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**BROTHERHOOD AND THE QUEST FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN  
SOCIAL EQUALITY:  
A STORY OF PHI BETA SIGMA**

Wendy Marie Laybourn\* and Gregory S. Parks\*\*

*The common narrative about African Americans' quest for social justice and Civil Rights during the Twentieth Century consists, largely, of men and women working through organizations to bring about change. The typical list of organizations includes, inter alia, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. What are almost never included in this list are African American collegiate-based fraternities. However, at the turn of the Twentieth Century, a small group of organizations emerged and were founded on personal excellence, the development and sustaining of fictive-kinship ties, and racial uplift. Given these organizations' almost immediate creation of highly functioning alumni chapters in cities across the United States, members of these organizations, who were college graduates, could continue their work in actualizing their respective organizations' ideals. One such organization, founded at Howard University in 1914, was Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity. This article explores the history of this fraternity's, and its members', involvement in African Americans' quest for social justice and racial equality in the United States.*

INTRODUCTION

Created in response to the oppression experienced by free Blacks in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, Black secret societies were trailblazers in social change and social reform.<sup>1</sup> Although Black benevolent societies and churches provided various levels of support and community, Black secret societies also included an organizational structure that unified local chapters, regional areas, and the national

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<sup>1</sup> See Anne S. Butler, *Black Fraternal and Benevolent Societies in Nineteenth-Century America*, in *AFRICAN AMERICAN FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES: THE LEGACY AND THE VISION* 67, 67–68 (Tamara L. Brown et al. eds., 2014).

body.<sup>2</sup> This organizational structure allowed for the perpetuation of Black secret societies and provided a framework for leadership training. In addition to their structuring bodies setting them apart from other Black fraternal groups or churches, Black secret societies also had restrictive membership and secret rituals.<sup>3</sup>

Black secret societies, such as the Masons and Elks, offered spiritual, psychological, and material uplift.<sup>4</sup> Through acts such as providing educational opportunities, purchasing property, and caring for the sick, widows, and orphans,<sup>5</sup> these fraternal groups sought to build community while also combating the effects of systemic oppression.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the formal organization of Black secret societies provided a level of power, particularly the power of group solidarity, to which they previously did not have access.<sup>7</sup> Utilizing this power allowed Black secret societies a political public voice. Accordingly, the goal of Black secret societies was threefold: (1) provide deep personal ties among members; (2) address exclusion both from White fraternal organizations as well as within society; and (3) promote racial uplift. The influence of Black secret societies can be seen through Black Greek Letter Organizations' (BGLOs) organizational structure and purpose of providing support to members but also the community-at-large.<sup>8</sup>

Familiar understandings of African-American organizations were centered around their focus on racial uplift, activism, and social bonds. This is particularly the perception of BGLOs. Although BGLOs share these common roots, these generalizing similarities mask the unique founding ideals and contributions of each organization. In particular, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.'s founding vision of inclusivity uniquely shaped its mission, membership, and outreach. Unlike other BGLOs whose mission and membership tended to lean towards exclusivity and cultivating a talented tenth that

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<sup>2</sup> *See id.* at 67 (noting that fraternal groups had a “structure for uniting local, district, or national bodies”).

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* at 67.

<sup>4</sup> *See id.* at 69 (noting Black secret societies “grew steadily” in part because they provided spiritual nourishment, a sense of hope, and material support).

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* at 78.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* at 67–68.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* at 74–75.

<sup>8</sup> *See generally id.* at 89.

would lead the underclass masses, from its inception Phi Beta Sigma purposefully sought an inclusive membership that would engage with the community from a perspective of a relationship involving partnership rather than power.<sup>9</sup>

The Phi Beta Sigma fraternity fits the mold of most national, United States fraternities. Its structure, problems, and ideals are fairly typical. However, to truly appreciate the fraternity's uplift programs, it is important to understand Phi Beta Sigma's structure, problems, and ideals. The fraternity's smallest unit of organization is the individual chapter. The chapters are organized into regions that cover large geographic areas of the United States; the "Southeast Region" is a good example. Each region has a few officers with a vice-president controlling the region. The next and final step in the fraternity's hierarchy is the national board, which is comprised of a national president, executive secretary, various directors of the fraternity's several uplift programs, and a treasurer. Phi Beta Sigma's problems include raising money, keeping brothers active and involved, and agreeing in what direction the fraternity should move. The fraternity's major ideals include fostering an atmosphere of brotherhood among African-American undergraduates and graduates throughout America, and perhaps most importantly, furthering the African-American pursuit of true equality under the law and in day to day life.

Phi Beta Sigma overcame seemingly insurmountable obstacles in its early years and managed, through its many members, to conduct activities that would uplift local communities and advance the cause of African Americans and other disenfranchised peoples, not just in the United States, but also around the world. *Our Cause Speeds On* provides the fraternity's history between the years of 1914 and 1956.<sup>10</sup> During these years, the fraternity had programs for philanthropy and community service, but it seems most of the organization's uplift activities fall into the categories of civil rights and public policy. The impacts of Phi Beta Sigma's uplift programs on a national scale ordered from greatest to smallest are civil rights, public policy,

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<sup>9</sup> Matthew W. Hughey, *Constitutionally Bound: The Founders of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity and Zeta Phi Beta Sorority*, in *BLACK GREEK-LETTER ORGANIZATIONS IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY: OUR FIGHT HAS JUST BEGUN* 95, 98 (Gregory S. Parks ed., 2008).

<sup>10</sup> W. SHERMAN SAVAGE & L.D. REDDICK, *OUR CAUSE SPEEDS ON* 14 (1957).

philanthropy, and community service. While the fraternity did not begin as an organization to further civil rights causes, it paid more and more attention to the cause of equal rights for African Americans as it grew and evolved.

On Friday, January 9, 1914, Phi Beta Sigma was founded in Washington, D.C. by way of Howard University.<sup>11</sup> The vision for the organization, however, was set in motion years earlier in Memphis, TN, when its key founding jewel, A. Langston Taylor<sup>12</sup>, had a conversation with a recent Howard graduate.<sup>13</sup> In gathering information about the school he would matriculate to later that fall, Taylor learned of its fraternal organizations, and it was then that he decided he would start his own.<sup>14</sup> Creating a fraternity was an ambitious task, but Taylor was determined to see his vision come to fruition, and in the fall of 1913, after three long years of diligent and arduous groundwork, he approached Leonard F. Morse,<sup>15</sup> a former

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<sup>11</sup> *A Brief History of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.*, PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC., <http://www.phibetasigma1914.org/our-history/> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016).

<sup>12</sup> Hailed as one of “the greatest names in Sigma,” A. Langston Taylor was born in Memphis, Tennessee, on January 29, 1890, and graduated from the Howe Institute (now the LeMoyne-Owen College) in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1909. *Our Founders*, BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC., <http://www.phibetasigma1914.org/our-history/our-founders/> (last visited Feb. 29, 2016) [hereinafter *Our Founders*]. The following year he entered Howard University where he spearheaded the creation of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Incorporated on January 9, 1914, with respect to brotherhood, scholarship, and service. *Id.* Founder Taylor “received his college and professional training at Howard and Frelinghuysen University in Washington D.C.” *Id.* From 1917 to 1926, Founder Taylor served many roles from being the Secretary-Treasurer of the Potomac Investment Company to the Director of the Federal Life Insurance Company and to the President of the Taylor Tobacco Company. *Id.* Founder Taylor gave twelve consecutive years of service as the first National President, the National Secretary-Treasurer, and as the eighth member of the Distinguished Service Chapter (and later its president). *Id.* He also coined the Fraternity motto, “Culture for Service, Service for Humanity.” *Id.* Founder Taylor was a lifelong philanthropist and social servant, organizing and founding several philanthropic and social service organizations, including the Bancker Research Society, African Aid Society, Taylor Art Museum, guild of Associated Artists, and Progressive Therapy Association. Hughey, *supra* note 9, at 102. Founder Taylor is buried at the Lincoln Memorial Cemetery in Suitland, Maryland, after his death on August 9, 1953. *Id.*

<sup>13</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 14.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*

<sup>15</sup> Leonard F. Morse was born in New Bedford, Massachusetts on January 12, 1891 to Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Morse, a distinguished New England family. *Our Founders*, *supra* note 12. Mr. Morse was a very bright child and grew up to become

roommate, with his idea.<sup>16</sup> The two were of one mind and soon after invited Charles I. Brown to be the third founder.<sup>17</sup> Less than a month

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a learned and talented man. *Id.* He became the valedictorian of his integrated high school and continued on to Howard University where he graduated in 1915 as the first person to earn an A.B and B.Ed degree within three years. *Id.* He later earned his Bachelor of Divinity degree from the Payne School of Divinity, Wilberforce University, his Master's degree from Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, and his Doctor of Metaphysics and Psychology from the College of Metaphysics, Indianapolis, Indiana *Id.* Throughout his time, he became the Dean of Theology at Edward Waters College, the Head of the Department of Religious Studies, and the President of Edward Waters and a Mason. *Id.* As a founder of Phi Beta Sigma and student who learned the Greek language, he named the fraternity, wrote its constitution, and founded many chapters. *Id.* In addition to writing the first Fraternity Constitution and selecting the Greek letters, "Phi," "Beta," and "Sigma," for the fraternity name, Morse was the first National Secretary, the 16th member of the Distinguished Service Chapter, the first president of Alpha Chapter, and a recipient of the rare Fraternity Distinguished Service Key. *Our Founders, supra* note 12; Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc., *Most Honorable Brother Lenord F. Morse*, RIT.EDU, <http://www.rit.edu/sg/pbs/lfm.html>. He also served as the Florida State Director. Morse held leadership positions in many educational and religious institutions, including Dean of Theology at Edward Waters College in Jacksonville, Florida, where he later became president during 1933-34 and used personal funds to save Edward Waters from the upset of the Depression. Hughey, *supra* note 9, at 103. Out of his five children, two of his sons and later his grandson all became brothers in the fraternity. *Our Founders, supra* note 12. On May 22, 1961, Mr. Morse passed on but will be greatly remembered for all of his contributions to the fraternity. Hughey, *supra* note 9, at 103.

<sup>16</sup> André McKenzie, *In the Beginning: The Early History of the Divine Nine, in* AFRICAN AMERICAN FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES: THE LEGACY AND THE VISION 181, 193 (Tamara L. Brown, et. al. eds., 2014).

<sup>17</sup> *Id.* Charles I. Brown was born in Topeka, Kansas in 1890 to Rev. John M. Brown and Maggie M. Brown. *Our Founders, supra* note 12. He was the first National Vice-President of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Incorporated and later became a member of the Distinguished Service Chapter. Hughey, *supra* note 9, at 104. He is also credited with choosing the first nine members of the Fraternity as well as writing the first rituals of the young Fraternity. *Id.* After graduating Howard in 1914, Brown worked as an educator at Kansas State University in Manhattan, Kansas, and founded the Delta Chapter of Phi Beta Sigma on its campus. *Id.* Unfortunately, not much is known about Brown's life after Howard. *Our Founders, supra* note 12. The last correspondence that the Fraternity received from Brown was a letter to Founder A. L. Taylor in 1921 in which he indicated that he was enjoying a career as an educator in Kansas. *Id.* Shortly afterward he mysteriously disappeared from both the Fraternity and his family, although census records and oral interviews show that he was alive in the Topeka, Kansas, area until 1931. *Id.* Many theories and myths surround his disappearance, including the hypotheses that either he moved overseas or was a victim of the re-emerging violence of the Ku Klux Klan, which had a stronghold in Kansas in the 1920s and 30s. Hughey, *supra* note 9, at 105. Some oral

later, the three soon-to-be founders met with a hand-selected group of nine fellow Howard University colleagues.<sup>18</sup> Each of the nine was distinct in their personalities, physical appearance, and ability, but they shared a commitment to the fraternity's motto: "Culture for Service and Service for Humanity."<sup>19</sup> Although the fraternity was established on January 9, 1914, at this meeting among the three founders and nine charter members, it would be three months later on April 15, 1914, that the Board of Deans at Howard University approved and recognized the new fraternity.<sup>20</sup>

Once formally recognized by the university and given the range and prominence of the founders and initial members, Phi Beta Sigma quickly initiated 14 more members and over the next year expanded in key ways.<sup>21</sup> Over the summer, Phi Beta Sigma member I. L. Scruggs<sup>22</sup> procured a furnished house for the fraternity.<sup>23</sup> Not only

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histories report that Brown was murdered, although no established facts have been brought to light. *Id.*

<sup>18</sup> McKenzie, *supra* note 16, at 193.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* at 194–95.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* at 194.

<sup>21</sup> Hughey, *supra* note 9, at 97.

<sup>22</sup> I. L. Scruggs attended Howard University for education in medical studies where he earned his B.A. in 1915 and his M.D. in 1919. Phi Beta Sigma, *A Pioneering Doctor From our Community*, OOCITIES.ORG, <http://www.oocities.org/timesquare/1914/scruggs.htm> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016) [hereinafter *Pioneering Doctor*]. During this time, he met his wife, the former Ruth Tappe of Virginia. *Id.* He was one of the founding members of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity. *Id.* Among the fraternity, he is best known for securing the first fraternity house in the summer of 1914 and writing the lyrics to the fraternal hymn, "Our Cause Speeds On Its Way." *Id.*; *Phi Beta Sigma, Inc. 1910 - ...: Savage Eastern Region Historical Society, A Historical Time*, ERHISTORICALSOCIETY.TRIPOD.COM, <http://erhistoricalsociety.tripod.com/id11.html> (last visited Feb. 29, 2016) [hereinafter *PBS Timeline*]. The song's lyrics dealt with the uneasiness of times during World War I. *Pioneering Doctor*. Later, Mr. Scruggs served as national president of the fraternity from 1917 to 1919. *PBS Timeline*.

During his time as president, he aimed to contact Brothers as soon as they arrived in civilian clothes after WWI. *Id.* In 1921, he moved to Buffalo, NY where there was a large disparity between black and white doctors. *Pioneering Doctor*. This did not deter Dr. Scruggs as his medical practice continued to grow as an obstetrician, and he served on many groups such as being a volunteer for the old Buffalo and Erie County Tuberculosis and Health Association, the director of the Erie County Cancer Society, an organizer of the Federated Negro Clubs of Buffalo, a founder of the Michigan Ave YMCA in 1923, the first black person to serve on the Board of Directors of a metropolitan YMCA in the United States, and the founder of the

was this procurement quick, it was also only a few months after the official organization of the fraternity.<sup>24</sup> The house was also notable for its size, as it was the largest of all Howard University fraternity houses at the time.<sup>25</sup> Securing a house would be crucial to the fraternity's operations. The house not only served as headquarters for its members, but its library and art gallery were open to the public as well.<sup>26</sup> The house would later serve as the location for Phi Beta Sigma's inaugural conclave.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to its growth through its fraternity house, Phi Beta Sigma also grew in prominence on campus. The fall of 1914 saw several fraternity members elected to and holding notable campus organization leadership roles. Some of these included: both the Associate Editor and Circulation Manager of the Howard University Journal, President of the Debating Society, President of the college's YMCA, and President of the Political Science Club.<sup>28</sup> In a strategic move, the organization also extended honorary membership to notable faculty, such as Edward P. Davis,<sup>29</sup> Thomas W. Turner,<sup>30</sup> T.

