Type the Power:

The Rise of the Black British Press from the Nottingham Race Riot to the Mangrove Nine Trial, c.1958-1971

Stephanie Ormond

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List of Abbreviations

WIG	*West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean News*
WIW	*West Indian World*

Introduction

From 1940 to 1958, modern media representation of Black Britons was mainly produced through radio series of the BBC's Colonial Service including *Calling the West Indies* followed by *Caribbean Voices* which catered to the Anglophone Caribbean population across both sides of the Atlantic and aimed to educate the British listeners. [1] When the Empire Windrush anchored at Tilbury Docks in June 1948, mainstream British media outlets like Pathé News circulated imagery of the beginnings of a global Britain. [2] One that categorised Caribbean immigrants' as deserving of their place in the 'mother country' since they were viewed as 'citizens of the British Empire who come with good intent'. [3] Furthermore, this idea was reinforced by the existence of the 1948 Nationality Act which legitimised this claim and further enhanced by arriving Caribbeans themselves whose conceptions of Britain had been informed through colonial education system. [4] Regardless, proximity to empire did not protect them from racism and when the summer race riots of 1958 occurred, the fleeting illusion of better opportunities, tolerance, and attempts to live as subjects of empire at its heart came to a violent end. Therefore, the need for Black Britons' perspectives to exist and be defended became even more crucial and hence, the development of the Black British press was invigorated to articulate their own viewpoints and perceived value within a society which now sought to reject them.

This dissertation will investigate the rise of the Black British press from the Nottingham race riot on August 23rd, 1958, to the Mangrove Nine trial which concluded by December 1971. By separating the discussion into three distinct chapters which each represent a

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[1] Anne Spry Rush, 'A Bridge Between: The BBC's Colonial Service', in *Bonds of Empire: West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization* (New York, 2011), pp.173-187

[2] Pathe Reporter Meets (1948). Pres. Alfred Hitchcock and John Parsons. Pathé News, London. (1948), via British Pathé on YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDH4IBeZF-M [Accessed March 1, 2023]

[3] Ibid.

[4] Peter Fryer, 'The settlers;', *Staying Power: the history of black people in Britain*, 3rd ed., (London,2018), pp.380-381

developmental phase of the modern Black British press, we will be able to sufficiently address the main research objectives. These objectives are as follows: where to locate the voice(s) of Black Britain in the Black British press, how individual periodicals applied the concept of the Black "local", the extent periodicals of the Black British press are useful historical documents, and how well the pioneers of the Black British press represented the wider Black British experience.

Considering the above, this paper's methodology mostly includes periodicals of the Black British press dated from late 1958 to 1971, newspapers of the mainstream British press, late twentieth to twenty-first century historiography, online articles, and digital media. For clarification, periodicals of the Black British press will refer to magazines and newspapers of varying political ideologies published by and for Britons of African and Caribbean heritage in communities across a changing landscape. Few monographs have been written on the history of the Black British Press with the most notable being Ionie Benjamin's 1995 work *The Black Press in Britain* which first addressed the dilemma of finding the Black voice within the Black British press. [5] Whilst many agree that the first exhibition of the Black voice in the press lay within the first major Black newspaper, *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean News* (*WIG*), some like Donald Hinds profess that the 'sole voice' of the Black British community was found there from 1958 to 1965. [6] Given the existence of other periodicals during this time, we will also be dismantling Hinds's perception to demonstrate the varied attempts of the Black British press and its pioneers to sufficiently showcase the Black voice of Britain as an act of anti-racist resistance across various political orientations.

Meanwhile, the notion of the Black "local" within the context of the Black press was first coined by Bill Schwarz as something the *WIG* brought into being but was never subsumed

[5] Ionie Benjamin, *The Black Press in Britain*, (London, 1995), pp.4-6
[6] Donald Hinds, The *West Indian Gazette:* Claudia Jones and the black press in Britain', *Race & Class,* 50:1. (2008), p.88; Benjamin, *The Black Press in Britain*, pp.41-44

by the wider world of anti-colonial and Civil Rights movements. [7] However, instead of using the term when describing the periodicals, we will instead use it to showcase how the Black press worked to present Black Britons as "local" to justify their claims to citizenship while simultaneously drifting from the ideas of adhering to notions of British suitability and total assimilation rooted in imperialist ideology.

Ultimately, this dissertation hopes to showcase that the rise of the Black British press was parallel to the drastic alteration of the socio-political position of Black people in Britain from that of subjects of empire to citizens in perpetual pursuit of recognition for their rights in a nation that had promised them under false pretences. Furthermore, by drawing on historiographical debates pertaining to the Black British voice and Black "local" we will also be able to evaluate the extent the Black British press represented Black Britons across the Isles. Including, whether the printed pages are fundamental to understanding Britain during the era of decolonisation, the Cold War, hostile immigration policies, Civil Rights, and Black Power.

[7] Bill Schwarz, ''Claudia Jones and the *West Indian Gazette':* Reflections on the Emergence of Post-colonial Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 14:3. (2003), pp.270-271

1958-1962: The Beginnings of the Modern Black British Press

The summer race riots of 1958 marked a watershed moment for Britain's Black community. Overshadowed due to its more infamous counterpart in Notting Hill, the race riots of Nottingham on August 23rd started due to a fight between two white men and one Black man within The Chase, a local pub in the working-class neighbourhood of St. Ann's. [8] The crowd arising from the initial incident eventually grew to about 4000 and after a car with a group of Caribbeans inside managed to escape the area with police assistance, the "Teddy Boys" and local white people eventually turned on each other having failed in their "n****r-hunting".[9] In turn, marking the start of another summer of dread in the twentieth century for Black Britons.

Whilst the local constabulary attributed the incident to excessive drinking, Ron Ramdin suggests this is highly unconvincing given the subsequent "n****r-baiting" incidents two weeks later where some homes of Black people were 'besieged' by another racist mob. [10] Furthermore, the mainstream British press were quick to deviate from the constabulary's judgement and portray the events of St. Ann's within an exclusively racialised lens. In the aftermath of Nottingham and Notting Hill, Adrian Bingham and Martin Conboy state that the riots raised the topic of immigration to the top of the political agenda with many newspapers associating immigrants with violence and trouble. [11] In a headline article published on the following Monday by the local *Nottingham Evening Post*, the riot the previous Saturday is described as 'one of Britain's most bitter and ugly black-versus-white battles' with policemen ordered to 'keep special watch' on the city's 'coloured colonies.' [12]. The emphasis placed on

[8] Ron Ramdin, *The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain*, (London, 1987), pp.185-186
[9] Ibid., p.186
[10] Ibid., p.186
[11] Adrian Bingham and Martin Conboy, 'Race and Nation', *Tabloid century: the popular press in Britain, 1896- to the present,* (London, 2015), p.213
[12] 'Racial Clash: Probe Goes On', *Nottingham Evening Post.* August 25, 1958., p.1

the police having to keep watch on the 'coloured colonies' of Nottingham is arguably a perspective which aligns with the association of immigrants with trouble in mind as discussed by Bingham and Conboy. [13] The language of surveillance instead of protection combined with the usage of imperialist rhetoric to describe the presence of Caribbean communities in Nottingham is intentionally divisive and dispelled the notion of Black Britons as a legitimate, local population worth defending from harm.

Similarly, we see both an identical tone in the reporting of the Notting Hill riots of late August and early September by the mainstream press but with an arguably intensified focus on law and order within urban settlements. For instance, the Special Correspondent from *The Times* describes that 'almost all' of the rioting had occurred in nearby Notting Dale, 'a poor district which has always been rough', with the fights between white and Black people flaring up due to the area's roughness, suspicion of strangers, and people 'used to settling its differences with fists and knives anyway.' [14] Ultimately, the correspondent is clearly attributing blame for the riots due to the supposed culture of violence and lawlessness in the area which was exacerbated by the arrival of non-local "Teddy Boys", 'the strangers', and 'the young roughs, hunting in packs', which became a larger focal point when armed Black people fought back on September 1st and 2nd. [15]

So far, there has been little mention of the Black British press which when considering the events of the 1958 seems arguably peculiar at first. However, this is not accidental, nor an oversight. According to Bill Schwarz, it is 'difficult' to get 'the full impact of the collective violence' on immigrant communities at the time due to their recording in popular memory through fiction, and the fact that hundreds of Caribbeans afterwards returned home. [16]

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[13] 'Racial Clash: Probe Goes On', *Nottingham Evening Post.* August 25, 1958., p.1; Bingham and Conboy, 'Race and Nation', p.213
[14] Special Correspondent, 'London Racial Outburst Due to Many Factors: Hooligan Invaders And Wild Charges.', *The Times*. September 3, 1958, p.7
[15] Ibid, p.7; Ramdin, *The Making of the Black Working Class*, pp.187-188
[16] Schwarz, ''Claudia Jones and the *West Indian Gazette',* p.269

Although we have an abundance of mainstream media reports on the violence and criminal charges relating to Black and white Britons involved in the riots, we do not have an equivalent scale of reporting at a comparable level from the Black British press which limits our understanding of the voice of Black Britons during a subversive turn for race relations. Nonetheless, whilst Schwarz admits difficulty in obtaining the full impact of Nottingham, Notting Hill, and sporadic incidences of racial violence all round, we are still able to infer some of it from the perspectives shown in Black British newspapers and magazines when it came to subsequent efforts made to combat racial discrimination.

