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Author(s): Ashley Farmer

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REFRAMING AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING: AUDLEY MOORE AND THE UNIVERSAL ASSOCIATION OF ETHIOPIAN WOMEN, 1957–1963

Ashley Farmer

In May 1959, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., honored Kenyan activist Thomas Mboya at their “Africa Freedom Dinner.” Mboya, an activist and trade unionist, was a strong proponent of diasporic freedom and used his keynote address at the dinner to solidify and bolster the bonds between the Civil Rights Movement and African liberation struggles.¹ Looking to appeal to his Pan-Africanist politics, the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women (UAEW), an African American women’s organization in New Orleans, sent a telegram to Mboya for the occasion. In it, members asked the Kenyan leader to join them in praying and advocating for African American victims of racial violence in the South:

Today we are deprived of our heritage and our proper national name and branded with the [ignominious] slave term Negro. We long for the day when our people and leaders everywhere will be treated with dignity and respect. We pray for Africa’s freedom and for our many innocent black men doomed to die in the barbaric electric chair in the states of Louisiana and Texas on trumped up charges of rape upon white women. . . . Please join us in this prayer for the freedom of Africans everywhere at home and abroad.²

The telegram reflected the political orientation and goals of the small grassroots women’s organization. Grounded in members’ Garveyite histories and fortified by their rich organizing experiences, UAEW members protested racism and sexism, connected diasporic communities, and championed African American culture and identity in the Deep South.³ The UAEW used multiple strategies to achieve these objectives, deploying its own brand of women-centered politics to serve as a bridge between local African American protest and national coalitions and conversations addressing black radicalism and Pan-Africanism in the mid-20th century.

Ashley Farmer is Assistant Professor of History and African American Studies at Boston University in Massachusetts.

From 1957 to 1963 Audley Moore founded and led UAEW and its fight against racism and sexism in New Orleans, Louisiana.⁴ From the outset, the organization abjured masculine leadership, preferring to take on Jim Crow as a small group of middle-aged female activists. During the UAEW's short but impactful existence, the women successfully exonerated African American men wrongly accused of rape, fought for the welfare rights of African American women, and built a strong organizational and theoretical foundation for the modern reparations movement.

This essay examines the UAEW as an example of African American women's black nationalist, Pan-Africanist, and feminist organizing in the South. Moore and her fellow organizers fused nationalist principles with what historian Ula Taylor has called "community feminism," a form of activism that focuses on creating and sustaining community advancement for both men and women. Taylor has noted that this form of activism is "undeniably" feminist in that it highlights "the configuration of oppressive power relations," challenges "masculinist claims of women as intellectually inferior," and "seeks to empower women by expanding their roles and options."⁵ Similar to Garveyite leaders Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey, UAEW members followed the principles of community feminism by denouncing structural oppression, carving out spaces to assert black women's rights and ideas in the public sphere, and developing new leadership roles for women within the organization and the local African American community.⁶ A "race-first," Africa-conscious vision undergirded the UAEW's community feminist approach. Members geared their activism toward furthering Pan-African unity and African redemption; they also encouraged African Americans to organize around their shared heritage and culture.

The UAEW developed at the intersection of progressive and radical ideologies and organizing approaches. Members utilized African American club-women's strategies aimed at children and the poor to advance a community-based feminist, nationalist, and class-based politics.⁷ They also consistently reframed incidents of racial and sexual violence through a nationalist and Pan-African lens, offering local residents an ideological alternative to mainstream integrationist and professional organizations. Excavating the organization's activities reveals the impact of African American women's intellectualism on the modern Black Freedom Movement. It also highlights the importance of black nationalist and Pan-Africanist frameworks in African American women's mid-20th century organizing.

**“BORN IN POVERTY, RAISED IN TOIL, AND STEELED
IN STRUGGLE”**

Audley Moore was born in New Iberia, Louisiana, in July 1898 and raised amid the institutionalized racial codes and disenfranchisement of the South.⁸ Moore often recounted that her mother, Ella, her father’s third wife, died in childbirth. Her father, St. Cyr Moore, was a victim of racial violence ten years later.⁹ The death of both parents left Moore to care for her two younger sisters, Eloise and Lorita, and caused her to drop out of school. Moore recalled that she began working as a domestic to help support her siblings, but during World War I she moved to Muscle Shoals, Alabama, found work as a women’s hairdresser and was able to travel among military bases. Moore and her sisters eventually relocated to New Orleans, where she married Frank Warner around 1920. According to Moore, Warner operated a small grocery store in the early 1920s, while she continued in domestic service to help support the family.¹⁰

White supremacy was intractable in post–World War I New Orleans. Although organizations like the Ministerial Alliance, the Black Longshoreman’s Association, the Black Central Trades Union, and the NAACP had called on local African American residents to support the war efforts, they found that their predictions of postwar economic prosperity and racial equality never fully materialized.¹¹ Instead, their attempts to foster equality were met with widespread white backlash that included labor wars, civil liberties violations, and restrictive legislation. In response to growing racial unrest, African Americans in New Orleans joined local and national organizations aimed at protecting their neighborhoods and promoting civil rights. Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was among the many organizations that developed a stronghold in the Crescent City.¹²

The Moores’ migration to New Orleans coincided with the rise of the New Orleans Division of Marcus Garvey’s UNIA. Alaida Robertson founded the local chapter of Garvey’s organization on 12 October 1920.¹³ By the fall of 1921, the division had several thousand members. The growth of the New Orleans Division reflected Garvey’s popularity across the South. Louisiana was home to eighty UNIA chapters, the most in a single state.¹⁴ Garvey’s sermons about black self-help, racial pride, and Pan-African solidarity attracted African Americans looking for ways to combat racial violence. In particular, his black-owned shipping company, the Black Star Line, and his goal of African repatriation attracted New Orleanians, who invested heavily in these plans. Even as the UNIA began to dissipate after Garvey’s unjust incarceration for mail fraud in February 1925, the New Orleans division maintained a significant following due to dynamic programming that included medical services from the Black Cross Nurses, night

schools, and celebratory events at the local Liberty Hall.¹⁵ As the leaders of both the local chapter and its community programs, African American women undergirded Garvey's programs in New Orleans. Mamie Reason, for example, a domestic worker, served as UNIA branch treasurer, and Theresa Fleming, a cook, held a leadership position in the local Black Cross Nurses.¹⁶

Audley Moore found Garvey's emphasis on self-defense and black pride a powerful anecdote to the rampant racism of the South. She later claimed that it was Garvey who "brought the consciousness to [her]" and showed her the "nature of [her] oppression."¹⁷ Garvey's visits to New Orleans, his newspaper, *Negro World*, and the UNIA's emphasis on African diasporic unity broadened her political framework and understanding of the alternatives to white supremacy.¹⁸ In addition, the relative gender inclusivity of the UNIA, and the female leadership of the New Orleans division, promoted a fusion of black nationalism and community feminism that Moore could adopt.¹⁹ Inspired by Garvey, Moore and her family left New Orleans in 1921. She claimed that at first she and her husband were going to follow the UNIA leaders' calls for African repatriation and emigrate to Africa. When that plan fell through, they migrated west and north. Moore and her family eventually settled in Harlem after brief stays in Santa Monica and Chicago.²⁰

Harlem's working-class population, coupled with the large Garveyite community, furthered Moore's interest in radical politics. By the time she reached New York, however, the UNIA had to compete with the rapidly growing Communist Party (CP) for prospective members. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the CP garnered significant African American support in Harlem. Most important for Garveyites like Moore was the party's championing of a black nationality within the United States. As early as 1924, Communist-backed organizations such as the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC) promoted African Americans' "right to self-determination." When the congress of the Sixth Communist International or "Comintern" met in 1928, the "Negro Commission" pushed for full support of the "black belt thesis," arguing that African Americans, concentrated in the southeastern United States, represented a separate nation with a shared cultural heritage and experience of racial oppression. They were therefore entitled to self-determination, in the form of political and economic power, and the right to secede from the United States.²¹ By making black advancement central to the party's goals, the CP embraced black nationalist politics and the southern black working class became an integral part of their political program.

