

Notes

A Preface: Element

- 1 Katherine McKittrick, "Mathematics Black Life," *The Black Scholar* 44, no. 2 (summer 2014): 17.
- 2 Theodore Witcher, dir., *Love Jones* (New Line Cinema, 1997).
- 3 Quoted in Lindsey R. Swindall, *The Politics of Paul Robeson's Othello* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 158.
- 4 Santiago Alvarez, "Music of the Elements," *New Journal of Chemistry* 32, no. 4 (April 2008): 579.
- 5 James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson, eds., *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals* (New York: Viking, 1926), 12–13.
- 6 Quoted in Freedomways, ed., *Paul Robeson: The Great Forerunner* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978), 224.
- 7 Ossie Davis, "To Paul Robeson, Pt. 1," *Freedomways* 11, no. 1 (1st qtr., 1971), 101.
- 8 Freedomways, *Paul Robeson*, 244, 246, 247.
- 9 Pablo Neruda, "Oda a Paul Robeson," from *Nurevas odas elementales* (Buenos Aires: Pablo Neruda and Fundación Pablo Neruda, 1956); Pablo Neruda, "Ode to Paul Robeson," trans. Jill Booty, in *Paul Robeson: The Great Forerunner*, ed. Freedomways (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978), 244.
- 10 Saidiya Hartman, "The Time of Slavery," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (2002): 759.

- 11 Benny Green, “Paul Robeson,” Harold Holt Ltd. Souvenir Programme, ca. 1960, emphasis added, Hywel Francis Papers, South Wales Miners’ Library, Swansea University.
- 12 Solange Knowles, “Weary,” *A Seat at the Table* (Saint/Columbia, BO1LXDJFG1, 2016), track 2. Critiques of charismatic leadership have proven fundamental to the field of Black studies; two formative examples include Cedric Robinson, *The Terms of Order: Political Science and the Myth of Leadership* (1980; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); and Erica R. Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012). Feminist critiques of great-man histories abound, but I am particularly attuned to the Black feminist intervention of Hazel Carby, *Race Men* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000) as well as the work of Black women historians, including Dayo Gore, *Radicalism at the Crossroads: African American Women Activists in the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); and Ula Taylor, *The Promise of Patriarchy: Women and the Nation of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).
- 13 Davis, “To Paul Robeson, Pt. I,” 100.
- 14 Shana L. Redmond, *Anthem: Social Movements and the Sound of Solidarity in the African Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).
- 15 Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon, 2002), 4.
- 16 My effort to announce Robeson’s almost unbelievable presence and ability is not the only one of recent. In 2019 his granddaughter Susan Robeson published a children’s book, which begins, “Daddy always said it takes a man of peace to stop a war. And that’s just what my Grandpa Paul did. He stopped a war.” Susan Robeson, *Grandpa Stops a War: A Paul Robeson Story* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2019), 5. Her statement sounds fantastic, and may be interpreted as hyperbolic, but her claim is not untrue; the hostilities of which she writes—the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939)—paused at the moment of his singing in 1938 as soldiers laid down arms to listen.

An Introduction: Vibration

- 1 This request is theorized by Avery Gordon as part of the work of haunting. Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xvi.
- 2 Peter Dreier, “We Are Long Overdue for a Paul Robeson Revival,” *Los An-*

