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## “Britain is no longer white”: James Baldwin as a Witness to Postcolonial Britain

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In the “late renaissance” of James Baldwin scholarship that has been occurring now for over a decade, much has turned recently on his role as a transnational or international writer.<sup>1</sup> Existing scholarship on Baldwin in this field has focused primarily on his relationship with France, and more recently through the work of Magdalena Zaborowska, Turkey.<sup>2</sup> And rightly so—Baldwin spent almost half his life in France, writing many of his most celebrated essays in or about Paris in the 1950s; and Turkey, as Zaborowska has demonstrated, acted as something of a haven for Baldwin throughout the 1960s, a place beyond the racial structures of Europe and America where, as he told David Frost in 1970, he could “try . . . to become a human being” (Zaborowska 16). Britain, by contrast, appears to have entered Baldwin’s itinerary mostly when need called—to meet his publisher, Michael Joseph; to promote his books; to produce his plays—and in this, perhaps, it is little distinguishable from those other European locations that flagged up occasionally in Baldwin’s travels: Germany, Denmark, or Sweden. London could not offer the peaceful isolation that Istanbul provided for Baldwin, and it did not provoke the literary output of Paris. London, rather, as Baldwin biographer James Campbell puts it, was a place where he was “interviewed repeatedly [and] harried for quotes, accusations, [and] dark promises of vengeance” (*Talking at the Gates* 208).

Baldwin claimed a lifelong fascination with Charles Dickens’s *A Tale of Two Cities*, and Dickens was to remain an author he would constantly cite, alongside Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Henry James, and Marcel Proust, as a formative influence on his own writing (*Notes* 11; J. Hall 102). In an interview at a London airport in 1967, Baldwin told the *Observer* that he was fond of Britain, if only “because Dickens lived here” (“A Very British Welcome” 30). But this fondness did not entail an uncritical celebration. “I may have been romantic about London—because of Charles Dickens,” he was later to write, “but that romance lasted for exactly as long as it took me to carry my bags out of Victoria Station” (*No Name* 41). This was more than a comment on the city’s failure to live up to a romantic Dickensian promise. In London in February 1965, as Baldwin absorbed the news of Malcolm X’s recent assassination, the *Daily Mail* plied him for his comments on the city. “I like London,” he told them, “I like the space, I like the sky,” but he also added that “he could never forget that London was the capital of the slavers, which was ‘the backbone of European affluence.’ It was true that African warriors had handed over the Negroes to the British ships. ‘But the black slavers didn’t build a city called London. Your tribe did’ ” (“If This Man” 8).

Baldwin’s fondness for London, then, remained qualified; he was “frightened of London’s associations.” “One’s in a kind of competition” with these “associations,” he told the *Mail*, adding, “I’m thinking of Dickens” (“If This Man” 8). For Baldwin, the visions of the city in Dickens’s prose needed to be confronted by those other, silenced histories that also made the city. By speaking the history of slavery as the suppressed story behind Britain’s capital (and the double meaning here is instructive), Baldwin was situating Britain within a wider black Atlantic conjuncture which, in his various British addresses, connected it to colonialism in Africa and slavery in the Caribbean, and drew the significance of black America’s liberation struggle into the streets of the British capital itself.

Often a reluctant commentator on Britain, Baldwin engaged in only limited involvement in the politics of the European locations in which he based himself, and he remained always more comfortable stressing the differences than the similarities of black Atlantic cultures.<sup>3</sup> But his presence in Britain, and the responses of his British audiences, deserves attention. A growing critical literature now looks to the historical processes by which Britain has become, or is becoming, postcolonial.<sup>4</sup> Much here turns on transactions between former colonies and the former metropole, and on the cultural and political productions of Britain's nonwhite populations. A narrative in which Britain's empire "came home"—and delivered a few home truths en route—is, indeed, compelling. But this obscures the complex detours this history took. Black America assumes a substantial place here, and James Baldwin occupies a central role in this narrative. Finding himself a public intellectual in Britain celebrated for his elucidation of the racial situation of the United States, Baldwin went beyond the implicit limits of this role as an interpreter of his native America to bring the significance of his transnational reading of Britain's colonial and postcolonial predicament before a British audience. His reading of Europe, always contingent on his reading of America,<sup>5</sup> offered a new means for understanding the recoding of race at the moment of decolonization and postcolonial immigration. In this he publicly provided, to black and to white, a new way of coming to terms with Britain's colonial history, and of moving beyond it.