Audley Moore recognized the ideological parallels between the CP and the UNIA, recalling, "Well now, I thought [the CP] was a wonderful vehicle. If they've got a movement like that, and they're conscious of this thing that Garvey had been speaking about, then this may be a good thing for me to get in to help free my people."²² Moore's realization that the party could facilitate black libera-

tion stemmed from the CP's analysis of African American culture, white supremacy, and corporate capitalism in the United States. In addition, her local branch of the CP in Upper Harlem was especially active on behalf of African Americans. In the early 1930s, members fought on behalf of African American doctors and nurses who faced discrimination at Harlem Hospital, challenged white landlords who evicted black tenants, and organized welfare relief efforts for African Americans during the Great Depression.²³

Moore joined the party through the International Labor Defense (ILD), a communist-backed group that gained national notoriety for their support of the Scottsboro Boys, nine African American youths unjustly accused and convicted of raping two white women in 1931 in Alabama.²⁴ Once a member, Moore became a part of an energetic group of African American women activists who played leading roles in party activities in the 1930s and 1940s.²⁵ In addition to attending political education classes and leading anti-lynching protests, Moore served as the secretary of the United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization, which fought against price gouging in the African American community, raised money to provide material aid to African American tenants, and battled Harlem rent increases.²⁶ She also headed initiatives like the "Save Mrs. Ingram Committee," a group that appealed to the United Nations (UN) General Assembly to help Rosa Lee Ingram, a Georgia sharecropper and mother of twelve, who faced execution for killing her white landlord when he attempted to rape her.²⁷

By 1935, Moore was one of the most prominent members of the CP's Upper Harlem branch. She used this position to push the party to focus more on women's issues and concerns. At the CP's state convention in May 1938, for example, she gave a report on the activities of the Women's Commission, speaking of the "great possibilities there [were] to build the Party among the masses of women who [were] looking for a way out of their miseries." She encouraged the CP to pay "special attention to women's problems," like their high rates of death in childbirth, their need for safe day-care centers, and their chronic unemployment.²⁸ By the 1940s, she was also leading the branch's recruitment efforts. During the 1943 annual membership drive, she recruited thirty-seven new members, twenty-seven of whom were women.²⁹ Communist leadership and publications took note of Moore's activism, calling her "one of the most influential Negro women in the United States" and citing her management skills as the driving force behind communist candidate Benjamin Davis's successful campaign for a seat on the New York City Council in 1943.³⁰ Armed with this nationalist-centered, class-based analysis and the support of her fellow women communists, Moore worked, in her words, "twenty-five hours a day and eight days a week," for African American freedom through party initiatives.³¹

The ideological and organizational training that the CP provided, as well as the network of African American women activists she gained as a party member,

undergirded Moore's future activism. The party enabled her to organize around the concerns of working-class black men and women while embracing the nationalist and anti-imperialist positions she adopted as a Garveyite in Louisiana. Her organizing relationships with other African American women communists highlighted the power and potential of female-led organizing. While living and working in Harlem, Moore joined forces with Louise Thompson Patterson, Claudia Jones, Williana Burroughs, Bonita Williams, and other African American women party members. Envisioning the CP as an organization for engaging and advancing African Americans and women, these activists became key leaders and intellectuals within the party. For example, Bonita Williams was an executive officer in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, while Claudia Jones became one of the foremost political theorists of the party, creating "Half the World," a women's column in the communists' newspaper, *The Daily Worker*.³²

As Moore rose within the ranks of the CP, the party's leaders began shifting their position on African American self-determination. The early 1930s marked the height of the organization's support of the black belt thesis, primarily through the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.³³ However, the rise of fascists in Germany, Japan, Italy, and Spain induced CP and Comintern leaders to call on members to join the pro-democracy, anti-fascist "Popular Front" in 1935, and to form coalitions with noncommunist groups to try and halt the advance of facism. CP general secretary Earl Browder led the party away from earlier ideological positions, including black belt self-determination; and the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact in 1939 eventually resulted in numerous defections by black party members. With the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939, fears of wartime invasion and anti-communist hysteria gripped the country, leading to the passage of the Smith Act, which called for the arrest and punishment of any group or individual advocating "the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States of America by force or violence." The Soviet Union became a U.S. ally during the war, but Cold War tensions ran high by the late 1940s and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) targeted CP leaders, members, and "fellow travelers." Party leaders were put on trial, and eleven were sentenced to prison in 1950 for violating the Smith Act.³⁴ Needless to say, the party's membership was decimated by these attacks.

Audley Moore left the CP around 1950. Looking back on this decision, Moore claimed in interviews that she ended her membership because party leaders refused to take up larger questions about racism and sexism within the organization, and because the party backed away from their support of black nationalism and self-determination.³⁵ Yet she remained a member long after the group officially ended its promotion of the black belt thesis. Questions remain as to Moore's exact reasons for leaving the party, but Cold War government repression and the

changing priorities of the organization likely played a role. Moore did not experience the same level of persecution as her fellow activists Esther Cooper Jackson or Claudia Jones.³⁶ However, Moore's organizing did garner the attention of the federal government, causing the FBI to maintain surveillance of her actions, including her leadership of the UAEW, from the 1940s through the 1970s. Despite her disillusion with the party, Moore always acknowledged the impact of the CP on her life and continually emphasized that the party was where she "really learned to struggle."³⁷ Her time in the CP honed her grassroots mobilization and community organizing skills and showed her the importance of grounding her politics in a strong analysis of the interrelationship between race and class.

In 1951–1952, Moore was a member of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, a leftist organization started by activists Louise Thompson Patterson and Beulah "B" Richardson. The Sojourners were a group of experienced black women activists and first-time organizers from across the country that organized acts of resistance and protests on behalf of African American women, mothers, and widows.³⁸ In its short but influential existence, the members rallied in the nation's capital to demand government protection, called for African American women prisoners to be freed, and appealed for the end of racial violence across the country. In their inaugural protest, the Sojourners convened in Washington, DC, from September 29th to October 1st, 1951 to confront government officials and demand an end to Jim Crow laws, state-sanctioned violence against African Americans, and American imperialism overseas. The Sojourners used the legal cases of women such as Rosa Lee Ingram to bring attention to African American women's intersectional—race, class, and gender—oppression. They also attempted to build a national movement to protest the racially motivated murders of Florida NAACP leaders, Harriet and Henry Moore.³⁹ Audley Moore was a member of the Harlem chapter of the Sojourners, along with Claudia Jones, political activist Dorothy Hunton, and playwrights Alice Childress and Lorraine Hansberry. She was also a part of the delegation that went to Washington, DC, seeking a meeting with President Harry S. Truman or other high-ranking officials to demand government protection against racial terror and the end of Jim Crow laws.⁴⁰ Though her tenure in the group was brief, through the Sojourners, Moore cultivated her women-centered, nationalist politics and advanced her intersectional analysis of the oppression of women of African descent.

RETURN TO NEW ORLEANS

Little is known about Audley Moore's whereabouts after the demise of the Sojourners. According to the FBI, she resided in upstate New York with her sisters Eloise Moore and Lorita Langley.⁴¹ But we know that in 1954 she returned to

New Orleans with her sisters to take control of their father's home after the death of their half-brother, Henry Moore, from their father's first marriage, who had lived there with Mary Bell Patterson. Ultimately, the Moore sisters had to file a civil suit against Patterson, Henry Moore's common-law wife, for possession of the house where he had committed suicide in August 1954. The *Moore v. Patterson* suit ended in 1956 when the judge ruled in favor of the Moore sisters.⁴²

While the Moore sisters were away from New Orleans, the local African American community underwent tremendous growth. During World War II, the federal government pumped millions of dollars into defense operations in the Port of New Orleans and soon employed a significant number of African American workers from rural Louisiana and surrounding states. At the end of the war, the Port of New Orleans still offered employment opportunities for skilled and unskilled workers, prompting a chain migration that reshaped the city's social and political landscape. It spawned a network of labor unions and attracted a black professional population that historian Michael Shane Firven found "altered the reality of black leadership in the post World War II period."⁴³ The convergence of skilled laborers, teachers, physicians, nurses, and clergymen in Louisiana's major city led to an increase in black labor organizing and political activism.

Between 1946 and 1955, African Americans in Louisiana successfully challenged Jim Crow voting, segregation, and education laws. The local NAACP played a significant role in confronting racial barriers in the Pelican State. Before the war, the New Orleans branch had a couple hundred members. By the late 1940s, the chapter's membership reached six thousand. Crescent City NAACP members used their swelling numbers to force the federal government to intervene in the investigations of local lynchings and to integrate the New Orleans police force in 1949.⁴⁴ These organizers also joined forces with other local groups including the People's Defense League and the International Longshoreman's Association to expand the African American electorate. Due to their energetic efforts, by 1955 African Americans could vote in sixty of the sixty-four parishes in the state, and individual parishes, such as Acadia Parish, elected the first African American to public office in more than fifty years in 1954.⁴⁵ African American activists desegregated public libraries and city parks during this period; they also formed black self-defense forces in several parishes.⁴⁶

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF) began an ambitious attack on segregation in Louisiana in 1950. NAACP lawyer A. P. Tureaud, a long-time leader of local civil rights struggles, led the battle to end segregation at Louisiana State University (LSU). After LSU Law School officials denied admission to twelve African American men, Tureaud, along with the LDF's chief lawyer Thurgood Marshall, filed a suit on behalf of one of the men, Roy S. Wilson.⁴⁷ Wilson was admitted, and Tureaud filed similar suits for LSU's medical, graduate,

and undergraduate schools. Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered LSU to desegregate both its undergraduate and graduate schools, marking a watershed moment in the battle for school desegregation in the Pelican State. By 1953, over one hundred African Americans had enrolled in the university's graduate programs.⁴⁸ These and other racial victories left the impression that local protests were stemming the rising tide of white supremacy in Louisiana.