By August and September 1958, there was only one "commercial" Black British newspaper: the *West Indian Gazette and Afro-Asian Caribbean News* which had been founded in March of the same year. [17] The paper's inception was due to Trinidadian-born Claudia Jones who had settled in London in 1955 after being deported from the United States due to her involvement in the Young Communist League and the American Communist Party. [18] In turn, Jones's editorial experience from her times at the *Daily Worker, Weekly Review,* and *Spotlight* along with her political orientation as a communist, Black nationalist, and feminist were fundamental to cultivating the nature of the *WIG* and many of the issues it focused on. [19] As Schwarz acknowledges, its originality was found in its attempt to connect local issues to global ones, specifically in relation to anti-colonialism, and the wider transnational Civil Rights movement. [20]

Frequently, *WIG* readers would see front-page stories highlighting major political events and proposals within African and Caribbean nations or about the individuals involved in them

[17] Donald Hinds, 'The *West Indian Gazette:* Claudia Jones and the black press in Britain', *Race & Class,* 50:1. (2008), p.89
[18] Schwarz, ''Claudia Jones and the *West Indian Gazette',* p.269; Hinds, 'The *West Indian Gazette*', pp.88-90
[19] Hinds, 'The *West Indian Gazette*', p.89
[20] Schwarz, ''Claudia Jones and the *West Indian Gazette'*, p.270

which is aptly showcased on the front of the November 1959 edition. [21] Whilst a large section of the front-page illustrates the call for a new prime minister for the West Indies Federation by American Caribbeans next to an announcement of Jamaica House's support for it. [22] In between the two headlines, there is a small column announcing a conference to be held on the "colour bar" on November 21st sponsored by the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL) and adjacent, an announcement of the arrival of President Sekou Touré of newly independent Guinea. [23] Arguably, this juxtaposition is not only a stylistic editorial choice but an intentional one to emphasise both the changing landscape of power across nations of the African diaspora and how institutional decolonisation was perceived and undertaken by the people.

The grassroots nature of the *WIG* provided valuable opportunities for Black writers and space for interactions with individuals outside of the journalistic world. Arguably, the most famous of these spaces was the Caribbean-style carnival held inside St. Pancras town hall in January 1959 and televised by the BBC which was conceived of by Jones – the "mother" of what is now the popular annual Notting Hill Carnival. [24] Furthermore, in the words of former contributor Donald Hinds, the newspaper's office saw 'more worried Blacks than did the Migrants' Service Department' and considering the lack of a cohesive institutional response, Hinds is unlikely to be exaggerating. [25]

Undoubtedly, Jones's leadership set the precedent for Caribbean news publishing in the late 1950s which carefully intertwined the voice the *WIG* aimed to represent with the interests of the community it served, promoting what Benjamin identifies as 'the Black cause' which was seemingly never absent from any volume nor external campaigns. [26] In a December 1959

[21] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean,* Vol. 2., No.5. November 1959, p.1
[22] Ibid., p.1
[23] Ibid., p.1
[24] Hinds, 'The *West Indian Gazette*', p.92
[25] Ibid., p.92
[26] Benjamin, *The Black press in Britain*, pp.41-42

article demonstrating the need for anti-racist legislation, it explores the recent reveal of two separate bills: one introduced by Labour MP Fenner Brockway and presented in Parliament, whilst the other was put forth by the NCCL in front of organisations and trade unions. [27] While the first bill is briefly reported to be gaining support across the political spectrum, the latter bill would criminalise written material inciting others to commit racial and religious discrimination along with verbal incitement. [28] Despite the article seemingly being in favour of the NCCL bill compared to Brockway's proposal, the article states there is 'definite and immediate hope for any Bill on Incitement' especially given the memories of the summer 1958 riots 'are not easily forgotten'. [29] Evidently, the newspaper's vocal support for a bill also against incitement to discriminate on the grounds of race and religion would prove useful to Black and Asian communities and hence, further the Black cause. Yet, the article's size means that it doesn't elaborate the potential benefits of such legislation, nor mention other contributing factors as to why the matter is receiving enormous attention.

Whilst the article mentioned above encapsulates the general push for criminalising racial and religious discrimination, it curiously neglects to mention another key incident which accelerated the pressure on the British government to propose some legislative solutions to an increasingly dangerous problem. Less than a year after the riots, the collective vigilance amongst Black Britons proved wholly justified when the unsolved murder of Antiguan-born Kelso Cochrane occurred in North Kensington in May 1959. [30] On his way to Paddington General Hospital, Cochrane was ambushed by six white youths and stabbed in an incident the police deemed a fatal robbery, but for many this was understood as a racially motivated murder since witnesses heard "Jim Crow" yelled before Cochrane sustained fatal injuries. [31]

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[27] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian-Caribbean News*. Vol. 2., No.6 December 1959, pp.4-5
[28] Ibid., p.5
[29] Ibid., p.5
[30] Kennetta Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for Me: Black Britons, Citizenship and the Politics of Race*, (London, 2015), pp.126-127.
[31] *Tropic*¸ (June 1960), pp.4-5

The phrase, being a direct reference to the racist segregation laws of the Southern United States which were still in operation. Likewise, Cochrane's case became a focal point for the Black British press in 1960 when the variety of publications available began to expand.

According to Kennetta Hammond Perry, Cochrane's death spoke of the reality of anti-Black violence whilst conveying the alarming message on the positions Black Commonwealth citizens occupied within British society. [32] The Committee of African Organisations (CAO) once again utilised the threads of inter-organisational solidarity which had been sewn after the Notting Hill riots to draw on pre-existing allies to rally for justice over Cochrane's death and address anti-Black violence – including Amy Ashwood Garvey and Claudia Jones of the *WIG.* [33] Having brought the attention of the systematic failure to protect Black Britons and their rights in a letter sent to Conservative Prime Minster Harold MacMillan, soon after, the inter-group campaign organised a funeral for Cochrane featuring a 700 strong procession of mourners and attended by key Caribbean political figures including the Prime Minster of the West Indies Federation Sir Grantley Adams. [34]

As referenced earlier, in the year following Cochrane's funeral, we see significant changes to the Black British press as the *WIG* sought to expand its commitment to legitimise the citizenship of Black Britons while the magazine *Tropic* by Dominican-born journalist Edward Scobie emerged in early 1960. [35] The year marked a new competitive era not just among fellow Black press pioneers, they were competing against overt and violent white supremacy. In the January 1960 edition, a report details how their office was subject to an antisemitic telephone threat made by the self-proclaimed "Nazi Movement" which according to Jones

[32] Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for Me*, p.133
[33] Ibid., pp.130-132
[34] Ibid., pp.130-134; Staff Reporter, '700 Mourn Murdered West Indian.', *The Observer.* June 7, 1959, p.1
[35] Naomi Oppenheim, 'Popular History in the Black British Press: Edward Scobie's *Tropic* and *Flamingo*, 1960-64', Immigrants & Minorities, 37:3 (2019), pp.143-144

was “fruit of the policy being followed to re-arm Germany”. [36] In September the same year, the London office of *Tropic* was intentionally shot at which left bullet holes in the windows and the matter was not taken further by the police despite them taking a formal statement from the Managing Director Charles Ross. [37] Likewise, blatant attempts to further suppress the expression of the Black voice within British society made the concept of a growing Black British press even more important to sustain.

With a new magazine on the scene, the *WIG* continually strived to platform ideas of anti-colonial and anti-racist resistance in all forms, including through platforming coverage on the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa. [38] Still, from 1960 the publication also strove to strategically indulge in presenting the idea of the Black British “local”. Previously, Jones’s editorial decisions showed greater attention to overarching transnational issues especially in relation to decolonisation along with domestic political endeavours. Therefore, the inclusion of profiles on individuals such as Leon McIntosh, a Jamaican London Underground Transport guardsman, marked a turning point in the newspaper and how it sought to represent the Black British community. [39] As individuals, who were just as rightly citizens of the country they resided in as much as anyone else. In an interview with Hinds, McIntosh reaffirms this idea strongly by stating that Caribbeans ‘can and are contributing something to the English way of life. But let us do it with all the zeal of a patriot.’ [40] McIntosh’s aspiration for Caribbean immigrants to adapt to England with ‘the zeal of a patriot’ is language reminiscent of the notion that Caribbeans from British-held territories are inherently tied to the “mother country”. [41] Even so, his perspective is also a confident declaration of citizenship and the

[36] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian-Caribbean News.* Vol 2., No.7 January 1960, p.5
[37] *Tropic* (September 1960), p.3
[38] *West Indian Gazette: Afro Asian-Caribbean News*. Vol 2., No.12, June 1960, p.1
[39] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian-Caribbean News.* Vol 2., No.7, January 1960, p.6
[40] Ibid., p.6
[41] Ibid., p.6

value of his labour which he brought with him from Jamaica and is now channelling into a quintessentially British institution.

Evidently, the *WIG* was incremental in asserting the premise that the Black British voice could be heard and not constantly remain spoken for, but the idea that it was the first publication of the Black British press to do so was hotly debated amongst its contemporaries. From 1960 onwards, the newspaper being the voice, and even the 'sole voice of the black community' as argued by Hinds was now being contested due to the emergence of *Tropic* magazine. [42]In the first issue of *Tropic* published in March 1960, it makes the bold claim that it is 'the voice of 250,000 coloured people' and could not have chosen 'a more opportune time' to make its debut considering the successes of recent independence movements. [43] However, as Naomi Oppenheim rightly mentions, this was a misleading claim when realising that *Tropic* was not aimed at Asian readership in any capacity. [44] Instead, *Tropic* exclusively catered to readers of African and Caribbean heritage and with its 'softer political identity', widened the popular approach taken by the *WIG*. [45] Of course, the 'softer' political approach Oppenheim claims *Tropic* adopted which differed drastically from the *WIG* is evident in its format. *Tropic* being a glossy magazine compared to a newspaper intrinsically resulted in its pages being filled with substantially more content on fashion, physique, and the arts than with transnational politics. However, in the reporting on the murder of Kelso Cochrane one year on from his funeral, we ought to interrogate Oppenheim's opinion of *Tropic* further.

