

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

+ + + + +

RADIO PRESERVATION TASK FORCE

+ + + + +

SAVING AMERICA'S RADIO HERITAGE:
RADIO PRESERVATION, ACCESS, AND EDUCATION

+ + + + +

PANEL: RACE AND RADIO:
RESEARCHING THE OTHER

+ + + + +

FRIDAY
FEBRUARY 26, 2016

+ + + + +

The Panel met in the Library of Congress West Dining Room, 101 Independence Avenue, SE, Washington, D.C., at 10:45 a.m., Darrell Newton, Panel Chair, presiding.

PANEL MEMBERS

DARRELL NEWTON, Panel Chair; Salisbury University

ALEJANDRA BRONFMAN, University of British Columbia

SUZANNE E. SMITH, George Mason University

SONJA WILLIAMS, Howard University

RESPONDENT

WALTER FORSBERG, Smithsonian Museum of African American History

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

C-O-N-T-E-N-T-S

| | |
|---|----|
| "The Happy Am I Preacher: Preserving the Audio History of Radio Evangelist Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux" | |
| Suzanne E. Smith..... | 7 |
| "The Case of the Scattered Jamaican Records" | |
| Alejandra Bronfman..... | 24 |
| "African-American Radio in Chicago" | |
| Sonja Williams..... | 40 |
| "The BBC's West Indian Programs" | |
| Darrell Newton..... | 50 |
| Discussion and Questions and Answers | |
| Walter Forsberg, Respondent..... | 64 |

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

(10:53 a.m.)

CHAIR NEWTON: Folks, I'm Darrell Newton from Salisbury University, about 2-1/2 hours that way, okay. I came over, of course, because Michele asked me to, and as my mentor and friend and one of my personal heroes, how could I possibly refuse her.

It is also my honor to be here today with three scholars who have done great, great work in terms of radio history and archival research.

And I think we all, too, share a certain degree of frustration, which is what our panel is really about, having a difficult time trying to scrap up, or scrape up I should say, information that helps to inform all work as it relates to certain aspects of radio history.

So we're looking at Race and Radio: Researching the Other. Again, I am Darrell Newton. Sonja Williams -- If I may go through and just do the actual intros here and bios.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

Professor Sonja D. Williams is the author of "Word Warrior." Richard Durham, "Radio and Freedom," you may have seen little pluggers in your seats there, okay. Good book, please buy it, a biography about the pioneering and broadcast dramatist, journalist, and activist.

Williams had served as journalist and media trainer in Africa, the Caribbean, and throughout the United States. The radio jock communities have won numerous awards, including three consecutive and prestigious George Foster Peabody Awards for a significant and notorious achievement, and duPont-Columbia University Journalism award.

We also have Suzanne E. Smith, Professor of History in the Department of History and Art History at George Mason University. She is the author of "Dancing in the Street: Motown and the Cultural Politics of Detroit" and "To Serve the Living: Funeral Directors and the African American Way of Death." Woo, sounds kind of creepy,

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

especially if you are African-American, I guess, huh?

Her current book project is "The Happy Am I Preacher: The Extraordinary Life and Times of Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux."

Dr. Alejandra Bronfman -- Did I pronounce your last name correctly?

MS. BRONFMAN: Yes.

CHAIR NEWTON: Thank you. Is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of British Columbia. Her book, "Isles of Noise: Sonic Media in the Caribbean," considers the politics and poetics of media histories in Cuba, Jamaica, and Haiti.

She is a co-editor with Christine Ehrick of the forthcoming Forum on Sound in Media in Hispanic American Historical Review.

Future and past research interests include histories of race, the production of knowledge, and materiality of media as archives and infrastructures.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

Again, I am Darrell Newton, Associate Dean for the School of Liberal Arts at Salisbury University. An Associate Dean, and still a nice person, nevertheless, okay, on my good days at least.

I also teach media and cultural studies as a full professor in communication arts, got an MA in English and a second MA at Communication Arts, UW-Madison with Dan Marcus and others, and finished up our Ph.D.'s there in about 2002.

I did a book some time ago, you guys, I'll talk about a bit later, called "Paving the Empire Road: BBC Television and Black Britons," which came out in 2011 in the UK and came out 2012 in North America, and we're currently wrapping up an anthology on British Television and Race called "Adjusting the Contrast: British Television and Constructs of Race" along with some colleagues from the UK and the United States.

What we are going to do here is have about 15 minutes per person which also allows our

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

Respondent, of course, the great Walter Forsberg, Media Archivist at Smithsonian Museum of African American History, to talk with us as well and, of course, to give us some feedback about his own perspectives, and thank you so much for doing this, we appreciate having you here, of course, okay.

So Suzanne is going to go first. We're then going to have Alejandra. We're going to have Sonja go third. I'll go last, just in case, to give everyone in case we run short of time. I can give up some of my time for them. And then, of course, we'll have our Respondent, okay.

Any questions or comments?

(No audible response)

CHAIR NEWTON: Then we'll begin.

(Off the record comments)

MS. SMITH: All right. Good morning. Good morning, everyone. I have to say this is the widest room I think I have ever spoken in, and so if you see me like I'm at a tennis match it's just because I'm trying to acknowledge of you and it's

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

a little strange.

But I am so thrilled to be here and I gave a paper about a year ago and I did not show my favorite clip of Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux. The Virginia pronunciation of his name is Michaux, although most people say Michaux, and I was taught that by some real hardcore Virginians.

So I'm going to play a little clip here and then I'm going to get into the talk. So if I can get this to work.

(Video playing)

MS. SMITH: Okay, I'm going to stop there, it keeps going. And this is just, like I said, a sample of his best-selling song, Happy Am I. Let me get back up here. Okay.

(Off the record comments)

MS. SMITH: Thank you, I'm sorry. Okay, let me begin. 1934 was a banner year in the career of radio evangelist, Lightfoot Solomon Michaux.

Michaux, know as the Happy Am I Preacher,

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

had founded his Church of God in Newport News, Virginia, in 1921. He moved his ministry to Washington D.C. in 1928 and in 1930 began broadcasting his services locally via the WJSV radio station in Mount Vernon, Virginia.

By late 1932 his Radio Church of God program was picked up by the CBS network and began to be heard across the country every Saturday night.

By mid-1934 Michaux had become a national radio sensation and was featured in a two-part series in the weekly magazine Radio Guide.

The Radio Guide series entitled Colored Evangels and White Converts focused on the Preacher's jazz-inspired preaching style and interracial following.

According to the profile the centerpiece of Michaux's theology was religion as happiness, which was exemplified by his popular toe-tapping gospel theme song Happy Am I. The tune had a captivating rhythm that catches at the heart and urges tired feet into ecstatic motion.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

As Michaux himself claimed in the interview one "must lighten a man's heart and get him to singing and he's ready to listen to the word of God."

Just a few months later in October 1934 the Washington Post and the Baltimore Afro-American newspapers ran feature stories on Michaux's rather astonishing rise to fame.

The Afro-American article focused on Michaux's humble beginnings as a fish peddler from Coastal Virginia who almost reluctantly came to his calling while praying with his devout wife, Mary Michaux.

