diversity. They extend the freedom movement back in time to the vibrant movements of the 1930s, World War II, and the early Cold War as well as forward to the 1970s and beyond. They also, to varying degrees, bring an international focus to US-based activism or intertwine global and local struggles while also centering, in uneven ways, on intersectional race, class, gender, and sexuality resistance. Finally, these texts uncover the histories of the unknown or less known, or they highlight little-known aspects of the famous. It may seem contradictory to focus on an individual in a review of books focused on the collective, but biographical studies enable us to examine the strengths and struggles of particular activists while using their lives to examine the development of social movements in specific historical and social contexts. Collectively, such studies recover critical knowledge about the possibilities and pitfalls of organized resistance in ways that challenge the desire for linear progress toward justice and demand complex thinking about personal and societal change. Further, as history's most broadly accessible genre, biographies often do yeoman work in moving historians' revisionism out to a wider audience.

Jeanne Theoharis's *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks* recounts the life of a woman made famous for initiating the Montgomery bus boycott and thereby launching the civil rights movement, or so the conventional narrative goes. The extensively researched biography is framed by Theoharis's earlier writings that center the local, women, and civil rights activism outside the South to help create a historiography of the "long" Black freedom movement.² Her most compelling argument insists on reframing "the mother of the movement" away from the dominant image of a "sacrificing mother figure" defined by "one solitary act" (ix) on a bus in 1955 to present a fuller, more complicated and contradictory history, or herstory, of a decades-long commitment to activism that occurred in the South and North and that intertwined civil rights and Black Power philosophies. This common representation of Rosa Parks as "quiet," "dignified," and "never angry" reproduces inaccurate notions of gendered participation in social movements (viii–ix). Theoharis's biography problematizes the framing of Parks as an accidental "midwife—not a leader or thinker or long-time activist," yet Parks also cannot fully escape the racialized gender and class constraints in which she operates (x). Theoharis contests the heroic image of the public Rosa Parks, celebrated at the time of her death in 2005 with her coffin placed in the Capitol rotunda, to show a

woman activist who struggled with sexism in the movement and who faced financial hardships after she and her husband lost their jobs as a result of her act of civil disobedience and ongoing resistance. The significance of Theoharis's framework is that it challenges the representation of Parks through one event, however important, and the triumphant view of wrongs corrected solely or primarily through legislation, and in doing so critiques the view of racism as aberrant, rather than structurally and historically situated.

While Parks is most famous for that single act, her earlier activism, especially in the NAACP and with the Scottsboro case, has been discussed, including in the two other book-length auto/biographies of Parks. Parks's act of defiance was neither entirely spontaneous nor entirely planned. Instead, she was responding to knowledge and experience gained through years of organizing, including giving notable support to Claudette Colvin, who nine months before Parks had refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery city bus. What Theoharis frames for us is Parks's fifty years of activism *after* the bus boycott, most of which took place in Detroit. Here Theoharis makes an important contribution to creating a rebellious understanding of civil rights activism by revealing Parks's connections with Black Power in the North. In fact, Theoharis reports that in the 1990s Parks told the movement lawyer Chokwe Lumumba that her hero was—surprising to most—not Martin Luther King but Malcolm X. In muddying the distinction between civil rights and Black Power, Theoharis is most compelling in showing Parks's long-standing belief in self-defense. Her grandfather, who had been born into slavery, had been a follower of Marcus Garvey, and as a young girl Parks literally pushed back against a White boy who had wronged her. The Black freedom struggle scholarship—including Akinyele Omowale Umoja, Timothy Tyson, and David Garrow—shows that many Southern civil rights activists believed in self-defense, owned guns, and even brought guns to political meetings where they professed nonviolence.³ Indeed, nonviolence and self-defense are not mutually exclusive categories but concepts deserving of complex analysis within specific contexts.

Yet in other ways, Theoharis overstates the significance of Black Power to Parks's politics. Given that Parks was living in Detroit in the 1960s, a major site of Black Power activism, including the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) and the Republic of New Africa (RNA), it is not surprising that Parks interacted with Black Power activists and that former Black Panthers and others expressed great admiration for Parks. But by Theoharis's own accounting, Parks's involvement in Black Power was rather limited. Parks attended three of Malcolm X's speeches in Detroit, including two of his most famous, "Message to the Grassroots" and "Ballot or the Bullet." She interacted with

members of the RNA and with Robert F. Williams, who chose Detroit as his home following exile in Cuba and China. Still, Theoharis did not offer any critical discussion of why Parks may have identified Malcolm X as her “hero,” especially as she was talking to former RNA leader Lumumba. But it is clear that Parks also admired King and especially Ella Baker and Septima Clark. Theoharis’s analysis does important work in diminishing the sometimes overly rigid distinction between Black Power and civil rights, but in doing so skims over important analytic differences in ideologies and politics.⁴ This seems particularly salient when read with two other new biographies.