Both the *WIG* and *Tropic* in their June 1960 editions dedicated a section to discussing Kelso Cochrane on the anniversary of his funeral but with starkly different approaches. The *WIG* opted for a sincere reminder of the interracial solidarity displayed by mourners who had joined the procession and how the funeral represented the clear opposition against racial

[42] Hinds, 'The *West Indian Gazette'*, p.88
[43] *Tropic* (March 1960), p.1
[44] Oppenheim, 'Popular History in the Black British Press' p.144
[45] Ibid., p.145

violence. [46] Meanwhile, *Tropic*'s extensive investigation piece into determining Cochrane's murderers and delving into the evidence surrounding his case is by far a more speculative angle to take but it is also a statement. [47] In conducting their own independent investigation, *Tropic* despite referencing the official police investigations has little faith in them having interviewed key witnesses such as Mrs Joy Okine who heard the fatal declaration against Cochrane: "Hey Jim Crow!". [48] Furthermore, in stating that Cochrane 'is a martyr' like 'those seventy Africans at Sharpeville who were brutally shot' by policemen at the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa a few months prior, *Tropic* situates Cochrane's death as paramount to recognising the injustice of anti-Black violence and the suppression of Black individuals to express their rights as legitimate citizens. [49] In this respect, the investigation piece in this edition of *Tropic* somewhat emulates the foundations the *WIG* held itself upon while demonstrating how newer Black British periodicals interpreted the task of prioritising the Black British voice.

Still, Oppenheim's judgement on *Tropic* cannot be discounted entirely. The extent of the *WIG'*s displays of the arts were through its inclusion of small poetry and prose submissions, adverts for the newspaper's occasional "Talent in Town" event, and reports on the carnival. [50] Whereas *Tropic* provided substantial content on the arts ranging from film reviews like that of *Black Orpheus* (1959) to interviews with famous musicians such as Eartha Kitt. [51] Essentially, *Tropic* emulated the style of successful magazines especially those by the Black Press in America like *Jet* and *Ebony* and given Scobie's previous experience working for the popular Black newspapers *Amsterdam News* and *Chicago Defender* before arriving in

[46] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian-Caribbean News*. Vol 2., No.12, June 1960
[47] *Tropic.* (June 1960), pp.3-6
[48] Ibid., pp.5-6
[49] Ibid., p.3
[50] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean News*, Vol 3., No.4, December 1960; *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean News*. Vol 3., No.6, April 1961
[51] *Tropic* (July 1960), pp.23-25; *Tropic* (October 1960), pp.30-31

Britain, this makes logical sense. [52] However, despite the glossy covers and the more laidback style and format of *Tropic* it ceased production in December 1960. Nonetheless, Scobie was undeterred and soon founded another longer lasting Black British magazine *Flamingo* in September the following year. [53]

Flamingo situated Black people as occupying a far less inherently radical position within British society than what the *WIG* and to some degree, *Tropic* demonstrated. Within its opening editorial, Scobie summarises that by publishing *Flamingo,* the editorial team will 'fight prejudice' and 'present a clear, unhysterical view of our "problems" to white readers.' [54] In turn, the assumption of white readership to view 'unhysterical' perspectives of Black British "problems" somewhat frames *Flamingo* as much of a sociological project as it is a journalistic one and helps explains why it adopted a more moderate political orientation.

The magazine's depiction of Black Britons across all walks of life is fascinating since it accelerates the task of the *WIG* and *Flamingo*'s predecessor *Tropic* to reinforce the notion of the "local" Black Briton and how they utilised their place in society to be perceived as such.[55] By 1961, the Black British press was acutely aware of the need to more actively platform the endeavours of Black women within the concept of the "local" as it had continually done with Black men especially as individuals capable of being active participants in British society, separate from male influences. This task was interpreted varyingly between *Flamingo* and the *WIG* and concerning the former, much of this was done within the framework of gendered expectations for women. For instance, 'London is the Place for me' follows an initially doubtful young woman named Joan during her first months in Britain who goes from feeling lost to securing a job as a salesgirl in a fabric store with help from the Citizen's Advice Bureau and eventually meets a man whom she ponders about marrying which confirms to

[52] Oppenheim, 'Popular History', pp.141-142
[53] Ibid., p.144
[54] *Flamingo,* Vol 1., No.1 (September 1961), p.1
[55] Benjamin, *The Black press in Britain,* p.44

Joan that she made the right decision. [56] Of course, Joan's story being one of the first extensive anecdotes featured in *Flamingo* marks the slightly improved position that women's voices held in the media compared to the 1950s, but these anecdotes and submissions about women in *Flamingo* were rare. Like *Tropic*, *Flamingo* carried on the idea of plastering their front covers with multicoloured pictures of conventionally attractive models and pin-up girls and unlike its predecessors, introduced a 'Women's Features" section which often contained segments on make-up and fashion tips. [57]

Concerning lengthy pieces on working women, the occupation which is frequently mentioned is nursing. In the October 1961 issue of *Flamingo*, a four-page spread illustrates the work performed by female nurses who emigrated to work in Britain from Africa and the Caribbean who are deemed "Black Angels" for essentially saving British hospitals from closure. [58] Contextually speaking, thousands of African and Caribbean immigrants found work in the National Health Service (NHS) as nurses, however until the early 2000s, this fact had been largely forgotten. [59] In challenging the "collective amnesia" surrounding the importance of migrant healthcare workers to the early decades of the NHS, research led by Julian Simpson confirms that the flow of migrants into it who brought not only their skills but differing approaches to policy formation, was fundamental to the continuation of the institution. [60] The NHS's difficulties to sustain itself were not only reflected in its reliance on immigrant labour, the 1962 Nurses' Strike exemplified the institution's reluctance to pay them regardless of their race due to the Government's initiation of a "pay pause" in 1961 which was covered in the May 1962 edition of the *WIG*. [61] Likewise, nursing was a topic

[56] *Flamingo,* Vol.1, No.1 (September 1961), pp.25-28
[57] Ibid., pp.29-30
[58] *Flamingo* Vol.1., No.2 (October 1961), pp.4-7
[59] Ramdin, *The Making of the Black Working Class,* pp.272-274; Julian M. Simpson, Stephanie, J. Snow et. al., 'Writing migrants back into NHS history: addressing a 'collective amnesia' and its policy implications', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 103:10 (2010), p.392
[60] Julian M. Simpson et. al., 'Writing migrants back into NHS history', pp.392-395
[61] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian-Caribbean News*, Vol. 4, No. 17. May 1962, p.11

which the Black British press found great favour in highlighting whenever possible since it was seen as an occupation that was intrinsic to the identity of Britain itself. Specifically, Britain as an increasingly globalised country that was in an age of decolonisation and meticulously drew on its colonial ties to gather the labour it required to sustain itself.

For Black Britons of all occupations, 1962 marked a new phase of political mobilisation that was more to do with fighting against legislative violence rather than the immediately physical. By the end of 1961, the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill was being intensely debated and many anticipated that it could be enacted which would further encroach on the rights of citizens who hailed from Commonwealth countries, essentially devaluing Black Britons and making them more susceptible to deportation. [62] In response, the *WIG* advertised a protest hosted by the Movement for Colonial Freedom scheduled for the middle of January in its first 1962 issue which was a protest march and demonstration against the Bill and in support of Fenner Brockway's proposed racial and religious discrimination bill which had been defeated multiple times. [63]

However, despite the extensive opposition to the Bill, on April 18th, 1962, the British government officially passed the Commonwealth Immigrants Act that restricted immigration of those from the Commonwealth to the United Kingdom and declared that those who wished to migrate must have paperwork from their new place of employment or possess UK passports. [64] Furthermore, the Act also authorised the deportation of Commonwealth citizens if convicted of criminal offences punishable by imprisonment which was up to the decision of the court. [65] Summarised by Peter Fryer, the 1962 Act officially endorsed the notion that

[62] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean News*, Vol. 4, No.12. December 1961., pp.8-9
[63] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean News*, Vol. 4, No. 13. January 1962, p.1
[64] 'Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962'. UK Public General Acts, Ch. 21. UK Public General Acts, April 18, 1962. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1962/21/pdfs/ukpga_19620021_en.pdf [Accessed March 2,2023]
[65] Ibid.

'Blackness […] equated to second-class citizenship'.[66] Therefore, it is unsurprising to see this discriminatory legal status condemned by the *WIG* as a piece of legislation rushed into Parliament. [67] Indeed, the rebuttal of Black Britons' perceived inferior status is also arguably demonstrated in Jones's anecdotal article 'Visit to the U.S.S.R' where she reflects on her visit to the 'first Land of Socialism' in the December 1962 edition. [68] Overall, Jones is satisfied with the technological and intellectual developments she sees and where the prospect of non-white residents being deemed "second class" appears to not be an issue as exemplified in the multilingualism and diversity present within all levels of the education system. [69] Essentially, this article is an evident reflection of Jones's own political ideology but also how this permeated more intensely into the *WIG*'s fabric than beforehand. Nonetheless, as the following chapter will reveal, as the position of Black Britons became increasingly precarious in society, we see a greater variety of perspectives and political expression in print that are influenced more greatly by the pioneers and leadership of the Black British press.

[66] Fryer, 'The settlers', pp.387-388
[67] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean News*, Vol. 4, No.17. May 1962, p.1 and p.16
[68] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean News,* Vol. 5, No.7. December 1962, p.5 and p.9
[69] Ibid., p.5

1963-1967: The Clash of Perspectives and Changing Politics in Print

By 1963, the British Parliament's growing institutional affinity for right-wing populism exemplified in the passing of the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 and rallying of racialised anxieties on a national scale provoked Black Britons to assert their right to exist in British society. Its existence was made possible due to a woeful cocktail of prevalent systematic racism that was further sustained by racist far-right groups and the endless campaigning for immigration controls by a select group of Tory MPs following the 1959 October General Election.

