BODY AND SOUL: Paul Robeson, RACE AND REPRESENTATION

The Robert and Sallie Brown Gallery and Museum
The Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture and History

EXHIBITION DATES

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL
Body and Soul: Paul Robeson, Race and Representation examines the uses of Paul Robeson’s physical image throughout his lengthy career as a pioneering social activist, scholar, athlete, renowned baritone, and actor on stage and in film. Drawn from the Alden and Mary Kimbrough Collection, the exhibition includes a comprehensive selection of film and theater posters, playbills, album, book and magazine covers, newspaper reviews, prints and other materials. From his first controversial film appearance in Oscar Micheaux’s 1924 silent film called Body and Soul, to later photographs of the poised, statesman-like performer addressing international audiences, Robeson’s image ranged from negative stereotype to Renaissance man. These representations reflect the complex ambiguities of race and African American masculinity during the 20th century.

The Robert and Sallie Brown Gallery and Museum at the Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture and History is dedicated to the enrichment of visual culture on campus and in the larger community. The Brown Gallery supports the Stone Center’s commitment to the critical examination of all dimensions of African American and African diaspora cultures through the formal exhibition of works of art, artifacts and material culture.

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INTRODUCTION
Body and Soul: Paul Robeson, Race and Representation
Mora J. Beauchamp-Byrd

The critic of a newspaper has called Robeson a “Giant of Song.” He is, indeed, not only a giant of song, but a giant of a man—just under six feet 4 inches in height, and weighing around 200 pounds.

Program guide

Paul Robeson’s Othello is indescribably magnificent. He is the authentic Moor of Shakespeare’s towering vision, a colossus among men, a figure of epic grandeur and of transcendent nobility and force. In his bearing, his tone, his look, Robeson invests the character with incomparable tragic dignity.

Program guide, 1945

As a singer, as an actor, as a leader among the Negro people Paul Robeson’s eminence cannot be disputed. His fine rugged body, his deep stirring voice, his charming humility, and his engaging personality have become symbols for his race—symbols of strength and character and inherent resources of ability. As a man he is every inch a Negro—black of skin; possessor of a gift for quick infectious laughter; sensitive, kindly, loyal, and affectionate…

Earl Schenk Miers, “Author’s Note” from novel Big Ben (1942)

Canada Lee was Bigger Thomas, but he was also Canada Lee; his physical presence, like the physical presence of Paul Robeson, gave me the right to live.

James Baldwin

Body and Soul, Oscar Micheaux’s 1924 silent film, features two Paul Robesons in the starring role. The controversial production was the first film appearance for the pioneering social activist, social activist, scholar, athlete, renowned concert singer and actor on stage and in film. In the film, Robeson portrays a Jekyll and Hyde-type preacher plagued by dueling “good” and “evil” natures. In many ways, the literal duality of “Reverend Jenkins” might be viewed as emblematic of the widely divergent representations of Robeson that punctuated various phases of his career. Celebrated for his rich baritone voice and stunning physique, Robeson was also demonized for his socialist views and for his acceptance of roles considered racially offensive during the early years of his career. Robeson’s public persona was one fraught with contradiction, marked by ever-shifting degrees of success and controversy, to say the least.

Fig. 1

1 Program guide from Robeson’s 1949 recital tour through England and Scotland with his long-time accompanist, pianist and composer Lawrence Brown, and pianist Lionel Bowman.

2 Excerpt from Geary Theatre (San Francisco) production of Othello, February 24, 1945, also starring Uta Hagen and Jose Ferrer. The article, entitled “Paul Robeson’s Othello,” was credited as “Edited by American-Russian Institute from an article by Samuel Sillen in “New Masses.”