Gerald Horne’s fastidiously researched biography of leading Black Communist William Patterson, *Black Revolutionary*, argues that the “tsunami of global opposition” was the death knell for Jim Crow segregation (43). This framing challenges the chronology and geography of the standard narrative of the desegregation movement, located in the mid-1950s with the Montgomery bus boycott or the murder of Emmett Till. In fact, the assemblage of writings by this most persistent and prolific historian of the Black Left, starting with his earliest book (1986), has recovered a history of Black radicalism that has moved scholars toward the long Black freedom movement historiography. From Horne, we learn that not all radicalism and internationalism from the 1930s was snuffed out by the early Cold War’s anticommunism or propelled into constrictions on domestic rights, or what Mary Dudziak calls “Cold War civil rights.”

Like most biographies, Horne traces Patterson’s life chronologically. Born in San Francisco in 1891, the son of a woman born into slavery and a Caribbean immigrant father (whom he “never learned to love” or “hate”), Patterson struggled through poverty to graduate from Hastings College of Law (16). The US state execution of the Italian immigrant anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in 1927 was a turning point for Patterson. “If . . . white foreigners like Sacco and Vanzetti could be so victimized,” he reasoned, “what chance was there for Negroes at the very bottom?” Patterson decided “that through the channels of the law and of more legal action [alone] the Negro would never win equality” (26). He resigned from his law practice and joined the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense to begin what would become five decades of grassroots radicalism.

Patterson’s organizing had him traversing Moscow, Germany, Paris, Spain, Chicago, New York, and beyond. He found himself leading the Scottsboro Boys’ defense (and expanding its international scope) in the early 1930s, leading the Civil Rights Congress throughout its existence (1946–1956), and joining the legal defense teams of Huey Newton and Angela Davis in the late 1960s

and early 1970s. During much of this time, Patterson was married (in 1940) to his third wife, Louisa Thompson Patterson, a significant Black radical in her own right, identified by the NAACP's *The Crisis* in 1934 as "the leading colored woman in the Communist movement in this country" (8). One is left yearning for more substantive discussions of William and Louisa's personal and political relationship, even as Horne makes mention of Patterson's wives and two daughters throughout the book. Patterson continued to press the case against US anti-Black racism in an international context. In 1951 in Paris, Patterson presented his indictment of the United States for genocide against Black people; Paul Robeson simultaneously filed the genocide petition at the United Nations headquarters in New York. Within two months, some twenty thousand copies of Patterson's "We Charge Genocide" were sold and circulated. This preceded by thirteen years Malcolm X's appeal to the heads of newly independent African nations to take a similar petition to the United Nations. With Horne's book on the Civil Rights Congress as an early example, others scholars have since written about the importance of the global gaze on US race relations to gaining concessions to domestic rights and, as Horne puts it, the retreat on Jim Crow. With *Black Revolutionary*, Horne makes clear the significance of Patterson's international networks and organizing to shine a steady spotlight on US racism.

If Theoharis tends toward harmonizing—showing the variegated ways in which radical impulses existed within civil rights organizations and individuals—Horne tends toward highlighting difference, presenting the political and ideological divisions among Black organizations and individuals. Horne begins his book highlighting tensions between Patterson and the NAACP's Channing Tobias while tellingly noting that the success of certain groups is related to the repression of others. In writing about a period of intense anti-Red hostility, Horne shows the deep schisms that developed between those willing to adopt anticommunism and those often targeted for their leftist politics. He also shows nuances such as the NAACP's Charles Hamilton Houston rejecting his group's overarching anticommunism. Like his good friend Robeson, Patterson was subject to severe state surveillance, harassment, infiltration, court hearings for refusing to turn over the Civil Rights Congress records, and finally a conviction on those charges resulting in prison time.