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Buffalo Urban League in 1927. *Id.* In 1974, at the age of eighty-five, Dr. Scruggs passed on being remembered as a respected physician. *Id.*

<sup>23</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 16.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*

<sup>25</sup> *Id.*

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* at 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Id.*

<sup>28</sup> Hughey, *supra* note 9, at 96–97.

<sup>29</sup> Dr. Edward P. Davis was invited to join Phi Beta Sigma as a professor in the spring of 1915. *PBS Timeline, supra* note 22. He joined as a German language scholar although he eventually became the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. *Id.*

<sup>30</sup> Thomas Wyatt Turner was born on March 16, 1877 in Hughesville, Maryland. *Thomas Wyatt Turner, Chicken Bones: A Journal for Literary & Artistic African-American Themes*, <http://www.nathanielturner.com/thomaswyattturner.htm> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016) [hereinafter *Thomas Wyatt Turner*]. He attended Episcopal local schools and then matriculated to Howard University. *Id.* He was initiated into Phi Beta Sigma fraternity in 1915. *PBS Timeline, supra* note 22. Turner received a doctorate from Cornell University in 1921 and was also the first black person to receive a doctorate from Cornell. *Thomas Wyatt Turner*. Prior to receiving his doctorate, he taught biology at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and later in Baltimore, Maryland. *Id.* From 1914-1924, he was a Professor of Botany at Howard University, where he also served as the Acting Dean at Howard's School of Education from 1914-1920. *Id.* He also worked at Cornell University in 1918 and did work for the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Maine. *Id.* In 1931, Turner organized the Virginia Conference of College Science Teachers and he served as its president for two terms. *Id.* Turner was an American civil rights activist, biologist, and educator. *Id.* In 1909,



Montgomery Gregory,<sup>31</sup> and Alain Locke,<sup>32</sup> and also admitted graduate members.<sup>33</sup> The securing of these honorary members not

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he was a founding member of the NAACP and awarded life-time membership. *Thomas Wyatt Turner*. He was also a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Society for Horticulture Science. *Id.* He founded the Federated Colored Catholics in 1925. *Id.* In 1976, Turner was awarded the highest award by Washington D.C.'s Black Catholics as well as a degree by the Catholic University of America. *Id.* He was also the Supreme Color Bearer of the knights of St. John. *Id.* He died in 1978 at the age of 101. *Id.*

<sup>31</sup> On August 31, 1887, Thomas Montgomery Gregory was born in Washington D.C. to James Monroe Gregory and Fannie Emma Hagan. African American Registry, *Thomas Montgomery Gregory Broke Ground for Black Theater*, AAREGISTRY.ORG, [http://www.aaregistry.org/historic\\_events/view/thomas-montgomery-gregory-broke-ground-black-theater](http://www.aaregistry.org/historic_events/view/thomas-montgomery-gregory-broke-ground-black-theater) (last visited Mar. 1, 2016) [hereinafter *Thomas Montgomery Gregory*]. Mr. Gregory attended Harvard University where he joined the varsity debate team, eventually becoming its president, and from where he graduated in 1910. *Id.* Then, Mr. Gregory was invited to join Phi Beta Sigma as a professor in the spring of 1915. *PBS Timeline*, *supra* note 22. Earlier, he was respected for helping open up officer training to qualified African Americans during WWI. *Thomas Montgomery Gregory*. He joined as an author and play director as he was the organizer of the Howard University Department of Dramatic Art and Public Speaking and co-creator with Alain Locke of the Stylus Literary Club. *Id.* Later in August of 1924, Mr. Gregory became supervisor of Negro Schools, and later principal, in Atlantic City, New Jersey; then in 1929, he toured the South and lectured at eight state summer schools on educational and community drama. *Id.* During this tour he called attention to the work of black playwrights. *Id.* His dedication to drama continued through the next few decades, during which time he cultivated the concept of a National Negro Theater Movement. *Id.* Gregory believed that the dramatic arts could be used to formulate social change. *Id.* He believed that African Americans could, and should, use the arts as a vehicle for social change. *Id.* His work continued until 1956, when he retired and returned to Washington D.C. *Id.* Unfortunately, Mr. Gregory died on November 21, 1971, after battling leukemia. *Id.*

<sup>32</sup> Alain Locke was born on September 13, 1885 to Pliny Ishmael and Mary Hawkins Locke in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Alain Leroy Locke Biography: Philosopher, Journalist, Educator, Scholar*, BIOGRAPHY.COM, <http://www.biography.com/people/alain-leroy-locke-37962> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016) [hereinafter *Alain Leroy Locke*]. He graduated from Hertford College in 1910 and studied abroad at the University of Berlin. *Id.* As an English teacher at Howard University, Mr. Locke was invited to join Phi Beta Sigma in the spring of 1915. *PBS Timeline*, *supra* note 22. He then returned to Harvard and earned his doctorate in philosophy in 1918, coming back to Howard University as the chair of the school's Department of Philosophy until he retired in 1953. *Alain Leroy Locke*. Dr. Locke practiced and promoted theories of value, pluralism, and cultural relativism. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, *Alain Locke*, PLATO.STANDORD.EDU (Mar. 23, 2012), <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/alain-locke>. During this time, Dr. Locke became known as the "Father of the Harlem Renaissance" as he communicated the Harlem culture in a positive way to both black and white viewers, focusing specifically on

only ensured support from the faculty, but also increased the intellectual vigor of the organization.<sup>34</sup>

The fraternity's growth was not limited to Howard University, however. In the winter of 1915, Phi Beta Sigma founded its Beta Chapter at Wiley College in Marshall, Texas.<sup>35</sup> Several other chapters would soon follow. Phi Beta Sigma's reach and potential to spearhead vast social change did not go unnoticed because in December 1915 Grand Polemarch and founder Elder Diggs of Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity proposed a merging of the two organizations.<sup>36</sup> This merger would expand the largely Eastern and Southern chapters of Phi Beta Sigma and the predominately Midwestern chapters of Kappa Alpha Psi.<sup>37</sup> After careful consideration, Taylor gracefully declined the offer.<sup>38</sup>

In this article, we do something quite simple. In section I, we explore Phi Beta Sigma's history—both the organization and individual members—in the area of social justice for African Americans from its founding through the 1930s. In section II, we do the same from 1940 through the 1950s. In section III, we raise a peculiar question: in light of Phi Beta Sigma members' efforts in the area of social justice, how should we make sense of the role that honorary members played in African American's quest for social equality and civil rights. We conclude by underscoring Phi Beta Sigma's legacy in the area of social justice but note that it both petered-out leading into the 1960s and is markedly different from the involvement of comparison fraternities.

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the individual as opposed to groups. *Alain Leroy Locke*. Unfortunately, on June 9, 1954, Mr. Locke passed on and was buried in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington D.C. *Id.*

<sup>33</sup> Hughey, *supra* note 9, at 97.

<sup>34</sup> *Id.*

<sup>35</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 21.

<sup>36</sup> *Id.*

<sup>37</sup> *Id.*

<sup>38</sup> *Id.*

## I. FOUNDING – 1930s

From their founding, Phi Beta Sigma played an important role in the quest for African-American civil rights. The major vehicles of the fraternity's civil rights initiatives were the fraternity's annual conclave and its magazine, *The Crescent*. Undoubtedly, the majority of the physical work occurred at the local chapter level, but the ideas were laid out in the conclaves and *The Crescent*. The annual conclave, which occurred nearly every year from 1914 to 1956,<sup>39</sup> was where most of the action happened. During the conclave, delegates from each chapter—provided each chapter sent delegates—would discuss various initiatives and programs to further a variety of issues including civil rights issues. A prime example of one such initiative was the Program for Social Action, which was presented by Sigma brothers Elmo Anderson,<sup>40</sup> James Weldon Johnson,<sup>41</sup> Emmett May,<sup>42</sup> and Bob

<sup>39</sup> See *List of Phi Beta Sigma Conclaves Explained*, EVERYTHING.EXPLAINED.TODAY, [http://everything.explained.today/List\\_of\\_Phi\\_Beta\\_Sigma\\_conclaves/](http://everything.explained.today/List_of_Phi_Beta_Sigma_conclaves/) (last visited Mar. 1 2016). In some years, WWI and WWII prevented conclaves from being held. *Id.*

<sup>40</sup> Elmo Anderson was educated in Pittsburgh, PA. Phi Beta Sigma, Inc. Eastern Region, *Elmo Anderson – The Father of Social Action*, PBSEAST.ORG (July 1, 2015), <http://www.pbseast.org/elmo-anderson-the-father-of-social-action/> [hereinafter *Elmo Anderson*]. He served as Business Manager and Executive Secretary of “Our Colored Missions”. *Id.* He also served as Vice President of the National Catholic Interracial Federation and President of the Laymen’s Union. *Id.* Anderson served as President of the Epsilon Sigma Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity in New York, as well as President of the Chi Delta Sigma Chapter. *Id.* In the winter of 1934, as President of the Epsilon Sigma Chapter, Anderson and fellow Brothers James W. Johnson, Emmett May, and Bob Jiggets presented the Social Action proposition to the Conclave in Washington, D.C. Phi Beta Sigma, Inc. Eastern Region, *Social Action*, PBSEAST.ORG, <http://www.pbseast.org/social-action> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016) [hereinafter *Social Action*]. The idea was adopted as a national program during that same conclave. *Id.* Anderson’s social action proposition called for the reconstruction of social order. Phi Beta Sigma, Inc., *Social Action*, THETAUSIGMA1914.COM, <http://thetausigma1914.com/social-action/> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016). Anderson is credited as “The Father of Social Action” for his contributions to the Social Action proposition. *Id.*

<sup>41</sup> James Weldon Johnson was an American lawyer, writer, lyricist, professor, diplomat, and social activist. *James Weldon Johnson*, BIOGRAPHY.COM, <http://www.biography.com/people/james-weldon-johnson-9356013> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016) [hereinafter *James Weldon Johnson*]. He was born in 1871 in Jacksonville, Florida. *Id.* Johnson grew up in Jacksonville’s black middle class. *NAACP History: James Weldon Johnson*, NAACP, <http://www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-history-James-Weldon-Johnson> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016) [hereinafter *James Weldon Johnson*]

*NAACP*]. Both of his parents were born free and instilled the value of books, art, and music within their sons. *Id.* Johnson was educated at Jackson's largest black public grammar school, followed by high school and college at Atlanta University. *Id.* While at Atlanta University, he spent a summer teaching at a school in an impoverished African American community in rural Henry County, Georgia. *Henry County*, GEORGIA ENCYCLOPEDIA (Mar. 3, 2013), <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/henry-county>. Johnson later described this as an instrumental experience in the development of his race consciousness. He wrote in his autobiography, *Along the Way* (1933), that his experience in Henry County produced, "A force stronger than blood that made us one."

Johnson returned to Jacksonville after graduating from Atlanta University with honors in 1894. *James Weldon Johnson NAACP*. Johnson served as principal of Stanton for eight years, during which time he expanded the school's curriculum, established a black newspaper, and wrote poetry. *Id.*; see also *James Weldon Johnson*. While serving as Stanton's principal, Johnson also became the first African American to pass the Florida bar exam. *James Weldon Johnson*. He soon became frustrated with the Jim Crow South, so he moved to New York with his brother, where he pursued a songwriting career with his brother and the musician Bob Cole. *James Weldon Johnson and Grace Nail Johnson papers*, LIBRARY.YALE.EDU, <http://drs.library.yale.edu/HLTransformer/HLTransServlet?stylename=yul.ead2002.xhtml.xsl&pid=beinecke:jwj&clear-stylesheet-cache=yes> (last visited Mar. 27, 2016) [hereinafter *Johnson Papers*]. Over the next four years they composed over two hundred songs for various popular musicals. *James Weldon Johnson*. Many of these songs incorporated race-centered themes in an attempt to redefine stereotypes established in "coon songs". *Presented at the 2011 Conference*, MEIEA.ORG, <http://www.meiea.org/Conference11/Papers/Cusic.html> (last visited Mar. 27, 2016). Johnson also took classes at Columbia University during this time. *James Weldon Johnson*.

Due in part to his involvement in the Republican Party, Johnson was chosen by President Theodore Roosevelt as U.S. consul in Venezuela from 1906-1909 and Nicaragua from 1909-1913. *James Weldon Johnson*; *James Weldon Johnson NAACP*. During this time, he worked on *The Autobiography of a Colored Man*. *Id.* He also married Grace Nail. *Johnson Papers*. Following his foreign service in Latin America, Johnson became heavily involved in race discourse in America. In 1914, he became editor of a leading black newspaper, *The New York Age*. *James Weldon Johnson*. Johnson wrote weekly editorials condemning racism and praising the cultural achievements of African Americans. *Cf. id.* Johnson was then recruited by Joel E. Springarn for the NAACP. *Id.* Johnson worked as the NAACP field secretary from 1916-1920, before serving as the NAACP's first black executive secretary from 1920-1930. *James Weldon Johnson*; *James Weldon Johnson NAACP*; *The History of the NAACP*, NAACP, [http://naacp.3cdn.net/14a2d3f78c1910ac31\\_frm6bev0u.pdf](http://naacp.3cdn.net/14a2d3f78c1910ac31_frm6bev0u.pdf) (last visited Mar. 27, 2016) [hereinafter *NAACP History*]. Under Johnson's direction, the NAACP transformed into a publicly known organization. He organized a silent march of ten thousand African Americans down Fifth Avenue in New York on July 28, 1917 in

Jiggets at the 1934 Conclave in Washington D.C.<sup>43</sup> The Program for Social Action called for the reconstruction of social order along the lines of the New Deal. *The Crescent* was also a powerful tool in the fraternity's struggle for civil rights because its articles, often discussing civil rights issues, were read by brothers and other interested people across the United States.

Throughout its history, especially in its beginning, Phi Beta Sigma boasted the membership of many great, individual proponents of African-American civil rights. In 1916, at Phi Beta Sigma's first annual conclave, Phi Beta Sigma member L.M. Hershaw<sup>44</sup> received

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protest of violence against blacks. While at the NAACP, he also strongly campaigned for a federal anti-lynching bill. *NAACP History*.