During the prayer he realized that he felt strangely unshackled and happy. After this spiritual conversion he sold his seafood business and began to preach.

The main focus of the story, however, was a vivid description of the scope of Michaux's celebrity as a radio evangelist. The story noted that his weekly CBS Saturday night service was

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

broadcast from coast-to-coast on over 52 stations in addition to a short wave hookup that takes his voice to Europe, South Africa, and to the rest of the world.

Moreover, the conservative estimate of his Saturday night listenership was not less than 25 million.

The Washington Post profile included much of the same information but went a step further to proclaim that the Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux, radio evangelist extraordinary, is the best-known colored man in the United States today.

These news stories offer just a glimpse of the remarkable influence that Elder Michaux had in early 20th century religious radio, yet his career as a radio evangelist has been relatively under studied, both in the history of religious radio programming and in the history of African-American religion.

Scholarship on religious radio programming from the 1920s and '30s tends to focus

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

on figures such as Father Charles Coughlin and Amy Semple McPherson with only passing mention of African-American preachers such as Michaux.

In the history of African-American religions and cults of the 1930s Michaux receives a bit more attention but also tends to be overshadowed by scholarship on other major figures such as Father Divine and his peace mission movement and Sweet Daddy Grace and his United House of Prayer.

Although Michaux's ministry was often labeled as a religious cult in the popular press at the time, his Radio Church of God was firmly a part of the Black Holiness Movement and continues to have ten active congregations today.

And one thing I want to just say as an aside, I was -- In the program it says I am talking about the preservation of his audio history, which I am going to leave to the question and answer period because once I saw what the other papers were about I'm trying to connect with some of the themes we have.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

I would like to argue that Elder Michaux is one of the most significant radio evangelists of the 1930s and is critical to our understanding of how religious leaders use radio to market faith movements in modern America and around the world.

To give a bit of historical context on religious radio, the first documented religious radio broadcast went on the air on January 2, 1921, when Reverend Edwin van Ettin, Rector of the Calvary Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh, aired a vesper service on KDKA radio, the first commercial radio station in the world at that time.

Elder Michaux began broadcasting his holiness religious services and tent revivals in the mid-1920s via portable radio stations that came into Newport News, Virginia.

These broadcasts were quite rudimentary, but they testified to Michaux's early fascination with the medium.

By the time Michaux had established himself here in Washington D.C. his vision for using

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

radio as an evangelical tool was more fully realized.

By the mid-1930s Michaux developed his Radio Church of God as a complete marketing concept that involved membership cards and certificates.

Most importantly, Michaux emphasized that members of his Radio Church of God need not -- Oops, I went too far. There. Need not -- How did I skip that? There we go. Need not renounce membership in their own community churches but simply view membership in his Radio Church of God as an added dimension of their daily religious life.

For the purposes of this Panel I would like to discuss how Michaux's Radio Church of God was able to capitalize on the development of international radio broadcasting and early radio technologies, including short wave hookup, to export African-American faith practices to Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean.

To this end I want to examine the global mission of Michaux's Radio Church of God, which was

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

one of the first, if not the first, African-American religious movements to broadcast internationally and, therefore, is critical to the larger history of radio evangelism.

To begin, it's important to appreciate how Michaux marketed his Radio Church of God as a religious movement that welcomed all races and nationalities. Michaux communicated this message in a variety of ways that were both subtle and obvious.

Most notably his own name, Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux, immediately evoked his multiracial and multinational heritage, which he claimed included French, Native American, Jewish, and African-American lineage.

In addition, the cover art to his sheet music, *Happy Am I*, featured images of five different races in the artwork, including an Asian person, a Hispanic, a Native American, an African American, and a Caucasian or white person.

Clearly Michaux's early publicity for

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

his radio show marketed the show to audiences across racial, ethnic, and sometimes national boundaries.

Elder Michaux's biggest success at reaching an international audience occurred in October 1936 when one of his radio services was broadcast on the BBC, which meant that he was heard not only in the United Kingdom but also throughout the British Empire, including South Africa, India, and Australia.

I have researched these broadcasts at the BBC archives in London to learn more details about the broadcast. Most significantly, in late 1935 the BBC decided to create a new position entitled North American Representative to the BBC in order to facilitate a programming relationship between the BBC and North American radio.

At a time of increasing international tensions and the threat of world war the BBC felt that the cooperation of North American media outlets was strategically important.

Initially -- Oh, there's the other.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

That was another membership certificate, I'm sorry. Initially, the BBC intended to hire an American for the position but ultimately decided to hire Felix Greene from the prominent British family, which included Felix's cousin, novelist and playwright, Graham Greene.

Greene was particularly interested in developing BBC programming of American folk culture. To this end Greene took a 9-week road trip of the United States in mid-1936 to learn more about American culture from the grass roots level.

On this journey Greene experienced African-American life more intimately than he ever had before. In North Carolina he offered a ride to an elderly African-American man walking to a small rural church and ended up spending the day with the congregation for its Sunday services.

Greene, who was asked to speak briefly to the congregation, was deeply moved by this experience. A few days later he visited Fisk University where he dined with James Weldon Johnson

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

and heard the Jubilee Singers perform.

After a visit to the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama Greene reflected in his travel journal that he believed "Now he had a fair picture of the position that the Negro holds in this country."

"I cannot help it if my mind fills with unhappy and rebellious thoughts. A Negro in this country, however gifted, sensitive, cultured he may be, however good a citizen, is never allowed to forget that he is inferior."

Okay. During this period -- I'm almost -- I can do it. During this period -- I'm going to go back. During this period Greene met Elder Michaux, whose national celebrity as a radio evangelist was at his peak.

By September 1936 Greene's interest in Michaux inspired him to travel to Newport News to watch one of his mass baptisms in person. After witnessing the baptism Greene offered to broadcast one of Michaux's services on the BBC.

In a letter to Michaux about the upcoming

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

broadcast Greene specifically asked the evangelist "to choose those hymns which give your people a chance to really let themselves go."

"I want my countrymen at home to realize the power there is in a group singing with real religious spirit and fervor. You see, we have become far too genteel a race to ever let ourselves go, especially in religion. Only the Welsh still have that with great abandon."

As the date of the broadcast neared BBC's weekly magazine, "The Radio Times," reported that the broadcast was a chance for listeners to hear an example of Negro spirituals that will give them a more spontaneous, if less polished impression, of spiritual singing than they get from the more famous choirs.

When the service finally aired on October 18, 1936, Greene provided the following on-air narration, and I'm going to zip through this because I have, I'm out of time, but "It is very hot and crowded in this church. I can see all around

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

me Negroes of all kinds and ages, old men with dark, wrinkled faces and starling white hair, pretty cheeky-colored girls with pink bows in their hair, women holding their arms, tiny pickaninnies, little boys eating pears, some men in overalls."

"The singing has begun and they are swaying and stamping their feet and clapping their hands and some are leaping in the air to the rhythm waving their arms."

"There is a spontaneity here and a gusto and a friendliness and humor. You would miss something if under the door you did not detect a deep sincerity. They are singing Happy Am I."