4 See Pearl Bowser and Louise Spence, “Oscar Micheaux’s Body and Soul and the Burden of Representation,” Cinema Journal 39, No. 3, Spring 2000, 3–29. The article documents critical response to the film by African Americans. Although the African American filmmaker Micheaux produced moral narratives that examined a black professional class, he was largely attacked for his depictions of “the policy runner, the bootlegger, the fast-talking city slicker, the jackleg preacher (7).” Critics called for Micheaux, known for “race films,” to portray “the better side of Negro life (3),” and to “portray the Higher Negro as he really is (4),” all of which imply a fixed “black” reality or truth, one that would counter the negative images promulgated by the various instruments of popular culture during this period. As the authors of the essay have noted, “Such claims to truth were certainly tied to the scarcity of film representations by African Americans. With so few examples, black filmmakers seemed to have a monumental responsibility to respond to the needs of the community, and, for both Micheaux and his critics, ‘the authentic’ became a crucial political concept (8).”
Body and Soul: Paul Robeson, Race and Representation presents a selection of film and theater posters, book and album covers and other materials that yield an astonishing range of Robeson representations, from the racially-ambiguous visage on the cover of Big Ben (Fig. 1), a fictionalized account of Robeson’s youth, to that of the charming, charismatic singer of “Ol’ Man River” in Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein’s Show Boat, to Shakespeare’s murderous Othello, one of the most significant roles of his career.

Highly recognizable during much of the twentieth century, Robeson’s political activities were as vigorously publicized as were his numerous recordings and film, theatrical and concert appearances. And, above all, a singular descriptive slant would continue to take precedence in literary descriptions and visual representations of Robeson and his work: the specularization of Robeson’s physical appearance. His body was, almost invariably, over-emphasized throughout the course of his career. An All-American athlete at Rutgers before beginning a degree in Law at Columbia, Robeson was physically impressive at 6’ 3”, with broad shoulders, a solid, muscular build and a powerful baritone voice. With a handsome face, an easy smile, and strong facial features, his image was at once stunning constellation of sexual object, fearsome black male stereotype, and, simultaneously, a complex symbol of hope for the future, an iconic African American male Hero figure.

As Jeffrey C. Stewart has pointed out, this fixation on Robeson’s body began at an early age. He has noted how newspaper commentators “invariably linked Robeson’s size and race to tell the story,” during his years at Rutgers. Stewart’s examples include a 1917 cartoon depicting Robeson, there described as the “Rutgers Colored Giant,” as an immensely caricatured figure, gangly and awkward with grotesquely elongated limbs and an exaggerated grin.

Robeson’s lengthy career as an actor was marked by a highly diverse selection of roles. Yet, particularly during the early years of his film career, he was often cast in roles considered demeaning to African Americans. Such images include scenes from the 1926 play Black Boy, where Robeson played a vagrant-turned boxer whose drinking and gambling leads to an early downfall, and scenes from Sanders of the River. This 1935 British film by the Korda Brothers would become an utter disappointment to Robeson after viewing the final film, with its blatant support of British imperialism. In one publicity image from the film (Fig. 2), Robeson is posed, as Deborah Willis has noted, in “faux Zulu costume,” against a jungle-inspired backdrop. Here, Robeson braces himself against a Luba-inspired, but studio manufactured of a female figure.

7 Director Zoltan Korda, along with brothers Alexander and Vincent (Art Director), played a significant role in the revitalization of British filmmaking during the 1930s. Sanders was one of several Korda films that celebrated the British empire. Robeson was deeply disappointed with the finished film, which glorified British colonial rule and paternalistic racism. The film began with a dedication “to the handful of white men whose everyday work is an unsung saga of courage and efficiency.”
9 The same photograph was later used as reference for a cover illustration for a later edition of the 1914 novel Bosambo of the River by Edgar Wallace. The film Sanders was adapted from the earlier novel by Wallace.
10 The Luba are Bantu-speaking people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, East Africa.
at his left. The implied affinity between the actor and the inanimate sculpture is suggested by his left hand, which is solidly placed on the shoulder of the figure. Robeson is posed rather awkwardly, with right foot on ground and left foot bent atop the platform, a stance that allows him to partially share the elevated platform with the sculpture. This meticulously-constructed scene serves to facilitate a pronounced, direct interaction between the two figures that is meant to convey an aura of simplified African identity fueled by misguided notions of Africa as a singular country rather than as an entire, infinitely diverse continent.