After resigning from the NAACP in 1930, Johnson taught creative writing at Fisk University. *James Weldon Johnson NAACP*. He also guest lectured at New York University. *James Weldon Johnson*. Johnson published many works, including poetry collections such as *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* and *God's Trombones*. *Id.* Perhaps his most popular novel, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, focuses on a biracial man torn between the two halves of his identity. Kathleen Pfeiffer, Individualism, Success, and American Identity in *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* 30 *AFRICAN AMERICAN REVIEW* 403, 403 (1996). Johnson reveals class differences that exist within the black community. *Id.* at 414. This novel became a landmark in African American fiction. CARL L. BANKSTON & ANDREW L. SARGENT, *GREAT LIVES FROM HISTORY: AFRICAN AMERICANS* 38 (2011).

<sup>42</sup> Emmett May was a Brother in the Epsilon Sigma Chapter of Phi Beta Sigma fraternity. Epsilon Sigma Chapter, *Epsilon Sigma Chapter History*, HARLEMSIGMAS.ORG, <http://harlemsigmas.org/chapterhistory.php> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016) [hereinafter *Epsilon Sigma Chapter History*]. At the 1936 Conclave, he was elected to National Office as the Director of Social Action. *Id.*

<sup>43</sup> *Social Action*, *supra* note 40. Phi Beta Sigma aimed to improve the overall well-being of minority groups. *Id.* In 1934, a Program for Social Action was formed and known to call for the reconstruction of social order along the lines of the New Deal. *Id.* The main social action programs are Project Vote, Sigma Wellness, Sigma Presence on Capitol Hill, Sigmas Waging War Against Cancer, and Sigma Against Teenage Pregnancy Plus. *Id.*

<sup>44</sup> L.M. Hershaw was known for being a part of the Niagara Movement, a black civil rights organization founded in 1905 by those who wanted to fight against racial oppression, as the pace of change for equality was taking too long in the United States. *Niagara Movement*, GENI.COM, <http://www.geni.com/projects/Niagara-Movement/8582> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016). Some of his past letters and correspondence have been found when he announced a meeting of the D.C. branch of the Niagara Movement and discussed the Haitian minister coming to the meetings in the United States. Univ. of Mass. Amherst Library, *Niagara Movement*,

recognition for his work as one of the nine founders of the Niagara Movement—a forerunner of the N.A.A.C.P.<sup>45</sup> Hershaw delivered the conclave's opening address amidst applause for his civil rights work.<sup>46</sup> In the year 1916, a major civil rights struggle that would not be truly resolved until WWII was brewing. WWI had just begun, and Phi Beta Sigma's brothers, particularly Phi Beta Sigma member T. Montgomery Gregory, joined in the fight to allow African Americans to hold officer positions in the United States' military.<sup>47</sup> The students and faculty of Howard University created a committee to coordinate efforts to end Jim Crow in the military and allow African Americans to assume leadership roles.<sup>48</sup> Gregory was made the chairman of this committee and within days began to broaden the committee to include other colleges.<sup>49</sup> The committee, which eventually came to be known as the Central Committee of Negro College Men<sup>50</sup>, succeeded in their goal because some 300 Congressmen and Senators pledged their

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UMASS.EDU, <http://scua.library.umass.edu/digital/niagara.htm> (last visited Mar. 1, 2016).

<sup>45</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 23.

<sup>46</sup> *Id.*

<sup>47</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 25.

<sup>48</sup> *Id.*

<sup>49</sup> *Id.*

<sup>50</sup> Jessica Harris & Vernon C. Mitchell Jr., *A Narrative Critique of Black Greek-Letter Organizations and Social Action*, in *BLACK GREEK-LETTER ORGANIZATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY* 143, 7 (Gregory S. Parks ed., 1998). Phi Beta Sigma helped create the Central Committee of Negro College Men as a response to segregation. *Id.* Black soldiers were being led by white officers without any integration of black and white soldiers. *Id.* This was unfair to the black soldiers; if they could not receive integration, then they had every right to be led by black officers. *Id.* With the suggestion of T. Montgomery Gregory, the Central Committee of Negro College Men became a committee with Mr. C. Benjamin Curley as the Secretary to send out letters and telegrams over the country fighting the War Department for the appeal for an "Officers' Reserve Training Camp for Colored Men." Emmett Scott, *Colored Officers and How They Were Treated*, in *SCOTT'S OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE WORLD WAR* (1919), <http://net.lib.byu.edu/estu/wwi/comment/scott/SCh07.htm>. Finally, their cries were heard and the Central Committee of Negro College Men established officers training camp for African Americans on May 19, 1917. Central Committee of Negro College Men, *Training Camp for Negro Offices*, SAGAMORE HILL NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, <http://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/en/Research/Digital-Library/Record.aspx?libID=o279501&f=%2fen%2fAdvanced-Search.aspx%3fr%3d1%26st1%3d2%26t1%3dCentral%2bCommittee%2bof%2bNegro%2bCollege%2bMen> (last visited Mar. 4, 2016).

support.<sup>51</sup> Approximately 1,500 African Americans with college degrees were selected by the committee as potential candidates for an African-American officer training program.<sup>52</sup> Because of the efforts of the Central Committee of Negro College Men, the War Department reluctantly agreed to establish an officer-training program for African Americans.<sup>53</sup> The program accepted 1,250 new members, was called the 17<sup>th</sup> Provisional Training Regiment<sup>54</sup>, and was located in Fort Des Moines, Iowa.<sup>55</sup>

Another example of an individual brother of Phi Beta Sigma fighting for civil rights was Phi Beta Sigma member Arthur W. Mitchell, who held the fraternity's office of national president and was one of the relatively few African-American congressmen of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>56</sup> During his eight years in Congress, Congressmen

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<sup>51</sup> *Id.*

<sup>52</sup> *Id.*

<sup>53</sup> *Id.*

<sup>54</sup> Robert V. Morris, *Black Officers at Fort Des Moines in WWI*, IOWA PATHWAYS, [http://www.iptv.org/iowapathways/mypath.cfm?ounid=ob\\_000294](http://www.iptv.org/iowapathways/mypath.cfm?ounid=ob_000294) (last visited Mar. 4, 2016). On May 19, 1917, the U.S. War Department created a military training program for college-age Negro men; this became known as the 17<sup>th</sup> Provisional Reserved Officer Training Corps (ROTC). *Id.* In June of 1917, the 17<sup>th</sup> Provisional Training Regiment was organized at Fort Des Moines, Iowa. *Id.* Over sixteen hundred Negro men from all over the United States were accepted, making the 17<sup>th</sup> the first training regiment for Negro officers to lead Negro troops in American history. *Id.* Captain G.E. Goodrich, 30th Infantry, was assigned as the senior instructor of the 17<sup>th</sup> Provisional Training Regiment with his adjutant Major Wm. THE PLATTSBURG 19 (1917), [https://books.google.com/books?id=HrFDAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA19&lpg=PA19&dq=17th+Provisional%20+Training+Regiment&source=bl&ots=XMqVIINC6m&sig=aUotuyLahOXbfNUrT5XFV22HdKw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CDEQ6AEwBGoVChMI7vP0nc6FwxIVCW0-Ch1sUwF\\_#v=onepage&q=17th%20Provisional%20Training%20Regiment&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=HrFDAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA19&lpg=PA19&dq=17th+Provisional%20+Training+Regiment&source=bl&ots=XMqVIINC6m&sig=aUotuyLahOXbfNUrT5XFV22HdKw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CDEQ6AEwBGoVChMI7vP0nc6FwxIVCW0-Ch1sUwF_#v=onepage&q=17th%20Provisional%20Training%20Regiment&f=false). Together with other educated black cadets in different units, the 17<sup>th</sup> enlisted hoping to fight Germany in World War I. Robert V. Morris, *Black Officers at Fort Des Moines in WWI*, IOWA PATHWAYS, [http://www.iptv.org/iowapathways/mypath.cfm?ounid=ob\\_000294](http://www.iptv.org/iowapathways/mypath.cfm?ounid=ob_000294) (last visited Mar. 4, 2016).

<sup>55</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 26.

<sup>56</sup> *Arthur Mitchell Biography*, BIOGRAPHY, <http://www.biography.com/people/arthur-mitchell-9410168> (last visited Mar. 4, 2016) [hereinafter *Arthur Mitchell*]. U.S. Representative Arthur W. Mitchell is best known for being the first African American Democrat elected to Congress in 1934. *Id.* He was born on December 22, 1883, near Lafayette, Alabama to former slaves

Mitchell introduced strong anti-lynching legislation, appointed African Americans to the United States Military Academy, supported legislation for African-American National Guard units, promoted African-American history and culture, and fought against Jim Crow in the railroad industry.<sup>57</sup> Phi Beta Sigma member Edward Strong<sup>58</sup> was

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Taylor Mitchell and Ammar Patterson. *Id.* Congressman Mitchell went to Tuskegee Institute in 1897 to work for Booker T. Washington and went on to teach in rural schools in Georgia. *Id.* He then served ten years as the president of the Armstrong Agricultural School in West Butler, AL. After studying law and being admitted to the bar in 1927, he practiced law in Washington, D.C., and later, Chicago. *Id.* He converted from a Republican (as most African Americans were originally) to a Democrat when President Roosevelt introduced the New Deal. *Id.* Congressman Mitchell served on the House of Representatives four consecutive terms.

*Mitchell, Arthur Wergs*, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail?id=18340> (last visited Mar. 4, 2016).

He constantly spoke up for African Americans' rights such as battling against segregation and poll taxes. *Arthur Mitchell*. However, Congressman Mitchell did receive some backlash for being too lenient with his anti-lynching bill. *Mitchell,*

*Arthur Wergs*, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail?id=18340> (last visited Mar. 4, 2016).

He said he did not want to make it appear his race was inferior. *Id.* He needed to be fair and not punish harshly as he was a leader for everyone. *Id.* Unfortunately, Congressman Mitchell passed away on May 9, 1968, but his memory will not cease. *Id.*

<sup>57</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 90. While in Congress, Mitchell worked to provide opportunities for black Americans. *Mitchell, Arthur Wergs*, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail?id=18340> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). However many critics, including those in Mitchell's time, felt that his efforts were dilute. *Id.* Mitchell was a devote supporter of Roosevelt's New Deal. *Id.* He felt that the New Deal addressed many problems that specifically faced black Americans. *Id.* He staunchly supported programs such as the Work Projects Administration (WPA) and the Public Works Administration (PWA), saying that these programs had produced the best conditions for black Americans since they became free citizens. *Id.* Mitchell also lent great support to Roosevelt's plan to reorganize the federal judiciary in 1937. *Id.* He felt that blacks were victimized over the years by unfavorable Supreme Court decisions, and said that the Court often used the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to protect large corporations and property owners rather than to defend the basic rights of blacks. *Mitchell, Arthur Wergs*, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail?id=18340> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016).

Mitchell also nominated a number of black candidates for the United States military academies. *Id.* Mitchell also used his position to draw attention to racial discrimination. *Id.* In 1942 he challenged several labor unions for agreeing to contracts that excluded blacks and supported legislation that would outlaw the poll tax. *Id.* He said that if blacks could fight for the United States, then they were entitled to vote. *Arthur Mitchell Biography*, BIOGRAPHY,



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<http://www.biography.com/people/arthur-mitchell-9410168> (last visited Mar. 4, 2016). During the Second World War, Mitchell criticized the treatment of black soldiers, remarking that the discrimination endured by African American troops undermined the U.S. objective “to extend and protect the doctrine of genuine democracy.” *Mitchell, Arthur Wergs*, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail?id=18340> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). Mitchell also repeatedly offered bills that would outlaw racial discrimination in the civil service. *Id.* He called the requirement of submitting a photograph for civil service job applications “racial discrimination” and felt that fingerprints should be used instead. *Id.*

Mitchell’s greatest claim to fame is arguably his involvement in a desegregation Supreme Court case. *Id.* In April 1937, Mitchell traveled from Chicago to Hot Springs, Arkansas, on the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad. *Id.* Mitchell had first class tickets for the train, however when the train entered Arkansas, the conductor forced Mitchell to ride in the car designated for black passengers. *Mitchell, Arthur Wergs*, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail?id=18340> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). Mitchell described this car as “filthy and foul smelling.” *Id.* Mitchell challenged transport segregation by suing the railroad and filing a complaint with the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). *Id.* He contended that interstate trains should be exempt from the Arkansas law requiring “separate but equal” train accommodations. *Id.* After the ICC and a federal district court dismissed his complaint, Mitchell made history by joining a select number of sitting Members of Congress to argue a case before the Supreme Court. *Id.* In April 1941 the Court unanimously held in *Mitchell v. United States et al.* that black passengers had the right to the same accommodations and treatment whites did. *Id.*

Despite his varied efforts to provide opportunities for black Americans, Mitchell is criticized for not doing enough. *Mitchell, Arthur Wergs*, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail?id=18340> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). During the 74<sup>th</sup> Congress (1935-1937), Mitchell introduced his anti-lynching bill. *Id.* The bill was criticized for having lenient sentences and legal ambiguities. *Id.* Still, Mitchell staunchly supported his bill over the stronger bill proposed by the N.A.A.C.P. *Id.* Only when his bill was tabled did Mitchell lend his support the N.A.A.C.P. *Id.* Mitchell was also criticized for his apparent lack of interest in an assignment on the District of Columbia Committee that included oversight of the capital and its black population. *Crafting an Institutional Identity*, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, <http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Keeping-the-Faith/Crafting-Institutional-Identity/> (last visited Mar. 25, 2016). Black civil rights activists were also disappointed that he refused to address the poor treatment of black journalists covering Capitol Hill. *Id.* Mitchell believed that confrontational efforts toward civil rights would aggravate desegregation in the region. He became more dedicated to civil rights reform later on in his career, specifically with his interest in curbing discrimination in the federal civil service. *Mitchell, Arthur Wergs*, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail?id=18340> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). Although he did use his congressional appointments to name several black young men to the service academies, his roll-call votes mostly reflected those

the first leader of an organization known as the Southern Negro Youth Congress whose goal was to instill an appreciation of the Civil Rights Movement in young African Americans.<sup>59</sup> The Southern Negro Youth Congress was an offshoot of the National Negro Congress and was one of the most influential youth groups in the South from 1937 to 1948.<sup>60</sup> The organizations' main differences were the age of their

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of his fellow Chicago House Democrats. Dennis S. Nordin, *Arthur Wergs Mitchell*, ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ALABAMA, <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1353> (last updated Jan. 25, 2016).