According to Benjamin, the importance of the Black press in Britain was vital since it 'grew out from the demand for a voice' since the 1950s.[70] Compared to the Black media available which included the occasionally broadcasted Black theatrical production on television and the dissipating BBC Colonial Service on the radio, the voice of Black Britons had the most currency within their own independent printed press. [71] However, the 'demand for a voice' Benjamin alludes to is a vastly more complicated matter from 1963 to 1967. [72] Now that there was some formal establishment of the Black British press, its involvement in facing the challenge of defence and the legitimation of Black Britons varied considerably and reflected the interests of those at the helm of individual organisations more prominently than during 1958-1962. The Commonwealth Immigration Act and the seemingly one-dimensional Race Relations Act of 1965 along with the simultaneous developments to Black political mobilisation influenced by

[70] Benjamin, *The Black Press in Britain,* p.5
[71] Steven Bourne, *Black in the British Frame: The Black Experience in British Film and Television*. (London; New York, 2001), pp.88-89; Spry Rush, 'A Bridge Between: The BBC's Colonial Service', p.206
[72] Benjamin, *The Black Press in Britain,* p.5

visiting African American activists would prove vital to the development of the Black British press from this point onwards.

While Schwarz contends that the conditions of what he deems a 'diasporic locality' can be 'gleaned' from pages of the *West Indian Gazette, Flamingo'*s expansive geographical scope throughout Britain which recognised the activities and livelihoods of Black Britons across all towns and cities, was important in reaffirming the position of the Black communities settled throughout Britain as "local". [73] Contributing writer Syd Burke's 'A Job with the G.P.O.' and Bill Patterson's 'Taking Coal Pots Home' found within the November 1963 edition of *Flamingo* are prime exemplars of this objective in the context of urban settlements. Burke's article follows the work of Samuel Tait, a Jamaican postal worker at the West Central District branch of the General Post Office, illustrating the benefits of his job, and the opportunities available to Caribbean and African arrivals. [74] Arguably, this focus on the "local" man in his British job is reminiscent of the Leon McIntosh interview by Donald Hinds for the *WIG* but in this case, it also serves as an advertisement for a job which doesn't racially discriminate. In the second article by Bill Paterson, we can apply Schwarz's idea of 'diasporic locality' to *Flamingo* more significantly.[75] In Patterson's article on the coal pots made by workers at a foundry in Tipton, a town in Staffordshire, he discovers that they are the same ones used for curries, soups, and stews across the Caribbean, West Africa, and South America and made in industrial towns such as Tipton before being exported overseas. [76]. Unconventionally, this closely links the "local" labour of Black and white workers to the global world of the African diaspora and its culinary diversity.

The *WIG* continued a trajectory of pursuing the task of defence and legitimation through the left-wing anticolonial and socialist lens on a transnational and local level that editor Claudia

[73] Schwarz, ''Claudia Jones and the *West Indian Gazette',* p.282
[74] *Flamingo,* Vol. 3., No.3 (November 1963), pp.4-8
[75] Schwarz, ''Claudia Jones and the *West Indian Gazette',* p.282
[76] *Flamingo*, Vol. 3., No.3 (November 1963) pp.36-38

Jones incorporated into its editorial fabric. And this included her support for communism which was no secret to her contributors and readers. [77] In the April 1963 edition, the first frontpage story reports a trade deal concerning the provision of rice made between the Soviet Union and British Guiana while the second features a celebratory mention of the admission of students from Africa, Asia, and South America to the newly established Patrice Lumumba University (now known as RUDN) in Moscow. [78] The latter story is elaborated on in more detail showcasing the academic endeavours of the students from across the world as they attend the university and access higher education seemingly more easily than within the West. [79] Considering the level of discrimination faced by Caribbean students in Britain, it seems unsurprising that the *WIG* awards a sizeable level of praise towards the emergence of a transnational Soviet education which appeared to promote cultural and racial unity. [80]

Internally, Jones still faced some opposition and criticism for her political ideology especially since the 1960s had borne witness to some of the most intense moments of the Cold War. Her connections to influential Black figures involved in the Black British press, mainstream media, and politics including Andrew Salkey, Pearl and Edric Connor, and Sam King proved invaluable to sustain the publication which brought in little financial profits alone. [81] Even so, according to Hinds, Jones's communist affiliations meant '[they] were not always there for her.' [82] Indeed, as Amanda Bidnall rightly states, many Caribbean artists, including writers during the late 1950s to early 1960s, were not closely connected to those like Jones. [83] Any inclination of communist affiliations within the United States had been quelled harshly in the 1950s as Jones knew all too well and by the early 1960s, its Cold War iteration had somewhat settled in Britain.

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[77] Benjamin, *The Black Press*, pp.42-43
[78] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian Caribbean News*, Vol. 5., No.9 (April 1963), p.1
[79] Ibid., pp.4-5
[80] Ambalavaner Sivanandan, 'From Resistance to Rebellion: Asian and Afro-Caribbean struggles in Britain', *Race and Class*, 23:3, (1982), p.134
[81] Hinds, 'The *West Indian Gazette'*, pp.92-93
[82] Ibid., p.93
[83] Amanda Bidnall, *The West Indian Generation: Remaking British Culture in London, 1945-1965,* (London, 2007), p.16

Nonetheless, Claudia Jones's multifaceted politics did not result in her detracting from any of the causes she strove to assist with and represent. In solidarity with the famous march on Washington D.C. in August 1963, that same month the Conference of Afro-Asian Caribbean Organisations (CAACO) headed by Jones hosted a march from Ladbroke Grove to the U.S. Embassy in Grosvenor Square. [84] According to the article, '750 Afro-Asians, Caribbeans and friends' partook to support 'the Negro rights struggle and against U.K. colour bar'. [85] CAACO was initiated by the *WIG* and was considered one of the most important umbrella organisations fighting against discriminatory legislation alongside the Co-ordinating Committee Against Racial Discrimination based in Birmingham since 1962 having been founded by Jagmohan Joshi and Maurice Ludmer. [86] Therefore, not only did Jones continue to aptly situate Black and Asian Britons' struggles within the larger context of the transnational fight for Civil Rights, but it also reaffirmed the publication's dedication to supporting the domestic rights of its readers and supporters.

The less radical stance adopted by *Flamingo* did not mean that Scobie and his team neglected to touch on anything remotely related to Black political mobilisation. Unlike most publications who discussed the Bristol Bus Boycott in the summer of 1963, Scobie's coverage directly pointed out how the situation proved the existence of a colour bar across British public institutions whilst mentioning the city's importance in facilitating Britain's participation in slavery during the imperial era. [87] In turn, demonstrating a sort of decolonisation process occurring in a metropolitan area which now possesses an independent Black population in real time.[88] As mentioned by Oppenheim, Scobie's inclusion of historical events alongside current activism not only helped articulate *Flamingo*'s support for Black Britons but also dismantled the notion that Black people did not 'belong' in Britain and had no connection to

[84] *West Indian Gazette and Afro-Asian Caribbean News*, Vol.5., No.13, September 1963, p.1
[85] Ibid., p.1
[86] Sivanandan, 'From Resistance to Rebellion', p.118
[87] *Flamingo*, Vol.2, No.12 (July 1963), pp.26-27.
[88]

the nation or its history [89] A notion which was central to popular racism as well as legislation restricting Commonwealth migration. Furthermore, the publication did not neglect to investigate issues which afflicted a majority of their readership. Housing was a contentious subject and, in the September 1964, 'Housing in Britain' investigation by Eric McAlpine, it reinforced the scope of the harrowing state of rental properties available to Caribbeans and the inflated quotations given to those who could afford to buy a house. [90] Yet when it came to transnational Black movements there is a sense of ambiguity in *Flamingo*'s coverage.

Flamingo also demonstrated its support for the Civil Rights Movement such as raising awareness for a repair fund project started by a group of people from South Wales to repair the damaged church window of the 16th Street Baptist Church which was blown up by the KKK in Birmingham Alabama in September 1963. [91] Considering the charitable effort, the article recommends in its December 1964 edition that *Flamingo* readers should also start a fund to replace something in the church so that 'our deep sympathy' for the deaths of four Black children killed by the bombing 'will also be remembered.' [92] However, in the two successive editions, there is no mention of establishing such a fund, which begs to question as to whether galvanising grassroots action amongst its readers was an actual possibility for *Flamingo* and the audience it attracted?

The offices of *Flamingo's* predecessor *Tropic* acted as an unofficial cultural centre for Africans and Caribbeans which took on roles found within a citizens' advice bureau along with advertising social events, and publishing stories. [93] For *Flamingo,* it is harder to recover records of grassroots activity facilitated by the magazine, but we can confirm the existence of some of their endeavours from the occasional small advertisements for the 'Flamingo Children's Club',

[89] Oppenheim, 'Popular History in the Black British Press', p.145
[90] *Flamingo*, Vol. 4., No.1, (September 1964), pp.4-15
[91] *Flamingo*, Vol.4., No.4, (December 1964), pp.8-12
[92] Ibid., p.12
[93] Bidnall, *The West Indian Generation*, p.56

and ‘Advice Bureau’ located towards the back of later editions. [94] However, these enterprises which enhanced *Flamingo*’s status as a grassroots magazine were not just for the good of the community but points of observation for the country’s international division of the intelligence service, MI6.