Connecting the histories of race and racism between America and Britain was no straightforward task in 1960s' Britain. From the late 1950s, as racial violence and discrimination increased on Britain's shores, leading to violent racist rioting in Nottingham and London's Notting Hill in 1958, a broad consensus across the British media and Parliament dictated that insofar as such events resembled America, it was because they were decidedly un-British and alien; it was definitively *not* because Britain resembled, or was becoming, America.<sup>6</sup> This placing of America's racial situation beyond the experience of British politics was premised upon what Stuart Hall termed a "profound historical forgetfulness . . . which has overtaken the British people about race and Empire since the 1950s," resulting in a "tendency to pull race out from the internal dynamic of British society, and repress its history" (24-25). While the destructive effects of slavery and racism could be freely discussed in British interpretations of America's crises, the same discussions could not be easily formulated as Britons came to face their own society's troubles.

To recognize parallels between America and Britain would involve recognizing histories that, at this moment in Britain's postwar history, were being roundly effaced from the national memory. And yet, at the same time, developments in America filled the British papers and airwaves, and in this coverage James Baldwin featured as a primary interpreter of America's racial crisis. In 1962 Julian Moynahan, writing in the *Guardian*, found Baldwin the only contemporary writer to come out of America who "sheds strong light on the complex fate of Americans in this part of what they used to call the American century" (28). *The Times* similarly applauded him for "at last beginning to convey what it really means to be a Negro in America today" ("White Man's Therapist" 13), and welcomed him as "the most significant American writer of his time [whose] writings are helping to create a new understanding of what is at issue" ("Names from Abroad" 16). By 1963 Baldwin was such a regular feature of the airwaves, newspapers, and television screens of Britain that his ubiquity caused the *Guardian* to joke in 1965, "when James Baldwin skied in from the Apple last week to publicise the paperback edition of his novel 'Another Country' [he] managed to appear on 36,000 television programmes and run up five rods of press cuttings without being asked anything about the novel" ("Not without Prejudice" 20).

As eagerly as the British media consumed Baldwin's critiques of America, though, he was responded to as a uniquely American voice, his writing revealing "an emotional climate entirely alien to the English reader" ("Alien Races" 10). Whenever referents beyond the U. S. were invoked in responses, especially to *The Fire Next Time*, these were generally restricted to comparisons between Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam and Hendrik Verwoerd's South Africa. Thus while the *Sunday Times* claimed the essay "reeks of truth as the ghettos of New York and London, Chicago and Manchester reek of our hypocrisy, cowardice, and lack of humanity" (Mitchell 25), such candid responses were neither common nor welcomed. When the BBC in 1964 aired an interview with a West Indian man who expressed displeasure at Lord Longford's reported habit of making a point to say "Good Morning!" to every black man he sees on the tube ("I bet that makes him feel good. I wonder how it makes the Negroes feel. Like bloody idiots I should think"), the *Daily Express* made the surprising accusation that such an expression of "colour hatred" was "evidently [formed] after due study of the American Negro writer, James Baldwin." And to counter his influence the *Express* insisted to its readers that such an attitude "appl[ies] to the colour situation in America or South Africa—and nowhere else" ("Hate Makers" 8). It is with such responses and the tensions that lay behind them in mind that we can appreciate Baldwin's own recollection of one British columnist telling his readers "that he wished I would either 'drop dead or shut up'" (*No Name* 84).

At 8.45 p.m. on February 18, 1965, Baldwin appeared on national television on the BBC's *Encounter* series, alongside the novelist Colin MacInnes and BBC journalist and author James Mossman, breaking the conventions of British "race relations" discourse by publicly linking the histories of slavery and racism in America with the history of slavery and colonialism that bound Britain to the Caribbean. The interview was set up to be provocative: Mossman was a renowned liberal but had a reputation for a fierce interviewing style; Colin MacInnes was a long-established advocate of black immigration for "the life and variety" it had "added to the capital," who had, since the publication of *The Fire Next Time* two years earlier, been an avid Baldwin fan, drawing out lessons for Britain from the essays if it would come to terms with its "black colonial past and . . . black colonial present" (*London* 25; "Dark Angel" 32).<sup>7</sup> And yet, despite this abundance of liberal sympathies, communication broke down in the interview as Baldwin's "system of reality"—to use the terms of his Cambridge Union address of the same month—came up against Mossman's and MacInnes's.