Unfortunately, these gains would be short-lived. The landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, coupled with the local civil rights victories, set into motion a white counterattack in the state. Beginning in the spring of 1956, the state legislature inaugurated a campaign to end the widespread success of the Louisiana NAACP.⁴⁹ This shift in state policy hit activists "like a bolt from the blue" as leaders struggled to safeguard their state branch records from white hate groups that targeted individual members.⁵⁰ The White Citizen's Council (WCC) of Greater New Orleans organized to prevent public school desegregation and worked with state authorities to place a permanent injunction on NAACP meetings until the organization turned over its list of members to state authorities. These attacks led to the suspension of activities of chapters in Louisiana by April 1956.⁵¹ WCC members also stalled the federally mandated integration of local Catholic schools, blocked African Americans' voting rights, and targeted black organizations such as the Urban League.⁵² By the end of 1956, civil rights organizations struggled to stay alive in New Orleans and throughout the state. Moore's organization developed within the context of the WCC's targeted attacks that shifted racial dynamics and stymied civil rights organizing.

UAEW AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN LOUISIANA

After Moore returned to New Orleans and settled the suit over her half-brother's estate, she joined the Sons and Daughters of Ethiopia (SDE), an auxiliary of the New Orleans division of Garvey's UNIA that had remained active from the late 1920s through the 1950s.⁵³ The SDE offered food and material assistance to Afro-New Orleanians, particularly during the Depression years. By the late 1950s, the SDE turned its attention to capital punishment and prisoner rights. As a leading member of the organization, Moore worked with local residents to protest the pending executions of African American men falsely accused by white women of rape.⁵⁴

Then in the summer of 1957, Moore founded the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women "to uplift and inspire the oppressed."⁵⁵ The new organization reflected Moore's older Garveyite politics in both name and principles. Her reasons for founding the UAEW were both practical and theoretical. She wanted to organize the many local African American women who were "aroused to righteous indig-

nation” over the “dozens of [African American] men” who were “executed as result of the whims of white women.” She also argued that African Americans needed an organization to develop a theory of racial identity and nationality to determine the “correct status of [African Americans] based upon origin and national inspiration.”⁵⁶ The UAEW’s goals were to advance African Americans collectively and “secure justice for those denied constitutional rights.”⁵⁷ The UAEW garnered the support of a small group of New Orleanians, including Virginia Collins, a prominent local activist; Alma Dawson, who served as treasurer; and Setha Sahara, the group’s secretary. Other members included Bessie Phillips, vice president, and Moore’s sister Eloise, director of African affairs. The Moore family home on Danneel Street served as the group’s headquarters.⁵⁸



Prayer Vigil for John Michel
 Courtesy of *Louisiana Weekly*, 1 July 1957.

In its first months, the UAEW focused on African American men jailed on interracial rape charges. In late June 1957, UAEW members organized a public prayer vigil for John Michel, who was to be executed in the Angola, Louisiana, prison on 7 June 1956, for the alleged assault of a 15-year-old white girl.⁵⁹ Michel was eventually executed, but the UAEW kept agitating on behalf of other accused African American men such as Henry Hills, who was sentenced to death for allegedly attacking a 15-year-old white girl at gunpoint in March 1958; and Isaac Peart, facing the electric chair, even though he could provide a strong alibi after

being accused of raping a local white woman in July 1955.⁶⁰ The group's anti-death penalty activism culminated in the case of Edgar Labat and Clifton Poret, which eventually led to the defendants' exoneration.

UAEW members established "defense funds" on behalf of African American men who were incarcerated on other charges. In 1961 the women fought to save Joseph Oliver Jenkins, a 29-year-old man sentenced to death for killing a Tulane student, despite his well-known history of mental illness. The UAEW raised money for Jenkins's legal defense and psychiatric testing, and appealed directly to Louisiana Governor Jimmie H. Davis to review the case. Due to their petition providing expert evidence of Jenkins's mental instability, Judge Horace Reid stayed his execution, declared him insane, and ordered him committed to the criminal ward of East Louisiana State Hospital.⁶¹

The release of Theodore B. Snider, a local white man who had been convicted of raping an 18-year-old African American woman, stirred the UAEW into action in July 1958.⁶² Upon gaining a meeting with Orleans Parish District Attorney Richard A. Dowling, the women demanded that Snider be re-arrested, but they also used this opportunity to express their concerns and grievances about police "brutality cases, overcrowding in the Parish Prison, and the rounding up of unemployed men [who] can find no jobs."⁶³ When the New Orleans district attorney did not respond, the UAEW took their charges to the FBI:

Injustice inflicted upon our people because of color has been established. This recent case of aggravated rape upon one of our teenagers by a white man who was freed with impunity is evidence of this fact. . . . In appealing to the consciousness of the department of justice to invoke its powers to avoid further [annihilation] of our innocent men, we do so with the feeling that capital punishment should be declared unconstitutional in defense of justice.⁶⁴

Historian Danielle McGuire in *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance* pointed out that, "whites used outrageous racial rumors and rape scares to justify strengthening segregation and white supremacy."⁶⁵ Moore and the UAEW challenged this discourse, and its racist underpinnings, by exposing and discounting the judicial systems' "evidence" of African American men's guilt. Moreover, they shifted the focus of interracial rape conversations to the sexual abuse of African American women. In their organized resistance, UAEW members called attention to racist and sexist Jim Crow practices, emphasizing that "no Louisiana white man has ever paid the death penalty for rap[ing]" an African American woman.⁶⁶

The women were not only interested in highlighting the sexual abuse of African American women, they also argued that capital punishment in Louisiana was not designed to "protect democracy," but a race-based policy and tool to

maintain white patriarchal control. As a result, the UAEW projected the Louisiana and New Orleans criminal justice system's targeting of African Americans onto the national political stage. In March 1959, Moore and her sister Lorita Langley presented a petition to end capital punishment to the heads of Democratic and Republican parties and the newly formed U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, located in Washington, DC. The petition asked that all cases where African American men were condemned to death on charges of rape be reviewed by the federal government and the civil rights provisions in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments be enforced.⁶⁷ Shortly afterward, Moore and the UAEW's director of membership, Elizabeth Thompson, issued an appeal to the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Commission to "intercede [on] behalf of [their] people of Ethiopian origin in the United States of America." The UAEW argued that although African Americans were born in the United States, they were still "not considered citizens." Adopting the language of the 1952 Civil Rights Congress and other petitions sent to the UN on behalf of African Americans, the UAEW charged "genocide" and argued that the "planned lynch terror and willful destruction of [their] people, amounting to the crime of genocide, prevail[ed] throughout the land and especially in the South." The women called for the abolition of capital punishment and for the UN to intervene in the South to help "save [African Americans] from total extermination."⁶⁸

The 1959 UN appeal, and the UAEW's activism more broadly, highlighted the group's somewhat unique blend of politics. Members adopted the rhetoric and strategies associated with the CP's Popular Front such as internationalizing the black struggle and linking it to African liberation struggles. The petition "We Charge Genocide" was sent to the UN by the CP-backed Civil Rights Congress. The UAEW continued this tradition of framing American racial violence as systemic mass murder.⁶⁹ At the same time, however, the group designation as "Ethiopians," rather than "Negro Americans," signaled the women's commitment to reclaiming their African heritage. The members understood that organized resistance to entrenched systems of white supremacy placed the struggles in the U.S. South in the larger context of African and African Diaspora liberation struggles. In the process, Moore's UAEW forged new avenues for nationalist and Pan-African activism for local African American residents.

EDGAR LABAT, CLIFTON PORET, AND THE UAEW

The UAEW's most successful protest was the campaign to exonerate Edgar Labat and Clifton Alton Poret, two Louisiana men convicted of raping a white woman, Helen Rajek, and robbing her male companion on 12 November 1950. Despite the lack of evidence about the assault and repeated attempts to appeal the

verdict, both Labat and Poret remained incarcerated. The two men languished in an Angola, Louisiana, jail cell for two years before their lawyers called for their indictments to be dismissed on the grounds that the prosecution excluded African Americans from the jury. The trial judge denied their motion, and the case went before an all-white jury that convicted both men and sentenced them to death on 23 March 1953. Over the next two years, motions of appeal were filed with the Louisiana State and U.S. Supreme Courts that upheld the convictions. In 1957 lawyers filed a writ of habeas corpus on behalf of Labat and Poret in a last-minute attempt to stay their execution, pointing out that their rape convictions were based on false witness testimony. With Labat and Poret's applications rejected the following day, the state set their execution date for 20 September 1957.⁷⁰

The UAEW argued that Labat and Poret's case was a prima-facie example of how the Louisiana "rape laws" operated, as if they were "especially designed" to target "men of the Negro race."⁷¹ A week before Labat and Poret were set to die, the organization called an "emergency mass meeting for the purpose of getting stays of executions." The UAEW charged that police coerced Earl Howard, a local African American man who provided the only witness testimony, into incriminating Labat and Poret. They also produced a sworn statement by Howard in which he recanted his story. Earl Howard claimed that he did not witness the incident, but had testified that Labat and Poret were guilty in order to avoid additional police beatings and incarceration.⁷² As the UAEW probed deeper into the case, other discrepancies came to light. The victim and her male companion could not agree on the clothing of the two would-be assailants or the chain of events for the alleged incident. Furthermore, there was no physical evidence of an assault against Helen Rajek in the original police record.⁷³