The broadcast then continues with several other gospel songs and Greene continues, "We must now leave this Negro service, caught up as they are now in the spell of the music. They will go on singing for a long time."

And he, again, refers in this quote "with the sincerity of the manner in which they are singing these songs." So what I find striking about this

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

description of the services, Greene's emphasis on sincerity.

And I want to quickly connect that to the keynoter that we just heard this morning, this idea of hearing a voice and expressing its sincerity on the radio.

The adjective appears repeatedly in Greene's travel journal when he describes his personal encounter with African Americans and it also appeared in the Letter to the Editor of the Radio Times from listeners who wrote to congratulate the BBC on the Michaux broadcast.

One listener wrote about his personal experience attending an African-American religious service and noted that the broadcast was full of a spirit of enthusiasm and sincerity.

There are two ways to analyze this emphasis on sincerity. One is to consider that the broadcast was advertised as a show that would feature Negro music.

British listeners at this time would

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

have, this would be new in terms of the comparison of what they were hearing in any kind of African-American music, which was primarily minstrel music.

Okay. So I guess I'm just going to wrap this up real quick. Sorry, I didn't think I was going that long. So I just wanted to make the point that they were playing a lot of minstrel music on the BBC, including this group The White Coons, and he is a contrast to that, that Michaux's gospel choir stood as a contrast to African American's singing their own music.

And the other concept of sincerity is connected to religious experience. Greene is expressing that this group singing is going to give them a sincere religious experience.

For Elder Michaux his first BBC broadcast led to an international following. Within months of the initial BBC broadcast Michaux received hundreds of fan letters from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England, and gained a regular

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

British audience through a permanent short wave hookup.

As his Church of God later reported these British listeners not only received and enjoyed the Happy Am I broadcast, but many have since visited the United States and have come to the Church of God personally to call on the Happy Am I Preacher.

And, again, he would be featured later in 1938 praying for Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain.

My final point is that he ultimately starts to call himself not only the Happy Am I Preacher, but the International Radio Evangelist of America.

And ultimately he would do a good will mission to Haiti in 1937 and later in the 1950s do an Alaskan Bible drop in efforts to Christianize the Soviets.

So clearly ahead of his time in his way of using radio as an evangelical tool and to sell African-American faith traditions to an

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

international audience, Michaux's extraordinary career gives us new ways to consider the role of religious radio and the early globalization of African-American culture. Thank you.

(Applause)

MS. BRONFMAN: I may need a little help here. All right. Sorry, I'm also a Mac person.

(Off the record comments)

MS. BRONFMAN: Okay, great. Thank you. It's a real pleasure to be here and an honor among all these radio people. I am very excited.

So this paper is -- Let me just put the timer on. This paper is born of something that I discovered in the course of my research. It's not from the book that's going to come out in September, but it's a kind of spinoff, and so I would love and appreciate any feedback.

And the reason I decided to give it here is because as a bit of interloper working on Caribbean radio rather than American U.S. radio, so what I try to do towards the end is to think a

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

little bit more theoretically about archives and preservation and recordings and those kinds of things.

But in its most fundamental form this paper is a crime thriller, if you can believe that. So let me just start with the crime. In January 2008 employees of the Public Broadcasting Corporation in Jamaica toured their archives, which housed thousands of CDs, LPs, and videos stretching back to 1959, and probably earlier.

According to the Jamaica Gleaner on the following day as they walked through they realized, observing piles of sleeves scattered on the floor and empty shelves, that hundreds if not thousands of LPs and CDs had gone missing.

They guessed that these had been purloined slowly over the past three years. So by the time arrived a huge proportion was gone and according to the Gleaner the total damage they said the music library, which was under the watch of the National Archives, appears to have been stripped

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

of 80 percent of its content.

So that was just as I was starting my research. Anyway, so I had to change gears a little bit. So there is lots of questions. First of all, it was unclear exactly what institution was responsible for that material.

So this is my very, very primitive diagram of how it's all sort of related to each other. So the material was from the Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation which had been turned over to the Public Broadcasting Corporation of Jamaica that was housed in a facility that was part of the Jamaican National Archives Unit, but the Public Broadcasting Corporation had put it under the watch of Besix, which was a Belgian construction firm.

And there was a lot of vague language in the reporting that doesn't really help untangle the question of responsibility. So while it was under "the watch" of the National Archives it was "under the control of Besix," and owned technically by the PBC. So that's still something that I'm

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

trying to untangle.

So let me just give you a little brief history of Jamaican broadcasting stations just so you get a sense of what's what.

So Jamaican broadcasting arrives relatively late on the scene. Their first local government-controlled station began broadcasting in 1939 to small audiences, and if you want to know more about that just wait till my book comes out.

That station reinvented itself as a commercial station in 1950 and then came to be called RJR, which was commercial. And then in 1959 Norman Manley, the Prime Minister, created this thing called the JBC which followed the BBC model and it was kind of uplift, you know, let's civilize the people kind of radio.

And so despite or perhaps because of these noble intentions the JBC actually lagged behind in popularity to the RJR, which played a lot of American jazz and foreign music.

And neither one of these -- The

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

relationship to local music was always quite contentious, as I'm going to talk about in a minute.

So then the JBC was eventually transferred to the Public Broadcasting Corporation in 1997 and then that's when the archive transfer happened, although most accounts suggest that much of the material had been sitting neglected for many years.

So not much work has been done on Jamaican broadcasting and the outlines are there, but a lot with regards to audience, programming, sponsorship, and really importantly the relationship between the burgeoning music industry in Jamaica and the broadcasting scene really remained to be explored.

So another question is what exactly was in that archive. So here again we encounter lost of vague assertions. There is no inventory or catalog of the missing materials as far as I can tell and some accounts list sort of rare one-off recordings by the likes of Bob Marley.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

Others suggest that the whole of the Marley collection is missing, and beyond the focus on Marley, and all kind of roads lead to Marley in Jamaica, the details are lost in reference to kind of vague references of reggae or Jamaican music.

So some reports also suggest that videotapes went missing, including some of significant visits of Heads of State and the well-known One Love concert, which is the image right there.

So it's been hard in the course of this research that I am trying to do to find a catalog or a list of any of the missing items or any reference to it.

So in spite of all of this haziness and questions the official response was quite swift. Minister of Information, Culture, Youth, and Sports, Olivia Grange, organized a police investigation right away and called for the public to be on the lookout for records and CDs which may have come from the archive.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

So discussion boards fired up immediately after, internet discussion boards, and for the most part lamented the loss of material and some contributors affirmed Olivia Grange's call for the public to watch for materials and to donate, to sort of repopulate the archive with whatever they had.

But there were contradictions and dissenting voices as well. So even in Olivia Grange's, the way she talked about, she referred to it as "deep cultural heritage," but she also acknowledged -- Let me see if that's -- Yes -- "I'm not sure whether enough was done to secure this national treasure," which suggests to me that the archive was perhaps understood as a national treasure in retrospect rather than treated that way from the beginning.