<sup>58</sup> Edward Strong was a veteran activist who helped form the Southern Negro Youth Congress at a meeting located in Richmond, Virginia in 1937. Johnetta Richards, *Southern Negro Youth Congress (1937–1949)*, BLACKPAST, <http://www.blackpast.org/aah/southern-negro-youth-congress-1937-1949> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). During the meeting in Chattanooga, Tennessee, Mr. Strong greeted the delegates by saying, “Our problems today are acute. Three-quarter million of us are unemployed. One sixth of the nation’s youth have venereal diseases. One hundred thousand youth have been sent home from the CCC [Civilian Conservation Corps]. Five Scottsboro boys remain in prison. The fascist war lords are waging war against the Ethiopian, Austrian, Spanish, and Chinese young people. Our neighboring youth in Canada and Mexico are threatened by the blackest scourge of the modern world—fascism. And this black death has invaded our domain—America.” *“A Dream Deferred”: The Southern Negro Youth Congress, The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Politics of Historical Memory*, HUTCHINS CTR., <http://dubois.fas.harvard.edu/sites/all/files/Waldo%20Martin%20A%20Dream%20Deferred%20-%20SNYC%20SNCC%20and%20the%20Politics%20of%20Historical%20Memory.pdf> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). His powerful statement motivated the Southern Negro Youth Congress to work hard towards their goals.

<sup>59</sup> Richards, *supra* note 58.

<sup>60</sup> *Id.* The Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC) was formed in 1937 by young people who had attended the National Negro Congress (NNC) in Chicago, Illinois in 1936 and wanted to implement its call for action. *Id.* The first SNYC conference was held in Richmond, Virginia on February 13 and 14, 1937 at the Fifth Baptist Church. *Id.* Delegates included five hundred thirty-four individuals from across the South, including individuals from almost every historically black college as well as delegates representing YMCA branches and chapters of the Girl and Boy Scouts across the region. *Id.* Edward Strong was chosen as the National Youth Chairman for his past involvement in the NNC convention. *Id.* On July 23, 1936, he published the “Call for a Southern Negro Youth Conference” and the “Prospectus of the Southern Negro Youth Conference,” to be held during the Thanksgiving holidays in November. C. Alvin Hughes, *We Demand Our Rights: The Southern Negro Youth Congress, 1937–1949*, 21 *PHYLON* 39 (1987). In the “Call” he reminded youth of the South that seventy-three years had passed since the days of slavery, yet blacks still faced “clouds of reaction and oppression.” *Id.* This “common yoke of exploitation, discrimination and hunger,” he declared, required blacks to “be united as one to

target groups.<sup>61</sup> It is important to note that both organizations were militant.<sup>62</sup> Phi Beta Sigma member Dewey Roberts<sup>63</sup>, in either 1938 or 1939 (the date is not clearly given) succeeded in his campaign to equalize the salaries of teachers of all races in Knoxville, Tennessee.<sup>64</sup> Roberts worked towards this goal for ten years.<sup>65</sup>

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strike out in a new and mightier drive to the goal we are determined to achieve — Freedom, Equality, and Opportunity.” *Id.*

SNYC developed commission reports with various recommendations. *Id.* at 40. Reports recommended that the US Congress be petitioned to schedule biracial meetings of Southern students to hear their proposal to allow the teaching of Afro-American history in public schools. *Id.* SNYC hoped that Afro-American history courses would improve interracial understanding and end the distorted facts and propaganda about Negro history and achievements. *Id.* The SNYC also requested that better municipal health facilities be established, and guidance for Negro youth recreation programs be provided. *Id.* It endorsed slum clearance programs and the passage of legislation to improve the economic and educational level of black youth. *Id.* SNYC also called for the strengthening of churches, schools, and social groups and “demanded access to the same educational facilities enjoyed by white students, and supported the NAACP in its fight for admission of Negro students to Southern states universities.” *Id.*

For each of its campaigns, the SNYC used a four-point program. *Id.* at 43. This program searched for improvement in the areas of 1. Citizenship, 2. Education, 3. Jobs, and 4. Health. *Id.* This program was employed through the SNYC involvement in two tobacco strikes in Richmond, Virginia in 1937. *Id.* The Tobacco Workers’ International Union had a policy of occupational segregation, allowing for the disregard of the rights and needs of black workers. *Id.* at 43–44. The SNYC sent C. Columbus Alston as a representative to aid the workers who were on strike. *Id.* at 44. Alston helped black workers draft a list of demands. *Id.* These demands included higher wages, shorter working hours, and better working conditions. *Id.* Within 48 hours of the workers’ case being presented, an agreement was reached to the benefit of the workers. *Id.*

<sup>61</sup> *Id.*

<sup>62</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 100.

<sup>63</sup> *Dr. R. A., Billings Heads Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity*, SAN ANTONIO REG. (Jan. 10, 1941),

<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth399212/m1/4/?q=dewey%20roberts>.

Dewey Roberts was an educator and served as the president of Knoxville Colored Teachers League. *Street Named After Civil Rights Advocate Dewey Roberts, Sr.*, WBIR, <http://archive.wbir.com/news/article/261136/0/Street-renamed-after-civil-rights-advocate-Dewey-Roberts-Sr> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016).

<sup>64</sup> *Street Named After Civil Rights Advocate Dewey Roberts, Sr.*, WBIR, <http://archive.wbir.com/news/article/261136/0/Street-renamed-after-civil-rights-advocate-Dewey-Roberts-Sr> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). Through Dewey Roberts’ work over a ten-year period, teachers were eventually given equal pay regardless of race in the later 1930s. *Id.*

<sup>65</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 128.

The annual conclaves of Phi Beta Sigma were probably the fraternity's most powerful tool as it strove for African American equality and civil rights. Most of the major and far-reaching programs of the fraternity were formed through votes by the delegates present at the conclaves. The first clear civil rights action taken in the national conclaves was at the 1921 Atlanta (Georgia) Conclave, under the leadership of national president William Sherman Savage.<sup>66</sup> At this conclave the brothers of Omega Psi Phi began a joint initiative with Phi Beta Sigma to urge support for the Dyer Anti-Lynch Bill.<sup>67</sup> The fraternities came together and drafted a letter addressed to Mr. Leonidas Dyer declaring their joint commitment and desire for the passage of federal anti-lynching legislation.<sup>68</sup> At the 1926 Greensboro (North Carolina) Conclave, Phi Beta Sigma continued and strengthened its opposition against lynching; "a resolution was passed condemning lynchings in this country and endorsing a Federal Anti-Lynching Law."<sup>69</sup> The Resolutions Committee, a committee that

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<sup>66</sup> *Id.* at 39. Dr. William Sherman Savage was born on March 7, 1890, to Adam and Annie Savage and the oldest of twelve children. *Id.* He was raised in Accomac County, Virginia. *Id.* He received his B.A. Degree at Howard University, where he joined the Alpha Chapter of Phi Beta Sigma. *Id.* He became president of Phi Beta Sigma from 1920-1921. *Id.* Savage began his graduate study at the University of Kansas in the summers of 1921 and 1923, but ultimately received his M.A. from the University of Oregon in 1925. *Id.* He later received his Ph.D. from Ohio State University in 1934. *Id.* Dr. Savage's publications include: *The Controversy Over Abolition, The History of Lincoln University, Blacks in the West, The History of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity*, as well as other articles. *Id.* Additionally, he was a columnist for the *Kansas City Call* for five years under the name "Know Your History." *Id.*

<sup>67</sup> *NAACP History: Anti-Lynching Bill*, NAACP, <http://www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-history-anti-lynching-bill> (last visited Mar. 4, 2016). The Dyer Anti-Lynch Bill was introduced by Missouri Congressman Leonidas Dyer in 1918. *Id.* In 1922, the Bill was passed by the House of the Representatives; however, its passage was halted by a filibuster in the Senate. *Id.* While other bills with similar aims were submitted to Congress in later years, none were ever passed. Steven J. Jager, *Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill (1922)*, BLACKPAST, <http://www.blackpast.org/aah/dyer-anti-lynching-bill-1922> (last visited Mar. 4, 2016). The main purpose of this legislation was to ensure that any crime of lynching would actually be punished by the government, ensuring equal protection of the laws since many state and local governments did not pursue prosecution of these crimes. *Id.* This specific bill classified lynching as a federal felony which would have allowed the United States Federal Government to prosecute cases. *Id.* The law also focused on punishing mob violence. *Id.*

<sup>68</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 39.

<sup>69</sup> *Report of the 13th Annual Conclave of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity Held at A. & T. College, Greensboro, N.C., Dec. 26-29, 1926*, THE CRESCENT, Mar. 1927 at 10 [hereinafter *Report of the 13th Annual Conclave*].

strategized how the fraternity would reach its goals, created another committee whose sole purpose was to “draw up fitting resolutions and present the same to a Congressional Committee, and to seek a hearing before a committee should such a bill be introduced during this Congress.”<sup>70</sup> Essentially, the committee was intended to go before Congress in an attempt to pass a federal anti-lynching law.<sup>71</sup> Arthur Mitchell, then the fraternity’s national president, lauded the fraternity’s successful efforts in defeating Judge John Johnston Parker’s nomination to the United States Supreme Court at the 1933 Chicago (Illinois) Conclave.<sup>72</sup> The fraternity realized some progress in their struggle to pass a federal anti-lynching law soon after the 1933 Conclave during the national board meeting held in May 12, 1934 when Mitchell announced, “President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Governor Rolph of California, and Governor Ritchie of Maryland had acknowledged receipt of the Frat’s [sic] resolution on lynching.”<sup>73</sup> Phi Beta Sigma member Jesse Lewis,<sup>74</sup> the newly elected national president of the fraternity, delivered a speech at the 1935 Atlanta (Georgia) Conclave declaring that the fraternity’s new inter-fraternal movement (this was another joint movement with Omega Psi Phi) “should be revised in order that an attack could be made upon common problems on a united front.”

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<sup>70</sup> *Id.*

<sup>71</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 59.

<sup>72</sup> John Johnston Parker was a United States Judge who missed confirmation to the Supreme Court by one vote. *NAACP: A Century in the Fight for Freedom*, LIBRARY OF CONG., <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/the-great-depression.html> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). Parker was a North Carolina native. *Id.*

<sup>73</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK *supra* note 10, at 84.

<sup>74</sup> Jesse W. Lewis was born in Richmond, Virginia, in 1902. *A Founder of Industrial Bank, Lewis Sr., Dies in D.C.* JET, Nov. 17, 1973, at 17. He graduated from Shaw University and went on to earn a master’s degree from New York University in 1926. *Id.* Additionally, he held a law degree from Blackstone College. *Id.* Upon graduation, Lewis began teaching economics and business administration at Howard University. *Id.* While there, he served as head of the department of business for nine years. *Id.* After nineteen years teaching at Howard, Lewis left. *A Founder of Industrial Bank, Lewis Sr., Dies in D.C.* JET, Nov. 17, 1973, at 17. He joined forces with other Black financiers in 1934 to create a Black bank in Washington. Industrial Bank was one of the nation’s first Black banks to be opened during the Great Depression. *Id.* Lewis was also a founder of the National Finance and Investment Corp. *Id.* Lewis served as the national president of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity for two years. *Id.* Lewis passed away in Washington D.C. in 1973. *Id.*

A significant facet of Phi Beta Sigma's battle for civil rights was its involvement with the National Negro Congress. The National Negro Congress had its roots at Howard University and had strong communist ties. In addition, it was a militant organization distrusted by many of the Phi Beta Sigma brothers, particularly those from the South. The National Negro Congress' platform was entitled "Toward Social Action" and vowed to "exhaust every means" in order to guarantee "national and state anti-lynch legislation . . . equality of wages and working conditions for Negroes . . . elimination of race discrimination in federal, state, and municipal appropriations" and finally "equalization of educational opportunities."<sup>75</sup> Sigma's support of the National Negro Congress was received with mixed support from Brothers, especially Southern members who were generally more conservative. Phi Beta Sigma member Emmet May, director of the Program for Social Action, gave a speech at the 1935 Conclave pushing for Phi Beta Sigma to pledge support to the National Negro Congress.<sup>76</sup> Despite the Southern members' resistance to what they perceived as "the radicalization of the Fraternity [sic]," the delegates at the 1935 Conclave voted to send representation to the National Negro Congress.<sup>77</sup> Later, the board decided to hold its next meeting at the same time and place as the first meeting of the National Negro Congress in Chicago so that the board members and observing fraternity brothers could attend both events.<sup>78</sup> The fraternity did not idly stand by at the National Negro Congress meeting. They were exceedingly active, with members advocating and influencing several civil rights and public policy initiatives ranging from civil liberties to the exploitation of sharecroppers. In particular, Sigma National President Lewis headed the discussion on "Negro Business and its Sound Development," while the National Secretary-Treasurer W.D. Allimono spoke on "Disfranchisement of Negro Voters."<sup>79</sup> Following

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<sup>75</sup> *Towards Social Action*, THE CRESCENT, Apr. 1936, at 3 [hereinafter *Towards Social Action*].

<sup>76</sup> *Social Action*, OMICRON ZETA SIGMA,

<http://www.ozs1914.org/Programs/SocialAction.aspx> (last visited Mar. 6, 2016).

<sup>77</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 97.

<sup>78</sup> *Id.* at 98.

<sup>79</sup> *Towards Social Action*, *supra* note 75. W.D. Allimono was the first African-American certified public accountant. *Robert Chrisman Obituary*, H-NET, <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=H-Afro-Am&month=1303&week=d&msg=Vqa6zsskcSNE8Nh3K2Y0mA> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). He practiced accounting in Chicago, Illinois and Nashville, Tennessee.

the 1936 National Negro Congress, Director of Social Action Emmet May challenged “every chapter of Phi Beta Sigma and each individual Sigma man” to do “his utmost toward the building of a bigger and better National Negro Congress for the ensuing year. Let every Sigma man back our National Social Actions Program and its director, who will continue to carry forward the banner of Sigma in the Congress.”<sup>80</sup>

Phi Beta Sigma fraternity’s public policy initiatives between 1914 and 1956 are, likewise, numerous. Many of the public policy programs are detailed in the civil rights section as civil rights objectives were the critical component of the program. Significant overlap exists between the fraternity’s public policy programs and programs for civil rights, philanthropy, and community service. Specifically, these Phi Beta Sigma public policy programs concerned African-American economic and educational status and were designed to aid disadvantaged people groups throughout the Northern Hemisphere.

From its early years onwards, Phi Beta Sigma viewed education as absolutely essential for improving African Americans’ standard of living. In the spring 1925 issue of *The Crescent*, the article on the 11<sup>th</sup> annual Conclave features a number of excerpts from Phi Beta Sigma member Dr. I. Garland Penn’s<sup>81</sup> address regarding

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*History Contest Answers*, BLUE PHI, <http://bluephi.net/blog/founder%E2%80%99s-day-history-contest/history-contest-answers/>. Allimono also served as Phi Beta Sigma’s National Secretary Treasurer. *New Goals Are Set for Kappa Alphas and Phi Beta Sigmas*, PITTSBURG COURIER, Jan. 2, 1937, at 4.

<sup>80</sup> *Towards Social Action*, *supra* note 75.