- ges *Times Review of Books*, May 8, 2014, <https://lareviewofbooks.org/essay/long-overdue-paul-robeson-revival-talented-person-20th-century/>.
- 3 J. P. Den Hartog, *Mechanical Vibrations* (1934; reprint, New York: Dover, 2013), 1, emphasis added.
 - 4 Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon, 2002), 8.
 - 5 Nina Sun Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound: Singing and Listening as Vibrational Practice* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 25.
 - 6 Joseph Dorinson and William Pencack, eds., *Paul Robeson: Essays on His Life and Legacy* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004), 192.
 - 7 Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 3.
 - 8 Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Vol. II* (1944; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2009), 734.
 - 9 Roland Hayes, *My Favorite Spirituals: 30 Songs for Voice and Piano* (1948; reprint, New York: Dover, 2012), 10.
 - 10 “Paul Robeson and ‘March of the Volunteers,’” CriEnglish.com, April 21, 2008, <http://english.cri.cn/4406/2008/04/18/1441@347656.htm>.
 - 11 Quoted in Jordan Goodman, *Paul Robeson: A Watched Man* (London: Verso, 2013), 6; for more detail on the dedication and role, see chapter 3 of Shana L. Redmond, *Anthem: Social Movements and the Sound of Solidarity in the African Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).
 - 12 Quoted in Frances Peters-Little, Ann Curthoys, and John Docker, eds., *Passionate Histories: Myth, Memory and Indigenous Australia* (Canberra: Australia National University Press, 2010), 171.
 - 13 The song “Joe Hill,” from which these lyrics derive, was a standard within Robeson’s repertoire. Earl Robinson and Alfred Hayes, “Joe Hill” (1936).
 - 14 Ashon T. Crawley, *Blackpentecostal Breath: The Aesthetics of Possibility* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 2.
 - 15 Joshua Chambers-Letson, *After the Party: A Manifesto for Queer of Color Life* (New York: New York University Press, 2019), xxxii.
 - 16 Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 2.
 - 17 Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods, “‘No One Knows the Mysteries at the Bottom of the Ocean,’” in *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, ed. Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods (Cambridge, MA: South End, 2007), 4.
 - 18 For example, radical Trinidadian intellectual and author C. L. R. James described Robeson in 1970 as “an unusual man.” He said, “I’ve met a lot of people you know, a lot of people in many parts of the world and he remains, in my life, the most distinguished and remarkable of them all.” C. L. R. James, interview with Sterling Stuckey, summer 1970, quoted in Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (1987; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 465n119.
 - 19 Walter White, “Paul Robeson: Right or Wrong,” *Negro Digest* (March 1950):

- 18, 15, 14. In his 1967 volume *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, Cruse argued that Robeson “turned out to be neither very independent nor much of a leader, in terms of political astuteness and imagination. This may sound paradoxical to many in view of Robeson’s great personal magnetism. But a close examination of his views shows that he was not at all an original thinker.” Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: From Its Origins to the Present* (New York: William Morrow, 1967), 227. (The views of the U.S. State Department are detailed throughout this project.)
- 20 Nikki Giovanni, *The Collected Poetry of Nikki Giovanni, 1968–1998* (2003; reprint, New York: Harper Perennial, 2007), 115. Used by permission of the author.
- 21 Katherine Meizel, “A Powerful Voice: Investigating Vocality and Identity,” *Voice and Speech Review* 7, no. 1 (2011): 267, emphasis in original.
- 22 Saidiya Hartman, “Venus in Two Acts,” *Small Axe* 26 (June 2008): 13.

One. Hologram

- 1 Don Roy King, dir., *Saturday Night Live*, “Dead Bopz,” aired May 7, 2016, on NBC.
- 2 Critics and listeners alike often make note of the generational gap/difference between Black musics/musicians and those of another era by arguing that prior forms and performers were better—more political, creative, or even talented—than those of the present, making for a continued and irresolvable cleavage within Black music’s long genealogy. I offer no solution to this time-worn debate but suggest it here as a contributing factor in the ridiculous ventriloquism of the *Saturday Night Live* “Dead Bopz” sketch. This issue was raised thanks to and in conversation with Anthony Jerry.
- 3 King, *Saturday Night Live*, “Dead Bopz,” emphasis added.
- 4 Elliott Pearson, “Sonic Reducer,” *Weekly Alibi* 24, no. 13 (2015), <http://alibi.com/music/48728/Sonic-Reducer-Micro-reviews-of-Drake-and-Chief-Ke.html>.
- 5 “Final Draft Script,” Carnegie Hall Concert, November 21, 1998, Hywel Francis Papers, box 1, South Wales Miners’ Library, Swansea University.
- 6 Jason Stanyek and Benjamin Piekut, “Deadness: Technologies of the Inter-mundane,” *TDR* 54, no. 1 (spring 2010): 14.
- 7 Stanyek and Piekut, “Deadness,” 18.
- 8 Philip S. Foner, ed., *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918–1974* (New York: Citadel, 1978), 143, 230.
- 9 Beah Richards, excerpt from “Paul Robeson Speaks for Me” (1951), Paul and Eslanda Robeson Collection, 1907–1988, Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, DC. Used by permission of Sherry Green Fisher, director of the Beah Richards Estate.