Some discussion board members noted this within weeks of the discovery and, for example, in late January Mistah Brown wrote "Clearly, it's annoying that they are up in arms about this now

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

but clearly failed to value it sufficiently in the first place to ensure this prime example of Jamaica's cultural heritage was protected from thieves."

"Their only real hope of getting anything back might be to offer a significant reward and/or compensation to anyone who bought any of this stuff in good faith."

Even more critics, an editorial in the Jamaica Gleaner made it a national issue of apathy and institutional incompetence. Clearly they said in an editorial that the national archives could not have been watching if the files were removed somewhere between 2004 and 2007 without anyone knowing, but that sums up too many institutions in Jamaica.

Edward Seaga, former Prime Minister and record producer, took the opportunity to politicize the disappearance. Oops, no, I don't want to do that one yet.

It's not the first time he said that the

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation has let down the trust of the nation in securing our heritage. Others dissented by criticizing the system that had sent the records to the archives in the first place.

And most notably, here he is, well-known musician and record producer Lee Scratch Perry said that he feels the record companies in Jamaican radio stations owe him money so he will not be contributing.

And he went so far as to say that he was happy the collection was taken, "I'm glad they did." So his whole take was they robbed me, I don't care if that stuff is gone.

And another commentator on one of the discussion boards concurred writing that "Jamaican radio has been corrupt all along, payola. Producers have always had to pay DJs to get their stuff on the air."

"Corruption when the records come in the front door, corruption as they go out the back door. That's the culture that's been there for a long

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

time."

So I want to spend the rest of my time thinking through some of the questions raised by this incident. So the critiques raised and the trajectory of those LPs from recording studio to broadcasting booth to archive and back out into what we might want to call the real world offers an opportunity to think about the relationships among archives radio music and capitalism.

The implication that the relationship with both record companies and radio station was an exploitative one that marginalized musicians in the profit-making schemes refrains the notion of archive, or at least this archive, challenging the idea of it as a repository of deep cultural treasures, whether it was cared for or not, and suggesting instead that it records and documents a series of vexed relationships among musicians, studios, and radio stations, in which the radio station is not an innocent player or an amplifier and disseminator of local talent, but rather an

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

institution through which the conflicts and tensions between a number of parties and impulses played out.

The tensions among, including the traditions of Jamaican radio which had long been more attentive to foreign music from Great Britain or the U.S. than to local music and yielded to pressure to elite listeners with programming classical music, et cetera, fierce competition among the recording studios that led them to payoff radio stations to play the releases on the air, and musicians struggling to be remunerated for their work.

Whatever ended up on the air and then in the archive was the product of a complex and changing negotiation between all of these competing interests.

We don't have a full story here. The history of Jamaican radio is really thin and the history of Jamaican music all but ignores, for good reasons, radio.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

So the incident to me reveals the need to understand and unravel the complicated and fraught relationships between the musicians, the record labels, and radio.

And it's not just for bystanders like me, but what's at stake here is the struggle over who owns the music, which was marginalized for a long time and then promoted as a national treasure.

How much time yet? Five minutes. Okay, we're good. The other question -- and I like this record it says "Not Guilty." The other question where did everything go leads, as I shall argue, to a discussion of capitalism, commodities, and music beginning with the most basic questions.

What are these LPs and where should they live? So the concession on the discussion boards was that the material would end up on eBay, if it wasn't there already.

And in a recent article Dan Neely almost concurs. He writes about, it's an article about Mento and it includes a detailed account of his own

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

days tracking Mento Records and the network, he taps into this network of Jamaican buyers and sellers and he writes of a seller who had stacks of singles, thousands of them in his house, and there is a chain through which these brokers acquired records.

The hunters go to villages and get these old records and then he in turn sells them to local buyers and then a lot of them end up on eBay.

So Neely suggests that there had been a substantial increase in sales during the early 2000s and he mentions the theft of these articles but he doesn't ever go so far as to sort of accuse his Jamaican interlocutor of trafficking in stolen goods.

And when I asked him about that -- and here I would like to make very clear that I am not, I am less interested in hunting down the alleged thieves than I am in thinking about the ways the recordings were treated and the ways that they circulated.

My inclination in this whole story is

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

less vigilante justice and more Robin Hood, as I will try to argue.

So, but Dan Neely initially doubted that the records ended up on eBay but then he heard from a Jamaican friend who said "One record hunter had a link with a security guard there, was selling 45s like crazy. He approached me with some. I declined, but another greedy friend of mine bought a lot." So it's not a huge revelation.

And most people here probably surmise that that was where the LPs ended up as soon as I introduced the paper. But it does offer an opportunity to reflect on the lives of these recordings and where they are housed and the different ways in which they conceived.

So in an archive, according to who you talk to, national patrimony to be shut away and protected or national patrimony with a bitter edge because of the exploitative exchanges through which they ended up there.

To the security guard they were a source

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

of income in a fragile economy. To the music hunter they were that also, in addition to a source of cultural capital. To a listener they're a source of pleasure, a connection to an affective state.

If anyone along the way were knowledgeable about Jamaican music they are the building blocks to create a narrative about Jamaican music.

To a collector buying them on eBay they are documents as well as sound appreciated at different levels. They might be shared or, dare we imagine, played, but they'll be scattered.

So I'm getting to the end. In some of these iterations these were commodities and Tim Taylor has argued that music becomes a commodity through a specific process in relation to specific technologies and practices.

Going a little further, Jason Beaster-Jones argues that music is an ambivalent commodity, always something else even when it's bought, sold, priced, and marketed.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

I'd argue here that these particular LPs moved in and out of commodity status. If music can become a commodity it can un-become one as well.

The LPs began as commodities and then became something else when they ended up in the archive and then began life as commodities anew when they were taken, borrowed, stolen, whatever you want, and sold.

In this rendition the archive is a temporary and not necessarily the rightful home of music and the record is its restless resident, an unstable commodity at best shot through with exploitative dimensions.

I'll just close with a comment from one of the message boards which said it much more poetically than I have, and I just want to sort of say that it may not be the case that all archives are like this one in terms of the mix of intentions and levels of commodification, but I think that it's important, as we said about the important work of preservation and thinking about the archives, that

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

we really sort of try and think through what it is that we are preserving. Thank you.

(Applause)

(Off the record comments)

MS. WILLIAMS: Good morning. How is everyone?

(Multiple responses)

MS. WILLIAMS: I'll bring you back to the United States and go to Chicago. Any Chicagoans in the room? All right. I am from New York, so Chicago was a foreign land until I went to school in Chicago. I went to undergrad there.

I was born living and loving radio and New York radio in the '50s and '60s was all of that and a bag of chips.

When I got to Chicago I didn't realize that this rich tradition would continue, but, obviously, if you know anything about radio, and all of us in this room have studied radio to some degree, Chicago has a special place in radio history and also a special place in the history of

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

African-American radio.

And this station, WVON, which in its early days was called "The Voice of the Negro," continues today to broadcast. You are looking at the General Manager of WVON, Melody Spann, but her father was Pervis Spann, the Blues Man, who was a popular DJ and part owner of the station when it was bought in the mid, well in the '70s.