<sup>81</sup> I. Garland Penn, CINCINNATI MUSEUM CENTER, <http://library.cincymuseum.org/aag/bio/penn.html> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). Irving Garland Penn was born in 1867 in New Glasgow, Virginia, and raised in Lynchburg. *Id.* He left high school to work at a small African-American newspaper, *the Laborer*, becoming its editor in 1886. *Id.* He later completed his high school education and went on to receive a master’s degree from Rust College in 1890, and a doctorate in 1908 from Wiley College. *Id.* During that time he was a teacher and then principal of a black school in Lynchburg. *Id.* In 1886, he was a news correspondent with *the Richmond Planet*, *the Knoxville World* and the *New York Age*. *Id.* In 1895, he was head of Negro Sales of the Cotton States Exhibition. I. Garland Penn, CINCINNATI MUSEUM CENTER, <http://library.cincymuseum.org/aag/bio/penn.html> (last visited Mar. 5, 2016). When he moved to Atlanta in 1897, Penn became Assistant General Secretary of the Epworth League of the Colored Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. *Id.* In 1912, he became Co-Corresponding Secretary of the Freedman’s Aid Society of the Church in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he worked to

education in the South. In one such excerpt, Dr. Penn asserted, “Our twenty millions [sic] of dollars of property had been established by Northern philanthropists, to help stem the tide of ignorance of our group in the South . . . Our gratitude must be expressed by the carry-on spirit and not by mere empty expressions of praise and thanks.”<sup>82</sup> Dr. Penn emphasized the role of the “college man” in maintaining high standards of education in “institutions of learning.”<sup>83</sup> Phi Beta Sigma’s emphasis on education was also demonstrated through the visit of some of the Conclave delegates to the grave of Mrs. Fannie Jackson Coppin<sup>84</sup>, described as a “pioneer in Negro education, being

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secure funding for several of the Church-supported colleges including Rust University, Morgan College and Philander Smith College. *Id.* Dr. Penn continued to work for the Methodist Episcopal Church including as a member of the Joint Commission on Unification of the Church, which worked to mend the rift between the North and South Churches caused by issues of slavery. *Id.* He was associated with Booker T. Washington. He was the author of *The Afro-American Press and Its Writers* (1891) which provides a detailed list of African American newspapers; *The United Negro*; and *The College of Life or Practical Self Educator: How to Become the Colored Race* (1902). *Id.* Dr. Penn died on July 22, 1930. *Id.*

<sup>82</sup> *The Eleventh Annual Conclave*, THE CRESCENT, Apr. 1925, at 1–2.

<sup>83</sup> *Id.*

<sup>84</sup> Frances (Fannie) Marion Jackson was born a slave in 1837 in Washington, D.C. An aunt purchased her freedom at the age of 12. *Fanny Jackson Coppin*, COPPIN STATE UNIVERSITY, <http://www.coppin.edu/fannyjacksoncoppin> (last visited Feb. 26, 2016). She worked as a servant for the author George Henry Calvert in Baltimore and at the age of 14 was supporting herself in Newport, R.I. where she attended Rhode Island Normal School. *Id.* In 1860, she enrolled in Oberlin College in Ohio, the first college to admit both women and blacks. *Id.* At Oberlin, Ms. Jackson was a member of the Ladies Literary Society and the first African American appointed to the College’s preparatory department becoming a student-teacher. Maggie Maclean, *Fannie Jackson Coppin*, CIVIL WAR WOMEN, <http://civilwarwomenblog.com/fannie-jackson-coppin/> (last visited March 3, 2016). At the end of the Civil War she established a night school at the college to educate freed slaves. *Id.* After graduating from Oberlin in 1865, she became a high school teacher at the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, teaching Latin, Greek and mathematics. *Fanny Jackson Coppin*, COPPIN STATE UNIVERSITY, <http://www.coppin.edu/fannyjacksoncoppin> (last visited Feb. 26, 2016). She was promoted first to principal of the Ladies Department and in 1869 became principal of the high school, the first woman to head a high school. She held that position until 1906. *Id.* During her time in Philadelphia, Ms. Jackson worked to improve education focusing on teaching practices which included instituting practice teaching and she also worked to establish housing for workers and poor women and was a columnist for Philadelphia newspapers, writing to support and defend the rights of women and blacks. *Id.* Fannie Jackson was married in 1881 to the Reverend Levi Jenkins Coppin, the pastor of the Bethel AME Church in Baltimore. *Id.* In 1902, the couple travelled to Cape



the founder of founder of Cheney Institute in Philadelphia.”<sup>85</sup> The national president of Phi Beta Sigma at the time, Arthur W. Mitchell, stated,

I know of nothing more appropriate than the brief address of our great General Pershing, who before the tomb of Lafayette, said, ‘Lafayette, we are here.’ In these same words we may say to this distinguished lady who blazed the way in a new and untried field of educating Negroes, Fannie Jackson Coppin, we are here.<sup>86</sup>

While Sigma undoubtedly valued education, the star of Phi Beta Sigma’s public policy initiatives, however, designed to better African American and other disenfranchised groups’ quality of life, was the Program for Bigger and Better Business.<sup>87</sup>

The brothers of Phi Beta Sigma created one of their first public policy directives geared towards African Americans at the 1923 Nashville (Tennessee) Conclave, under the leadership of national president John W. Woodhouse.<sup>88</sup> Northern movement of African Americans and the outlook of African-American business were the major issues discussed, and the fraternity decided to appoint a commission to study the northern migration of African Americans during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>89</sup> Around the summer of 1924, fraternity founder A. L. Taylor spearheaded a conference on the problems and

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Town, South Africa where they founded the Bethel Institute, a missionary school that emphasized self-help for its students. After ten years of missionary work, she returned to Philadelphia due to poor health. *Id.* Mrs. Coppin died on January 21, 1913. In 1926, a Baltimore teacher training school was named the Fannie Jackson Coppin Normal School in her honor, which is now Coppin State University. *Id.*

<sup>85</sup> *Fannie Jackson Coppin, Heroine*, THE CRESCENT, Apr. 1925, at 10–13.

<sup>86</sup> *Id.*

<sup>87</sup> The program was created by the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity at the 1924 Fraternal Conclave in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. While it started out as an exhibit, it was very successful and was made the official public program of the fraternity in the 1925 conclave in Richmond, Virginia. Today the program is dedicated to supporting and promoting minority businesses and services. Dr. I. L. Scruggs, *Excerpts from Our Cause Speeds On*, PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC. EASTERN REGION, <http://www.pbseast.org/bbb/> (last visited on Feb. 26, 2016).

<sup>88</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 42. Woodhouse was president from 1923–1925. He was also a member of the Zeta Sigma service chapter.

<sup>89</sup> *Id.*

outlook of the African American in business. This conference would spark one of Phi Beta Sigma's greatest and most successful programs.<sup>90</sup> Soon after Taylor's visionary conference, the December 1924 issue of *The Crescent* contained a report detailing the "South-North Negro Migration."<sup>91</sup> The report estimated that approximately 500,000 African Americans had moved north between 1916 and 1924, and detailed some of the reasons for this migration, namely economic opportunity and escape from the legal and racial discrimination in the South. It also discussed some of the social ramifications, including difficulties for new arrivals in adjusting to life in northern urban centers. At the next Conclave, which was held in Philadelphia in 1924, there was a discussion on "Bigger and Better Race Business" and an educational conference on the similar subject of "The Young College Man's Part in the Development of Business."<sup>92</sup> The fraternity's Bigger and Better Business Program was put to the test and passed with flying colors at the Philadelphia Conclave. About 40 independent African-American businessmen sent in statements about business strategies and 50 sent in exhibits showing their unique strategies. Due to the enormous success of the program in Philadelphia, the brothers unanimously voted to make the Bigger and Better Business Program the fraternity's official public program at the 1925 Richmond (Virginia) Conclave.

In 1926, the fraternity launched a long-range campaign to educate African Americans about the economic potential of "Black America," to promote business education, and to encourage African Americans to support African-American businesses.<sup>93</sup> As part of this long-term campaign, the national fraternity body and the individual local chapters would host "Bigger and Better Business Weeks" during the beginning of April.<sup>94</sup> During these weeks, African-American businessmen would tell audiences about their personal formulas for success and their unique business strategies.<sup>95</sup> The description in *The Crescent* of the 1927 Bigger and Better Business Week clearly explains the nature of the program: "Chapters, both graduate and

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<sup>90</sup> *Id.* at 45.

<sup>91</sup> *Id.*

<sup>92</sup> *Id.* at 46.

<sup>93</sup> *Id.* at 53.

<sup>94</sup> *Id.*

<sup>95</sup> *Id.*

undergraduate, make special preparation and render public programs in connection with schools and churches in the interest of Negro Business. Outstanding speakers are sent to the large centers of Negro population and address mass meetings on some practical business subject.”<sup>96</sup> One of these outstanding speakers was the National President of the Fraternity, who visited numerous cities during 1926, including Buffalo, New York; Atlanta, Georgia; Raleigh, North Carolina; and St. Louis, Missouri, among others. In addition to mentioning the activities of the Fraternity’s president, *The Crescent* includes a description of the specific program in Buffalo, New York, during which “all the pastors of colored churches cooperated in having one large mass meeting at which assembled more than a thousand colored people.”<sup>97</sup> The program itself consisted of “music, short addresses by local businessmen, an essay contest by high school pupils (essays on subjects relative to Negro business and calculated to arouse interest in the study of business.)”<sup>98</sup> This type of program was held not only in Buffalo but in “scores of other cities where Sigma has active chapters.”<sup>99</sup>

In addition to Bigger and Better Business Week, the fraternity made an interesting move at the 1926 Greensboro (North Carolina) Conclave. The delegates appointed a commission of brothers to investigate the conditions in Haiti during the United States occupation of Haiti, which lasted from 1915 to 1934.<sup>100</sup> They were also tasked with visiting the Virgin Islands in order to “make a thorough study and investigation of the conditions which are alleged to exist there and upon returning to the States, make a report of their findings along with recommendations to the proper authorities.”<sup>101</sup> The proposed commission was apparently “actuated by an earnest desire to see our great Fraternity step out into broader fields of service.”<sup>102</sup> It is unclear why the brothers were so concerned with Haiti and the Virgin Islands specifically, as the United States occupied several countries during this period, including the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924.

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<sup>96</sup> *Bigger and Better Business Week, Its Value in the Economic Outlook of the Negro*, THE CRESCENT, Mar. 1927, at 5-7 [hereinafter *Bigger and Better Business Week*].

<sup>97</sup> *Id.*

<sup>98</sup> *Bigger and Better Business Week*, *supra* note 96.

<sup>99</sup> *Id.*

<sup>100</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 59.

<sup>101</sup> *Report of the 13th Annual Conclave*, *supra* note 69.

<sup>102</sup> *Id.*

Phi Beta Sigma attempted to influence college curriculums to further their Bigger and Better Business Program. In the March 1931 issue of *The Crescent*, national fraternity president Arthur Mitchell called for colleges to teach courses on business so that African Americans would “warrant and get support and patronage from other races as well as the [African American] race.”<sup>103</sup> Bigger and Better Business Week continued to be Sigma’s focus in terms of public policy and community outreach; in an issue of *The Crescent* from later that year, Phi Beta Sigma member and Business Specialist with the Department of Commerce, James A. “Billboard” Jackson,<sup>104</sup> issued the

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<sup>103</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 74.

<sup>104</sup> James Albert Jackson was born in 1878 and raised in Bellefonte, PA and he was the eldest of fourteen children of Abraham and Nancy Lee Jackson. *James Albert Jackson*, BLACKPAST, <http://www.blackpast.org/aah/jackson-james-albert-billboard-1878-1960> (last visited Feb. 26, 2016). He attended public schools there but left home at the age of 18 to pursue a career. He travelled to Chicago where he was the first African American bank clerk. He also worked during World War I for the U. S. Military Intelligence Bureau. *Id.* “In the 1920’s while working in New York City, Jackson recognized the importance of entertainment in the black consumer market. *Billboard Jackson Historical Marker*, PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC. EASTERN REGION, <http://www.pbseast.org/billboard-jackson-historical-marker/> (last visited Feb. 26, 2016). In 1920, he became the first African American editor of the Negro Department of *Billboard Magazine*, the world’s largest theatrical publication, which wanted to increase the magazine’s reach to African Americans migrating to Northern cities. *Id.* That year the column “Jackson’s Page,” which reported on black entertainment in New York and Chicago, appeared in the magazine and was later picked up by black newspapers in the North. *Id.* During the 1920’s Jackson promoted black entertainers and worked with members of the Harlem Renaissance to promote their theatrical works. *Id.* Between 1927 and 1933, Jackson advised the U. S. Department of Commerce on black business and entrepreneurship, having been appointed by President Hoover. *Id.* In 1934, he became a marketing specialist for Esso/Standard Oil, an association that continued for 21 years. *Id.* In 1940, he was the first African American member of the American Marketing Association. *Id.* Throughout his business career, he encouraged African American commercial development and supported industrial training programs. *Id.* He became a member of the Epsilon Sigma Chapter of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, a graduate chapter in New York City whose members included many influential business leaders. He was also a member of Iota Sigma, a Richmond Virginia chapter. *Id.* His involvement with Phi Beta Sigma continued throughout his life and today the fraternity provides the James “Billboard” Jackson Business Development Grants to two brothers who present the best business plan. Billboard Jackson was married to Gabrielle Hill in 1926; they had a son James A. Bishop, Jr. He died in New York City in 1960 at the age of 82. *Id.* In 2014, the Historic Bellefonte and the Pennsylvania Historical and

following statement in support of Bigger and Better Business Week: “It has commanded newspaper space, aroused public interest, riveted the friendship of many of the struggling Negro business folk, and arrested the attention of those who think in terms of economics.”<sup>105</sup> Jackson’s viewpoint on service was clear, as he further stated that the “greatest service to humanity known today is commerce.”<sup>106</sup>

The fraternity clearly took the circumstances of the Great Depression into account in its approach to public policy during those years. In his 1931 editorial, “Will the Depression bring the Negro to his senses,” Edward S. Bishop<sup>107</sup> extolled Sigma’s potential for improving the standard of living for African-Americans and called for a business-focused approach.

As a national fraternity, a group of men with the well-being of the race at heart, Phi Beta Sigma can play a big part in bringing the Negro to his senses by opening

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Museum Commission awarded a historic marker to place in front of his family’s home in the town awarded by to celebrate Jackson’s life achievements. *Id.*

<sup>105</sup> *A Program for the Negro Race*, THE CRESCENT, Dec. 1930, at 10.