The UAEW altered the direction of the case. Moore and her followers made a special trip to Angola, Louisiana, on 17 September 1957 to deliver what they called "startling new evidence."⁷⁴ They produced a sworn statement from a married woman disclosing that she was with Poret during the night the rape was supposed to have happened and a new statement by Labat's girlfriend confirming his alibi. This new testimony convinced Judge John Minor Wisdom to grant a stay of execution for ten days.⁷⁵ The case then moved to the U.S. Supreme Court, where Justice Hugo L. Black signed a fifteen-day stay of execution.⁷⁶ After winning the second stay, the UAEW and the mothers of Labat and Poret dissolved their defense committee: "[T]hey were of the opinion that the work in defense of Edgar Labat and Clifton Alton Poret . . . had been accomplished."⁷⁷

Poret and Labat picked up their defense where the UAEW left off. Poret, a carpenter's apprentice who once lived in California, placed an ad in a Los Angeles newspaper detailing his wrongful incarceration. Nelson Soil, a Los Angeles butcher, saw the ad in September 1957 and helped create a defense fund for Poret.⁷⁸

Labat, a hospital orderly in Louisiana, was even more successful, gaining international attention during his incarceration. In 1963 he began corresponding with a Swedish woman, Solveig Johansson, who learned of his incarceration through international news reports and took up his cause. At Johansson's prompting, the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* collected close to two thousand signatures demanding clemency for the prisoner.⁷⁹ This international support peaked when the Louisiana Department of Criminal Justice imposed a new regulation banning correspondence between African American inmates and white supporters. By 1964 the number of petitions sent to President Lyndon B. Johnson and Louisiana Governor John McKeithen increased significantly causing the state to end the prohibition. The state instead attempted to block Johansson's letters by arguing that the prison ban on interracial visitation could be applied to letter writing.⁸⁰

Despite widespread support for their release, Labat and Poret remained on death row throughout the 1960s.⁸¹ As funds and support for the prisoners rolled in, they were able to obtain eight stays of execution, one of them only three hours before they were set to die.⁸² Labat and Poret sat in jail for nineteen years in total before the courts exonerated them. Their legal battle ended in December 1969 when they agreed to plead guilty to attempted aggravated rape, and the district attorney accepted a sentence equal to the time that both men had already served.⁸³ UAEW members' organizing was the impetus for their eventual exoneration, as the evidence members uncovered and their grassroots movement started the process of appeals that eventually led to their freedom.

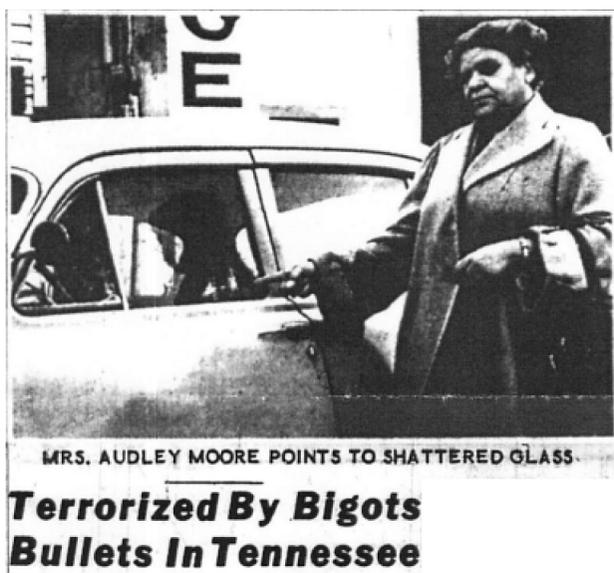
While fighting to free the two men, the UAEW also used Labat and Poret's case to challenge contemporary discourses of rape, race, and womanhood. Even when calling attention to Labat and Poret's wrongful imprisonment, they emphasized African American women's experiences with sexual assault. The women declared, "There is a deep feeling among our women that the time is past due to challenge the erroneous assertion that our men are rapist[s]. We charge that almost every Ethiopian woman who was captured and sold into slavery [was] raped by the white man throughout the world."⁸⁴ The UAEW's justification for their activism around the case is telling. It indicates that they saw Labat and Poret's rape charges as a rallying cry for solidarity within the local community, a chance for African American men and women to join forces and combat sexual violence against African American women. It also reveals how UAEW members framed southern interracial rape as a product of slavery and an experience that united women across the Diaspora.

African American women's sexual objectification and assault illustrated the need for African Americans to embrace nationalist politics. UAEW members suggested that their abuse showed that they were not afforded "equal protection under the law." This located African American women, and the African American community, outside of the American polity and connected them with other women across

the Diaspora, a point the UAEW emphasized by labeling these women as Ethiopian and pointing out that African Americans in the United States were treated as second-class citizens.⁸⁵ This rhetorical and political positioning defied existing racial parameters and created a gender construct based on black nationalist, rather than southern whites' definition, of womanhood. It also transgressed traditional political and cultural understandings of race, redrawing the boundaries of African American identity around African American women's shared oppression, heritage, and connection to Africa. As a result, the UAEW's protest not only helped exonerate Labat and Poret, it also critiqued narrow definitions of identity and promoted a form of black womanhood rooted in nationalist and Pan-Africanist political frameworks.

UAEW AND SOCIAL WELFARE ACTIVISM

On 3 January 1961, Moore was driving from Washington, DC, to New Orleans when an unmarked car pulled up beside her. The passengers in the car shot at her and forced her off the road and into a ditch. Moore escaped unharmed, but the windows and the windshield of her car were shattered by the bullets. Subsequent reports indicated that, "white supremacists of Fayette and Haywood Counties" attacked Moore "in an attempt to prevent supplies from reaching the helpless refugees" in Louisiana.⁸⁶ Moore was carrying food and clothing for African American women and children in New Orleans who were removed from the welfare rolls under the state's "Suitable Home Law."



Audley Moore Points to Shattered Glass
Courtesy of *Louisiana Weekly*, 14 January 1961.

During the Great Depression, New Deal officials established federal welfare programs aimed at ameliorating public suffering. The Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) Program, or social welfare, provided support to needy children in families often headed by widows and divorced, abandoned, or separated mothers. As ethnographer Terese Lawinski noted, these programs “were influenced by a domestic code” that designated men as household breadwinners and opposed women who worked for wages outside of the home. Racial practices further compounded this “domestic code,” with ADC officials creating policies that designated women as “deserving” or “undeserving” of public assistance based on very conservative cultural standards. For example, many states legislated requirements for a “suitable home,” using a subjective assessment of the suitability of a woman’s home environment to determine her eligibility for assistance. Policy makers and local officials’ objective was to eliminate as many African American and poor women from the ADC rolls as possible, claiming their lack of “respectability” and morality disqualified them from receiving welfare benefits.⁸⁷

The Louisiana legislature passed a statewide Suitable Homes Law on 6 July 1960. It prohibited women in “common-law marriages,” or who had children out of wedlock, from receiving welfare benefits. Once removed, the state required mothers to provide proof that they had entered a “valid marriage” or “ceased their illicit relationship” with a male partner in order to reapply for state aid. Under these new parameters for receiving assistance, 23,000 women and children became ineligible for ADC benefits. African American women and children comprised the majority of the constituents expunged from the welfare rolls.⁸⁸

UAEW members were a part of a broad coalition of activists who opposed the law and secured material provisions for women and children hurt by the change in policy. In addition to collecting food and clothing for women who lost their welfare benefits, members joined with the Urban League, the NAACP, and local religious organizations to pressure city and state officials to repeal the law.⁸⁹ In August 1960, Moore led a delegation of UAEW members to Washington, DC, to meet with national officials. Moore reported that the group held meetings with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), the Agriculture Department, and the Children’s Bureau. There she requested that these federal officials release emergency funds to aid mothers and children in Louisiana and asked that the government’s surplus food be distributed to those in need in the Pelican State. The delegation requested meetings to no avail with the offices of Vice President Richard Nixon and presidential candidate John F. Kennedy. Moore also reported that the delegation received a letter from the White House on behalf of President Dwight D. Eisenhower stating that the Suitable Home Law was a “state issue.”⁹⁰ The following month, Virginia Collins, Alma Dawson, and Audley Moore met with officials of the state welfare commission in Baton Rouge to dis-

cuss the repeal of the law. According to Moore, “it was clear from the outset of [the meeting] that while the officials were in sympathy with the plight of the hungry mothers and starving babies, they could do very little under the present law.”⁹¹

After members failed to resolve the issue through government channels, the UAEW looked to its larger network to assist in mobilizing opposition to the law. Moore went on a national tour in the latter half of 1960, speaking on behalf of the victims of the Suitable Home Law. She regaled the audience of the Buffalo Mothers Alliance, an interracial women’s group, in Buffalo, New York, with stories of women such as “Mrs. Mildred Reimoneng and her ten children,” one of many African American women who lost their welfare benefits. Moore challenged her supporters in Buffalo, and across the Northeast, to “speak with a thousand words” and engage in “a political act,” by letting Europe, Asia, and Africa know about the financial problems facing poor mothers in Louisiana.⁹² News of the UAEW’s multiple efforts spread from the Gulf to the East and West coasts through accounts that appeared in the CP newspaper, the *Daily Worker*. The reports praised the group as a bulwark in the leftist “front” that stretched “across the Southland from Virginia to Texas.”⁹³