Additionally, Robeson’s pose, with clenched right fist and tensed left calf, pointedly results in an enhanced display of his musculature. Here, yet again, there is an emphasis on Robeson’s athletic build, a focus that would be maintained by film studios, theatrical directors and book and magazine reviewers throughout his career.

As a result of some of the negative portrayals that he accepted during the early years of his professional life, Robeson underwent an ideological transformation during the late 1930s and early 1940s. As he recounted in his 1971 autobiography entitled *Here I Stand*: “In the early days of my career as an actor, I shared the prevailing attitude of Negro performers—that the content and form of a play or film scenario was of little or no importance to us. What mattered was the opportunity, which came so seldom to our folks, of having a part—any part—to play on the stage or in the movies; and for a Negro actor to be offered a starring role—well, that was a rare stroke of fortune indeed! Later I came to understand that the Negro artist could not view the matter simply in terms of his individual interests, and that he had a responsibility to his people who rightfully resented the traditional stereotyped portrayals of Negroes on stage and screen.”11

Deborah Willis has written about the actor’s concerns, and what was at stake in his decision. She has noted that “…film historians have found themselves frustrated at encountering the plethora of racist constrictions running through his movie career. On the one hand, Robeson is “fully present,” a powerful,
masculine, and handsome presence. But there are also the photographs of Robeson as the imaginary “Hollywood African savage,” in poses that reinforced the inferiority of things African (and African American) and the superiority of those things Western.”

Other roles, such as in *Song of Freedom* (1936) and *The Proud Valley* (1940), allowed Robeson to diversify his oeuvre. As scholar Clement Alexander Price has noted, these films “presented humanely constructed images of black men, unburdened by the stereotypes of the time.” In *Song of Freedom*, Robeson plays John Zinga, a character fueled by interest in his African origins, and in *Proud Valley*, he portrays a charming and heroic character named David Goliath, a Black coal miner who is living and working in Wales. Although both films are riddled with racially-problematic elements, they represent, according to Price, “a more nuanced view of a person of African ancestry than had been seen up to that point.”

This exhibition, with its astonishing range of Robeson images, reveals the differing uses of Robeson’s body by film studios, by theatrical producers, record companies, and by various kinds of press. Clearly, any survey of these images reveals far more about these distinct entities (and their respective commercial aims and spatio-temporal contexts) than they reveal about Robeson himself. For example, Deborah Willis has written of a pronounced distinction between images produced by African American photographers employed by black newspapers vs. the Hollywood-produced publicity stills for various films. She suggests that Black newspapers most often produced distinguished images of a poised, well-tailored Robeson in concert before international audiences or addressing crowds at political rallies (Fig. 3). In these images, Robeson, Willis notes, was a figure of “power and grace.” By contrast, in the photographs produced by Hollywood, Willis notes that Robeson largely “performs the primitive,” as

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12 Willis, 62.
14 Ibid
15 Ibid, 78.
may be seen in the aforementioned publicity stills for Sanders. The profoundly ambiguous array of imagery associated with Robeson's physical presence prompts several critical questions: What physiognomic characteristics did reviewers and other writers mention and/or excessively emphasize when assessing Robeson’s work, and what did these ideas reveal about racial stereotype prevalent during the early to mid-20th century? How was Robeson depicted in various forms of visual culture throughout his career, and what do such images reveal about the aesthetic, cultural and socio-political factors that shaped their construction?

One category might be called Robeson as imagined African “primitive”, which would include images such as those seen in Sanders. A related category might be termed Robeson as Tyrant, exemplified by many of the scenes from The Emperor Jones, as well as selected scenes from Body and Soul, when Robeson portrays the diabolical side of “Reverend Jenkins.” Yet another prominent category, mentioned earlier, might be termed Robeson as Hero. Such a grouping would include images of Robeson as Dapper Concert Performer (Fig. 4) on stage at major concert halls in London, Paris, New York, Prague, Vienna and Dresden, images that adorned the covers of periodicals throughout the world. Related to this is the image of Robeson as Worldly Sophisticate, as a frequent global traveler. These scenes often emphasized Robeson in transit (Fig. 5), emerging from airplanes, en route to appearances in major European cities. During the 1930s through 1950s, widely-distributed images of a well-tailored Robeson singing and/or speaking before diverse audiences around the world, and socializing with politicians and celebrities at formal events, all reinforced an idea of his cosmopolitanism and sophistication.