So this is part of a tradition, this station, of African-Americans on the air starting in the 1920's and what I wanted to do today is not only talk about three of the pioneers but to let you hear their work, because these men, and they are men, not to say that women didn't take part in this, but these men really helped to shape what we call black radio now and when it was in its heyday in the '50s, '60s, '70s, and '80s.

So what I'm going to do is first go to this man and his name is Jack Leroy Cooper. He is considered to be by many historians the first African-American DJ, or the first on-air announcer.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

Now, of course, there is always disputes about, you know, who was first and all, but he is considered to the be the first, and even more importantly than that, he built an empire showing that appealing to black listeners in particular could not only be popular but financially viable.

So what I'm going to do, and my talk is really going to be kind of peppered with sound, because, again, I love radio and I have had a chance to work in radio for the last 20, 30 years, so sound is my guru and I want you to experience some of the wonderful sounds of these early pioneers with me.

The golden voice that you are going to hear after you hear this clip of Jack Cooper is a man who I think you have all kind of heard of, R&B phenom -- Oh, Lord, his name just went out of my head.

But he was the host of a series that I worked on at the Smithsonian right down the street here called "Black Radio: Telling It Like It Was," and we looked at the history of radio from its

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

earliest days to the mid-1990's.

So here is the sound of Jack Cooper. Uh oh, what did I do? I need help. I'm a Mac person.

CHAIR NEWTON: That's what they all say.

(Off the record comments)

(Audio playing)

MS. WILLIAMS: The voice that you heard as the narrator was Lou Rawls. And so Jack L. Cooper had an all Negro hour or show that was so popular that he was able to broker time on other stations and it was financially viable, proving that not only could you have a popular black voice on radio, but it was something that was financially feasible and really was the start of what we call black appeal radio.

The person who kind of followed in his footsteps was this man, and his name is Al Benson. He came on the air in the mid-40's during the World War II era, a totally different sound than Jack L. Cooper, and I'm going to play a clip of Mr. Benson. There we go, all right. So sorry.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

(Off the record comments)

MS. WILLIAMS: So while we're getting it up -- Okay, here he is.

(Audio playing)

MS. WILLIAMS: So that was Al Benson and, again, he became as popular, if not even more so than Jack L. Cooper, and really kind spawned a whole series of DJs who played music on the air that was catered and geared towards the black community, and as he said, music that you wouldn't hear on other stations in Chicago.

The other man, the other pioneer, is, you never heard this man on the air, he was a writer, and he was a writer for radio. His name is Richard Durham, that's what my book is about that just came out in September, and his claim to fame was that he was one of the few writers, black writers, who made a living literally working as a writer for dramas in radio.

His series, a series called "Destination Freedom," was really unique for its

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

time. It went on the air in June of 1948 and it remained on the air until 1950.

And what was unique about it was it told the story of African-American heroes, men and women who through their lives and accomplishments really showed that freedom, justice, and equality was possible and what you can do to not only fight injustice but what happens when you fight that and then move forward with your goal.

So what I wanted to do was, is to play some examples of "Destination Freedom" because that's what got me into trying to figure out who was this man and how was he able to have this relatively revolutionary kind of sound on the air in a time when Amos 'n' Andy and Beulah and some of the negative stereotypes of African Americans were still the order of the day and segregation was still the order of the day on the air.

So if you heard black voices on the air inevitably they were musicians or singers. And if they acted, most of them could not even act on the

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

air, it was very unusual.

So what I want to do is go to one clip, and this is very short, of a woman who was born the same year as Durham, in 1917, and obviously was a star of stage and screen at the time.

This is a clip from "Destination Freedom" where Durham talks about how Lena Horne as a young woman travels from New York City, from Brooklyn, to the South with her mother and comes here to Washington D.C. and experiences the segregation of the time.

(Off the record comments)

(Audio playing)

MS. WILLIAMS: And so what Durham did was he found creative ways of telling these stories. He didn't just say okay, I'm going to talk about Harriet Tubman or Ralph Bunche or -- He would find particular things that were characteristic of those people and then tell a story from that perspective.

So this episode was actually called the "Negro Cinderella" and he cast Lena Horne as a

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

Cinderella figure.

In this episode, and I'm not going to be able to play it because I want to get to the last one, he looked at the life of Denmark Vesey, a former slave who led one of the large slave rebellions, or attempt to rebel against slavery, in Charleston, South Carolina in 1822.

And the thing that is unique about this particular episode is that it documents Vesey's attempt to organize slaves to protest and fight against slavery, but also at the end, directly from the research that he did, looking at the trial of Vesey, Vesey was on trial for treason once he was caught, and that at the end of the series, or at the end of this episode, he says "Until all men are free and equal the revolution goes on."

And to hear those sentiments coming out of a black character's mouth in 1948 was revolutionary in and of itself.

So these are some of the folks who participated along with Durham. I think Chicagoans

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

and others would know who this gentleman is, Pulitzer Prize winner and, of course, radio personality, Studs Terkel.

Durham and Studs were friends from back in the Depression Era because they had both worked at the WPA and they worked at the Radio Division of the WPA.

This is just -- I was going to play this clip, but this is from Jackie Robinson, and I'm going to try to just play a few minutes of this because it gives you a sense of the different ways that Durham approached his storytelling.

Now what you will hear, and I'll only play like a few seconds of this, is Studs Terkel is actually the narrator of this episode and he is someone called Sammy the Whammy, an all-seeing, all-knowing Dodgers fan who sees the discrimination that is levied against Jackie Robinson even before he steps onto a plate simply because he's black.

So while we're getting that up -- But the thing about it is that he really found the

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

creative, the most creative ways to tell a story and all of these episodes were produced live in the studio at WMAQ, which is the NBC affiliate station in Chicago.

(Audio playing)

MS. WILLIAMS: So you get a sense. And this is, the other thing that was unique about "Destination Freedom" is that it was a multiracial cast and crew.

Again, everything was segregated in the country and also in radio, so the fact that you had black and white actors coming together to bring this show together was also pretty unique and Durham was the mastermind behind this.

This lasted, as I said earlier, until 1950 and it was so popular that Durham wanted to take it to television and/or national radio, but he was thwarted in that in NBC and he ended up suing NBC because they appropriated "Destination Freedom" for their own, saying it was their show.

I talk about what happened as a result

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

of that in the book, but that gives you a sense of these pioneers and their sounds and what they contributed to African-American radio in Chicago. Thank you.

(Applause)

CHAIR NEWTON: Suzanne, do you want to join us up here?

(Off the record comments)

CHAIR NEWTON: Okay, everyone. All right, what I want to do here, of course, is to essentially give you guys a small kind of record of the kind of problems that we have been enduring, I think each of us, as radio researchers over a period of years and I'll talk to you a bit about my own circumstances as I go forward here.

And as indicated there, of course, in front of you this is what we are seeking to do as a panel overall.

Now I over the years worked, gosh, I want to say starting maybe like in the early '90s on gathering materials for a book that I wrote that

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

came out back in '11 in the UK and 2012 in North American, "Paving the Empire Road," but along the way of talking about television, of course, as Paddy Scannell said ever so wisely this morning, we have to look at radio.