Early in the interview, when Mossman posed a question to Baldwin concerning "your own people in America," he was brought up sharp by Baldwin's refusal to accept the terms. "[L]et's try to get down to what you mean by one's own people," Baldwin retorted.

Arbitrarily, you know, I'm an American Negro. The word "American" is kind of a conundrum, and the word "Negro" too. In any real sense one's got to assume that my people are the people on the American continent, because the American Negro problem is a kind of invention on the part of white people, which has no validity. One can say, and be perfectly truthful, that in fact there are no whites and no blacks in America, that all of us are mulattos or bastards. It is not a white country. (qtd. in Mossman 50)

Baldwin's assertion that "all of us are mulattos or bastards" was at once a literal and a metaphorical statement. It spoke to the suppressed history of sexual exploitation in American slavery (as he was to put it some years later, "blacks were not the only stallions on slave-breeding farms!" [*No Name* 60]), but it also spoke to the impossibility of dividing a society constituted through such a close historical relationship, whose collective labor had created the modern United States, so easily into "white"

and “black.” To think in these closed categories required a partiality of vision, Baldwin maintained, that was the reserve of those in power, but was belied by the historical memories of the subjugated.

In an essay written just six months later Baldwin clarified this position by developing his reading of history as a central force determining the present. “History,” he wrote “is not merely something to be read. And it does not refer merely, or even principally, to the past. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally *present* in all that we do.” History provided subjectivity. It generated the “frames of reference” that gave one’s world meaning (one’s “system of reality”). But history in this sense was not the sum total of the events in the past; it was the narrative by which people situated themselves *in* the past *for* the present. As Baldwin argued, while these narratives could provide a seemingly untroubled identity for those in power, “a creature despised by history finds history a questionable matter.” Those despised by history brought their own historical memory up against the narratives that suppressed and contested them. And so while history could be “tyrannical,” it was also dynamic. The unspoken stories of miscegenation to which Baldwin alluded in his interview with Mossman and MacInnes provided points of intervention in which he sought to “enter . . . into battle with that historical creation,” to “rob . . . history of its tyrannical power, and also change . . . history” (“White Man’s Guilt” 410).

Baldwin’s reply to Mossman was an action made in his anticipated role as a public intellectual and witness for America, disrupting and publicly contesting the historical narratives upon which his continued social exclusion in America were based. This was not so new (it was, after all, the task of most of his essays in this period, and the reason for his popularity with the British media), but next Baldwin turned the logic of his position to the situation in Britain as well. Discussing the relationship of black to white in Europe in contradistinction to the relationship of various white nationalities to each other, Baldwin announced:

The only thing that operates between you as an Englishman and I as a black man which doesn’t operate necessarily between a Norwegian and a Greek, is that once I worked for you. That when an Englishman or an American white man, in the main, looks at a black man, *he is also looking at his own past*, and a lot of what happens in the mind and heart of a white man looking at a black man is involved with his guilt, his guilt because I—after all—for nothing, went into the mines, and I, for nothing, built the city. (qtd. in Mossman 52; emphasis added)

Here was James Baldwin, on national television, telling the British that they were not recognizing their own history. As if confirming Baldwin’s point, Colin MacInnes interjected, “Jimmy, are you sure of this? I’m not sure that it. . . .” “*It’s a matter of historical record*,” Baldwin rapped him, cutting off MacInnes. “We’re talking about an historical fact—it *is also a present fact*—which controls the society in which we now live. . . . There are ways to break out of the nightmare if one is willing to deal with one’s self and tell the truth to one’s self” (qtd. in Mossman 52; emphasis added).

Telling the truth involved acknowledging this historical record. Baldwin’s analysis had concrete political ramifications. As the interview turned to the thorny issue of immigration control, which had first been introduced to Britain on an implicitly racial (but ostensibly neutral) basis in the summer of 1962, Baldwin was adamant: “[I]he question of controlled immigration is a question asked essentially in bad faith. The English people, after all, English history, has created these Black Englishmen, who have as much right to the capital as any White Englishman. They’ve paid quite as much for it as any White Englishman” (qtd. in Mossman 56).