- 10 See Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
- 11 Alexander G. Weheliye, *Phonographies: Grooves in Sonic Afro-Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 38.
- 12 *New York Evening Post*, January 26, 1926, Lawrence Brown Papers, reel 8, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.
- 13 For a thorough reading of this practice, see Nina Sun Eidsheim, *The Race of Sound: Listening, Timbre, and Vocality in African American Music* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019).
- 14 Arnold H. Lubasch, *Robeson: An American Ballad* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2012), 32.
- 15 Lubasch, *Robeson*, 34, emphasis added.
- 16 Fritz Winckel, *Music, Sound and Sensation: A Modern Exposition*, trans. Thomas Binkley (New York: Dover, 1967), 4–5.
- 17 Wayne Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality, and the Mystery of Desire* (New York: Poseidon, 1993), 42.
- 18 Eidsheim, *The Race of Sound*, 9, 24.
- 19 Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat*, 43.
- 20 Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference*, 2nd ed. (Cleveland: World, 1956), 12.
- 21 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, ed., *Asia-Africa Speak from Bandung* (Djakarta, 1955), 168, http://franke.uchicago.edu/Final_Communique_Bandung_1955.pdf.
- 22 Paul Robeson, untitled speech to Bandung Conference (1955), p. 2, Paul Robeson Papers, reel 7, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, emphasis in original.
- 23 See Shana L. Redmond, *Anthem: Social Movements and the Sound of Solidarity in the African Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).
- 24 Tony Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex: Race, Madness, Activism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 2.
- 25 Weheliye, *Phonographies*, 7, 13.
- 26 Mark D. Katz, *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 14.
- 27 Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 11.
- 28 Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, xxvi.
- 29 Pamela L. Caughie, "Audible Identities: Passing and Sound Technologies," *Humanities Research* 16, no. 1 (2010): 94; Weheliye, *Phonographies*, 20.
- 30 Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2008), xv.
- 31 Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat*, 177.
- 32 Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex*, 55.
- 33 It is worth noting that the type of objecthood brilliantly argued for by perfor-