In a 2019 *Guardian* article by Jamie Doward, he revealed that *Flamingo* had undergone MI6 intervention ever since the magazine’s inception which was originally revealed to journalism lecturer Stephen Dorril by Jennifer Hornsby, the wife of former MI6 agent Peter Hornsby and founder of *Flamingo’s* publishing house. [95] According to the piece, Charlton Publishing Co. which produced the magazine was founded by Hornsby to provide material which perpetuated anti-communism, to monitor national political movements, gage potential recruits for MI6, and compete with the activities of the CIA who were also operating in London. [96] The revelations made in Doward’s article confirm that the propelling of anti-communist sentiment into Black British communities was an international imperative for western security agencies and undermines the idea of *Flamingo* as independent or grassroots in any capacity. [97]

Doward’s article does not specifically elaborate on these possible methods of recruitment nor persuasion, but Oppenheim contends that it is in the editorials of *Flamingo* where we can perhaps see the ‘subtle interference’ of Hornsby for his objective, including the promotion of the integrationist agenda and the “good immigrant” narrative. [98] Within later editions of *Flamingo*, we can also view how the publication sought to engage the African diaspora in relation to Hornsby’s objectives. For example, the January 1965 edition called for African nations to expand their trading agreements and private investments with Western European

[94] *Flamingo,* Vol.4., No.4, (December 1964), p.53; *Flamingo*, Vol.4., No.5 (January 1965), p.43
[95] Jamie Doward, Sex, ska and Malcolm X: MI6’s covert 1960s mission to woo West Indians’, *The Guardian.* January 26, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/26/west-indians-flamingo-magazine-m6-anti-communist-mission [Accessed October 21, 2022]
[96] Ibid.
[97] Oppenheim, ‘Popular History in the Black British Press’, p.146
[98] Ibid., pp.146-147

nations, insisting that the continent 'is not in the position to force her demands through' to achieve this alone. [99] Later, it emphasises the economic advantages of trade between Britain and Nigeria and Ghana compared to trade with the U.S.S.R and Eastern Europe and claims the 'the value of trade with Africa is 23 times greater with Western Europe than it is with the communist world'. [100] Of course, the persuasion of African nations like Nigeria and Ghana to embark on total economic alignment with the West would mean an ideological victory for capitalism and for post-imperial pioneers of the increasingly lucrative modern global private investments.

In January 1964, editor-in-chief Edward Scobie had stepped down from his role in the magazine which eventually ceased publication in Britain in the summer of 1965 after choosing to focus on publishing from their offices in West Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States. [101] In turn, begging the question as to whether Scobie eventually caught on to the infiltration of *Flamingo* by MI6? Unfortunately, we will likely never know the true answer. Scobie's emphasis on recounting and featuring articles on Black global history and his editorial prioritisation on illustrating examples of respectability and community building emulated the publication's more implicitly political aim to demonstrate that Black Britons had and could still have a definite presence and impact in numerous facets of British society.

Arguably, Scobie's objective continued in some capacity even after he stepped down from his position which is exemplified in the multi-volume series 'McAlpine's Travels' by Eric McAlpine which ran throughout 1965. On a regional scale, Eric McAlpine's travel series illustrated the existence of settled Black Britons in places like Wolverhampton and Manchester which showed the diversity of Black urban settlement. [102] Whilst McAlpine dwells on the development of

[99] *Flamingo*, Vol. 4., No.5 (January 1965), pp.27-29
[100] *Flamingo*, Vol. 4., No.5 (January 1965), p.29
[101] *Flamingo,* Vol 4., No.9 (May 1965), p.1; Oppenheim, 'Popular History in the Black British Press', p.146
[102] *Flamingo*, Vol 4., No.5 (January 1965), pp.9-15; *Flamingo,* Vol 4., No.7 (March 1965), pp.9-15

Caribbean trade unions and community organisations in Wolverhampton arising due to their exclusion from local groups and separation from much of the white population, Manchester is presented in a significantly more positive light as a city which has been more accepting of its Black population with the existence of a Black entertainment district and lack of slum housing. [103] Plus, the contrast was not an unfounded one since Wolverhampton was near Smethwick where an infamously racist campaign during the General Election in late 1964 secured the victory of Conservative town councillor Peter Griffiths. [104]

The racist rhetoric of Griffiths was not the only controversial aspect in the run-up to the October election, the matter of the colour bar which prevented many Black Britons from accessing typically white British spaces was also a big topic of discussion in the mainstream and Black press. Especially, in a nationally appreciated space like the public house. After a protest of an alleged colour bar at the Dartmouth Arms in South London, John Ross's investigation 'Operation Guinness' showed that some white pub owners were reluctant to serve Black customers for fear of losing their white ones or operated a "behaviour bar", based on supposed previous encounters with non-white individuals and racist stereotypes. [105] Well into the 1960s, public houses were seemingly a flashpoint for exposing the state of race relations in Britain as we saw in the previous chapter with a pub altercation being the origin of Nottingham's race riot. Together, McAlpine and Ross's contributions reveal what Black Britons were up against when it came to existing as a British "local" are valuable to examining how *Flamingo* presented Black Britons within the frame of respectability and as a group eager to experience the social institutions which Britain had to offer. Nonetheless, *Flamingo*'s inherent ties to MI6 complicates our journey in discerning the Black voice in the Black British press. While we can speculate that maybe Hornsby's objective was subtly understood amongst editors and regular contributors, as we currently understand, only Hornsby knew of his explicit

[103] *Flamingo*, Vol 4., No.5 (January 1965), pp.9-15; *Flamingo,* Vol 4., No.7 (March 1965), pp.9-15
[104] *Flamingo*, Vol 4., No.5 (January 1965), p.15; Waters, *Thinking Black*, p.18
[105] *Flamingo,* Vol 4., No.6 (February 1965), pp.9-11

anti-communist agenda. Therefore, we cannot completely disregard the work of contributors and stories presented even if there was an ulterior motive for *Flamingo* overall.

With the secrets of *Flamingo* known to us now, the political demeanour expressed in all issues of the *WIG* and Claudia Jones's hefty involvement in Black political mobilisation stands out from *Flamingo* on an unparalleled level and Jones ensured to hold steadfast in her political ideology up until her death in December 1964. The dedication to the causes pursued by Jones persisted which was confirmed in a front-page editorial homage by contributing writer and now new lead editor Abhimanyu Manchanda and long-time associate of Jones in the February 1965 edition. [106] The entire newspaper is full of tributes from allies across the world and features one of Jones's last written articles on the injustice faced by the People's Progressive Party of British Guiana due to seemingly rigged election results that would have set the country on the path to national independence. [107] Suitably in keeping with Jones's support for progressive independence movements throughout her life. Yet by the end of 1965, the *WIG* ceased to appear on newsstands primarily due to the dwindling financial support.

To Benjamin, after the *WIG'*s demise, every new Black newspaper or magazine was to be a 'welcome entry' to the Black British press. [108] Thankfully, the foundations of a late twentieth century Black British press existed for such new endeavours to be welcomed like the establishment of prominent author and journalist Jan Carew's magazine *Magnet News* in February 1965. [109] Plus, it is fair to say Carew wished to continue Claudia Jones's legacy by advancing the Black British press especially having been a regularly featured in the *Gazette* himself. [110] In its first volume, Carew explored the Leyton by-election and whether votes from the Black and Asian adults of Smethwick who did not go to the polls would have secured a

[106] *West Indian Gazette: Afro-Asian-Caribbean News,* Vol 8., No.2, February 1965, p.1
[107] Ibid., p.12
[108]Benjamin, *The Black Press in Britain,* p.44
[109] Waters, *Thinking Black,* p.23
[110] Hinds, 'The *West Indian Gazette*', p.86

Labour victory. [111] On the condition of Smethwick, he explained that the colour bar measures implemented on the small minority of West Indian and Pakistanis were like those of Verwoerd's South Africa and must be recognised as 'a naked act of racialism'. [112] Subsequently, demonstrating an outright rejection of the imperial-aged position Black Britons were previously content with adopting while emphasising the need for voting-age adults to utilise the political agency they possessed.

From 1965 onwards, the rejection of the paradoxical notion of British "suitability" that emulated racialised imperial age ideologies became a fundamental pillar of Black British political thought. However, despite *Magnet* emerging during a critical moment for the direction of Black British politics when African American activists like Malcolm X and Martin Luther King were stimulating Britain's Black politics, the newspaper was overshadowed by the emergence of new anti-racist organisations such as the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) in January 1965.

Inspired by Martin Luther King's visit to Britain, CARD comprised of a diverse membership who were granted access to the inner circles within the newly elected Labour Government to lobby on behalf of ethnic minorities in Britain and helped pass the Race Relations Act of 1965 that banned public racial discrimination.[113] However, their increasing proximity to the Government and the ignition of revolutionary Black politics in Britain from late 1965 to 1967 resulted in many founding members like Marion Glean becoming disillusioned with what CARD became: a national legislative lobby. [114]. Whilst *Magnet* portrayed more of the radical Black politics that opponents and sceptics of CARD were looking for, we can only provide this

[111] *Magnet News* (February 1965), p.1
[112] Ibid., p.1
[113] Waters, *Thinking Black*, p.21; Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for Me*, p.192; Ibid., pp.228-237; 'Race Relations Act 1965', Ch.73. UK Public General Acts, November 8, 1965. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1965/73/pdfs/ukpga_19650073_en.pdf [Accessed March 10, 2023]
[114] Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for Me*, p.242

judgement from the lone example above since very few copies of the newspaper have survived to this day. Evidently, *Magnet* existed for much of the late 1960s, but unfortunately 1966-1967 is essentially an enigma since despite its run, the lack of surviving copies means we are limited in our understanding of the Black British press here.