Patterson's activism spanned a full half century—from the 1920s until his death in 1980. While Patterson is best known for his work on the Scottsboro case and in the early Cold War, Horne writes convincingly of Patterson's relevance to the Black Power struggles of the 1960s–70s. While the earlier history of Black radicalism was mostly obscure to sixties activists, at least some

Black Power leaders recognized the national and international struggles waged by Patterson and others such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Shirley Graham, Claudia Jones, Robeson, and Ben Davis that helped dismantle Jim Crow. Kwame Ture, for example, raised the theme of “We Charge Genocide” when addressing a major Vietnam War protest. Patterson was closest to the Black Panther Party, according to Horne, including sharing his vision of internationalizing the Black movement as well as specific strategies such as creating legal defense committees that work in conjunction with but still independently from a Party formation. Not one to romanticize his subjects or the struggle, Horne also describes sharp ideological differences between Patterson and the Panthers—especially around the Panthers denouncing the USSR’s “peaceful coexistence” between socialism and capitalism, which Patterson supported, and Patterson opposing the Panther’s view on the lumpen proletariat as a vanguard political force—which degenerated into Panther leader Huey Newton denouncing Patterson. In noting that Patterson viewed the communists, particularly Black communists, as “modern Abolitionists” of the worldwide struggle for freedom, Horne reveals his own view on the significance of the Black left movement, warts and all.

While Horne is one of the foremost scholars of Cold War Black radicalism, Peniel Joseph is a leading scholar of Black Power studies. Both perspectives—looking back and looking forward—establish the study of the long Black freedom movement and complicate the writings about the “classic” phase of the civil rights movement (1954–65). Given the magnitude of Kwame Ture’s national and international influence, it may be surprising that, while he has been the subject of much writings, only three earlier books cover his ideas, activism, and life in any sustained way: Ture’s own writings, speeches, and oral history are published in *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (1967), *Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism* (1971), and *Ready for Revolution* (2003), an autobiography written with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. Joseph’s *Stokely: A Life* follows Ture from growing up in Trinidad to the Bronx High School of Science in New York and his friendship with the son of a leading White Communist, Eugene Dennis, to Howard University, where he began his activism in the early 1960s. Joseph’s richly contextualized biography locates Ture within a dense network of relationships with mentors (writing wonderfully about Sterling Brown at Howard), friends and comrades (Cleve Sellers, Michael Thelwell, and others in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or SNCC), and family (particularly his mother, May Charles, and his first wife, Miriam Makeba, the famed South African singer). The biography is most compelling when discussing, in remarkable detail, Ture’s civil rights work at Howard University and in the South in the early 1960s, his leading the

call to Black Power in the mid-1960s, and the ways he internationalized the struggle to link war, decolonization, and human rights in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Joseph's is a sympathetic, yet critical, view of a deeply complicated person whose intellectual prowess, wit and humor, charisma and star power, and political ideology endear him to some and repel others.

It is already widely known that Ture (building on the groundwork laid out by Willie Ricks) introduced the slogan Black Power in June 1966, in Greenwood, Mississippi, while continuing James Meredith's March against Fear. Yet Joseph's skilled synthesis of wide-ranging sources tells a captivating story of alliances and conflicts, of transformations and continuity. That each chapter, save the first and last, covers a period of weeks or months is indicative of his construction of a dense history and efforts to follow closely the happenings in Ture's life. In writing about Ture's relationship with Martin Luther King Jr., filled with mutual admiration as well as struggle over strategies and politics (by contrast to Ture's more antagonistic relationship with Roy Wilkins), Joseph is also telling the larger story of the civil rights and Black Power movements and of differences, and also of overlap, between the two movements.

While Theoharis accentuates Parks's five decades of activism *after* the Montgomery bus boycott, Joseph's biography covers the same ground as *Ready for the Revolution*, both giving short shrift to the second half of Ture's life. Joseph devotes fourteen chapters to Ture's ten years in the civil rights and Black Power movements and only one chapter plus epilogue to the thirty years he spent in the global Pan-Africanist movement. The book's title, *Stokely*, signals its focus—on the man known as Stokely Carmichael and not on the Pan-Africanist who renamed himself Kwame Ture to honor his foremost mentors, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sekou Toure of Guinea. Ture did not just admire these African leaders from afar; he worked closely with them in the period of African nation building. In 1957 Ghana became the first sub-Saharan African nation to gain formal independence from European colonialism, with Nkrumah as its first president. Following the CIA-fomented military coup in 1966, Sekou Toure invited Nkrumah to colead Guinea with him. Kwame Ture made Guinea his home for three decades. About this period, Joseph writes, "In Guinea, the community organizer became a revolutionary ideologue" (283). But the chapter is based almost exclusively on FBI reports and newspaper articles. In the absence of other archival sources or sufficient interviews with his political comrades, it would be difficult to detail Ture's ongoing organizing work, which for three decades was with the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP).