- mance scholar Uri McMillan is, again, a different enterprise than that pursued by Robeson, who did not adopt a persona and was vigilant in detailing the consistent character of his ideas and beliefs. See Uri McMillan, *Embodied Avatars: Genealogies of Black Feminist Art and Performance* (New York: New York University Press, 2015).
- 34 In his canonical text, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Martinican intellectual Fanon discusses his objectification as a Black colonial body, saying, “The Other fixes me with his gaze, his gestures and attitude, the same way you fix a preparation with a dye. I lose my temper. . . . Nothing doing. I explode. Here are the fragments put together by another me.” Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (1952; reprint, New York: Grove, 2008), 89.
- 35 Far East Reporter, *Bandung: Texts of Selected Speeches and Final Communique of the Asian-African Conference* (New York: Far East Reporter, 1955), 7.
- 36 Ashon T. Crawley, *Blackpentecostal Breath: The Aesthetics of Possibility* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 21.
- 37 Paul Robeson, “Greetings to Bandung” (1955), *ChickenBones*, accessed June 23, 2018, <http://www.nathanielturner.com/paulrobesonandbandung.htm>.
- 38 Sean F. Johnston, *Holographic Visions: A History of New Science* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), viii.
- 39 Weheliye, *Phonographies*, 41, emphasis in original.
- 40 Hazel V. Carby, *Race Men* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 49.
- 41 Telecommunications History Group, “Calling a Country Far Far Away: How Long Distance Calls Work,” *Virtual Museum*, accessed October 16, 2016, <http://www.telcomhistory.org/vm/scienceLongDistance.shtml>.
- 42 Telecommunications History Group, “How Phones Work: The Basic Science Behind Telephony,” *Virtual Museum*, accessed October 16, 2016, <http://www.telcomhistory.org/vm/sciencePhonesWork.shtml>.
- 43 Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand* (1958; reprint, Boston: Beacon, 1988), 65–66.
- 44 There is a common story in Britain about Robeson’s encounter with Welsh miners on the streets of London in 1928. After being locked out of their mine, the workers walked in protest to the metropole to air their grievances and cause. There they found Paul outside of the Drury Lane Theatre, where he was staging *Show Boat*. As the story goes, he was so moved by their stories that he staged an impromptu concert for them, right then and there, and sent them back to Wales via train at his expense. Upon their arrival, they received clothing and food donated by Paul and the other artists and intellectuals that he had rallied on their behalf. While it is told by Paul Robeson Jr. and other historians of the NUM, Mark Exton notes in his thesis that there is no document to support this event, as fantastic (and possible) a story as it is. Mark A. Exton, “Paul Robeson and South Wales: A Partial Guide to a Man’s Beliefs” (MA thesis, University of Exeter, 1984), South Wales Miners’ Library, Swansea University.

- 45 Due to the decline and swift end of the Welsh mining industry in the late 1980s, the miners' eisteddfod no longer takes place.
- 46 Bill Moyers, "The Songs Are Free with Bernice Johnson Reagon," *Moyers and Company*, February 6, 1991, <http://billmoyers.com/content/songs-free/>.
- 47 Paul Robeson, "Greetings from New York," in *Paul Robeson Sings 20 of His Favourite Songs and the TransAtlantic Exchange Concert (1954/1957; Sain SCD 2574, Wales, 2007)*, track 23.
- 48 James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson, eds., *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals* (New York: Viking, 1926), 18.
- 49 British Film Institute, "The Proud Valley (1940)," *Monthly Film Bulletin* 7, no. 73 (January 1940), <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/media/mfb/974551/index.html>.
- 50 Quoted in Robeson, *Here I Stand*, 56.
- 51 Robeson, *Paul Robeson Sings 20 of His Favourite Songs*, track 31.
- 52 Johnson and Johnson, *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals*, 18.
- 53 Robeson, untitled speech to Bandung Conference, 3.
- 54 John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Dimensions of the Struggle against Apartheid: A Tribute to Paul Robeson* (New York: African Heritage Studies Association, 1978), 12.
- 55 Henglei Hologram, "History of Hologram," accessed September 19, 2014, http://hlhologram.com/History_of_hologram.html.
- 56 Gary Gautier, "Slavery and the Fashioning of Race in 'Oroonoko,' 'Robinson Crusoe,' and 'Equiano's Life,'" *Eighteenth Century* 42, no. 2 (summer 2001): 162.
- 57 Clarke, *Dimensions of the Struggle against Apartheid*, vii.
- 58 See, for example, Redmond, *Anthem*, chapter 6.
- 59 Clarke, *Dimensions of the Struggle against Apartheid*, x, 1, 3.
- 60 Clarke, *Dimensions of the Struggle against Apartheid*, 33.
- 61 "History of Holography," Holography Virtual Gallery, accessed September 19, 2014, <http://www.holography.ru/histeng.htm>.
- 62 Quoted in Lindsey R. Swindall, *The Politics of Paul Robeson's Othello* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 158.
- 63 Clarke, *Dimensions of the Struggle against Apartheid*, 4.
- 64 Foner, *Paul Robeson Speaks*, 438, 439.
- 65 Clarke, *Dimensions of the Struggle against Apartheid*, 48, 51.
- 66 Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), viii.