So the first couple of chapters in the book look at radio and look at research related to radio that I had to do over the years. I used a variety of research sources, beginning with the Feasibility Study, which I'll show you in just a moment.

These are some of the radio sources I had to look at over the years, and many of these, of course, I'm sure you guys probably recognize. If not for Colin Grant and not for similar folks that also are working on BBC history it would have been very difficult to gather the materials I did gather overall.

And I think at last count, when I checked my third Passport I had made 34 trips to England since 1994, so my goodness, a little bit worn out

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

when it comes to that kind of thing.

Now in terms of that Feasibility Study this is something I ran across that was a real gem, I want to say probably back about maybe '98, '99, and this was indeed this kind of report that the BBC put together before actually launching broadcasting in colonies.

And the concern overall was trying really hard to not just educate and inform and entertain, of course, but also as indicated here in a very decidedly post-colonial way, trying desperately to bring the masses toward enlightenment or education.

As indicated here only development along these lines would we feel it justify any large outlay by colonies, okay, and, of course, creating stations in those areas.

If it wasn't going to be for that purpose they felt it really wasn't necessary overall.

But, of course, as time went by the thinking or the basic philosophies about

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

broadcasting in the colonies changed dramatically as World War II approached and, of course, as Anne Rush talks about in her work and Simon Potter and Wendy Webster, there was indeed this need then to draw the colonials closer to Mother England to help in what was called the People's War at the time.

One of the things that also took place about this time was a great deal of newsreel work and the newsreel work often and in a very kind of, oh, I guess I want to say a multimedia sort of fashion, drew upon radio, drew upon the literary works of Una Marson and others when they talked about certain sorts of circumstances that related to the colonial effort to help out Mother England.

Here is a brief clip from a newsreel called "West Indies Calling" that came out in 1944 from the Ministry of Information and I drew just a bit of it to show you guys the kind of spin the BBC was attempting to make at the time.

(Video playing)

CHAIR NEWTON: That, of course, is Una

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

Marson.

(Video playing)

CHAIR NEWTON: A few notes here. Central to this effort was examining the works of author Una Marson, who at the approval of producer Cecil Madden, began organizing the Caribbean Voices radio programming the 11th of March 1943.

The service targeted the Caribbean as part of its anti-communist Hands Across the Sea project and the 20-minute show recorded at the BBC Studios in London and broadcast to the Caribbean Isles each Sunday via the BBC's general overseas service featured stories, poems, letters written back home to family members, and literary works by West Indian writers.

The program first entitled "Calling the West Indies" in 1939 later became a forum where audiences could hear the works of budding Caribbean authors.

The program later expanded to one hour and relied upon local editors in Kingston, Guyana,

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

and the Barbados area to find writers showing promise.

In 1940 Marson submitted a programming lineup to Madden for his approval. Of fair amount of importance was the desire for West Indian perspectives on life in England, the war, and social practices to be heard.

This was eight years before West Indians were first seen on television within England.

As you can see here, you guys, I found I some archival information that's kind of difficult to see, but there is indeed this sort of line up of programs that Una Marson pitched to the BBC involving jazz programming, interviews with jazz artists, a report she read on air.

She actually featured one particular show in which they did nothing but read the works of Jack London on his birthday, I believe, or the anniversary of his death I think, or something like that, and consequently became a real mover and shaker and player with in the BBC because, indeed,

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

she was pushing the envelope, shall we say, but at the same time calling upon the West Indians to help out with the war effort.

However, it is extremely difficult if not impossible to find recorded programs of this particular show. I just simply cannot find them. Lots of literary stuff and lots of archival material from the Written Archives Center in Caversham in Reading, but no actual recorded programming.

Here is a closeup of that lineup I was talking about. As you can see Una actually laid out all these programs each date what she wanted to do and Cecil Madden gave her carte blanche for the most part because he realized what an important voice she was for the West Indians and, again, during the time of war is especially important.

Now understand, too, that this is all taking place just about the very same that the Empire Windrush arrived in England bringing approximately 492 West Indian men and three female stowaways, which is unknown to many folks, to the British Isles

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

changing the face of Britishness forever quite frankly. Okay.

(Video playing)

CHAIR NEWTON: And that's the question, isn't it? In fact, he wasn't accepted. But one of the important things about this program, Television Newsreel, it is the very first time that television audiences in the UK actually saw West Indians on the air.

And at the time it was probably only about maybe 50,000 to 60,000 people with licenses watching TV, but, nevertheless, the newsreels that were shown in the motion picture theaters are now being shown over the BBC as part of their programming.

And Una Marson had very little to do with the program at that point, she had gone back to Jamaica to do her own thing.

(Video playing)

CHAIR NEWTON: Now understand you guys like back -- The British Nationality Act of 1948

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

was an act of Parliament that allowed citizens of the United Kingdom and the colonies and Commonwealth-member States to, of course, be considered citizens.

But by 1962 the Commonwealth Act was passed, which, of course, made it very difficult for immigration into England from the Islands.

And just about at the very same time we saw programming like this turn up on the radio with this very, dare I say, dystopic tone about living in England and being broadcasted back, of course, to the West Indies as well as somewhere within London.

So at the very same time we kind of had West Indians trying desperately to make their way to England and we have programming like this sending out these very dystopic messages about racism, difficulty in finding housing, difficulty in finding jobs and things like that.

The Colour in Britain radio program that was based upon this book was considered probably

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

one of the most landmark pieces of work when it came to listening to the West Indian voice as it related specifically to the events taking place in England in the '60s and beyond.

And I had a chance to interview Richard Hooper, who was the producer at the time, he was only like 22 years old, first got out of college and was assigned this particular job, and he wanted to take a look at prejudice in England as it related to not just West Indians but also to Jews and Germans in post-war England.

(Audio playing)

CHAIR NEWTON: Now previously the clip I played for you guys, or the sound piece bite of the West Indian man complaining about his problems while going out shopping, again, that came along in 1960, now four years later Richard Hooper decided to do "Colour in Britain" and we find that things hadn't changed a great deal and --

(Audio playing)

CHAIR NEWTON: I love the "and it's your

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

country?" Now besides the clip and the West Indies calling the newsreel information programs, recordings of musical shows featuring West Indians reading letters home or offering perspectives on life in England were quite rare, except for those that we heard that were indeed quite dystopic from the 1960s forward.

And needless to say I did do my homework looking at all these different sorts of locations, as I shared with you before. These are my challenges, the BBC Caribbean Service, which did maintain some archives but no recorded programming, went off the air in March 2011.

The scripts were sent over to the University of West Indies-St. Augustine where I got a grant to go and do research just to find there were no recorded programming before 1978 and everything after that was just a little quick one minute snippet of news and current affairs programming taking place in the West Indies specifically or the Leeward Islands.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

The other problem that I ran into was with the Jamaican Broadcasting Company. They were no help to me as, of course, my colleague indicated.

I reached out to them to try and find old programming. They had no programming anywhere. It was probably stolen about the same time all those discs were stolen.

Reportedly no West Indies themes, recordings, were kept as the result of World War II and I would argue that having talked with certain sorts old timing stories in the UK there was very little effort to retain a record of these programs.