During *Flamingo* and *Magnet's* existence, Black British mobilisation was splintered between the two frameworks: CARD which ultimately failed to integrate Black and Asian grassroots groups, and the new radical Black politics of the Racial Adjustment Action Society (RAAS) and the Caribbean Artists' Movement (CAM). [115] Known as Britain's first Black Power group, RAAS was founded by Michael de Freitas who later adopted the alias Michael X in 1965 and CAM was founded by a consortium of artists in 1966 which hoped to institute another phase of decolonisation. [116] Eventually, this latter framework evolved to incorporate the global Black Power movement from late 1967 onwards when Obi Egbuna and Roy Sawh created the Universal Coloured People's Association (UCPA) having witnessed the famous American Black Power advocate Stokely Carmichael speak at the Dialectics of Liberation Congress in London. [117]

Earlier publications of the Black British press attempted to convey the essence of "suitability" in their work by emphasising the localness of Black communities and their integration within British society, particularly in the workforce and adherence of typical social conventions. Now despite the slowed pace of the Black British press from 1966 to 1967, it seemed that many Black writers and creatives turned to forsaking the pursuit of "suitability" as they became increasingly alienated from the mainstream whilst Black Power and radical Black politics in grassroots activism rooted itself in British soil. [118]

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[115] Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for Me,* pp.238-243; Sivanandan, 'From Resistance to Rebellion', pp.122-123
[116] Waters, *Thinking Black*, pp.45-46
[117] Robin Bunce and Paul Field, 'Obi B. Egbuna, C.L.R. James and the Birth of Black Power in Britain: Black Radicalism in Britain 1967–72', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22:3 (2011), pp.391-393
[118] Bidnall, *The West Indian Generation,* pp.250-251

1968-1971: Political Blackness, Black Power, and Popular Culture on Paper

The visits of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and other African American activists throughout the mid to late 1960s had invigorated the motivation of left-wing Black British individuals and organisations to not only call for change but force the hand of the Establishment by any means necessary. Their visits and news from across the Atlantic subsequently invigorated the creation of the concept of political blackness where blackness was seen as a political identity, which rooted itself within radical political discourse in Britain. [119] Whilst political scientists like Tariq Modood argued that political blackness minimised the nuances of the experiences of British Asians, in practice it represented the notion of siblingship against institutional oppression faced by Black and Asian individuals. [120] Although 1965 marked the schism between the conflicting strands of anti-racist organisation, in the context of the Black British press, we can see this more clearly from 1968 onwards through the deployment of political blackness in some publications.

Radical Black politics as seen in the *WIG* returned to the Black British press. As the British Black Power movement grew throughout 1968 to 1971, the radicalism associated with the existence of the Black British press intensified and correspondingly, so did the currency of the Black British voice. Furthermore, the idea of the Black "local" whose labour supported classically British institutions and hoped to be legitimised within social conventions which had been heavily pushed by the earlier Black British press was being rapidly deconstructed. The "local" was no longer deployed to signify Black Britons as serving the country they

[119] Waters, *Thinking Black*, pp.46-49
[120] Tariq Modood, 'Political Blackness and British Asians', *Sociology* 28:4, (1994), pp.859-876; Waters, *Thinking Black,* pp.53-54

resided in, but instead, to demonstrate the service given to facilitate their own causes across class contexts.

Moreover, 1968 also marked the revival of the Black voice on defending the citizenship of Black Britons as the Government once again pursued another hostile immigration policy. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 was superseded by the Labour government's iteration in March 1968 that was established in reaction to fears over the mass migration of East Asian Kenyans to Britain due to Kenya's pursuit of "Africanization". [121] Essentially, quelling the right formerly possessed by all citizens of Commonwealth nations to emigrate to Britain unless they were born in Britain or had at least one parent or grandparent which already resided there. [122] While this policy affirmed the hard line on non-white immigration that many had already anticipated, the infamous Rivers of Blood speech by Conservative politician Enoch Powell the following April brought racism and immigration to the forefront of public commentary and incensed followers of far-right populism. [123] Despite Powell's speech evidently being a violation of the Race Relations Act of 1965 which was compounded by his prompt dismissal from the Shadow Cabinet, unlike Michael X, he was never prosecuted. [124]

This institutional hypocrisy under the guise of attempts to improve race relations resulted in progressive community activists conveying that cohesion was essential to help minimise racial hatred and securing citizens' rights in an area. [125] The increasing popularity of Powell's anti-immigration rhetoric resulted in political blackness gaining a foothold in many Black British periodicals which is noticeable in the pages of *Hustler*. [126] Founded in May 1968,

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[121] Clement Jones, Peter Harland, et. al., *Race and the Press* (London, 1972), pp.32-39
[122] Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968', Ch.9, March 1, 1968. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/9/pdfs/ukpga_19680009_en.pdf [Accessed March 9, 2023]
[123] Jones, Harland, et. al., *Race and the Press*, pp.19-20
[124] Rosie Wild, '"Black is the colour of our fight", Black Power in Britain, 1955-1976', *PhD dissertation*, University of Sheffield (2008), pp.179-180
[125] Ben Jones and Camilla Schofield, '"Whatever Community Is, This Is Not It": Notting Hill and the Reconstruction of "Race" in Britain after 1958', *PhD dissertation*, University of East Anglia (2019), pp.1-3
[126] Waters, *Thinking Black*¸p.35; Robin Bunce and Paul Field, *Darcus Howe: a Political Biography* (London, 2015), p.98

Hustler was a fortnightly community newspaper produced in Notting Hill and initially edited by Courtney Tulloch on the same premises as the Mangrove Restaurant owned by Civil Rights campaigner Frank Crichlow. [127] In response to Powell's speech which envisaged a "race war", *Hustler's* first issue instead suggests that the supposed rivers he speaks of could be found in a demonstration between the people and the police and correspondingly, provides instructions on "American style" gear to wear and bring to a demonstration. [128] However, the impact of Powell's speech and the seemingly hypocritical application of the Race Relations Act is also seen in not just this article, but in the absence of another. The issue's second page reveals a blank column which was supposed to describe 'The characteristics of a Black Liberation War' and was pulled from the printers due to its potential to receive a racial incitement charge since as stated by Tulloch, 'by an odd freak' many people convicted under the Act were Black. [129] As mentioned by Wild, the ineffective criteria for the criminal penalty for incitement to racial hatred meant the Attorney-General who handled these cases assumed a level playing field between Black Power activists, fascists, and far-right MPs so Tulloch's editor's note was both a criticism against this inadequacy and a legal protection. [130]

By late 1968 and early 1969, *Hustler* had incorporated political blackness into the newspaper's fabric and repeatedly demonstrated its overt support for Black liberation in both the United States and Britain. The September 1968 edition's segment 'What is a Black Revolutionary?' aptly conveys how community leaders envisaged political blackness and the revolutionary criteria which stipulated that a Black person must be mentally, physically, and spiritually in tune and those who were 'enlightened […] have a great burden to bear'. [131] These criteria were undoubtedly informed by contributors witnessing the actions of

[127] Bunce and Field, *Darcus Howe,* pp.98-99
[128] *Hustler,* Issue 1. May 24, 1968., p.7
[129] Ibid., p.2
[130] Wild, '"Black is the colour of our fight", pp.176-177
[131] *Hustler,* Issue 6. September 18, 1968., p.3

American Black Power activists along with the activities of some of the individuals who congregated at the Mangrove to produce *Hustler*. Especially since some eventually became prominent figures in the British Black Power movement. [132] One of said figures was Darcus Howe, a close friend of Crichlow who eventually became the leader of the Brixton chapter of the British Black Panther Movement (BPM) and later, one of the Mangrove Nine. [133]

Through its juxtaposition of reports on the transnational Black politics with domestic social issues relevant to the people of "The Grove", the newspaper redefined what it meant to be a Black "local" since to exist in Britain as a Black citizen was perceived to be a controversial and radical act. Therefore, the Black "local" and the voice they articulated were inherently a challenge to the status quo. In the January 1969 issue, the first two pages are plastered with pictures from a demonstration by the Black Peoples' Alliance (BPA) on January 12th where they marched on Downing Street and includes reprinted extracts from the organisation's manifesto. [134] *Hustler*'s endorsement of the BPA is significant not only due to the editors' declaration of aligning with the Black Power movement, but it also reflected a greater emergence of Black class consciousness. [135] Its membership comprised of South Asian, African, and Caribbean individuals which emulated the ideology of political blackness while its prohibition of middle-class individuals from getting involved within their ranks also inextricably linked the brunt of racial struggles to the lives of the Black working-class readers who the newspaper represented. [136]

Hustler's later issues set out expanding the definition of the Black voice and how it should be understood as seen in its new layout and the creation of a new series: 'Voice of Black Youth.' [137] According to Waters, *Hustler*'s application of political blackness can also be seen in its

[132] Bunce and Field, *Darcus Howe*, p.99
[133] Wild, '"Black is the colour of our fight", p.100
[134] *Hustler,* Issue 8. January 17, 1969
[135] Ramdin, *The Making of the Black Working Class,* p.428
[136] Wild, '"Black is the colour of our fight", pp.133-134
[137] *Hustler,* Issue 8. January 17, 1969

new layout which is described as 'like a pack of playing cards' with no page numbers and hence, aligns with a wider Black expressive culture due to readers' capability to consume *Hustler* in a structure of their own making. [138] While Waters's point is valid, it can also be argued that the depiction of Black children's voices in 'Voice of Black Youth' embodies political blackness due to *Hustler's* inclusions of perspectives from children who articulated how they saw themselves and their own socio-political position which reinforces the concept's validity. Discrimination at school, overcrowded housing, and Black Power are some of the main topics discussed through brief conversations between the interviewer and school-aged volunteers of the area, but the most common thing mentioned is the police . [139]

In both instances of the series, opinions on the police are mentioned heavily in the articles. In part one of the series, the sight of a police car causes the interviewees to hastily move to a different location to continue the discussion since despite having no criminal record, '[police] pick you up for anything.' [140] Indeed, the hatred of the police is elaborated on in part two when another group of children describe instances of family members and friends 'get pick up' for no reason, arrested on false charges, and have crooked officers 'put stuff like dope and screwdrivers in your pocket'. [141] Overall, *Hustler* uniquely demonstrates the impact of systemic racism on Black children in many facets of their public and home lives which is compounded by their working-class status. Furthermore, another interesting aspect is the continuation of the creolisation of the English language in printed texts seen in small phrases like 'get pick up'. [142] Variations of English based Creole languages were (and still are) frequently spoken amongst Britain's Black communities which tended to adapt syllabic patterns and alter pronunciations, yet in previous periodicals they were typically "corrected" for print. Not only does this feature demonstrate *Hustler*'s redefinition of the Black "local" as

[138] Ibid.; Waters, *Thinking Black,* p.86
[139] *Hustler,* Issue 8. January 17, 1969; *Hustler,* Issue 9. March 8, 1969
[140] *Hustler,* Issue 8. January 17, 1969
[141] *Hustler*, Issue 9. March 8, 1969
[142] Ibid.

someone who is linguistically close to their African or Caribbean heritage, but it also implies the outright rejection of ideas surrounding British "suitability" amongst Black youth when it came to speaking "conventional" English.