<sup>106</sup> *Id.*

<sup>107</sup> Edward Simon (E. S.) Bishop was born in 1907, the son of a store clerk and grandson of a slave, and grew up in Starkville, Mississippi. *Edward S. Bishop*, EASOM OUTREACH FOUNDATION, <http://www.easomoutreachfoundation.org/edward-s.-bishop.html>, (last visited Feb. 26, 2016). He put himself through college working as a waiter at the Edwards Hotel in Jackson, MS. He graduated with the class of 1930 from Jackson State University where he is a member of the Sports Hall of Fame. *Id.* He was President of the University’s Athletic Association from 1972 to 1977. *Id.* In 1935, he moved to Corinth, Mississippi to become principal of the Scale Street School and experienced resistance when he attempted to register to vote there. *Id.* He also taught at the Eason High School. *Id.* In 1969, Bishop was defeated when he ran for office in Corinth but was elected the next year an alderman serving in that office from 1970 to 1988. *Id.* He was elected mayor of the predominantly white city in 1989 and held the position until 1994. *Id.* During his time in office, he worked to bring about the peaceful desegregation of the city’s schools and to bring federal funding to the city for urban renewal projects. *Id.* He also expanded the city’s retail base and improved the city’s airport. *Id.* Bishop later became director of the Alcorn County Human Resources Agency and was the state director of the Council on Children and founded the Alcorn County Self-Help Housing Project. *Id.* The senior center in Corinth is named in his honor. Bishop was married to Eva T. Hunter, who was president of the Mississippi Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs, Inc. *Id.* They were the parents of a daughter and three sons. Mr. and Mrs. Bishop’s papers dating from 1968 to 1982 are housed at the Amistead Research Center. E. S. Bishop died in 1996 in Tupelo, Mississippi. *Id.*

his eyes and showing him his predicament; by emphasizing our Bigger and Better Business Week; by encouraging cooperative buying and selling of our merchandise and other commodities; and by members of graduate chapters pooling their savings and investing them in some business that will prove to the race and to the world the value of economic power and racial cooperation.<sup>108</sup>

Public policy issues came to the center stage of the fraternity at the 1934 Washington, D.C., Conclave. The fraternity voted to create a committee dedicated solely to public policy matters.<sup>109</sup> The Public Policy Committee did not hesitate to start doing their job. Soon after the 1934 conclave, the Public Policy Committee urged the fraternity to come forth with a broad-based program that would address the problems of “the great masses of the African American people.”<sup>110</sup> This started the fraternity along its course towards the great Social Action Plan. Per the Social Action Plan, local chapters were encouraged to sponsor forums and roundtable discussions on current political and economic questions. Some brothers pushed for the fraternity’s Bigger and Better Business Program to be meshed with the National Negro Business League, but eventually the fraternity decided against this idea.<sup>111</sup> In the March 1935 issue of *The Crescent*, James Jackson suggested that African Americans “buy black,” meaning that African Americans should give first preference to African-American merchants when buying goods or services and second preference to merchants who employed African Americans.<sup>112</sup> Jackson would advocate this strategy until his death.

The second 1935 issue of *The Crescent* was a particularly important issue in terms of Phi Beta Sigma’s public policy initiatives. This issue contained one article about the dangers of communism to the African American, another article that advocated a “cooperative society,” and yet another extolling education as the “way out” for

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<sup>108</sup> *Will The Depression Bring The Negro To His Senses?*, THE CRESCENT, Dec. 1931, at 29.

<sup>109</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 87.

<sup>110</sup> *Id.* at 91.

<sup>111</sup> *Id.* at 93.

<sup>112</sup> *Id.*

African Americans.<sup>113</sup> The idea of cooperatives was nothing new, however, as an article in a 1929 edition of *The Crescent* shows. The Colored Merchants Association, described therein, was a business cooperative whose practices included “buying in large quantities, maintaining uniform service, and advertising cooperatively.”<sup>114</sup> This enabled them to “sell with profit at greatly reduced prices.”<sup>115</sup> Interestingly, the southern, slightly more conservative brothers had yet another theory that they explained in the July 1937 issue of *The Crescent*. They believed that the best way to build bigger and better business among African Americans, and thus increase their quality of life, was through “consumer and credit cooperative movement.”<sup>116</sup> During this time there was no consensus among the brothers as to what public policy approach was the best suited to better African Americans’ quality of life.

A “Business Men’s Luncheon” was held at the 1938 Winston-Salem Conclave. During the luncheon local leaders talked about the problems and opportunities of the business world from the perspective of African Americans.<sup>117</sup> At the same conclave, the Resolutions Committee came up with several resolutions; the most important was that a pamphlet be prepared by the fraternity on the business methods and achievements of African American businessmen.<sup>118</sup>

In an initiative presumably approved at a previous 1936 New York City (New York) Conclave by the Resolutions Committee, Phi Beta Sigma member Emmet May and newly elected national fraternity president Johnson signed into action a program to send letters to President F. D. Roosevelt supporting the Black-Connery Wages and Hours Bill<sup>119</sup> and to Senators Robert F. Wagner and Royal S.

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<sup>113</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 95.

<sup>114</sup> *Retail Merchandising Among Negroes*, THE CRESCENT, Dec.1929, at 5–7.

<sup>115</sup> *Id.*

<sup>116</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 106.

<sup>117</sup> *Id.* at 116.

<sup>118</sup> *Id.* at 120.

<sup>119</sup> Hugo Black, a senator from Alabama, sponsored the Administration bill in the senate, and William P. Connery a representative from Massachusetts, sponsored the bill in the House. In general terms, the bill provided for a 40-cent-an-hour minimum wage, a 40-hour maximum workweek, and a minimum working age of sixteen except in certain industries outside of mining and manufacturing. The Black-Connery bill had wide public support. However, there were strong opponents who

Copeland supporting Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynch Bill.<sup>120</sup> They sent another letter to President Roosevelt opposing Hugo L. Black's elevation to the Supreme Court of the United States because of his "social background, affiliation with un-American Organizations, and prejudice towards Jews, Catholics and [African Americans]."<sup>121</sup>

Civil rights issues took the center stage at the 1937 Detroit (Michigan) Conclave. The fraternity's national officers announced that "a protest had been lodged with the World Almanac for not listing [African American] Greek-letter organizations." Likewise, they announced that "a protest was lodged with the national news-gathering agencies for not covering [African American] collegiate sports contests." During the same conclave, the Program for Social Action was given the objective of equalizing educational opportunities for African Americans, including equalizing teacher salaries. In addition, the delegates at the conclave voted to support the N.A.A.C.P., the National Bar Association, the National Pan Hellenic Council, and the National Urban League. It seems as though the delegates believed these organizations were the most effective advocates of African American civil rights at that time. In fact, Phi Beta Sigma, or at least many of the individual brothers, had long highly valued the N.A.A.C.P.'s efforts towards achieving legal and social equality for African Americans. In a 1929 editorial in *The Crescent* entitled, "The Negro's Best Champion," James Weldon Johnson stated that

the importance of the National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People . . . lies in its being the

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argued that it was a poorly drawn bill that would lead the country to turmoil. The Senate passed a weakened version of the bill in 1937, but a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats kept the bill in the House Rules Committee and never was voted on. *Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938: Maximum Struggle for a Minimum Wage*, DOL.GOV, <http://www.dol.gov/dol/aboutdol/history/flsa1938.htm> (last visited Mar. 16, 2016).

<sup>120</sup> Robert F. Wagner, a senator from New York, and Frederick Van Nuys, a senator from Indiana introduced this bill to the Senate. The main goal of this legislation was to provide punishment for any legal officer "whose negligence leads to the lynching of a person entrusted in his custody." Additionally, it would fine any political subdivision that failed to protect and provide a fair trial for an individual suspected or accused of a crime. *Anti-Lynching Bill Offered in Senate*, PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE (Feb. 25, 1937), <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19370225&id=u-QdAAAIBAJ&sjid=-0sEAAAIBAJ&pg=1420,4912259&hl=en>.

<sup>121</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 12, at 109.



first successful effort to organize the minority sentiment on race relations for effective concerted action . . . . It has gone into the fundamental structure of the law. Five victories before the Supreme Court stand to its credit.”<sup>122</sup>

At the 1939 Washington, D.C. Conclave newly elected national fraternity president George W. Lawrence<sup>123</sup> gave a stirring speech in which he pledged that the brotherhood would fight for equality, saying, “We care not what others may do. We cannot detour. We will not retreat!”

## II. 1940s – 1950s

At the 1940 Tuskegee (Alabama) Conclave, the brothers of Phi Beta Sigma were still striving for civil rights. During the 1940 Conclave, the Resolutions Committee drafted a proposition regarding African Americans and WWII. The proposition included condemnations of defense firms contracted by the United States for refusing to employ African-American workers; condemnations of the Marine Corp for not allowing African Americans to serve in its ranks, and the Navy for limiting the roles of African-American sailors; condemnations against the current policy of not allowing African-American nurses to serve in the war effort; and a condemnation of the lack of African-American pilots in the Aviation Corps.<sup>124</sup> J.L.S. Holloman’s 1942 editorial in *The Crescent* condemned segregation as the “arch enemy of the American Republic,” and many of Sigma’s civil rights programs thereafter were committed to ending segregation in the US.<sup>125</sup> Employment, de facto social segregation and police

<sup>122</sup> *The Negro’s Best Champion*, THE CRESCENT, Apr. 1929, at 12.

<sup>123</sup> George W. Lawrence was an attorney in Chicago, Illinois. *NPHC Presidents*, NPHCHQ.ORG, <http://www.nphchq.org/nphc-national-presidents/> (last visited Mar. 16, 2016) [hereinafter *NPHC Presidents*]. Lawrence was a charter member of the Upsilon Sigma Chapter located in Chicago in 1927. *About Upsilon Sigma Chapter*, UPSILON SIGMA CHAPTER, <http://www.dwaynedixon.com/PBS/about.htm> (last visited Mar. 16, 2016). He served as the national president of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity from 1938-40. Additionally, he served as the president of the National Pan-Hellenic Council from 1941-43. *NPHC Presidents*.

<sup>124</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 131.

<sup>125</sup> *The American Negro And The Challenges Of Segregation*, THE CRESCENT, Dec. 1942, at 24. John L.S. Holloman was a doctor and a social activist. Holloman was

brutality, the segregation of the armed forces, and “anti-Negro propaganda” in the media were all identified as aspects of African American life that needed to be rectified.<sup>126</sup>

In 1941, Phi Beta Sigma members like A. Philip Randolph worked to push for African American Civil Rights.<sup>127</sup> Randolph

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born on November 22, 1919, the grandson of a slave. He attended a segregated elementary school and an integrated high school in Washington, D.C. He attended the all-black college Virginia Union University, then continued on to The University of Michigan for medical school. Like all of his medical school classmates, he applied for the Navy. The Navy rejected him saying that there was no place for black commissioned officers in the Navy. Holloman then joined the Army Air Corps where he served as a medical officer. Following his time in the Army, Holloman worked as a physician in Harlem. While in Harlem, he started a training program for black lab technicians.

During the 1960s, Holloman served as an attending physician on many of the civil rights marches in the South, including the 1965 Selma march. During this march he planned and managed medical services, as well as attended to foot injuries. He was inspired by his participation in this walk to found the Medical Committee for Civil Rights. With this committee he led a protest against the American Medical Association’s support of medical organizations that would not treat black citizens.

Holloman later served as a professor of public health and health administration at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, as a consultant to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and on the staff of the Subcommittee on Health of the House Committee on Ways and Means of the U.S. Congress. He also served as President of the New York City Health and Hospital Corporation and of the National Medical Association as well as the national chairmanship of the Medical Committee for Human Rights. Holloman was also the medical director of the W. F. Ryan Community Health Center in New York City. Throughout all of these positions, Holloman advocated against racial prejudice in the North and the South. He also felt that healthcare should be a basic right, advocating for national health insurance. He warned against the threat of AIDS to minority citizens. He also advocated for better healthcare for inmates in prisons. Holloman died of a stroke in 2002. Martin, Douglas. “Dr. John L. S. Holloman Jr. Is Dead at 82; Fought to Improve Health Care for the Poor,” N.Y. TIMES (Mar. 1, 2002), <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/02/nyregion/dr-john-l-s-holloman-jr-is-dead-at-82-fought-to-improve-health-care-for-the-poor.html>.

<sup>126</sup> *The Negroes Tale of Four Cities*, THE CRESCENT, Apr. 1944, at 14–15.

<sup>127</sup> Asa Philip Randolph was born on April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Florida, as the second son of Rev. James William Randolph, a tailor and minister in an African Methodist Episcopal Church, and Elizabeth Robinson Randolph, a seamstress. He attended Cookman Institute with his brother where he excelled in literature, drama, public speaking, starred on the baseball team, sang solos with the choir, and was valedictorian of his 1907 graduating class. He moved to New York City in 1911 to work odd jobs and take social sciences courses at City College.

organized and led the first predominantly African-American labor union—Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In 1941, however, his organizing took a different form; he led the first African-American March on Washington, which persuaded President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802, which banned discrimination in the defense industries during World War II. The effort paved the way for pressure on President Harry S. Truman, resulting in his issuance of Executive Order 9981 in 1948, ending segregation in the armed services.

This era also saw a substantial commitment to furthering public policy goals on the part of the fraternity. At the 1941 Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) Conclave, Brother Lynwood Brown<sup>128</sup> proudly announced that the fraternity had become a permanent member of the National Negro Business League.<sup>129</sup> Immediately following Brown's announcement and following the advice of the Resolutions Committee, the fraternity prepared and circulated a pamphlet among the National Negro Business League's delegates titled "Sigma Exalts Bigger and Better Business."<sup>130</sup> The fraternity also linked its Bigger and Better Business Program with the United

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Randolph was a member of Iota Sigma chapter of Phi Beta Sigma in Richmond, VA. In 1913, he married Mrs. Lucille Campbell Green, a widow, Howard University graduate, and entrepreneur who supported them both. They had no children. Randolph organized the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, developed his distinctive form of civil rights activism, opened an employment office in Harlem with Chandler Owen, and founded the *Messenger* with Owen in 1917, supported by the Socialist Party of America. He organized a union of elevator operators in NYC in 1917 and became president of the National Brotherhood of Workers of America in 1919. Randolph unsuccessfully ran on the Socialist Party ticket for New York State Comptroller in 1920 and Secretary of State of New York in 1922.

He was known for being a leader in the African American Civil Rights Movement, the American Labor Movement, and socialist political parties. Randolph was awarded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Spingarn Medal in 1942, Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964, Pacem in Terris Peace and Freedom Award in 1967, named Humanist of the Year in 1970, and named to the Florida Civil Rights Hall of Fame in 2014.

<sup>128</sup> Lynwood Brown was a brother of Phi Beta Sigma. He was the fraternity's first executive secretary and served for two years in 1946. Brown's personal home also served as the fraternity's main office during his two years. "About Us,"

<http://richmondsigmas.org/aboutus/>.

<sup>129</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 137.