This notion of a Great Black Hero/Savior is an idea articulated by a 1928 New Yorker magazine article by Mildred Gilman that referred to Robeson as “the promise of his race,” “King of Harlem,” and “Idol of his people.”16 A key component of this kind of narrative includes the ways that Robeson biographers and reviewers have focused on Robeson’s early achievements as a middle class youth who broke color barriers in youth, survived and flourished.17 During his college years between 1915 and 1919, Robeson was the only black student at Rutgers, and only the third to have attended the university since its inception. These were successful years for Robeson, despite an athletic life complicated by racially-provoked, intensely violent assaults from fellow members of the varsity football team.18 Robeson persevered, twice becoming an All-American athlete. He was equally successful academically, and was elected a member of the prestigious Phi Beta Kappa Society and the Cap and Skull Honor Society at Rutgers, where he graduated, in 1919, as valedictorian.

Fig. 7

17 These narratives begin with his April 9, 1898 birth in Princeton, New Jersey, the fifth (and last) child of Maria Louisa Bustill and William Drew Robeson. Robeson’s mother died when he was six, and the family moved first to Westfield, then to Somerville, New Jersey, in 1909, where his father became pastor of a local church. Robeson excelled in high school as one of only two black students, competing in debates, participating in oratorical contests, playing football and acting in theatrical productions. Graduating with honors, he earned a scholarship to Rutgers University, a majority white institution in 1915.
Other representations of the notion of Robeson as Hero include Robeson the Elder Statesman, in which he is depicted as an eloquent orator/philosopher-figure due to his active involvement with various causes. These included the following activities: he co-founded the Council on African Affairs to assist in African liberation efforts, performed recitals and presented speeches at benefit concerts for Basque refugees, sang at rallies to support a democratic Spain and participated in other anti-fascist rallies, spoke at a rally in support of the Free India movement, challenged President Truman to support an anti-lynching law, and championed workers’ rights, all efforts that were widely discussed in the press.

This idea of Robeson as Elder Statesman or Peacemaker might be best exemplified by a painting called “The Singer for Peace” by three Soviet artists on the cover of Masses & Mainstream of May, 1951 (Fig. 6). The image is an illustration for a book review recounting the Peekskill, New York incident that occurred in the late summer of 1949, in which protesting (largely anti-Communist) rioters disrupted Robeson’s scheduled concerts. A prominent Socialist activist, his 1950 passport was revoked by the US government because of his support for the Soviet Union’s foreign and domestic policies.

Another example of this category includes a 1973 cover of Freedomways featuring a linocut by the Mexican artist Leopoldo Mendez (1902–69), a founder and member of the internationally-renowned Mexican print workshop called Taller de Grafica Popular. Robeson is seen with a dove in the palm of his hands and broken chains near his head, the latter of which may be linked to abolitionist imagery of the 19th century.

Coursing throughout much of Robeson imagery is the idea of Robeson as Work of Art, as object of desire, beauty and/or aesthetic study, an example of which is the sculptural portrait of Robeson by American-born artist Jacob Epstein, who worked primarily in England (Fig. 8). The work is featured on the cover of the February 1971 issue of Jewish Currents. Other Robeson portraits were completed in his time by leading 20th century artists such as Mabel Dwight, Winold Reiss, Antonio Salemme, Charles White, Harlem Renaissance sculptor Richmond Barthe, and photographers James L. Allen, Yousuf Karsh, Gordon Parks, Edward Steichen and Carl Van Vechten. Some of these images, such as Hollywood celebrity photographer Nikolas Murray’s c. 1926 idealized nude photographs, and Antonio Salaemme’s controversial made sculpture from the same period, are inextricably linked with ideas regarding the black male figure as an exoticized or fetishized figure.