Colin MacInnes, although he appeared disapproving when Baldwin made these claims on the *Encounter* program, had himself called on the historical relationship of

the West Indies to Britain in his own polemics against British racism. But MacInnes's efforts to remember the historical relationship of the Caribbean to Britain had centered on more celebratory narratives: the colonial contribution to the war effort ("How little one hears, among the endlessly tedious proliferation of 'war memories,' about what Africans did for England out in Burma, and how West Indians helped protect her on land, sea, and even in the sky!" ["Britain's Mixed" 109]), and the long presence of a shared culture ("for generations they had been nurtured on the idea of England . . . whose history they knew far more intimately than most of us have ever known theirs, and whose language they spoke . . . with the intimacy . . . of a cherished mother tongue" [111]).<sup>8</sup> Baldwin, by contrast, spoke of histories that emphasized a far more lasting and material connection which undeniably placed black subjects as an unrecognized presence at the center of the making of the modern world: "I—after all—for nothing, went into the mines, and I, for nothing, built the city." The very bricks and material wealth upon which the West was built, those signifiers of Western modernity, came from the labor power of black slaves. Drawing out the implications of this argument before the Cambridge Union in 1965, he announced: "The American soil is full of the corpses of my ancestors. . . . Why is my freedom, my citizenship, in question now" ("American Dream" 405)? The same question underpinned his refusal to countenance the logic of immigration restrictions in Britain. To understand how Baldwin came to the arguments he put before MacInnes and Mossman in 1965, it is necessary to take a detour through his understanding of the relationship between America and Britain, between Britain and the Caribbean, and between the Caribbean and America—relationships upon which his critique was founded.

In 1968, before an assembled group of writers, artists, students and political activists at London's West Indian Students' Union—an audience that contained many of the luminaries of Caribbean intellectual activity in the city—Baldwin openly linked his native Harlem with the history of the Caribbean.

It seems to me . . . that the greatest difficulty that we face is first of all to excavate our actual history. And I am part of the history which occurred in the Caribbean. And you are part of the history which occurred in Harlem. And one has got to find the terms, one has got to accept that, and find out how to use that. (*Baldwin's Nigger*)<sup>9</sup>

Harlem, which had so often in Baldwin's writing provided an expression of the unique condition of the African American in America, came to be enlisted now for the connections it held with international locations in a global struggle against white supremacy. The similarities Harlem shared with other geographical locations, indeed, multiplied for Baldwin, as he linked it to the persecution of Algerians in postwar Paris (*No Name* 43), or to the vibrancy and life of Istanbul.<sup>10</sup> But there is reason to give more weight to the statements made before the audience of the West Indian Students' Union in 1968. Despite Baldwin's growing identification with the Algerian struggle in his recollections of Paris from the mid-1960s onwards (Kaplan and Schwarz, "Introduction" 36-37), he continued to stress in all his writings an overriding difference that he saw as ultimately separating the condition of the African American from that of the Algerian. Of the French colonial Africans in Paris, Baldwin had written that "[t]he African . . . has endured privation, injustice, medieval cruelty; but . . . has not yet endured the utter alienation of himself from his people and his past" (*Notes* 117-18), later adding that Algerians, although "in a sense, produced by France, . . . were not at home in Paris. . . . One day they were going home, and they knew exactly where home was" (*No Name* 30).

The same remarks could not be made of West Indians in Britain. That same audience before which Baldwin talked of "excavat[ing] our actual history" contained

within it members of the Caribbean Artists Movement (CAM), two of whose founders, John La Rose and Andrew Salkey, were chairing Baldwin's debate. CAM had itself, since its inception in 1966, been racked by debates over precisely the issues of cultural alienation that Baldwin had characterized elsewhere as emblematic of the American situation. Orlando Patterson, introducing a theme later to be captured in the title of his novel, *An Absence of Ruins* (1967), argued in an early CAM meeting that "West Indian society . . . is in many ways traditionless. One doesn't have a basis for retaliation against the colonial experience in an indigenous culture as occurs in the case of the African or Asian" (qtd. in Walmsley 52). These were themes that would have sounded familiar to the Baldwin who had written of the "gulf of three hundred years" that separated him from the Africans he encountered in Paris (*Notes* 118).