The UAEW and other organizations generated negative national and international press for Governor Jimmie Davis and the Louisiana lawmakers, resulting in federal HEW officials threatening to end all of Louisiana’s ADC funding unless the state altered its welfare policy. The Louisiana legislators agreed to amend the law to require the state to prove the “unsuitability” of a home, rather than simply disqualifying recipients based on their decision to have non-traditional family arrangements. In 1962 state officials ended the suitable home requirement, or what activists called Louisiana’s “anti-black baby law.” However, the state continued to discriminate using “man-in-the-home” laws to deny welfare benefits to some poor women until 1968.⁹⁴

The UAEW also used the Suitable Home Law debate to hold a public conversation about interracial rape, family, and motherhood. When Louisiana Governor Jimmie Davis referred to the African American mothers on welfare as “professional prostitutes” in a press conference, the UAEW responded with a defiant statement.⁹⁵

We resent the insulting remarks of Governor Jimmie H. Davis. . . . The governor must be reminded that all baseness, vileness, and illicit relationships among our people in the United States of America started through the white slavers’ breeding farms where mothers were forced to breed for the slave mart. Almost every African woman or girl was raped on her arrival here, and the raping continued until this day. Many of our little children left to starve belonged to white men, and black mothers dare not name the fathers for fear of reprisals, at the same time, white women feeling neglected have often yelled rape for attention or to cover up some ungodly act she wished to keep secret. . . . The time has come for our people to realize that we cannot achieve freedom under this white man’s system of white supremacy.⁹⁶

Turning Governor Davis's claim of black female ill repute on its head, the UA EW linked African American women's need for welfare benefits to white male inadequacy. They defended the dignity of poor and working-class African American women while simultaneously attacking white men, implying that they did not act as familial providers to *all* of their children, transgressing racial and gender norms with impunity. Members discredited segregationists' claims of "race mixing" by pointing out that legal segregation did not prevent interracial sex; but it had managed to produce children whose fathers refused to care for or acknowledge them. They also indicted white women for creating "Rape Hoax[es]" or claiming that African American men raped them in order to counter white male infidelity, preserve their own claims of innocence and purity, and use notions of "white womanhood" as a tool of white control. Ultimately, the UA EW framed the Suitable Home Law as a piece of legislation intended to hide white "intragender antagonisms" and protect white male predators, rather than women and children. It also provided evidence for their nationalist claims, as Davis's remarks and the Suitable Home Law showed the difficulty of pursuing equal rights within the existing social and political systems.

It is worth noting that the UA EW did not attempt to assert the suitability of the homes based on prevailing maternalist philosophies of womanhood and morality.⁹⁷ Instead, they argued that African American women, no matter their class or home status, had a right to welfare benefits to feed their children. Not only did the UA EW's welfare protests reveal Louisiana's unfair and inhumane treatment of African American women, it also challenged Western patriarchal norms about family and valorized conceptualizations of African American womanhood and family structures beyond those sanctioned by the state. Their challenge to white male authority and repudiation of Governor Davis's racist statements bolstered African American women's claims to equal citizenship rights. In the process, the UA EW forged a community feminist politics and participated in the local and national debates about motherhood, respectability, and gender discrimination at the core of U.S. social welfare policies in the mid-20th century.

UA EW AND THE MODERN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

The 1960s brought a distinct shift in the UA EW's political focus. After the Suitable Home Law fight, the members turned their attention to demands for reparations payments to African Americans. Audley Moore's interest in reparations developed from the UA EW's research.⁹⁸ According to Moore and vice president Virginia Collins, several UA EW members came upon an old encyclopedia entry, stating "those who find themselves captives and do not place before their captors

judicial demand for their liberation within a hundred years are considered satisfied and belonging to their captors.” With this information the UAEW “went to work” developing a claim for reparations and educating other African Americans about the need to demand compensation for individual and collective economic development.⁹⁹

African American women’s reparations activism dates back to the post-Reconstruction era, when Callie House and other formerly enslaved men and women organized the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty, and Pension Association seeking federally funded pensions for ex-slaves. The ex-slave pension movement gained steam with additional groups such as the National Industrial Council, a turn of the 20th century group that mobilized African Americans into a political party, the National Liberty Party, in July 1904, and pushed reparations demands for those formerly enslaved.¹⁰⁰ The idea for financial restitution had also been broached among UAEW members. Since the group’s founding Moore and her fellow members had “come to the conclusion that [the] white man owed [African Americans] something.”¹⁰¹ As a result, they infused their claims for repayment into their work with rape cases and welfare, often noting that the “white man never paid” for the rape of African American women, or other racially oppressive and unjust practices.

The UAEW’s interest in reparations gained traction with the formation of the National Emancipation Proclamation Centennial Observance Committee in Philadelphia, created to organize a celebration of the centennial in 1963. Made up of a cross section of radical African American activists, black Hebrews, black Muslims, and African nationalists, they converted the commemoration into an opportunity to launch a national reparations campaign.¹⁰² The UAEW’s focus on a reparations deadline—which gained significant traction among activists in New Orleans and Philadelphia—offered reparations proponents a new platform on which to expand their movement.¹⁰³ In 1962 Moore also traveled to New York, North Carolina, Texas, Oklahoma, and Illinois to raise awareness and funds to support the reparations cause. While in Bakersfield, California, newspaper editor Sanford Alexander and a small group of activists joined Moore in forming the “Reparations Committee for the Descendants of American Slaves” (RCDAS). Formally incorporated in Los Angeles, California, they created a claim for “money damages” to be filed with the United States government on 20 December 1962. The RCDAS also produced the pamphlet, *Why Reparations? Reparations Is the Battle Cry for the Economic and Social Freedom of More Than 25 Million Descendants of American Slaves*.¹⁰⁴ Together, the UAEW, the RCDAS, and the Centennial Observance Committee reignited a national movement for reparations claims to be filed before the end of 1963.¹⁰⁵

Audley Moore and other activists created a reparations framework through this text. It proffered two interrelated arguments. The first was about economic

parity, a call for economic redress for the wrongs of slavery and Jim Crow. She called for payment for the “loss of their ancestors’ fair share of property,” which African Americans should have “accrued by reason of their skills and labors.” She also asked for remuneration to take place on an individual level, with a focus on working-class African Americans. Her reparations claim demanded an “immediate hiring quota” in all industries and called for an “intensified on-the-job training program” for the working class to be “instituted and financed by the Federal Government.” Ultimately, she claimed, “descendants of American Slaves [were] entitled to 13.1 percent of all jobs in America.”¹⁰⁶

The second argument addressed the decimation of African cultural practices. Moore and her contemporaries, like Virginia Collins, posited that African Americans were actually people of “African origin enclosed within the boundaries of the United States” whose “language, culture and heritage were methodically and deliberately destroyed” and whose “names and geographical identity were systematically obliterated.” Because of this history of subjugation, African Americans constituted an “enclosed group” and were not treated as American citizens. This repositioning of African Americans as an “internal colony” lent credibility to their claim for financial restitution. Moore and her fellow activists astutely observed that the United States was willing to pay damages to other wronged ethnic groups such as Native Americans.¹⁰⁷

UAEW members’ activism against sexual violence also informed the reparations claim. *Why Reparations?* included a call for restitution for the “suffering and emotional distress” resulting for African American women who were “raped and abused.”¹⁰⁸ By including sexual abuse as a harm to be addressed in reparatory projects, Moore, and the UAEW more broadly, framed the modern reparations fight as one that should address the complex intersection of race and gender oppression.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, *Why Reparations?* undergirded the UAEW’s community feminist politics as it recognized gender-specific oppression inherent in slavery and Jim Crow.

Why Reparations? trumpeted the UAEW’s program of rehabilitation, which took the form of both individual remuneration and territorial claims. Members signed a petition circulated by the Centennial Observance Committee that called for each African American to receive approximately \$5,000 in payment, as emphasized by the UAEW’s belief that 1962 was the last year to apply for reparations from the U.S. government.¹¹⁰ The UAEW also reformulated the CP’s black belt thesis, circulating pamphlets that called for “an independent autonomous black republic, which in truth will be separate and equal” as a form of restitution.¹¹¹

The UAEW’s reparations activism, particularly the organization’s attention to the gender-specific atrocities of slavery, created an ideological framework through which future generations would advocate for reparations. After the demise of the

UAEW in 1963, members like Moore and Collins became mentors to a new generation of activists. Moore served as a political adviser for activists in several Black Power organizations, including the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and the African People's Party (APP). Collins became Mother Dara Abubakari and one of the ideological and organizational leaders of the Republic of New Africa (RNA).¹¹² Members of these organizations went on to contribute to other pivotal reparations claims, most notably James Forman's "Black Manifesto."¹¹³ These organizations built upon the UAEW's ideological formulation of reparations and incorporated a demand for repayment for economic and cultural loss into their political programs. RAM leader Muhammad Ahmad recalled that Moore "emphasized the importance" of nationhood and "the demand for reparations" to group members, while the RNA demanded that African Americans deserved reparations due to "genocide" and the "cultural rape" African Americans endured.¹¹⁴ These organizations constituted an important faction of Black Power organizing in the late 1960s and 1970s that moved discussions of empowerment beyond calls for armed self-defense and community control. They articulated a vision of African American separatism predicated on new conceptualizations of independence, and they found UAEW leaders' theoretical and organizational reparations activism to be an important influence on their political agendas.