Yet, most often, Robeson was discussed in terms of his size, a category that might be called Robeson as Giant. One such image includes a 1940 publicity photograph...
for white Southern writer Roark Bradford’s musical called *John Henry* that features Robeson in the title role with an enormous bale of cotton on his back (Fig. 9). Robeson was said to be a particularly fitting casting choice for the legendary figure of John Henry, with his superhuman strength.26 Indeed, Bradford wrote a *Colliers* Magazine article called “Paul Robeson is John Henry,”27 a classic case of the literal association of Robeson with various roles throughout his career. In the publicity still, Robeson’s great strength is reiterated by his expansive chest and powerful arms, coupled with the fact that his right leg does not touch the ground, despite the tremendous weight of the bundled cotton.

What is at stake in assessing this seemingly infinite collection of Robeson images? *Body and Soul: Paul Robeson, Race and Representation* is an attempt to catalogue the various kinds of Robeson images in circulation throughout his career, charting the ways that they reflect and reinforce complex narratives of truth, half-truths and utter inaccuracies regarding African American identity. These images functioned in varying ways during their respective periods, sometimes in a progressive manner, and at other times in a negative vein. Most of all, they provide us with a heightened degree of insight into many of the underlying ideas affecting race, masculinity and visual representation in the 20th century.

*Mora J. Beauchamp-Byrd is Assistant Director of the Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture and History.*
About the Alden and Mary Kimbrough Collection

The Kimbrough Family Paul Robeson Collection had its genesis in September 1932, when Dr. Jack Kimbrough, father of Alden and Mary Kimbrough, received as a gift, an inscribed and dated copy of Paul Robeson, Negro, authored by Robeson’s wife Eslanda Goode Robeson. The book is dated September 2, 1932, several months after Dr. Kimbrough arrived in San Diego to begin his dental practice, and it is inscribed by Belle Seager and Myrtle Howard, two longtime family friends.

This book constituted the core and initial building block of what is now a major, comprehensive Robeson library of books, records, photos and memorabilia that the four Kimbrough children grew up with in 1940s and 1950s San Diego. They have always considered it a small miracle that many of these family treasures have survived for more than 60 years, and that the collection has now become a highly significant Paul Robeson archive.

Body and Soul represents the sixth exhibition drawn from the family’s Robeson Collection, part of the Kimbrough’s continuing interest in exhibitions that document various struggles against racism, sexism and imperialism. Today, Alden and Mary continue to facilitate and organize exhibitions that showcase black memorabilia, rare books, Black Liberation art and other materials. They have organized several major exhibitions focused on Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party, African Liberation imagery, and, most recently, an exhibition documenting the life and career of Amiri Baraka.