Stories on multifaceted Black British experiences had always existed throughout the modern Black British press, yet their portrayals were now being undertaken by periodicals where their categorisation as Black British was more obscured like *Race Today*. *Race Today* was originally established in 1969 by the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) and later became known as *Race Today Collective* from 1973 onwards. [143] Indeed, there has been some confusion amongst scholars about the two phases of *Race Today* namely by Beluah Ainley who contends that the magazine emerged as late as 1980. [144] However, a more complex problem arises with Benjamin's categorisation of *Race Today* as part of the Black British press amongst other periodicals like *Flamingo,* and *Magnet News* since to many contemporaries, *Race Today* was not considered a facet of the Black British press until 1973. [145] According to Bryan Knight, the *Race Today Collective* represented a new direction for the journal which platformed racial justice, intersectional causes relating to race, sex, and class, and condemned police brutality. [146] Frustrated with the cautious approach under the editorship of Peter Watson, staff of the IRR led by Sri-Lankan born Ambalavaner Sivanandan staged a coup in late 1972 which ousted Watson and brought forth a more radical and less exclusively academic and observatory focus to the magazine's content. [147] Therefore, can

[143] Ambalavaner Sivanandan, 'Race and resistance: the IRR story', *Race and Class* 50:2 (2008), p.27
[144] Beluah Ainley, 'Blacks and Asians in the British Media: A Study of Discrimination'. *PhD dissertation*, London School of Economics (1994), p.358
[145] Benjamin, *The Black Press in Britain*, pp.4-5; Bryan Knight, 'Black Britannia: The Race Today Collective Demonstrated the Radical Potential of Journalism', *Novara Media*. July 10, 2020. https://novaramedia.com/2020/07/10/black-britannia-the-race-today-collective-demonstrated-the-radical-potential-of-journalism/ [accessed March 8, 2023]
[146] Ibid.
[147] Black Britannia: The Race Today Collective Demonstrated the Radical Potential of Journalism', *Novara Media*. July 10, 2020. https://novaramedia.com/2020/07/10/black-britannia-the-race-today-collective-demonstrated-the-radical-potential-of-journalism/ [Accessed March 8, 2023]

Race Today pre-1973 be considered a part of the Black British press in its perceived "pre-radical" form?

Before the takeover, the IRR had secretly reinforced links to Black Power activists since 1967. [148] Black contributors to *Race Today* typically such as C.L.R. James a Marxist intellectual, Tulloch of the now discontinued *Hustler* came from Black political circles and occasionally from the mainstream press like Lionel Morrison. [149] Alongside the discussion of issues relating to other racial and religious communities, James and Tulloch sought to emphasise the transnational development of Black Power be via an analysis of the Trinidad Revolution of 1970 or the motions discussed at the Black liberation conference of May 1971. [150] Plus, their ability to do this was during a crucial time for the publication and the IRR itself. From late 1970, the publication increasingly ignored the neutral stance of the Institute's Council which mirrored race relations bodies of the Government, so instead its content became more overtly critical of the Government, police, prisons, the race industry, and neo-colonialism.[151]

Indeed, the pieces above conveyed militant Blackness and the experiences of the Black "local" to a larger audience than what most periodicals of the Black British press anticipated especially compared to the readership of community papers like *Hustler.* Also, even with individuals who were more closely associated with the mainstream press like Morrison, the direction of *Race Today* enabled him to investigate the housing situation deemed Britain's 'gravest social evil' and how grassroots fair housing organisations were working to improve their conditions in Nottingham. [152] Yet, as Morrison reveals, the pervasive nature of Powellism

[148] Wild, '"Black is the Colour of our Fight"', p.126
[149] Bunce and Field, 'Obi B. Egbuna, C.L.R. James and the Birth of Black Power in Britain', pp.401-402; Bunce and Field, *Darcus Howe,* p.102
[150] *Race Today,* Vol 2., No.9 (September 1970), pp.311-314; *Race Today,* Vol 3., No.6 (June 1971), p.184
[151] Sivanandan, 'Race and resistance: the IRR story', pp.18-21
[152] *Race Today,* Vol 2., No.9 (September 1970), pp.318-320

meant that there were 'few alternatives' for Black journalists of the mainstream press other than to specialise in race and community relations. [153]

However, the dilemma on whether *Race Today* served the communities it wrote about or acted as a form of government surveillance disguised as a liberal middle-class observationist enterprise loomed over the IRR. As Sivanandan explains, the rebellion amongst IRR's ranks escalated in 1971 not just in relation to *Race Today* that contradicted the organisation's relationship with the Government, but due to the financial and reputational dilemmas they faced, which came crashing down in April 1972 when the takeover occurred. [154] Although the contributions made by Black journalists in *Race Today* pre-1973 should not be inherently relegated to an inferior position when discerning the Black British voice, the magazine should ultimately be considered a precursor to its Black-owned form which holds some insight into the radical politics it would come to adopt.

Following on from the paragraph above, such politics existed within *Black Voice* the newspaper of the BUFP*,* which was one of the Black Power groups that staff at the IRR had associated with to develop their own knowledge of Black Power and the concept of Black militancy. [155] Created in late 1970, *Black Voice* was both a larger and more visually expressive periodical that was committed to highlighting injustices and instances of mobilisation for the Black community in line with its anti-Establishment Marxist-Leninist political orientation. [156] One of the most notable examples of grassroots mobilisation illustrated in the newspaper was one for the victims of the Sunderland Road bombing where on January 3rd, 1971, a predominately Black house party in Forest Hill was petrol-bombed leaving dozens with severe lifechanging injuries. [157] While the January 1971 edition is

[153] Lionel Morrison, 'A black journalist's experience of British journalism.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 4:3, (1975), p.320
[154] Sivanandan, 'Race and resistance: the IRR story', pp.21-26
[155] Wild, '"Black is the Colour of our Fight"', pp.126-127
[156] Ibid., p.96
[157] *Black Voice,* Vol. 2, No.1 (January 1971), pp.1-12

dedicated to bringing justice and fundraising for the affected individuals, it situates the bombing as a direct impact of the rhetoric perpetuated by 'Enoch Powell and his henchmen' and how the Black "local" is compromised in 'this so-called civilized country'. [158] To *Black Voice*, political blackness was inseparable from the Black "local" which needed to be defended and hence, follow or draw on the assistance of militant Black politics to exist within British society. Plus, this defence included from against those whom the BUFP perceived to be Black 'traitors' who subscribed to the Establishment such as in the case of Mrs. E. Warner, whose landlord apparently robbed her, carried out an acid attack, and then was protected by the police despite his behaviour.[159] Although *Black Voice* evidently galvanised traction for the Black Power movement, like other promotional materials, it is extremely difficult to quantify its readership since there were large discrepancies between the official membership numbers for Black Power groups compared to the amount of people who mobilised for demonstrations. [160] Nonetheless, it is a useful newspaper for us to understand how Black Power groups operated, rejected capitalistic institutions, and supported the Black community when their voices had been deliberately silenced.

Finally, let us turn to the *West Indian World,* a tabloid newspaper established in June 1971 by Vincentian journalist Aubrey Baynes which in its specimen issue, described itself as a weekly 'worthy of the West Indian people'. [161] Unlike other pervious periodicals of the Black British press, Ainley notes that the *WIW* both employed and trained many Black journalists of the time including those who had been fired from or found work increasingly harder to acquire in the mainstream British media such as Morrison and Britain's first Black female television

[158] *Black Voice,* Vol. 2, No.1 (January 1971), pp.1-5
[159] *Black Voice.* Vol. 2, no.2 (February 1971), pp.6-8
[160] Wild, '"Black is the Colour of our Fight"', p.88
[161] Ainley, 'Blacks and Asians in the British Media', p.356; *George* Padmore Institute, *West Indian World*: 'Specimen Issue' (undated), NEW8/1, p.1

presenter Barbara Blake Hannah. [162] For professional Black journalists, the late 1960s had seen a relegation of their exposure and inclusion within the mainstream press known as the Fleet Street companies, and those who found work were dispersed over hundreds of publications. [163] Newspapers for the Black community in Britain which engaged in popular culture as well as transnational political discourse had waned in the past few years as more periodicals prioritised the conveyance of the Black voice as a solely radical entity. As such, the emergence of the *WIW* was an opportune moment for Baynes to introduce a more all-encompassing publication and bring 'a brave new voice of the 70s' to unite Caribbeans across both island groups. [164]

Furthermore, because of Black Power and independence movements of the 1960s, the *WIW* launched out of the emergence of Black culture being proudly celebrated during this period. [165] Of course, this did not stop the *WIW* from reporting on stories related to Black Power, such as supporting the global campaign to free American Black Power activist Angela Davis in its July 9th edition.[166] Instead, unlike its revolutionary counterpart *Black Voice*, the tabloid in conjunction with developments in Black politics ran a broader selection of stories which reaffirmed the Black "local" as intrinsically connected to the diaspora on a socio-cultural level as well as a political one.