THE UAEW LEGACY

The UAEW's organizing, which ranged from welfare rights to reparations cases, reveals the spectrum of political causes and strategies adopted by mid-20th century grassroots women's organizations.¹¹⁵ At times, members employed club-women strategies to push the American government to live up to its democratic principles and demanded that elected officials ensure the civil rights of African Americans. They also encouraged Pan-African unity by emphasizing their shared experience of racial oppression with other groups in the African Diaspora and the need for reparations for African Americans to remedy the rupture between Africans and African Americans as well as the latter's social, economic, and cultural loss. Regardless of the protest in question, a rejection of contemporary middle-class and integrationist discourses undergirded the UAEW's political message, and a commitment to acknowledging the plight of working-class African American women defined their activism. Not only does their organizing reveal the ideological complexities and contours of African American women's activism, it also shows how African American women sustained nationalist principles at the local level and translated radical ideologies into successful grassroots organizing.

Moore's group also served as a bridge organization, linking leftist ideas and protest strategies. Her experiences in the CP and the Sojourners for Truth and

Justice informed the organization's "rape law" activism. Members also drew on cultural and territorial nationalist models from their UNIA days, insisting that African American residents organize around their shared culture, history, and heritage and that they were entitled to the land on which they had worked for centuries. This foundation allowed the UA EW to form a unique political agenda that hewed elements from across the radical spectrum. It also prompted them to forge new ideological formulations, most notably about reparations, which gained significant traction among the next generation of activists.

The UA EW's gendered politics also enhanced their politics and activism. In their prisoner rights organizing, members emphasized the pain of the mothers of African American men sentenced to death by the state. They also shifted the focus of local rape debates to the suffering of African American women, indicting white male violence and demanding reparations for their sexual abuse during and after slavery. The organization rallied around poor and working-class mothers in their fight to end the Suitable Home Law and supported welfare rights. All of these protests show how the UA EW successfully centered African American women's experiences within debates about oppression, freedom, and Pan-Africanism. They also reflect members' willingness to challenge southern gender constructs by engaging in traditional male domains and by confronting white men, like Governor Jimmie Davis, in the public sphere.

The complexities of the UA EW's gendered activism can be further understood within the context of New Orleans' rich history of UNIA activism and nationalism. As Ula Taylor noted, Garveyism was a form of black nationalism that was "inextricably tied to men and women 'functioning' within gendered spaces" in order to achieve nationhood. Yet an "unflinching commitment, both emotionally and ideologically," to self-determination undergirded this political stance.¹¹⁶ The UA EW, composed of former Garveyites and steeped in a rich local history of nationalism, seized on Garvey's overriding commitment to Pan-Africanism and self-determination and used it to empower women. As leaders of local struggles, UA EW members engaged in traditional forms of women-centered social activism. They also built upon black nationalist opposition to Western patriarchal culture to bring African American women's oppression to light.¹¹⁷ Subscribing to this political framework allowed members to label the racist practices of white southerners—like welfare discrimination and interracial rape—as the manifestations of Western white supremacy. It also provided the basis for the UA EW to challenge liberalism and integration, using African American women's exploitation as evidence that nationalism was the best course for African Americans. Not only did the organization continue to generate forms of community feminism, it also laid the foundation for future activists to develop theories of "womanism" that were grounded in a critique of Western patriarchy and guided by the shared experiences of women and men across the Diaspora.¹¹⁸

During a period when black political militancy was identified with African American men, the women of the UA EW contributed to the local political agenda and diversified the economic and ideological representations of African American women.¹¹⁹ The group embodied key aspects of black radicalism at the local level and inspired a younger generation of radicals to pursue nationalist and community feminist goals and strategies in the Deep South. As an organization that shaped African American politics and race relations and devised new forms of activism, the UA EW stands as an important, yet often overlooked collective in the 20th century Black Freedom Movement.

NOTES

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¹Martin Luther King, Jr., “Remarks Delivered at African Freedom Dinner at Atlanta University,” in *The Papers of Martin Luther King Jr.*, Vol. 5, ed. Clayborne Carson, et al. (Berkeley, CA, 1992), 203–4.

²“Ethiopian Women Ask African’s Aid,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 2 May 1959, 2.

³UA EW members like Audley Moore and Virginia Collins were Garveyites. They also participated in other leftist organizations including the Communist Party and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. See “*The Black Scholar* Interviews: Queen Mother Moore,” *Black Scholar* (March–April 1973): 51; Kim Lacy Rogers, *Righteous Lives: Narratives of the New Orleans Civil Rights Movement* (New York, 1993), 20–21; Virginia Collins, oral history interview transcript, 1979, box 1, folders 7–10, Kim Lacy Rogers Collection, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA (hereafter Rogers Collection).

⁴There are conflicting accounts as to when Moore founded the organization in the secondary literature. The earliest primary account of UA EW organizing appears in the *Louisiana Weekly* in 1957. Moore and other members continued to organize occasionally under the UA EW name in the late 1960s; however, the group’s primary New Orleans-based activism ceased after 1963.

⁵Ula Y. Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey: The Life & Times of Amy Jacques Garvey* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002), 64. Erik McDuffie also noted that Moore followed Jacques Garvey’s form of community feminism for most of her life. Erik S. McDuffie, “‘I Wanted a Communist Philosophy, But I Wanted Us to Have a Chance to Organize Our People’: The Diasporic Radicalism of Queen Mother Audley Moore and the Origins of Black Power,” *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 3 (2010): 183.

⁶For more on the ways in which Amy Jacques Garvey fostered this political model see, Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*. For more on Amy Ashwood Garvey’s Pan-African politics and feminist activism see, Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, Feminist, and Mrs. Marcus Garvey, Wife No. 1, or, A Tale of Two Amies* (Dover, MA, 2007).

⁷Some scholars have called this combination of ideologies and politics “black left feminism.” Mary Helen Washington coined the term. Mary Helen Washington, “Alice Childress, Lorraine Hansberry, and Claudia Jones: Black Women Write the Popular Front,” in *Left of the Color Line: Race, Radicalism and Twentieth Century Literature of the United States*, ed. Bill V. Mullen and James Smethurst (Chapel Hill, NC, 2003); Erik McDuffie expanded on this concept in his study of post–World War II black women communists. Erik S. McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism and the Making of Black Left Feminism* (Durham, NC, 2011).

⁸Audley Moore, “Born in Poverty, Raised in Toil and Steeled in Struggle, Typified Delegates to Parley on Jobs for Negro Women,” *Daily Worker*, 30 June 1941, 3.

⁹Audley “Queen Mother” Moore interview with Cheryl Gilkes, in *The Black Women Oral History Project*, ed. Ruth Edmonds Hill (Westport, CT, 1991), 118–120.

¹⁰Ibid. “Davis Supporters Will Long Tell of Audley Moore’s Work,” *Daily Worker*, 20 November 1943, 3; Queen

Mother Audley Moore, interview with Ruth Prago, 23 December 1981, Oral History of the American Left, Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University, New York, NY.

¹¹Claudrena N. Harold, "The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South, 1918–1942," Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2004, 48.

¹²Ibid., 49.

¹³Claudrena N. Harold, *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South, 1918–1942* (New York, 2007), 30.

¹⁴Mary Rolinson, *Grassroots Garveyism: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in the Rural South, 1920–1927* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007), 20; Jahi I. Issa, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Louisiana: Creating a Provisional Government in Exile," Ph.D. diss., Howard University, 2005, 2.

¹⁵Harold, *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South*, 36–37; Issa, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Louisiana," 34, 179–81.

¹⁶Harold, *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South*, 37.

¹⁷Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 123.

¹⁸Harold, *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement*, 34; Issa, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Louisiana," 89, 112. Moore often recounted in interviews a story of hearing Marcus Garvey speak at the Longshoreman's Club in New Orleans. She claimed that the New Orleans Police Department tried to bar Garvey from speaking and that African Americans brandished weapons and threatened law enforcement until he was allowed to enter the venue and deliver his speech. Garvey did visit New Orleans in July 1921 and was scheduled to speak at the Longshoreman's Club. Yet it remains unclear if Moore actually attended this meeting, as she stated in interviews that she left New Orleans around this time.

¹⁹Several scholars have noted that the UNIA was designed to be somewhat more inclusive of women than other contemporary organizations. Women held high-ranking positions both locally and nationally. They also attended national conventions and advocated for gender parity within the organization. Issa, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Louisiana," 163; Barbara Bair, "True Women, Real Men: Gender, Ideology and Social Roles in the Garvey Movement," in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's Histories, Essays from the Seventh Berkshire Conference on the History of Women*, ed. Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 158–60.