Exhibition Checklist

8. “Paul Robeson,” Russian poster with U.S. flag (U.S.), announcing Russian documentary film, image by Weiss M.D.
9. Youth Salute to Paul Robeson, New York, Workshop for People’s Art, poster.
11. Poster photo of Robeson as Othello with sword and costume, 1943. Photo by Herbert Gehr/ LIFE Pictures.
13. Phi Beta Kappa Poster, Graphic design: Lincoln Cushing from 1919 photo.
15. Photo of Robeson with Judge Hastings, Speakers Platform, New York City.
16. Lobby card from film “Tales of Manhattan” with Ethel Waters and Eddie “Rochester” Anderson.
17. Robeson photo with newspaper clippings from “PM” newspaper.
18. 1942 portrait of Robeson by Yousuf Karsh and 1933 letter from Robeson to publication.
21. Paul Robeson as “The Emperor Jones,” 8” x 10” black and white photograph.
22. Emperor Jones collage of photographs, 8” x 10”.
23. Photograph of Robeson with Dudley Diggs in Emperor Jones, 8” x 10”.
24. Photograph of Robeson at cocktail party with Jose’ Ferrer and Uta Hagen.
25. Photograph of Paul Robeson singing for factory workers (Lawrence Brown at piano), 1940.
26. Portrait of Paul Robeson by Hugo Gellert
27. Photograph of Paul Robeson with bow tie, signed by Macgregor in 1933.
28. Photograph of Paul Robeson with Mr. and Mrs. William Nickerson (grandparents of Alden and Mary Kimbrough) at party given by Golden State Life Insurance Company.
29. Photo of Paul Robeson as member of Rutgers University baseball team.
30. Photo of Paul Robeson with Hattie McDaniel in film “Showboat”.
31. Photo of Paul Robeson and Eslanda Robeson taken in London, 1958, after Robeson regained his passport.
32. Signed portrait of Paul Robeson as Othello in 1944.
33. Photograph of Paul Robeson with Polish Ambassador to England Jerzy Michalov and his wife at London Embassy, April 8, 1949, after Robeson recital.
34. Photo of Paul Robeson as Emperor Jones with soldiers, film still.
35. Photo of Paul Robeson on rock pile in Emperor Jones.
37. Here I Stand, Paul Robeson autobiography, book.
40. “Peace Advocacy of Paul Robeson” by Charles Wright, M.D., booklet.
41. “Sanders of the River”, 45 recording cover.
42. “Sing Out!” Magazine, September 1952.
45. “Emperor Jones” still photo with Paul Robeson and Jackie “Moms” Mabley (Bedroom scene with Robeson at window).
46. Film still photo of Paul Robeson in Proud Valley.
47. Film still photo of Paul Robeson (#CR).
48. Film Still from “Showboat”, Number 722-P38.
51. Paul Robeson on stage, singing at Peekskill, New York, photograph, 8” x 10”.
52. Paul Robeson and Charlotta Bass (under umbrella), editor of California Eagle.
53. Two copies of original playbook for “Othello”, NYC, 1943.
54. “King Solomon’s Mines”, poster with Swedish text.
55. Film — Paul Robeson as “Emperor Jones” with sash in front of throne.
57. “The CRISIS” magazine, December 1943, with Paul Robeson as Othello on cover.
58. “LOOK” magazine, March 10, 1942, article with Paul Robeson and his family.
59. “West Indian Gazette” with Paul Robeson article.
60. “The CRISIS” magazine, Oct. 1933, w/ Paul Robeson on cover as Emperor Jones.
61. “Ebony” magazine, October, 1957, with Paul Robeson article.
62. “Ebony” magazine, February 1951, with Paul Robeson article.
63. February, 1952 issue of Paul Robeson’s newspaper, with “FREEDOM” (Charles White image) on front page.
70. Paul Robeson concert pamphlet for Feb. 24, 1930 at Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles, with Lawrence Brown on piano.
72. Hal Johnson, Josh White, Paul Robeson, Ethel Waters, Canada Lee, Cisco Houston, 1944, photograph.
73. Booklet issued at 2nd annual convention of the National Negro Labor Council (NNLC), with Charles White drawing on cover.
74. Paul Robeson and Captain Hugh Mulzac, 1930’s, 11” x 14” photograph.
76. 78 rpm record set (cover only) of 1943 production of “Othello” Columbia Masterworks Set MM-554.
77. LP, “Paul Robeson at the Peace Arch Park — 1953,” Rite Records #32160 (cover only).
81. 78 rpm record set (cover only), “Solid Rock.” Othello (R-201), 1954.
82. 78 rpm record set (cover only), “Spirituals.” Columbia Set (D162), 1949.
83. 78 rpm record set (cover only), “Songs of Free Men” Columbia (M534), 1942.
84. Musician Hazel Scott with Paul Robeson at head of table in background, dinner for Capt. Hugh Mulzac
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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

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The Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture and History is part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. As a center within the University’s Academic Affairs Division, we have a central role in supporting the University’s academic mission. We have a commitment to broaden the range of intellectual discourse about African Americans and to encourage better understanding of the peoples of the African diaspora and their perspectives on important social and cultural issues.

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