Two. Play

- 1 The Gramophone Co., Ltd., "His Master's Voice: Paul Robeson," ca. 1934, Hywel Francis Papers, South Wales Miners' Library, Swansea University.
- 2 Jeffrey Stewart, "Paul Robeson's Homecoming: An Historical Perspective,"

- in *Stories from the Paul Robeson House: Lives Touched by a Renaissance Man*, ed. Paul Robeson House (Philadelphia: West Philadelphia Cultural Alliance, 2009), 30–31.
- 3 Paul Robeson House, ed., *Stories from the Paul Robeson House: Lives Touched by a Renaissance Man* (Philadelphia: West Philadelphia Cultural Alliance, 2009), 39.
 - 4 Ollie Harrington, “Our Beloved Pauli,” *Freedomways* 11, no. 1 (1st qtr., 1971): 63, emphasis in original.
 - 5 M. J. Ellis, *Why People Play* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 9.
 - 6 Brian Sutton-Smith, *The Ambiguity of Play* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 3.
 - 7 Sutton-Smith, *The Ambiguity of Play*, 4, emphasis added.
 - 8 Ellis, *Why People Play*, 1.
 - 9 Sutton-Smith, *The Ambiguity of Play*, 10, 90.
 - 10 Ben Carrington, *Race, Sport and Politics: The Sporting Black Diaspora* (London: Sage, 2010), 65, 2, 3.
 - 11 Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand* (1958; reprint, Boston: Beacon, 1988), 16.
 - 12 Harry Edwards, “Paul Robeson: His Political Legacy to the Twentieth-Century Gladiator,” in *Paul Robeson: The Great Forerunner*, ed. Freedomways (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978), 18.
 - 13 Eslanda Goode Robeson, *Paul Robeson, Negro* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1930), 24.
 - 14 Robeson, *Here I Stand*, 20.
 - 15 Goode Robeson, *Paul Robeson, Negro*, 177, 176; quoted in Edwards, “Paul Robeson,” 19.
 - 16 Ellis, *Why People Play*, 2.
 - 17 Robeson, *Here I Stand*, 22.
 - 18 Edwards, “Paul Robeson,” 22.
 - 19 Jackie Robinson, *I Never Had It Made: An Autobiography* (Hopewell, NJ: Ecco Press, 1995), 25, 28.
 - 20 Robinson, *I Never Had It Made*, 33.
 - 21 Robinson, *I Never Had It Made*, 34.
 - 22 Quoted in Ed Schmidt, *Mr. Rickey Calls a Meeting* (New York: Samuel French, 1994), v.
 - 23 Schmidt, *Mr. Rickey Calls a Meeting*, 5.
 - 24 Sutton-Smith, *The Ambiguity of Play*, 89.
 - 25 Daniel A. Gilbert, *Expanding the Strike Zone: Baseball in the Age of Free Agency* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 2.
 - 26 *Mr. Rickey Calls a Meeting*, by Ed Schmidt, dir. Sheldon Epps, New Brunswick, NJ: George Street Playhouse, 1994, Billy Rose Theatre Division, Theatre on Film and Tape archive, New York Public Library.
 - 27 Schmidt, *Mr. Rickey Calls a Meeting*, 14.
 - 28 Robinson, *I Never Had It Made*, 33.