²⁰Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 126.

²¹Robin D. G. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1990), 13. For more on black radicals who organized at the intersection of communist and nationalist philosophies see: Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917–1939* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011).

²²Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 132.

²³For more on the activities of the Harlem branch, see Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem During the Depression* (Urbana, IL, 1983); Erik McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom*.

²⁴Hill, *The Black Women's Oral History Project*, 132.

²⁵There is a growing body of literature about African American women in the Communist Party. Examples include Lashawn Harris, "Running with the Reds: African American Women and the Communist Party During the Great Depression," *Journal of African American History* 94 (Winter 2009): 21–43; McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom*; Dayo F. Gore, *Radicalism at the Crossroads: African American Women Activists in the Cold War* (New York, 2011); Carole Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones* (Durham, NC, 2007); Washington, "Alice Childress, Lorraine Hansberry, and Claudia Jones."

²⁶"Don't Give Up Lynch Fight, Harlemites Say," *Afro-American*, 12 February 1938, 7; "Tenant Groups Unite for May Day Parade," *People's Voice*, 3 May 1947, 2; "Map Buyers' Strike for Harlem," *New York Amsterdam News*, 13 July 1946, 1; "Tenants Air Grievances; Urge Action," *New York Amsterdam News*, 5 April 1947, 1; "Tragic Fire 'Snuffs Out' Seven Lives," *New York Amsterdam News*, 11 January 1947, 1.

²⁷Charles H. Martin, "Race, Gender, and Southern Justice: The *Rosa Lee Ingram* Case," *American Journal of Legal History* 29 (July 1985): 251–68; Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 198.

²⁸Audley Moore, "Women's Commission Report," in *Proceedings 10th Convention: Communist Party New York State* (May 20–23, 1938), 288, 290.

²⁹"Audley Moore Tops Upper Harlem Drive," *Daily Worker*, 3 June 1943, 4.

³⁰"Davis Supporters Will Long Tell of Audley Moore's Work," *Daily Worker*, 20 November 1943, 3; Audley

Moore, Born in Poverty, Raised in Toil and Steelled in Struggle,” 1.

³¹Moore, interview with Prago, 23.

³²Harris, “Running with the Reds,” 26; Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*, 77–89.

³³V. P. Franklin, *Living Our Stories, Telling Our Truths: Autobiography and the Making of the African American Intellectual Tradition* (New York, 1995), 166.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 178.

³⁵Hill, *The Black Women Oral History Project*, 138.

³⁶The FBI followed and harassed many women radicals. The most notable case of government repression was that of Claudia Jones, whose Communist and radical sympathies caused her to be jailed and deported under the Smith Act. For more information on government repression of black women radicals see McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom*; Gore, *Radicalism at the Crossroads*, Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*; Erik S. McDuffie, “The March of Young Southern Black Women: Esther Cooper Jackson, Black Left Feminism, and the Personal and Political Costs of Cold War Repression,” in *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement: Another Side of the Story*, ed. Robbie Lieberman and Clarence Lang (New York, NY 2009), 81–114.

³⁷Queen Mother Audley Moore, interview with Ruth Prego, 9, 15. Moore’s FBI file contains documents stretching from 1941 to 1975, including FBI notes about UAEW meetings and finances. For more information, see AUDLEY MOORE, BUREAU FILE, 100-61122.

³⁸Erik S. McDuffie, “A ‘New Freedom Movement For Negro Women’: Sojourning for Truth, Justice, and Human Rights during the Early Cold War,” *Radical History Review* 101 (Spring 2008): 82.

³⁹“Digest of Proceedings—Sojourners for Truth and Justice, Washington DC—September 29–October 1, 1951,” box 12, folder 17; “Our Cup Runneth Over;” “5,000 Negro Women Wanted,” box 12, folder 18, Louise Thompson Patterson Papers, Stuart R. Rose Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA (hereafter LTP Papers).

⁴⁰“List of Summary Statements from Delegates,” box 13, folder 1; Louise Thompson Patterson, “Interview Regarding the Sojourners for Truth and Justice,” March 16, 1988, box 27, folder 31, LTP Papers; Erik S. McDuffie, “A New Freedom Movement,” 87–88.

⁴¹Memo from SAC (Special Agent in Charge), New York to Director, FBI—1/31/55. AUDLEY MOORE, BUREAU FILE, 100-61122.

⁴²“Judge Orders Inventory of Moore Estate,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 20 August 1955, 1; “Succession in Moore Estate Awarded to Kin,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 4 February 1956, 1.

⁴³Michael Shane Firven, Jr., “From Paternalism to Black Power: Civil Rights, the Black Panther Party, and the Evolution of Black Leadership in New Orleans, Louisiana,” Ph.D. diss., Howard University, 2008, 68.

⁴⁴Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915–1972* (Athens, GA, 1995), 73; Leonard N. Moore, *Black Rage in New Orleans: Police Brutality and African American Activism from World War II to Hurricane Katrina* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2010), 28–29.

⁴⁵Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 106. Joseph A. Pete and David L. May were elected to the Crowley Town Council in Acadia Parish in the summer of 1954.

⁴⁶“Negro Vote Surpasses 150,000 Mark,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 14 January 1956, 1; Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 106.

⁴⁷Rachel L. Emanuel and Alexander P. Tureaud, Jr., *A More Noble Cause: A. P. Tureaud and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Louisiana: A Personal Biography* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2011), 132–6.

⁴⁸Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 154–5.

⁴⁹“Suit to Ban NAACP to be Heard Thursday,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 31 March 1956, 1; “Defers Action on NAACP Suit,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 7 April 1956, 1; “Judge Puts NAACP Out of Business in State,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 28 April 1956, 1.

⁵⁰Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 196.

⁵¹“Plans Mass Purge of Negro Voters in La.,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 22 December 1956, 1; “NAACP Loses Another Round in Louisiana Fight for Its Life,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 14 April 1956, 1; Gregory Lamont Bosworth, “Black New Orleans, 1955–1985: The Rise of a Southern Black Metropolis Out of the Ashes of Jim Crow,” Ph.D. diss., Howard University, 2009, 75.

⁵²“Urban League Booted out of Agency,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 25 May 1957, 1; “The Evidence is Quite Clear,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 26 May 1956, 1.

⁵³Harold, *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement*, 59.

⁵⁴Articles that detailed the activism of the Sons and Daughters of Ethiopia listed Moore as a “committee chair”;