This is not simply a neutral omission. It parallels a critique that Joseph himself makes about the classic civil rights movement. Joseph calls for the

study of the earlier roots of Black Power and criticizes the declension narrative that blames Black Power for the demise of the “heroic” civil rights movement. By not providing a substantive study of Ture’s Pan-African years and politics, Joseph creates another declension narrative. Even as he discusses Black Power in relation to Third World struggles and presents Ture’s travels to London, Cuba, Vietnam, and Africa in 1967, Joseph views Ture’s years in Africa as coming “at a high cost, removing him from domestic racial struggles and curtailing his political influence” (320–21). This contrasts with Ture’s own views, stated regularly and cited by Joseph, that “Pan-Africanism is the highest political expression of Black Power” (289). If Joseph had explored the meaning of this statement to Ture, as well as the influence of the writings of Nkrumah and other Pan-Africanists on Ture, he would have made an original contribution to exploring the trajectory of Black Power across space and time.

The three biographies, on Parks, Patterson, and Ture, capture the robust lives and activism of three Black movement leaders and, in doing so, also show, in greater or lesser ways, the 1930s and Cold War roots of Black struggle and the trajectory of activism that followed their single media-spotlighted act that gave them instant fame.

I now turn to a different kind of activist biography, one that is, in fact, neither an extended study of a single person nor an exclusive focus on activism. Instead, Greg Robinson’s lively and informative *The Great Unknown: Japanese American Sketches* is a compilation of stories about a multitude of people, mostly Japanese Americans, but also non-Japanese allies, selected because their narratives unsettle the conventional narrative of Japanese America. The book is a model of engaging and accessible public scholarship, thoroughly grounded in archival research. Most of the essays come from Robinson’s newspaper column in the San Francisco–based *Nichibei Times* (which became the *Nichibei Weekly* in 2009), with only a few of the articles published elsewhere or appearing for the first time. The *Nichibei Times* has historic significance as the oldest, and one of the most influential, prewar Japanese American West Coast newspapers, started by the immigrant leader Kyutaro Abiko in 1899. The vast majority are biographical sketches of a single person designed to “bring to life unsung but fascinating people” or to highlight unknown aspects of “things we thought we already knew” (xviii).

Several sketches focus on Japanese American “firsts”—Tel Sono, the first Japanese immigrant woman lawyer; Kathleen Tamagawa, the first Nisei (second generation, children of Japanese American immigrants) author; and Wat Miskaka, the first Japanese American and, surprisingly, the first person of color in the National Basketball Association, whose brief NBA stint in 1947 preceded

the first Black basketball pros by three years. Highlighting such “firsts” runs the risk of showcasing exceptions and covering up the continuing structural racism affecting the majority in a community. This is particularly problematic for Japanese Americans, whose postwar popular image as the model minority has been used to blame other groups for their alleged failings to assimilate or rise out of poverty as well as to show a nation committed to equality and lacking in racial barriers. But Robinson’s showcasing of “firsts” largely avoids this trap. Instead, while discussing the exceptional talents of certain individuals, he also reveals the ongoing difficulties arising from anti-Japanese racism, or he opines, on occasion, the shortcomings of his featured subject (in one case, Robinson states “in purely literary terms, it was—to be frank—terrible” [56]). As is typical of Robinson’s writings elsewhere, he makes efforts to discuss nuances and contradictions of individuals and organizations rather than painting a singularly heroic story.

While only one of the book’s ten chapters focuses explicitly on social justice work, sketches of activists are interspersed throughout the other sections. If the selected essays in the *Great Unknown* are designed to create a more heterogeneous and unexpected view of Japanese America to reframe the dominate success story motif, the stories of resistance and unruliness serve as the book’s subtheme. Robinson focused his attention on the “unusual and often rebellious sorts of characters who deviated from community norms” (xviii). There are biographical sketches of Ayako Ishigaki, a Japan-born feminist, radical intellectual, and ardent opponent of Japan’s military occupation of Manchuria and China; the journalist and poet Eddie Shimano, a progressive Nisei who worked within the artistic and literary culture of the New York Japanese American community; Kiyoshi Ariyoshi, Nisei Communist, World War II veteran, leftist journalist, and labor organizer targeted as a subversive in the 1951 Hawaii 7 case; and Kiyoshi Kuromiya, an early queer activist in the 1960s and civil rights worker, whose uncle is World War II draft resister Yosh Kuromiya. In addition to highlighting little-known activists, Robinson also reveals hidden aspects of people or events that position them in a different light. While focusing on Japanese Americans—such as the renowned sculptor Isamu Noguchi, who was also an antifascist organizer during wartime—the book also highlights non-Japanese allies of the Japanese American community. Perhaps the most surprising is Eleanor Roosevelt, who opposed her husband’s Executive Order 9066 that sent the Japanese to concentration camps, and worked, albeit in quiet ways, to support Japanese Americans. Robinson’s writings also focus heavily on Black–Japanese alliances. The renowned Paul Robeson was willing to speak publicly against Japanese American incarceration in the 1942, and

Black lawyer Hugh Macbeth, who attended after-school Japanese School with his Nisei friends, strenuously defended Japanese Americans against the alien land laws and other discriminatory laws. *The Great Unknown* focuses on Japanese American activism for queer rights, feminism, multiraciality, and the arts.