<sup>130</sup> *Id.*

States Department of Commerce in its promotion of small business.<sup>131</sup> By 1942, the Bigger and Better Business Week program had grown to such an extent that it was observed twice a year, once in April and once in October. An editorial in *The Crescent* urged every active chapter to “sponsor at least two Bigger and Better Business Programs in 1942.”<sup>132</sup>

A separate article appeared later in *The Crescent*, specifying exactly what a Bigger and Better Business Program should consist of. According to the article, Monday should begin the week with a speaker in all of the local public schools, acquainting the students with the program. Tuesday included a Round Table Discussion on problems facing businessmen in the community, and Wednesday was Woman’s Day, in which Sigma’s sister sorority, Zeta Phi Beta, and the Housewives’ League would conduct a program. Thursday and Friday involved exhibits of business models and tours of all the businesses within a certain locality. Saturday was devoted to urging that “all the citizens of your community make as many purchases from Negro businesses as possible and check to see if the results of your efforts did not increase sales.” On Sunday, a “Mammoth Public Program” took place, in which “a Sigma man or an outstanding business or professional man or educator” would speak on the subject of Bigger and Better Business.<sup>133</sup> This well-defined model evidently produced results, as in 1949, at the 35<sup>th</sup> Conclave, under the leadership of national president Ras O. Johnson, Phi Beta Sigma voted to continue all three phases of the National Program, including Bigger and Better Business, Education, and Social Action.<sup>134</sup> Phi Beta Sigma also voted to give increased support to all phases of the program.<sup>135</sup>

In 1944, Phi Beta Sigma member R. A. Billings<sup>136</sup>, in a letter to the fraternity, announced that the fraternity had paid for and

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<sup>131</sup> *Id.*

<sup>132</sup> *Bigger and Better Business Program*, THE CRESCENT, Apr. 1942, at 20.

<sup>133</sup> *Id.*

<sup>134</sup> *Id.* Johnson was president from 1948-1950 and a member of the Lambda Sigma service chapter.

<sup>135</sup> *Conclave Highlights*, THE CRESCENT, Spring 1950, at 42 [hereinafter *Conclave Highlights*].

<sup>136</sup> Billings was a doctor and the tenth International President of Phi Beta Sigma. He served from 1941-1944. He was also chairman of the 1947 Conclave meeting. He later served as National Housing Director. Billings resided in Atlanta, Georgia.

circulated thousands of copies of “A Declaration for Negro Voters,” which, among other things, demanded, “every vestige of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces be forthwith abolished.”<sup>137</sup> The declaration was sent to both Republican and Democratic National Conventions in 1944. Representatives of more than 25 national African American organizations, one of which was Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, attended. In 1945, a special committee revamped the Social Action Program. The new aspects of the program were that the national office would direct the general strategy while each chapter attacked local problems, a sustained drive would be made for equality on all levels, and cooperation with other civil rights groups was urged.<sup>138</sup> Subsequently, at the 1946 New Orleans (Louisiana) Convention new objectives for the Social Action Program were listed. The new goals were to increase the Bigger and Better Business and Education programs, fight for the unqualified right to vote in any and all elections, and continue fighting for adequate education for every African-American child.<sup>139</sup> Later in 1946, the Resolutions Committee demanded (1) that the 80<sup>th</sup> Congress immediately enact fair employment legislation; (2) that Congress enact more laws to adequately protect all Americans in the actual enjoyment of their civil rights; (3) that federal aid be given to stated education programs; (4) that church leadership around the world adopt policies of nondiscrimination in the practice of religion; (5) and that the United Nations assume jurisdiction over the matter of racial discrimination in the United States.<sup>140</sup>

Phi Beta Sigma praised the N.A.A.C.P. at the 1947 Atlanta (Georgia) Conclave and voted to continue funding the association.<sup>141</sup>

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ROBERT E. WEEMS & LEWIS A. RANDOLPH, *BUSINESS IN BLACK AND WHITE: AMERICAN PRESIDENTS & BLACK ENTREPRENEURS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY* (2009).

<sup>137</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 143. The declaration was sent to both Republican and Democratic National Conventions in 1944. It was made by representatives of more than 25 national African American organizations, one of which was the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity. *NEGRO YEAR BOOK: A REVIEW OF EVENTS AFFECTING NEGRO LIFE, 1941-1946*, 281 (Jessie P. Guzman et. al., eds. 1947).

<sup>138</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 146.

<sup>139</sup> *Id.* at 149.

<sup>140</sup> *Id.*

<sup>141</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 154.

One year later, at the 1948 Los Angeles (California) Conclave, the fraternity decided to raise a special tax in support of the American Council on Human Rights and “other civil rights expenses.”<sup>142</sup> At the 1949 Conclave, the fraternity passed a number of civil rights resolutions, among which were “That Brother Azikiwe’s<sup>143</sup> program in

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<sup>142</sup> *Id.* at 158.

<sup>143</sup> Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe, an Ibo of southeastern Nigeria, was born in 1904 in Zungeri, North Nigeria, where his father was stationed as a civil servant for the British colonial government. He was educated at English-run schools, and after graduating from high school worked as a clerk in Lagos for three years. In 1925, he went to the United States where he attended Storer College, Howard University, and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania where he received a bachelor’s and master’s degree (in religion). He went on to earn a second master’s degree (in Anthropology and political science) from the University of Pennsylvania. He lettered in several different sports while attending Howard and Lincoln. He was a member of the Mu Chapter of Phi Beta Sigma. *Nnamdi Azikiwe*, BRITANNICA, <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Nnamdi-Azikiwe> (last visited Mar. 16, 2016) [hereinafter *Britannica-Nnamdi*].

Azikiwe taught political science at Lincoln University for three years and in 1934 returned to Nigeria where he became the editor of a daily newspaper in Ghana whose viewpoint challenged colonial power in favor of Nigerian nationalism. One of its articles resulted in his conviction and imprisonment on charges of sedition in 1937. Upon his release he returned to Lagos where he established another pro-nationalist newspaper and became politically active in the nationalist movement. *Nnamdi Azikiwe*, NEW WORLD ENCYCLOPEDIA, [http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Nnamdi\\_Azikiwe](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Nnamdi_Azikiwe) (last visited Mar. 16, 2016).

In 1944, he founded the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons and in 1947 was elected to the Legislative Council of Nigeria. In 1951, he became the leader of the opposition in the western region of Nigeria. The next year he moved to the eastern region where he was elected Chief Minister. In 1954 he became Premier of Nigeria’s eastern region. In 1960, he was appointed Governor General of the Nigerian Federation and was the first Nigerian appointed to the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. When Nigeria was proclaimed a republic in 1963, he became its first president during which time he worked to establish universal suffrage and improve education in the country. He was ousted in a 1966 coup. In 1967- 1970 as a war of succession waged, he was a spokesman for the new republic but refused to support the new nation of Biafra. *Britannica-Nnamdi*.

After the war, Chief Azikiwe became the Chancellor of the University of Lagos but he worked to promote a triangular ethnic coalition, running for president during several elections beginning in 1972 through 1983. He was ousted after another military coup in 1983, which put an end to his political career. Azikiwe was married to Flora Oghoeghunam from 1936 to her death in 1983. They had a daughter and three sons. He also had other wives, including a lecturer at the University of Nigeria, with whom he had other children. *Azikiwe, Nnamdi*, ENCYCLOPEDIA.COM,

particular and the African peoples' liberation movement in general be supported," "Social Action in general and the American Council on Human Rights in particular be supported," "Federal Aid to Education be urged on Congress," the Civil Rights fight be pushed," "curbs on civil liberty by federal authorities (such as loyalty oaths and F.B.I. persecutions) be stopped," and finally "[t]hat Washington, D.C. have home rule and its people citizenship rights."<sup>144</sup> At the 1950 New York City Conclave, and for the third year in a row, the fraternity donated \$2,500 to the American Council on Human Rights.<sup>145</sup> During this time, the fraternity also closely followed independence movements in several African countries, including the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria. Brother St. Clair Drake<sup>146</sup> stated,

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[http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Nnamdi\\_Azikiwe.aspx](http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Nnamdi_Azikiwe.aspx) (last visited Mar. 16, 2016). Azikiwe died in 1996. Britannica-Nnamdi.

<sup>144</sup> *Conclave Highlights*, *supra* note 135.

<sup>145</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 171.

<sup>146</sup> John Gibbs St. Clair Drake, who was known professionally as St. Clair Drake, was born in 1911 in Suffolk, Virginia. His father was a minister who moved the family to the Pittsburgh area, following his congregation who were seeking work during World War I. Drake attended predominantly white schools there where he began writing poetry and edited the newspaper. When his parents divorced in 1924, Drake returned to Virginia with his mother and experienced segregation for the first time. *Drake, St. Clair*, ENCYCLOPEDIA.COM, [http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/St.\\_Clair\\_Drake.aspx](http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/St._Clair_Drake.aspx) (last visited Mar. 16, 2016) [hereinafter *Drake, St. Clair*].

In 1927, Drake enrolled at Hampton Institute in Virginia working his way through college as a waiter and hotel clerk. Soon after enrolling, he participated in a student strike seeking more black teachers and higher academic standards. After graduating in 1931, he taught in rural Virginia and spent summers in Philadelphia studying Anthropology with a Quaker group. From 1935 to 1937, he was an instructor at Dillard University in New Orleans. Peter B. Flint, *St. Clair Drake, Pioneer in Study of Black Americans, Dies at 79*, N.Y. TIMES (June 21, 1990), <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/06/21/obituaries/st-clair-drake-pioneer-in-study-of-black-americans-dies-at-79.html>. After leaving Dillard, Drake entered the University of Chicago as a doctoral student, continuing anthropologic research on race focusing on the churches. He was also assistant director of the Illinois State Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population. For his dissertation he traveled to Wales where he studied African seamen who lived there under British racial dominance. *Drake, St. Clair*.

During World War II, Dr. Drake, a conscientious objector based on the segregation policies of the military at the time, served in the U. S. Maritime Service. After the war he co-authored *Black Metropolis*, a study of blacks in a section of Chicago, which was a landmark work of objective research in urban studies. *Id.* From 1948 to 1968, Dr. Drake was a professor of sociology at Roosevelt University in Chicago, an experimental university, and established the first black studies

Our interest in African independence is not a mere sentimental one. A number of free Negro African states will mean more black faces on United Nations Commissions; more black ambassadors in Washington to embarrass the Jim Crow system there; friends in international circles who can speak out, without fear, about the plight of the American Negroes . . . We shall all profit by this.<sup>147</sup>

Phi Beta Sigma's approach to civil rights was clearly international in addition to its focus on the United States.

In 1951, the annual conclave was held in Birmingham, Alabama, led by national president Dr. Felix J. Brown.<sup>148</sup> At the 1951 Conclave, the Resolutions committee called for the governors of Texas and Florida to take immediate steps to put an end to the bombing of African-American homes.<sup>149</sup> Additionally, the fraternity asked

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program there. In 1968, he joined the faculty at Stanford University where he founded its African and African American Studies Program and remained there until his retirement in 1976. In his obituary, the *New York Times* commented that the success of the Stanford program at a time of intense political strife within the University can be attributed to Drake who refused to allow radical politics to gain an upper hand over academics. Flint, *supra*.

While in Wales, Drake met Pan-Africa advocates and became interested in the liberation movements in the countries of colonial Africa. He did research in Ghana and Liberia in the 1950's on a grant from the Ford Foundation and from 1958 through 1961 was head of the sociology department at the University of Ghana. There he became involved in the independence movement and was an advisor to the newly independent country but left when a military coup came to power. Drake was also an advisor for Peace Corps training programs in the region. *Id.*

Dr. Drake was married to sociologist Elizabeth Dewey Johns in 1942 whom he met when she was a graduate student at the University of Chicago researching West Africa. They had two children, a son and a daughter, Dr. Sandra Drake, a professor of English at Stanford. *Id.* He was also the founder of the American Society for African Culture and the American Negro Leadership Conference in Africa. Drake died in Palo Alto, Ca. in 1990 at the age of 79. The African and African American Studies Center at Roosevelt University was named for St. Clair Drake. Stanford dedicated the St. Clair Drake lecturers to him. *Id.*

<sup>147</sup> *Asia, now Africa*, THE CRESCENT, Spring 1950, at 13.

<sup>148</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 182. Brown was president from 1951-1953 and a member of the Iota Sigma graduate service chapter. He was subjected to phone threats and vandalism after his fraternity bought a home in a white neighborhood.

<sup>149</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 182.



Attorney General, J. Howard Mcgrath to punish those responsible for the cruel bombings.<sup>150</sup> The fraternity made strong pushes for fair employment by lobbying Democrats and Republicans to do more than talk about the Fair Employment Practice Legislation and enact more laws that would make it effective by creating a Fair Employment Practices Commission.<sup>151</sup> The fraternity also called on Congress to pass legislation preventing segregation in the public school system and called upon the President to place qualified African Americans in “positions of counsel and responsibility.”<sup>152</sup> The Resolutions Committee commended college presidents who would not let their teams play in racist contests and condemned the Sugar Bowl Committee for its Jim Crow attitude towards the Sugar Bowl.<sup>153</sup> At the 1952 Conclave, the fraternity again adopted anti-lynching resolutions, with the theme of “Full democracy-nothing less.”<sup>154</sup> It adopted several other resolutions, among them unqualified support for the N.A.A.C.P., a call for the strengthening of the Civil Rights section of the Department of Justice and the enactment of Fair Employment Practices, revision of Congress’ investigative procedure and the McCarran Internal Security Act, and establishment of a plan that would lead to the “granting of the just demands of the people of Africa for self-government.”<sup>155</sup>

Additionally, in 1952, Phi Beta Sigma would become the only college fraternity listed by the Department of Commerce as having a well-defined program promoting better business.<sup>156</sup> That same year, at the Richmond (Virginia) Conclave, the Bigger and Better Business Program gave a report encouraging African Americans to conduct their businesses so well that anyone would buy their products or services or has work done at their shops.<sup>157</sup> In 1955, Phi Beta Sigma witnessed how much their Bigger and Better Business Program had grown and how important it had become. The fraternity held a “Bigger and Better Business Banquet” at the Stratford Hotel, and it

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<sup>150</sup> *Id.*

<sup>151</sup> *Id.* at 183.

<sup>152</sup> *Sigmas Hold Successful Conclave*, THE CRESCENT, Spring 1952, at 34.

<sup>153</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 183.

<sup>154</sup> *Conclave Highlights*, *supra* note 135.

<sup>155</sup> *Id.*

<sup>156</sup> SAVAGE & REDDICK, *supra* note 10, at 185.