There was a concern about the programs being put on wax and not surviving the war. It was rumored that some things were placed on wax and destroyed later. We're really not sure and it is impossible, as I suggested, to find that.

Broadcasts to the Caribbeans were often live via short wave and relayed via certain switches in various locations around the Caribbean, but were seldom recorded. Okay, they simply weren't there.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

And a question of who determined the importance of these materials is still unanswered. One of my biggest concerns about archival research, you guys, is who makes the decision of what to keep and what to throw away or how important they think it really is and who are they to make that decision anyway.

Okay, you got that head going, the finger, you with me?

(Laughter)

CHAIR NEWTON: All right now. I reached out to West Indian author George Lamming, a beautiful man who did some time basically, gosh, he worked on Caribbean voices as an author, he did voice overs for BBC documentaries about life in London for West Indians.

I reached out to talk to him but he is very, very ill and couldn't talk with me so I didn't get a chance to get any firsthand information about what he thought.

So the long and short of it, lots and

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

lots of research went into the book. I found great things for television, very little things for radio.

I couldn't seemingly find any recordings of West Indian voices literally that celebrated life in England or that gave their own perspectives, other than those that were very, very dystopic that came along just about the time the Commonwealth Act was being passed saying go back to your islands and don't try and come back again, leading overall to I guess probably one of the most profound and inherently heartfelt reactions, this whole entire matter I'll share with you.

(Video playing)

CHAIR NEWTON: Indeed, okay. Thank you everyone.

(Applause)

MR. FORSBERG: Great. Hello, everyone. Thank you so much to our panelists for such a great and wide-ranging panel.

I just wanted to say on behalf of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

History and Culture that it's our great honor to be asked to come and be at today's proceedings.

I think that all of these questions addressed today are particular relevant to our museum at this time -- building a new collection of national memory of the black experience and trying to figure out how best to preserve it and how best to make it available.

I think the first question, and I know that Suzanne said that you wanted to talk about some preservation questions in the Q&A with me in my capacity as media archivist, you know, not as an academic - is how the availability of material impacts scholarship and how you fine folks as academics have tried to make your research available so that we can listen to it today.

I know that some of us couldn't have clips because of, you know, "pillaging," but I am very curious if we can maybe start talking about the pros and cons of where you are able to find that stuff and what you have done in your capacity as

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

an academic to make this material available that you spend so much time writing about.

MS. SMITH: Do you want me to respond?

MR. FORSBERG: Sure.

MS. SMITH: Like I said -- Is this microphone on?

MR. FORSBERG: Yes.

MS. SMITH: I just want to say that I originally was just going to talk about the preservation issues and then when I saw the other papers on the BBC I wanted to throw that in, but I am working right now in a very long-term relationship with the current Gospel Spreading Church of God that has, like I said, ten congregations and a church here in D.C.

And in the last year they have started to share with me their private archive of reel-to-reel recordings of Elder Michaux, which there are at least over 200.

So I have been working with them to try to figure out the best way to preserve those

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

recordings. He recorded every day of his life, you know, and they used to have thousands of tapes and now it's dwindled down.

But like I said I am working very hard with congregants to get the tapes out of people's attics and get them into safe places and then I am trying to figure out a long-term plan to digitize them.

So I am here today and at the conference all weekend to try to meet with people who might help me to think that through, but this is to say in my own research I am finding there is a lot of reel-to-reel tapes in people's attics that are worth saving.

MS. WILLIAMS: And the good thing in terms of my research, one of the benefits of being in Chicago and going back and forth to Chicago to work on this project was that J. Fred MacDonald, who was a historian who just died --

MR. FORSBERG: Oh, yes. I think his collection came to the Library.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

MS. WILLIAMS: His collection is now here. But he had a wealth of material --

MR. FORSBERG: Yes, he was an amazing --

MS. WILLIAMS: -- for both radio and television and so we were able to use a lot of that.

The Smithsonian, the project that I worked on for the Smithsonian, was at the National Museum of American History and there were some things in the Smithsonian itself, so we were able to use that.

MR. FORSBERG: I see. And the black radio exhibition "Telling It Like It Was," did you produce a CD or anything coming out of the exhibition?

MS. WILLIAMS: Well we're talking about the radio stone age here so we're not, none of it was online, it was all produced for this series that aired in 1996 and it was a 13-part series.

Unfortunately, we didn't have the on-air rights. I mean we had on-air rights, but we didn't have any rights to sell it, so you can only

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

hear the actual series from archives at Indiana and I think here at the Smithsonian and at the Schaumburg.

MR. FORSBERG: Yes. Perhaps appropriate here at the ground zero of copyright that we discuss some of those challenges today...

Would either of you like to talk about accessing kinds of material? I know, obviously, a lot of the material that you were researching, you know, does not exist. What about the "20 percent" as it were?

MS. BRONFMAN: So I guess I found scattered things here and there and one of the really interesting things about doing research, which I am sure everybody has encountered, and also I did it in three different sites so there were different kinds of things in different places, was trying to sort of put those together.

So I found lots of, for instance, Louise Bennett. I don't know if anybody has heard of Louise Bennett, but there is tons of her stuff in

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

Carlton University and --

MR. FORSBERG: In Ottawa?

MS. BRONFMAN: Yes.

MR. FORSBERG: Okay.

MS. BRONFMAN: So there are some things, but -- No, it's McMaster, sorry.

MR. FORSBERG: Okay.

MS. BRONFMAN: But I guess that what this made me really think about was something that Darrell brought up, is the importance of thinking about the archive itself and thinking about the history of the archive itself and just sort of throwing up our hands in despair and saying well there is nothing there isn't quite enough, right.

I think it's important to think about okay, well why isn't it, what's there and what's not, but thinking both against and along the grain as Ann Stoler might do, right, sort of why aren't things there and what did get saved and what didn't is just as important at this stage as anything else.

MR. FORSBERG: I think at the museum we

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

are certainly thinking about this, this idea of the archive, whether, you know, it makes any sense to have it be a physical location anymore and the challenges to get around that of how we evade copyright law or fulfill 107 or 108 exemptions to that law.

It's a real big challenge particularly when you are dealing with General Counsel's office, that kind of stuff.

Maybe other questions from the room I should ask to be courteous? Yes, please, Phil?

PARTICIPANT: Yes, good eye. My question is for Alejandra. I am curious about, the one thing I was a little unsure whether, is it proven or is there a smoking gun that shows that the stuff that's on eBay was from this archive?

MS. BRONFMAN: So there are -- Apparently some of the JBC records actually had a JBC stamp on them, so that's one way that you can tell.

But I don't think all of them did, so it's all still very fuzzy. I mean I am not a police

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

investigator, right, so I can't sort of, you know, track -- As much as I would like to.

PARTICIPANT: Well my other question then is that, you know, the sort of -- The story goes that you can't buy anything from like a Rasta era in Kingston because, especially apparently in the Japanese market, that reggae is so valued that people will come in and just literally buy out the store.

And so I am curious if there is, I mean because that would potentially be a place that this stuff could get unloaded in the international market, you know, just sort of the danger of having a music style that has an international claim.