- "Michel in Last Ditch Fight to Escape Chair," *Louisiana Weekly*, 1 June 1957, 1.
- ⁵⁵"Ethiopian Women Seek Funds for Confab," *Louisiana Weekly*, 16 August 1958, 3.
- ⁵⁶"Women's Group Seeks to Save 2 from 'Hot Seat,'" *Louisiana Weekly*, 14 September 1957, 1.
- ⁵⁷"Ethiopian Women Seek Funds for Confab," *Louisiana Weekly*, 16 August 1958, 3.
- ⁵⁸*Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹"Michel in Last Ditch Fight to Escape Chair," *Louisiana Weekly*, 1 July 1957, 1.
- ⁶⁰"Appeal to U.N. to Stop Race Violence," *Louisiana Weekly*, 9 May 1959, 1; "Urges Mass Appeal to Save 'Accused' Rapist," *Louisiana Weekly*, 2 April 1960, 1.
- ⁶¹"New Lease on Life Granted by U.S. Judge," *Louisiana Weekly*, 11 March 1961, 1; "The People Speak: Appeal for Mercy," *Chicago Defender*, 11 March 1961, 10; "Raise Funds for Mardi Gras Slayer," *Louisiana Weekly*, 18 March 1961, 1; "Grant Jenkins New Stay of Execution," *Louisiana Weekly*, 8 April 1961, 1; "Jenkins Ruled Insane, Saved from 'Hot Seat,'" *Louisiana Weekly*, 6 May 1961, 1.
- ⁶²"Insufficient Evidence is Reply to Negro Girl's Charge," *Louisiana Weekly*, 12 July 1958, 1. For more on how African American women in New Orleans fought back against interracial sexual violence, see, LaKisha Michelle Simmons, *Crescent City Girls: the Lives of Young Black Women in Segregated New Orleans* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2015).
- ⁶³"Freeing of Rape Suspect Hit by Clergy," *Louisiana Weekly*, 19 July 1958, 1.
- ⁶⁴"Protest Freeing of Rape Suspect to the FBI," *Louisiana Weekly*, 16 August 1958, 8.
- ⁶⁵Danielle L. McGuire, *Dark at the End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance: A New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power* (New York: 2010), 28.
- ⁶⁶"Ask Gov. Long to Review One Sided Rape Convictions," *Louisiana Weekly*, 17 August 1957, 3.
- ⁶⁷"Ethiopian Women to Make Public Report," *Louisiana Weekly*, 21 March 1959, 1; "Takes More than Prayer," *Afro-American*, 21 March 1959, 20.
- ⁶⁸"Appeal to UN to Stop Racial Violence," *Louisiana Weekly*, 9 May 1959, 1.
- ⁶⁹As a member of the CPUSA and the Civil Rights Congress, Moore participated in CP and Popular Front protests that appealed to international audiences and governing bodies to address the American government's denial of African American rights. She also worked with William Patterson, who headed the 1952 Petition to the UN entitled *We Charge Genocide*, one of the most vivid accounts of American racism written during this period.
- ⁷⁰Joel William Friedman, *Champion of Civil Rights: Judge John Minor Wisdom* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2009), 112–113.
- ⁷¹"Call Mass Meet to Discuss 'One Sided' Rape Law in La.," *Louisiana Weekly*, 29 June 1957, 1.
- ⁷²"Women's Group Seeks to Save 2 from 'Hot Seat,'" *Louisiana Weekly*, 14 September 1957, 1.
- ⁷³"Two L.A. Negroes Set Record on Death Row," *Jet*, 8 July 1965, 50–51.
- ⁷⁴"New Evidence May Save 2 from Electric Chair," *Louisiana Weekly*, 21 September 1957, 1.
- ⁷⁵"Press Efforts to Save 2 From Chair," *Louisiana Weekly*, 28 September 1957, 1; Friedman, *Champion of Civil Rights*, 114.
- ⁷⁶"Poret, Labat Win New Stay of Execution," *Louisiana Weekly*, 5 October 1957, 1; "Labat Comm. 'Clarifies' Fund Raising," *Louisiana Weekly*, 12 October 1957, 1.
- ⁷⁷"Dissolve Ed. Labat Committee," *Louisiana Weekly*, 2 November 1957, 1.
- ⁷⁸"A Miracle," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 October 2007; "In the Shadow of the Chair," *Time*, 26 August 1966, 80.
- ⁷⁹"A Norwegian Newspaper Asks Clemency for Negro," *New York Times*, 5 December 1965, 26.
- ⁸⁰"Problem for LBJ," *Afro-American*, 10 October 1964, 4.
- ⁸¹"2 Battling for Life After 7 Years on La. 'Death Row,'" *Louisiana Weekly*, 9 July 1960, 1.
- ⁸²"Negroes Cheat Death Row, Swedish Woman Happy," *Jet*, 1 September 1966, 49.
- ⁸³The Fifth Circuit Court awarded both men a new trial in 1966 on the grounds that prosecutors excluded African Americans from the original trial jury. The state released both men by early 1967 and then immediately re-indicted them on the original rape charges. They were tried, convicted, and pled guilty to receive the sentence equal to the time they had already served. "Louisianan, Freed from 'Death Row,' Is Arrested Again," *New York Times*, 6 May 1967, 19; "Another Trial Set for Labat, Poret," *Afro-American*, 14 October 1967, 16; "2 Convicts Freed after 14 years on Death Row," *New York Times*, 30 December 1969, 14.
- ⁸⁴"Women's Group Seeks to Save 2 from 'Hot Seat,'" *Louisiana Weekly*, 14 September 1957, 1.
- ⁸⁵"Appeal to U.N. to Stop Race Violence," *Louisiana Weekly*, 9 May 1959, 1.
- ⁸⁶"Terrorized by Bigots Bullets in Tennessee," *Louisiana Weekly*, 14 January 1961, 1.
- ⁸⁷Terese Lawinski, *Living on the Edge of Suburbia: From Welfare to Workfare* (Nashville, TN, 2010), 23–26.

- ⁸⁸“23,000 Children Cut off La. Welfare Roll,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 13 August, 1969, 3; Kenneth J. Neubeck and Noel A. Cazenave, *Welfare Racism: Playing the Race Card Against America’s Poor* (New York, 2001), 72; Kent B. Germany, *New Orleans After the Promises: Poverty, Citizenship, and the Search for the Great Society* (Athens, GA, 2007), 220.
- ⁸⁹“Ethiopian Women Make Plea for Hungry Children,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 27 August 1960, 3.
- ⁹⁰“Appeal to U.S. Agency, Red Cross to Aid Hungry Babies,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 3 September 1960, 1.
- ⁹¹*Ibid.*
- ⁹²“Ethiopian Women Group Founder Makes a Speech,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 6 December 1960, 2; “Buffalo Group Joins ‘Starving Babies’ Fite,” *Afro-American*, 3 December 1960, 12.
- ⁹³Abner Berry, “On the Way,” *Daily Worker*, 3 December 1957, 2.
- ⁹⁴Germany, *New Orleans After the Promises*, 229; Taryn Lindhorst and Leslie Leighninger, “‘Ending Welfare as We Know It’ in 1960: Louisiana’s Suitable Home Law” *Social Service Review* 77 (December 2013): 564–584. “We Are Our Brothers’ Keepers,” box 2, folder 4, Mae Mallory Papers, Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI.
- ⁹⁵“Charges Gov. Davis Welfare Aid Remarks ‘Irresponsible,’” *Louisiana Weekly*, 1 October 1960, 1, 7.
- ⁹⁶*Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷Lawinski, *Living on the Edge of Suburbia*, 25; McDuffie, “The March of Young Southern Black Women,” McDuffie, “A ‘New Freedom Movement for Negro Women.’”
- ⁹⁸McDuffie, “‘I Wanted a Communist Philosophy,’” 187.
- ⁹⁹Collins, oral history interview transcript, 1979; “*The Black Scholar* Interviews: Queen Mother Moore,” 51.
- ¹⁰⁰Mary Frances Berry, *My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York, 2005), 237; James M. Davidson, “Encountering the Ex-Slave Reparations Movement from the Grave: The National Industrial Council and National Liberty Party, 1901–1907,” *Journal of African American History* 97 (Winter–Spring 2012): 13–38.
- ¹⁰¹“*The Black Scholar* Interviews: Queen Mother Moore,” 51.
- ¹⁰²“JFK to Be Given Chance to Finish Lincoln’s Work,” *Afro-American*, 27 January 1962, 5.
- ¹⁰³“Rabbi Starts Reparations Campaign,” *Herald-Dispatch*, 4 July 1962, 10.
- ¹⁰⁴McDuffie, “‘I Wanted a Communist Philosophy,’” 187; Audley A. Moore, *Why Reparations? Reparations is the Battle Cry for the Economic and Social Freedom of More than 25 Million Descendants of American Slaves* (Los Angeles, CA, 1963), 1963.
- ¹⁰⁵“Lincoln Compensated Slaveholders, but Ignored Slaves,” *Herald-Dispatch*, 12 April 1962, 1; “Afros Demand Reparations,” *Herald Dispatch*, 7 April 1962, 10.
- ¹⁰⁶Moore, “*Why Reparations?*,” 11.
- ¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 4; Collins, oral history interview transcript, 1979.
- ¹⁰⁸Moore, *Why Reparations?*, 6.
- ¹⁰⁹For more on the intersection of sexual abuse and gender in reparations claims, see Carolyn Benson, “Further Trouble for Unsettled Waters: Attention to Gender in the Debate on Black Reparations,” in *Reparations: Interdisciplinary Inquiries* ed. Jon Miller and Rahul Kumar (New York, 2007), 130–52.
- ¹¹⁰“62 Last Year Afros May Apply for 5,000 Indemnity,” *Herald-Dispatch*, 4 July 1962, 10.
- ¹¹¹Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, “Draft Resolution for the Establishment of an Independent Black Republic” reprinted in report from SAC J. Woodrow Gilmore to Philadelphia Office, Re: Audley Moore, 2 July 1962.
- ¹¹²“Orleanian Named VP of Republic of New Africa,” *Louisiana Weekly*, 19 April 1969, 1; Muhammad Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind: Black Radical Organizations, 1960–1975* (Chicago, IL, 2008), 10; Donald Cunnigen, “Bringing the Revolution Down Home: The Republic of New Africa in Mississippi,” *Sociological Spectrum* 19:1 (1999): 63–92.
- ¹¹³Elaine Allen Lechtreck, “‘We Are Demanding \$500 Million for Reparations’: The Black Manifesto, Mainline Religious Denominations, and Black Economic Development,” *Journal of African American History* 97 (Winter–Spring 2012): 39–71.
- ¹¹⁴Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 108; Republic of New Africa, “New African Ujamaa: the Economics of the Republic of New Africa,” Joseph A. Labadie Collection, Hatcher Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
- ¹¹⁵The UAEW continued their activities sporadically throughout the 1960s. In 1969, members protested the Zulu, a New Orleans group that organizes the African American parade during Mardi Gras. Calling on the organization

to stop “slandering the image of black people,” UAEW members organized a petition to end the Zulu parade. They demanded that local residents outlaw the parade and “discard immediately all semblances of ‘[N]egro’ slave ideology, as manifested in their past Mardi Gras parades.” Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, “Petition,” 8 February 1969, UAEW Vertical File, Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans, LA; Reid Mitchell, *All on Mardi Gras Day: Episodes in the History of New Orleans Carnival* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 190.

¹¹⁶Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*, 88–89.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹¹⁸Clenora Hudson-Weems, *Africana Womanism: Reclaiming Ourselves* (Troy, MI, 2004).

¹¹⁹Robin D. G. Kelly, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York, 1996), 112.