<sup>157</sup> *Id.* at 188.

was so successful it reached an estimated half-million people.<sup>158</sup> In addition to business, Phi Beta Sigma continued to emphasize the importance of education; the theme for the 1954 Conclave, held under the leadership of national president Dr. George L. Hightower, was “Education-the Key to Freedom.”<sup>159</sup> The event was held in Norfolk, Virginia in 1954 and featured more than 600 delegates and collaboration with Alpha Phi Alpha in the presentation of a distinguished service award to Hulan E Jack.<sup>160</sup> The resolutions for the 1955 Conclave focused on not only education, in terms of the need for federal aid and desegregation, but also housing and equal opportunity in employment, as well as ongoing resolutions relating to *de jure* segregation and civil rights, most importantly suffrage.<sup>161</sup> The National Social Action program was the focus of Phi Beta Sigma’s efforts to achieve improvement in the areas listed and had as its theme for 1956 “Full-Fledged Freedom for Every American Citizen.”<sup>162</sup>

### III. 1960s - BEYOND

By the time the height of the Civil Rights Movement emerged, Phi Beta Sigma members were playing prominent roles in the efforts for social change. In 1963, Phi Beta Sigma member A. Philip Randolph led the second African American March on Washington, as he did the first in 1941. The march was a unified effort, organized by Omega Psi Phi member Bayard Rustin and at which Alpha Phi Alpha member Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his famous “I Have A

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<sup>158</sup> *Id.* at 197.

<sup>159</sup> *Education, The Key to Freedom*, THE CRESCENT, Spring 1955, at 13. Hightower is a graduate of Whittier College and the George Washington University School of Medicine. As a medical student, he served on the admissions committee and was awarded a research fellowship to the National Institutes of Health. He was president of Phi Beta Sigma from 1954-1955 and a member of the Lambda Sigma service chapter. Hightower is a Navy veteran and served as eight years as a staff Medical Officer. He served for five years as a staff physician for Oasis Sports Medical Group and has served as a District Office Medical Consultant for State Compensation Insurance Fund for eight years. He is currently a consultant and Medical Director for several oil field service corporations, including Landmark Occupational Health. He is certified by FMCSA to perform OT physicals.

<sup>160</sup> *Sigmas in Gala Meet*, PITTSBURG PA COURIER, Jan. 9, 1954, <http://www.fultonhistory.com/highlighter/viewer/?file=http%3A%2F%2...om%2Fhighlighter%2Fhits%2F2ea2fe0bf7c52e3731da3ee45cec2fa6#page=1>.

<sup>161</sup> *Conclave Resolutions*, THE CRESCENT, Spring 1956, at 6-8.

<sup>162</sup> *Id.*

Dream” speech. Two years later, in 1965, a collective of organizations—i.e., Dallas County Voters League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—orchestrated marches from Selma, Alabama, to Montgomery, Alabama, that had been part of the Voting Rights Movement underway in Selma. By highlighting racial injustice in the South, marchers would ultimately contribute to the passage, that year, of the Voting Rights Act. Activists publicized three protest marches to walk the fifty-four mile highway from Selma to the Alabama state capital in Montgomery. The marches were an effort to show African American citizens’ desire to exercise their constitutional right to vote in defiance of segregationist repression. All of this was cast across a broader backdrop of southern state legislatures that had passed laws that had disenfranchised most of the millions of African Americans across the South since the turn of the century.

On February 26, 1965, activist and deacon Jimmie Lee Jackson was shot and killed by an Alabama state trooper during a peaceful march in Marion, Alabama. To address the community’s outrage, Southern Christian Leadership Conference Director of Direct Action, James Bevel, called for a march of dramatic length, from Selma to Montgomery. The first march took place on March 7, 1965 led by Alpha Phi Alpha member Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and organized locally by Bevel, Amelia Boynton, and others. Among the others who had been hard at work organizing the march were Phi Beta Sigma members Rev. Hosea Williams, SCLC leader,<sup>163</sup> and John Lewis,

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<sup>163</sup> Hosea Williams was born on January 5, 1926, in Attapulgus, Decatur County, Georgia. Both his parents were teenagers committed to a trade institute for the blind in Macon, but his mother ran away from the institute after becoming pregnant. He met his father, “Blind” Willie Wiggins, by accident in Florida at the age of 28. His mother died during childbirth when he was 10, so his mother’s parents, Lelar and Turner Williams, raised him until he left home at 14.

Williams served in the U.S. Army during WWII under General Patton where he earned a Purple Heart. After the war, he earned a high school diploma at the age of 23 as well as a bachelor’s and master’s degree in Chemistry from Morris Brown College and Clark Atlanta University. Williams was a member of the Zeta chapter of Phi Beta Sigma fraternity at Morris Brown College.

In the early 1950s, Williams married Juanita Terry and worked as a research scientist for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. They had four sons: Hosea L. Williams, II, Andre Williams, Torrey Williams, and Hyron Williams as well as four daughters, Barbara Emerson, Elizabeth Omilami, Yolanda Favors, and Juanita Collier.

SNCC leader.<sup>164</sup> White Alabama law enforcement attacked the unarmed marchers with Billy-clubs and tear gas after they passed over

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Williams was most notably a civil rights activist and close friend of Martin Luther King, Jr., ordained minister, businessman, philanthropist, scientist, and politician. He joined the N.A.A.C.P. and later became a leader in the SCLC. During 1965, he led the first attempt at a march from Selma to Montgomery, which, along with other demonstrations, led to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He also led another march to integrate Forsyth County, Georgia in 1987.

He ran in the 1966 gubernatorial race as well as for the Democratic primary for U.S. Senate seat formerly held by Russell, Jr. in 1972. He was elected and served on the Atlanta City Council, Georgia General Assembly, and DeKalb County Commission. He ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Atlanta in 1989. He was the founding president of Hosea Feed the Hungry and Homeless. He also supported strikes in Atlanta by Black workers who had been fired because of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Williams died on November 16, 2000, in Atlanta, Georgia at age 74, after battling cancer for three years.

<sup>164</sup> John Lewis was born on February 21, 1940, outside of Troy, Alabama to sharecroppers. He attended segregated public schools in Pike County, Alabama. He was a student at Fisk University, where he organized sit-ins and participated in Freedom Rides in 1961. Lewis was named Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He received a B.A. in Religion and Philosophy from Fisk University and is a graduate of the American Baptist Theological Seminary.

In 1963, he was known as one of the Big Six leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. In August 1963, he became an architect of and keynote speaker at the March on Washington. In 1964, he coordinated SNCC efforts for voter registration drives. On March 7, 1965, he led protestors across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, the attack on the protestors later known as "Bloody Sunday." He worked as the Associate Director of the Field Foundation and participated in the Sothern Regional Council's voter registration programs. Lewis later became the Director of the Voter Education Project and was appointed to direct volunteers of ACTION, the federal volunteer agency, in 1977.

In 1981, he was elected to the Atlanta City Council and was an advocate for ethics in the government and neighborhood preservation. Following, he was elected to Congress in 1986 and still serves as a U.S. Representative of Georgia's 5th District. He is a Senior Chief Deputy Whip for the Democratic Party, a member of the House Ways & Means Committee, member of the Subcommittee on Income Security and Family Support, and Ranking member of the Subcommittee on Oversight. He is also the co-author of the graphic novel memoir trilogy, *MARCH*, which received numerous awards. His other works include: *Across That Bridge: Life Lessons and a Vision for Change*, and *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*.

Lewis was the subject of *Freedom Riders: John Lewis and Jim Zwerg on the Front Lines of the Civil Rights Movement* by Bausum and John Lewis in the *Lead* by Haskins and Benson. Lewis lives in Atlanta, GA and has one son, John Miles. Lewis was a member of Lambda Sigma chapter of Phi Beta Sigma in Atlanta, GA. Also a member of Phi Beta Sigma, Lewis was honored with the Phi Beta Sigma

the county line; the episode in American history would go on to be known as Bloody Sunday.

By the 1970s, African Americans' struggle for social equality and Civil Rights had evolved. In 1966, Phi Beta Sigma member Huey P. Newton,<sup>165</sup> along with Elbert "Big Man" Howard, Sherwin Forte, Bobby Seale, Reggie Forte, and Bobby Hutton, founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Newton and Seale first met in 1962 when they were students at Merritt College. There, they joined Donald Warden's Afro-American Association, in which they read, debated, and organized around a black nationalist tradition that had been inspired by Malcolm X and others. Ultimately dissatisfied with what they perceived as Warden's accommodationist stance, they developed a more radical perspective. This perspective focused on working with more active and militant groups like the Soul Students Advisory Council and the Revolutionary Action Movement.

Newton and Seale were dissatisfied with the failure of these organizations to directly challenge police brutality and to have an appeal to the average black man. After the San Francisco police killed

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Centennial Lifetime Achievement Award during the Centennial Founders Day Gala on January 11, 2014.

<sup>165</sup> Huey Percy Newton was born on February 17, 1942, in Monroe, Louisiana as the youngest of seven children of Armelia Johnson and Walter Newton, a sharecropper and Baptist lay preacher. He graduated from Oakland Technical High School in 1959 and was arrested several times for minor offenses as a teen. He became a student at Merritt College and joined the Afro-American Associate, was a member of Beta Tau chapter of Phi Beta Sigma, and organized the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in 1966 with Seale where Newton became the Minister of Defense. He received a bachelor's degree from the University of California, Santa Cruz in 1974. He was enrolled as a graduate student in History of Consciousness at UC Santa Cruz in 1978 and arranged to take a course from Trivers, later publishing an analysis of the role of flight crew self-deception in the crash of Air Florida Flight 90. He earned a Ph.D in social philosophy in 1980 from the University of California at Santa Cruz.

In 1964, Newton was convicted of assault with Odell Lee and served six months in prison. In 1968, he was convicted of voluntary manslaughter for killing John Frey, but the charges were dismissed in 1970. In 1974, Newton shot Kathleen Smith and assaulted Preston Callins, but fled to Cuba after posting bail where he lived with his wife (then girlfriend) Gwen Fontaine until 1977. In 1977, he stood trial but both cases were acquitted. Newton was accused of embezzlement in 1982 and was sentenced to six months in jail with 18 months probation. He died on August 22, 1989 in Oakland, California after being shot and killed by BGF member Tyrone Robinson.

Matthew Johnson, an unarmed young black man, Newton observed the violent rebellion that followed. He believed that if he could stand up to the police, he could organize that force into political power. Inspired by Robert F. Williams' armed resistance to the KKK, Newton studied California gun law in order to create an armed, community policing force. He also, like the Community Alert Patrol in Los Angeles after the Watts Rebellion, decided to organize patrols to follow the police around to monitor for incidents of brutality. He and the Panthers would go on to start various social programs, including the Oakland Community School and Free Breakfast for Children Program.

#### CONCLUSION

Phi Beta Sigma was founded in 1914. A confluence of factors—historical, institutional, and organizational—gave rise to it, shaping its structure and ideals. Among those ideals was and is African American uplift and social equality. It is this legacy that has been woven into the organization and numerous members who, at least arguably, lived out the Fraternity's ideals. It is also a legacy that stretched into the Twentieth Century. That legacy, however, is a complicated one that raises any number of questions. For example, Phi Beta Sigma's social justice and Civil Rights activism was more robust than that of African-American sororities, but less than that of other African-American fraternities.<sup>166</sup> Such raises the specter of discrimination against African-American women Civil Rights activists in either law school, the legal profession, or the Civil Rights Movement more generally.<sup>167</sup> It also raises the specter of slightly

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<sup>166</sup> See Gregory S. Parks & Caryn Neumann, *Lifting as They Climb: Race, Sorority, and African American Uplift in the 20th Century*, 27 HASTINGS WOMEN'S L.J. 142 (2015); Marcia Hernandez & Gregory S. Parks, *Fortitude in the Face of Adversity: Delta Sigma Theta's History of Racial Uplift*, HASTINGS RACE & POVERTY L.J. (forthcoming 2016); *contra* Wendy Marie Laybourn & Gregory S. Parks, *Omega Psi Phi Fraternity and the Fight for Civil Rights*, WAKE FOREST J.L. & POL'Y (forthcoming 2016); Wendy Marie Laybourn and Gregory S. Parks, *The Sons of Indiana: Kappa Alpha Psi and the Fight for Civil Rights*, INDIANA L.J. (forthcoming 2016).

<sup>167</sup> With regard to women law students, see Audrey Latourette, *Sex Discrimination in the Legal Profession: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, 39 VAL. U.L. REV. 859, 880-884 (2005); Marjorie L. Girth, *UB's Women in the Law: Overcoming Barriers During their First Hundred Years*, 9 BUFF. WOMEN'S L. J. 51, 74-76 (2000-2001).

different ideals or at least how they have been actualized by different African-American fraternities, with some more deeply engaged in Civil Rights activism than others.<sup>168</sup>

The second issue raised is that Phi Beta Sigma's social justice impact, at least beyond the 1960s, became much less robust than it had been in decades prior. After the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, arguably the Civil Rights Movement petered-out. And if this is an accurate assessment, then it is no surprise that organizations and individuals engaged in that Movement may have shifted their focus. While consequential to African Americans' access to social equality, this is not shocking. Herbert Blumer, one of the earliest scholars to study group action—i.e., social movement processes—identified four stages of social movements' lifecycles: (1) Social Ferment, (2) Popular Excitement, (3) Formalization, and (4) Institutionalization.<sup>169</sup> Today, scholars recast those stages as: (1) Emergence, (2) Coalescence, (3) Bureaucratization, and (4) Decline. With regard to decline, such may take place because the movement has been successful.<sup>170</sup> As such, in the context of Phi Beta Sigma, assuming that its membership and leadership believed that the goals of the Civil Rights Movement were achieved in the late 1960s, success was achieved. Accordingly, it is no surprise that Phi Beta Sigma largely disengaged from social justice activism.

The third issue is how to make sense of Phi Beta Sigma's use of alumni membership, which seems to be much more liberal than that of the other African-American fraternities. In fact, it appears that the other organizations did away with the practice many years, if not decades, ago. As such, while individuals acquiesce in the deciding of whether to accept honorary membership, it seems altogether different than them seeking out Phi Beta Sigma to become members. Accordingly, the narrative about Phi Beta Sigma's honorary members

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<sup>168</sup> Laybourn & Parks, *supra* note 166.

<sup>169</sup> DONATELLA DELLA PORTA & MARIO DIANI, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: AN INTRODUCTION 150 (2nd ed., 2006).

<sup>170</sup> Frederick D. Miller, *The End of SDS and the Emergence of Weatherman: Demise through Success* 303–24, in WAVES OF PROTEST: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS SINCE THE SIXTIES (Jo Freeman & Victoria Johnson, eds. (1999)).

seems somewhat distinct from the duly initiated members of other African-American fraternities and Phi Beta Sigma's own past.

In sum, the lingering question is: where does Phi Beta Sigma go from here?<sup>171</sup> Does it have a future and a role in addressing African Americans' modern quest for justice and social equality? Time will tell.

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<sup>171</sup> See, e.g., MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE: CHAOS OR COMMUNITY? (2010).