- 29 Schmidt, *Mr. Rickey Calls a Meeting*, 14.
- 30 *Mr. Rickey Calls a Meeting*, dir. Epps.
- 31 Prudence Cumberbatch, Dayo Gore, and Sarah Haley, "Guest Editor's Note," *Souls* 18, no. 1 (January–March 2016): 2.
- 32 Schmidt, *Mr. Rickey Calls a Meeting*, 27.
- 33 Schmidt, *Mr. Rickey Calls a Meeting*, 27.
- 34 Schmidt, *Mr. Rickey Calls a Meeting*, 39.
- 35 Tony Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex: Race, Madness, Activism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 12.
- 36 David M. Durant, "Jackie Robinson Testifies before HUAC," Cold War and Internal Security (CWIS) Collection, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University, April 21, 2013, <http://blog.ecu.edu/sites/cwis/2013/04/jackie-robinson-testifies-before-huac/>.
- 37 Robinson, *I Never Had It Made*, 85–86.
- 38 "Let's Not Be Divided," in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, and Interviews*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Citadel, 2002), 219.
- 39 American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning, "'You Are the Un-Americans and You Ought to Be Ashamed of Yourself': Paul Robeson Appears before HUAC," History Matters online course, George Mason University, accessed July 2, 2017, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6440/>.
- 40 Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex*, 2, 18.
- 41 Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex*, 20.
- 42 Quoted in Goode Robeson, *Paul Robeson, Negro*, 83.
- 43 Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex*, 11.
- 44 Michelle Ann Stephens, *Black Empire: The Masculine Global Imaginary of Caribbean Intellectuals in the United States, 1914–1962* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 83.
- 45 Sheet music, Lawrence Brown Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.
- 46 For more on Coleridge-Taylor and Dunbar, see Tsitsi Jaji, "Art Song Poetics: Performing Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's Setting of Paul L. Dunbar's 'A Corn Song,'" *J19: A Journal of Nineteenth Century Americanists* 1, no. 1 (spring 2013): 201–6.
- 47 American Social History Project, "You Are the Un-Americans."
- 48 Kevin Quashie, *The Sovereignty of Quiet: Beyond Resistance in Black Culture* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 6.
- 49 Quoted in Goode Robeson, *Paul Robeson, Negro*, 85.
- 50 It is worth noting that his career did not end with a lesser version of himself behind the microphone. He retired before his aging and ill body betrayed his voice, making for a lasting public memory of him as always healthy and robustly defiant.
- 51 For more on the song and its history, see Shana L. Redmond, *Anthem: Social*

- Movements and the Sound of Solidarity in the African Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2014); and Todd Decker, *Who Should Sing “Ol’ Man River”?* *The Lives of an American Song* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- 52 Quoted in Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (1987; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 393.
- 53 See Joshua Chambers-Letson, *After the Party: A Manifesto for Queer of Color Life* (New York: New York University Press, 2019).
- 54 Tayo Aluko, *Call Mr. Robeson: A Life, with Songs* (Portsmouth, UK: Playdead Press, 2013), 50.
- 55 Aluko, *Call Mr. Robeson*, 62.
- 56 The world premiere of the play was staged at Macauley Theatre in Louisville, Kentucky, in September 1977 and continued to tour in the Midwest and northeastern U.S. until February 1978.
- 57 Phillip Hayes Dean, *Paul Robeson* (Garden City, NY: Nelson Doubleday, 1978), 3.
- 58 Ewart Guinier, “The Paul Robeson That I Knew,” *Bay State Banner*, October 18, 1977, Paul and Eslanda Robeson Collection, Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, DC (hereafter the Paul and Eslanda Robeson Collection is cited as Robeson-HU).
- 59 Patricia Caple, “Dean’s Play *Paul Robeson* Betrays a Man: Review,” *Encore: The Magazine of the Theatre*, April 1978, 18, Robeson-HU.
- 60 Dean, *Paul Robeson*, 4. Further citations are given by page number in the text.
- 61 Goode Robeson, *Paul Robeson, Negro*, 123, 129.
- 62 This mention of Desdemona may serve as a synecdoche for white women. Robeson was known to have extramarital affairs, sometimes with white women, including his *Othello* costars Peggy Ashcroft and Uta Hagen, both of whom played Desdemona. If true, this would also be a tie to other famous Black (ex)athletes, such as Jack Johnson, who were often vilified (even criminally convicted) for their intimate relationships with white women. The representational collapse of the U.S. (through the Statue of Liberty) into white women, however, would have been entirely objectionable to Robeson, and this is part of the confusion and trouble of this passage in the play.
- 63 Sterling Stuckey, “‘I Want to Be African’: Paul Robeson and the Ends of Nationalist Theory and Practice, 1914–1945,” *Massachusetts Review* 17, no. 1 (spring 1976): 92–93, 87, 119.
- 64 Gerald Horne, *Paul Robeson: The Artist as Revolutionary* (London: Pluto, 2016), 148, 189.
- 65 Shana L. Redmond, “‘And You Know Who I Am’: Paul Robeson Sings America,” *Massachusetts Review* 57, no. 4 (winter 2016): 615–19.
- 66 Quoted in Horne, *Paul Robeson*, 183.