While Robinson does not frame his work within the “long” freedom movement historiography, his writings in this volume and elsewhere work to recover the history of Japanese American activism, especially in the postwar period. Moreover, his penchant for writing about ordinary people who exerted agency to contest racism or otherwise enhance democratic life aligns with the “long” movement framework. But, unlike Horne’s writings, Robinson makes little mention of political and ideological differences among the subjects of his writings and focuses instead on uncovering little-known histories of resistance. Unlike Ture or Patterson, who quit his law practice disillusioned by the legal system’s ability to foster radical justice, Robinson’s subjects tend to reflect an optimistic view about US democracy. Robinson writes, “One element that makes American democracy so distinctive is the power our system grants judges. The courts, from the local level up to the U.S. Supreme Court, enjoy great authority to interpret the constitution and to overturn laws they deem unconstitutional” (157). His short essays tend to focus on legal victories. A full-length biography, by contrast, provides more space to examine both organizing successes and failures as well as times when what looked like success in the short run created other kinds of problems in the long term. While most activist biographies focus on Black or White subjects, two works, edited autobiographies really, on Asian American activists are just released or forthcoming: *Freedom without Justice: The Prison Memoirs of Chol Soo Lee*, edited by Richard S. Kim, and the long-anticipated *Nisei Naysayer: The Memoir of Militant Nisei Journalist Jimmie Omura*, by Art Hansen.

Collectively, the four biographies reviewed here extend the work of expanding the conventional narrative of civil rights by showing a continuity of struggle from the 1930s to the early Cold War activism to the 1960s and beyond, and also expanding the kinds of subjects it considers. While focusing on US-based Black freedom movements, there is also ample evidence of Japanese–Black and Black–White solidarities and global connections in these texts. In this review, Theoharis’s and Robinson’s books, in particular, highlight the work of women activists, with Theoharis most clearly offering an examination of gendered practices within social movements. Joseph argues that Ture changed the aesthetic of Black life, and Robinson explicitly focused on Japanese American artists and literary writers. A strong thread throughout these four books is that

ordinary people, often engaged in the everyday, unglamorous aspects of organizing, have through collective struggles been able to create material, discursive, and symbolic changes in society. The question remains from these historical American studies texts, what can be learned for the present moment? Is Joseph correct that “Ture’s unwavering belief in revolutionary politics became regarded in the post-civil rights era as a kind of affliction” and that “Barack Obama’s inability to comprehend the full meaning behind Ture’s anti-imperialism . . . reflects a generational transition” (325)? Or do we need to pay attention to differences in politics and ideologies, as we witness a growing movement with young people in the leadership hungering to learn about their community’s activist past and apply it, never uncritically and never without adaptation, to shape their own understanding and practices?

Notes

1. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, “The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past,” *Journal of American History* 91 (2005): 1233–63; Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004). On the long freedom movement historiography, see Diane C. Fujino, introduction to *Samurai among Panthers: Richard Aoki on Race, Resistance, and a Paradoxical Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
2. Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles Outside the South, 1940–1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Theoharis and Woodard, eds., *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2005); Dayo F. Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Want to Start a Revolution? Radical Women in the Black Freedom Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).
3. Akinyele Omowale Umoja, *We Will Shoot Back: Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: W. Morrow, 1986).
4. Some scholars emphasize a “long” civil rights movement framework (Dowd Hall, “Long Civil Rights Movement”; Theoharis and Woodard, *Freedom North*), while others contest this, arguing that there are important analytic differences between the civil rights and Black Power movements or challenging the primacy of the civil rights, asking why not call it a long Black Power movement (Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, “The ‘Long Movement’ as Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies,” *Journal of African American History* 92 [2007]: 265–88; Eric Arnesen, “Reconsidering the ‘Long Civil Rights Movement,’” *Historically Speaking* 10 [2009]: 31–34; Peniel E. Joseph, “Introduction: Toward a Historiography of the Black Power Movement,” in *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights–Black Power Era*, ed. Peniel E. Joseph [New York: Routledge, 2006], 1–25).