Considering the point above, we see this juxtaposition clearly in the December 17th edition where the *WIW* attempts to connect the Black "local" with the African diaspora via its own tribulations. Initially, this is seen in the *WIW's* reporting on the developing condition of La Soufrière an active volcano in St. Vincent and the Grenadines which had not bellowed

[162] Ainely, 'Blacks and Asians in the British Media', p.356; Lionel Morrison, 'Into the 1970s and then the 1980s: the influence of the West Indian World', *A Century of Black Journalism in Britain: A Kaleidoscopic View of Race and the Media (1893-2003),* (London, 2007), pp.33-35
[163] Morrison, 'A black journalist's experience of British journalism', pp.317-318
[164] George Padmore Institute, *West Indian World*: 'Specimen Issue' (undated), NEW8/1, p.1
[165] Benjamin, *The Black Press in Britain,* pp.47-48
[166] 'Free Angela Davis', *West Indian World,* No.5. July 9, 1971, p.17

smoke since prior to the severe eruption of 1902. [167] Hence, it posed a disastrous outcome for the island if its residents received no assistance before and after the inevitable natural disaster. [168] Within this report, it announces the emergence of a 'Volcano Relief Fund' to raise £50,000 to help Vincentians living near the volcano move and resettle while stating that the fund is a challenge to 'every black man and woman' in Britain and 'our white friends' who read the newspaper. [169] Given Baynes's Vincentian heritage, the cause would have been a personal and pragmatic one to the editor and the inclusion of a vivid anecdote by a witness to the 1902 eruption both reinforces this and Baynes's objective to provide a voice for residents of the small island. [170] Also, the edition discusses another volatile moment in the Black British consciousness: the Mangrove Nine Trial.

As mentioned earlier, Frank Crichlow was the owner of the Mangrove Restaurant which also acted as a cultural and intellectual hub for Black radicals and artists, and like his former restaurant The Rio, it was constantly subjected to police harassment. [171] Additionally, despite the subsequent protest which was jointly organised by the Action Committee for the Defence of the Mangrove and the BPM having occurred on August 9th, 1970, it took over a year for the nine individuals accused of inciting a riot and other charges to have their fifty-five days in court. [172] In a compilation of court reports by Lois Chase from the Old Bailey in November and December, he mentions the defences of two defendants Barbara Beese and Dr Althea Jones Le Cointe along with a further comment from the prosecution which concluded that the witnesses for the defendants could not be trusted. [173] Ultimately, Chase provides a substantial body of text for readers to observe the progress of the Mangrove Nine Trial and

[167] 'THE KILLER VOLCANO: ST. VINCENT' *West Indian World*, No.28. December 17, 1971, p.1 and pp.10-11
[168] Ibid., p.1 and pp.10-11
[169] Ibid., p.10
[170] Ibid., pp.10-11
[171] Bunce and Field, *Darcus Howe,* pp.97-98
[172] Ibid., pp.112-117; Ibid., pp.140-141
[173] Lois Chase, 'The Mangrove Nine Trials', *West Indian World,* No.28 December 17, 1971, p. 18

the attempts of the police to discredit the defendants and witnesses wherever possible which is a stark reminder of the comments made by the anonymous Black children in *Hustler*. [174]

As Benjamin states, the *WIW* had no real competition throughout the 1970s, hence it was able to freely present this landmark Black Power case in Britain for popular consumption, catering to more politically moderate readers and for Caribbean readership abroad. [175] Indeed, by the following edition published on Christmas Eve of 1971, the trial had concluded with the riot charges dismissed against all nine defendants and judged as a 'victory for black consciousness but a compromise for justice'. [176] While the case had officially demonstrated the high prevalence of racism within the Metropolitan Police, the *WIW* reports that there is little expected to be done considering this revelation despite the monumental implications for the Black "local".[177] Towards the end of the report, frustration is perhaps the best emotion to associate with its tone as it criticises not only the misdeeds of the police, but also the judicial system, and the 'distorted and vicious' accounts of the Mangrove Nine and the trial perpetuated by the mainstream press. [178] The summary of the verdicts and implications of the Mangrove Nine trial are indicative of the immense coverage *WIW* gave to major events which focused on Black Britons that had been side-lined or misreported in the national news.[179] Here, the *WIW* links back to demonstrating the Black "local" as a politicised identity as well as socio-cultural one just like the periodicals discussed earlier while showcasing the Black voice in the context of the injustices faced by Black Britons in society. Although the trial's revelations meant that at least Black Britons could have some relief from being gaslighted about their experiences of institutional failings and racism, these aspects which

[174] Lois Chase, 'The Mangrove Nine Trials', *West Indian World,* No.28 December 17, 1971, p. 18; *Hustler*, Issue 9. March 8, 1969
[175] Benjamin, *The Black Press in Britain*, p,5
[176] 'MANGROVE NINE TRIAL: "Peace and Goodwill" says Justice Clarke', *West Indian World,* No.29 December 24, 1971, p.1 and pp.11-12
[177] Ibid., p.1 and p.11
[178] Ibid., pp.11-12
[179] Morrison, 'Into the 1970s', p.35

seemed inseparable from their livelihoods, continued to circulate within the Black experience and hence, the Black British press for years to come.

Conclusion

Overall, the rise of the Black British press should be considered as a vital factor in understanding the changing, turbulent socio-political position of Black Britons during the era of decolonisation, radical Black politics, and hostile immigration policies. The Black British press from 1958-1971 demonstrated that Black Britons were no longer inherently permitted to become British via former imperial ties and perceived acts of "suitable" assimilation. The notions of citizenship and opportunities to be a "local" through education, occupation, and socialisation were continuously under threat and deliberately limited by hostile legislation, overt discrimination, and the growing popularity of far-right figureheads and malevolent rhetoric. By repeatedly drawing on historiographical debates over the Black voice and the more overshadowed concept of the Black "local", they have assisted in consolidating the thesis above and reinforced the importance of Black British periodicals as useful historical documents for understanding the lives of Black Britons from 1958-1971. Unlike the mainstream press, the Black British press offers a more authentic viewpoint of what the Black experience meant on both a general and radical level, even if its significance within the wider British media was consistently undermined and devalued. [180]

The idea of the Black British press as a journalistic enterprise which was viewed as undeserving of the same level of attention as periodicals from the mainstream British press was glaringly evident during the research phase of this dissertation. Accessing the primary sources examined above which were rarely digitised and, in some cases, damaged, sustained the idea that the preservation of the mainstream British press is anticipated but that of the Black British press is exceptional. Like other facets of Black British history, its preservation has not been due to an expensive institutional effort to preserve them, but on the goodwill and curiosity of community groups, and individuals from academic and activist

[180] Ainley, 'Blacks and Asians in the British Media', pp.375-376

backgrounds. Subsequently, due to these circumstances, efforts to catalogue and conserve these documents are often on shallower ground as shown in the temporary closure of the *Shades of Noir* online archives since February 2023 – one of the few educational platforms that provide collections of digitised primary sources on this dissertation's subject.

The year 2020 may have invigorated efforts to restore and catalogue Black British history, but with this still being a major challenge for concerned historians, sociologists, and archivists alike today, there is still far to go when it comes to the history of the Black press in Britain. However, there have been recent exciting developments when it comes to effectively documenting this. In October 2022, Britain's main Black newspaper *The Voice* published a physical anthology of its issues which spans from its establishment in 1982 to 2022 using its own archives. [181] Of course, this has been a vital addition to the more recent history of the Black British press which solidifies the newspaper's own legacy and the industry where magazines like *Black Ballad* and *Pride Magazine* exist in. Nonetheless, the Black press today still faces questions about the Black voice these periodicals seek to portray, and this was brought to the forefront in the backlash against the decision by *The Voice* to allow King Charles III to guest edit the newspaper's fortieth anniversary edition.[182]

As we have explored, many publications addressed the matter of connecting Black Britons to their "roots" by printing stories linking Black communities in towns and cities to the wider transnational network of issues concerning the triumphs and tribulations of the African diaspora. However, despite the transnationalism incorporated within them, almost all the locations of the Black British press industry were based within England's capital which has

[181] Staff Writer, 'The Voice: 40 Years of Black British Lives', *The Voice Online*. October 6, 2022. https://www.voice-online.co.uk/news/2022/10/06/the-voice-40-years-of-black-british-lives/#:~:text=With%20a%20forward%20by%20Sir,publication%20on%206th%20October%202022. [Accessed March 12, 2023]

[182] Nadine White, The Voice calls for royals to apologise for slavery after Prince Charles editorship backlash', *The Independent*. September 6, 2022. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/prince-charles-royal-slavery-the-voice-b2159697.html [Accessed March 18, 2023]

resulted in a “Londoncentric” analysis. Still, the discussion of Black British communities outside of London especially those within *Flamingo* are beneficial for seeing how a major Black magazine in the early 1960s represented the wider Black British experience.

Regardless, the discussion still provides us with a more cohesive and valuable understanding of the development of the Black British press during a principal moment in late twentieth century Britain. Plus, this dissertation will contribute to growing the minute scholarship available on the history of the Black British press and its pioneers and bring forth more attention to its history and importance within the wider fields of Black British history and Journalism studies. Today, in an era where the reorganisation and the digitisation of historical documents is increasingly being undertaken, there is hope that soon we can expect more printed works of Black British history to be made accessible in the digital world for a greater audience.

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