- 67 Quoted in National Ad Hoc Committee (in Formation) to End the Crimes against Paul Robeson, “Open Letter to the Entertainment Industry: A Statement of Conscience,” *Variety*, January 11, 1978, Robeson-HU.
- 68 Sam Washington, “The Assassination of Paul Robeson,” *News from Trans-Urban* (Brooklyn, NY), January 23, 1978, 3, Robeson-HU.
- 69 National Ad Hoc Committee, “Open Letter to the Entertainment Industry,” emphasis in original.
- 70 National Ad Hoc Committee, “Open Letter to the Entertainment Industry.”
- 71 National Ad Hoc Committee, “Open Letter to the Entertainment Industry.”
- 72 National Ad Hoc Committee to End the Crimes against Paul Robeson, “Some Facts about Paul Robeson, the Man, Vis-à-Vis the Stage Play,” pamphlet, n.d., 6, Robeson-HU.
- 73 Goode Robeson, *Paul Robeson, Negro*, 42.
- 74 National Ad Hoc Committee, “Some Facts,” 2, 7.
- 75 It is worth noting that my request for a staged Robeson who sings is a bit of a trap; his Voice is impossible to duplicate and would open the performer up to different, but equally stringent, standards. Having said that, the investment in the form—regardless of proximity to his style, tone, timbre—is the primary concern. The musical elision in these plays reveals a devastating indolence that forecloses the possibility of accuracy or invention.
- 76 Caple, “Dean’s Play,” 19.
- 77 Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex*, 7.
- 78 Goode Robeson, *Paul Robeson, Negro*, 33.

Three. Installation

- 1 B. A. Bergman, “Mystery of the Robeson Statue,” *Philadelphia (Sunday) Bulletin*, February 1976, Robeson-HU.
- 2 Michelle Ann Stephens, *Skin Acts: Race, Psychoanalysis, and the Black Male Performer* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 74.
- 3 Roberta Smith, “Antonio Salemme, 102, Painter and Sculptor of Robeson Nude,” *New York Times*, May 6, 1995, <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/05/06/obituaries/antonio-salemme-102-painter-and-sculptor-of-robesson-nude.html>.
- 4 Stephens, *Skin Acts*, 74.
- 5 Quoted in Elsa Barkley Brown, “African American Women’s Quilting,” *Signs* 14, no. 4 (1989): 923.
- 6 Gesture and affect are often referenced in the productions by and for Robeson, detailing how his reception generated intensive study by other artists who were captivated not simply by what he said but by how he said it.
- 7 Mark A. Exton, “Paul Robeson and South Wales: A Partial Guide to a Man’s Beliefs” (MA thesis, University of Exeter, 1984), South Wales Miners’ Library,

- Swansea University, Wales (hereafter the South Wales Miners' Library is cited as swML); Roberto González Echevarría, "Cien Años de Soledad: The Novel as Myth and Archive," *MLN* 99, no. 2 (March 1984): 359.
- 8 Exton, "Paul Robeson and South Wales," 83.
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A Continuation . . . : Frequency

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