MS. BRONFMAN: Yes.

PARTICIPANT: But then also I am wondering like the oldie labels like Trojan and Treasure Isle, are they involved this in at all, because it seems like that would be a gold mine for them?

MS. BRONFMAN: What would, the --

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

PARTICIPANT: To get that stuff --

(Simultaneous speaking)

MS. BRONFMAN: To get that stuff back.

Yes, these are all great questions that, you know, I have just sort of started to dig around here and not being there it's really hard to -- And it's very insensitive, also, to call people up and say well, you know, have you seen those stolen records, you know.

So I am just trying to figure out also how to talk about it, but I guess I want to also reemphasize my point, which is that a lot of the way that we talk about this incident is kind of as a tragedy and it's a great loss, and that's true, right, but I also kind of feel like, you know, those records were sitting there for decades and nobody listened to them, right, and the records are made to be listened to.

So if somebody in Japan has a huge collection and they are playing them all the time what's wrong with that, right? Like I know this is

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

like a, you know, I'm going to get lynched by you guys --

I know that it's not the right thing to say in a radio preservation conference, but, you know, I kind of think those records have lives and that their lives are about being played. So --

MR. FORSBERG: But I do think, Alejandra, you are right, that there are pros that we can obtain from this kind of loss narrative or panic narrative that a lot of us working in preservation constantly. You know, this kind of spinning a yarn about how everything is going to end if we don't save this stuff immediately...

MS. BRONFMAN: Yes.

MR. FORSBERG: I think that you are right there are a lot of pros that come out of it.

MS. BRONFMAN: Yes.

MR. FORSBERG: Even the idea that we have to digitize everything immediately, only to maybe have it, you know, disappear on a hard drive while the tape is still sitting on the shelf. It's

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

an interesting point. I appreciate that.

MS. BRONFMAN: Yes, I mean I think, and those archives are being reconstituted in different places and in different ways, right, so I think it might helpful also to expand that, and by very knowledgeable people, right.

So I don't know, I'm ambivalent about it. I also wanted to be a little bit of a devil's advocate here.

MR. FORSBERG: Should we have another question? Sir?

PARTICIPANT: Darrell and all the panelists, uniformly and fascinating papers, so thank you.

And Sonja I haven't seen your book yet, but I do know that Richard Durham is enormously important in American history --

(Off the record comments)

PARTICIPANT: -- Richard Durham is enormously important in American history and so I can't wait to get your book.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

So as a broad question, and I thought of it when Alejandra was giving her presentation, but this idea of that the archives sat there and nobody really preserved it, that this seems to, there is a moment there when a culture recognizes this is something about us that we need to preserve that sort of defines the culture as important and defines a culture as other at the same time.

So if anybody can talk about that, but that moment of recognition seems to be really important.

MS. BRONFMAN: Does anybody else want -- I have lots to say, but -- I mean I think that that's particularly interesting in Jamaica because for a long time that local music, which is now, you know, the national treasure, was not recognized and it was only some kind of gorilla DJ who played local music, including sort of early reggae and stuff, between midnight and 3:00 a.m. that that music actually arrived at the archive, right.

PARTICIPANT: Right.

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

MS. BRONFMAN: So the question is, you know, who is recognizing it as a treasure? I am sure the musicians recognize that they were really good all along, right, but so, and that's why there is all of this tension between them and the radio stations because that was exactly the question that was at stake.

PARTICIPANT: Yes.

MS. BRONFMAN: You know -- Yes.

PARTICIPANT: Thank you.

MS. WILLIAMS: And in terms of black radio the, in working on the series the thing that was distressing was how little radio stations preserved their work. I mean it was really distressing.

So in a lot of ways we had to go to private collectors and we actually put out a call that said if you have any tapes, literally cassette tapes or any other transcriptions or whatever, of early programs from the '20s and on up, and people responded, but, you know, in terms of stations

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

recognizing oh, we made history or we have a history that is valuable, it's really kind of sad.

Even here in Washington D.C., I am at Howard and we have WHUR, which is, you know, historic in terms of black radio, and we had to go elsewhere to get some of the early tapes, so, you know, you have that.

PARTICIPANT: There is a feeling among many collectors right now, that I know a lot of -- that an archive is a black hole. Go there, you'll never be seen again.

And, therefore, and to your point, it may be actually a little freer for this information. My question to the panelists here, Elder Michaux, for example -- Did I say that right?

MS. SMITH: Yes.

PARTICIPANT: Is there any thought or any success stories of how you can get this material out, because that's where saving this is going to come from?

It's not going to come from locking it

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

up some place and nobody really knows about it, nobody can really write about it, nobody can study it, but if it gets out then it becomes part of the cultural conversation.

What kind of experience can you talk about or can you, other than the horror stories about how to get this material into the public conversation?

MS. SMITH: Well one thing I will say about Elder Michaux, as I said there are ten active congregations of the church and there are members within the church who are like unofficial church historians who have kept the recordings and some of them have been transferred to cassette and then CD, mainly for an evangelical purpose.

Like in Newport News they actually regularly replay his sermons on a radio station down in Newport News for evangelical reasons. So it's out there, you know, within certain black communities in Newport News.

But I am trying to work with them to get,

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

like I said, the preservation part then and like I said the digitization and then working with other institutions to get it out there.

MR. FORSBERG: One more question maybe, Darrell, and then we'll enjoy the confines of the best staff cafe in Washington D.C.

CHAIR NEWTON: Sure.

PARTICIPANT: Yes. I mean I just wanted to put in another plug I think kind of following up a little bit on Alejandra, and I think a question, a conundrum, about the rule as you were speaking of about kind of these private collections and the role of eBay and its equivalents in terms of collecting materials that would not be in the archive otherwise.

I mean because I have my own experiences really with South American radio and, you know, the voices that I have because there are no radio archives really are phonographic recordings of some of these radio personalities that are these, you know, obscure little things that I think there is

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

probably me and three other people on the planet who care about this stuff.

But, you know, and I have them because I bought them, right, and, you know, from the Argentine equivalent of eBay, there is MercadoLibre, and, you know, but I think it poses an interesting question.

Okay, so these materials are now not in Argentina, they are sitting in my office in Louisville, Kentucky, and, you know, so I think it begs these questions, so what next, right, what do you do know with this stuff, right?

MR. FORSBERG: I think you just put it on archive.org.

PARTICIPANT: Probably. Probably.

MR. FORSBERG: You have an ethically responsibility --

PARTICIPANT: Yes. No, I think that's right. I think that's right, but I think there is, I think -- But that's one thing. I think there is kind of larger conversation of how, of the kind of

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

curitorial responsibilities or what, you know, how does this all work in terms of this stuff that gets out into -- and, you know, the value that it does get preserved because it's out on the market, right, which maybe we're not always comfortable with but I think that's part of the reality.

MR. FORSBERG: Well thank you everyone for coming and thank you to my esteemed panelists, friends, colleagues, here. Enjoy lunch, thank you.

(Applause)

(Whereupon, the above-entitled matter went off the record at 12:23 p.m.)

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS
1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701