Moreover, they were themes of which Baldwin was almost certainly aware. At the 1956 Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Paris, in a speech that he later praised in his account of the proceedings (*Nobody* 44-46), Baldwin had heard the Barbadian novelist George Lamming expressing reservations about the racial essentialism of *Négritude* in terms which must have sounded all too familiar. "[W]e shall find in the challenge of the word Negro a strange and conflicting set of factors," said Lamming. "This word is used to contain an amalgam of men who, whatever the similarity of their origins, now share, through different accidents of history, fairly widely different heritages of habit and intellectual orientation. . . . The only thing which holds them together, apart from the belief that they are men, is the fact that they are black" ("Negro Writer" 318). Moving on to the reception of the West Indian writer by the white British critic, Lamming explored a relationship that chimed with Baldwin's conception of the relationship of white to black in America. "[T]he British West Indian writer," Lamming announced,

confuses [the critic] because, for a variety of reasons, he seems so perilously near to the Other whose judgment begins with the unconscious premis[e] that he is, in fact, *different*. The novels which have come from these territories in the last few years seem to betray the anxieties, desires, and illusions that appear identical with those of his English equivalent. His conception of what a novel is appears to be the same. . . . He does really speak English. It is not his second language. And even when it makes embarrassing demands on his tongue, or emerges in strangely hybrid forms, it does not seem to cause any surprise. ("Negro Writer" 320)<sup>11</sup>

Baldwin's engagement with Caribbean culture and intellectual thought extended back before his trip to Paris in 1948. From the turn of the twentieth century to the mid-1920s, when quota systems reduced the flow, African Caribbeans, mostly from the British West Indies, migrated to Manhattan in great numbers, making up almost one-fifth of the total African-descended population of Harlem by 1930. From Claude McKay's influence in the Harlem Renaissance to Marcus Garvey's groundbreaking establishment of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, West Indians became prominent in all areas of Harlem life, and by the 1940s Harlem had become established as a major political base in the fight against colonialism in the West Indies.<sup>12</sup>

This was the Harlem of Baldwin's youth, and it placed him in good stead to understand the politics and culture of the Caribbean, and its transnational links with black America, from a young age. However, it was, in the end, not in Harlem but in Greenwich Village that Baldwin, at the age of eighteen, began his job at the Calypso Café, run by the Trinidadian Connie Williams, and was introduced to an international political milieu that would bring the politics of anticolonialism to his doorstep. Regular visitors included Henry Miller, Claude McKay, Alain Locke, Paul Robeson, Burt Lancaster, Marlon Brando, Eartha Kitt, and, most significantly for our present purposes, C. L. R. James (Leeming 44).<sup>13</sup> Baldwin made an instant impression on James. As a waiter at the Calypso he listened to the political and literary talk of James and his pan-African companions, and must have offered at least a little of his work to James's scrutiny, for James was to write to his partner Constance Webb

in 1948 exclaiming, “Jimmy Baldwin writes well,” and insisting that they invite him to their party (qtd. in Grimshaw 355). James had already established himself as a foremost Caribbean intellectual with the publication of *The Black Jacobins* in 1938, in which he had made an authoritative case for the Caribbean peoples as being among the world’s first modern peoples. This was a theme James would advance throughout his career (Buhle 58-59),<sup>14</sup> and one that strongly paralleled the relationship Baldwin saw of African Americans to modernity, which he would develop in *Notes of a Native Son*.

C. L. R. James’s biographer James D. Young has used the writers’ early association to claim that “the links between James and Baldwin in the 1940s had made an enduring impact on the budding African American author, [shaping] the humane Black radicalism of the author of *The Fire Next Time* by encouraging him to think in colour during the 1940s war against fascism” (242, 251). Young’s claims must remain conjecture; there cannot really be any way now of uncovering precisely what conversations Baldwin engaged with in his time at the Calypso Café, nor of placing these conversations into Baldwin’s formation as a writer. But as with his engagement with Lamming at the Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, these connections reveal Baldwin’s awareness of the political and cultural situation in the Caribbean and the debates that raged through the postwar period as the region struggled to secure political and cultural decolonization.

In an interview of 1970, while still proclaiming the uniqueness of African Americans on a world stage derived from their “long apprenticeship in the West,” Baldwin had clearly moved beyond his conceptions of American exceptionalism that his early writing often suggested. “I don’t believe in nations any more,” he told *Essence*’s Ida Lewis:

Those passports, those borders are as outworn and useless as war. No one can afford them anymore. We’re such a conglomerate of things. Look at the American black man, all that blood in a single stream. Look at the history of anybody you might know. He may have been born in Yugoslavia, raised in Germany, exiled to Casablanca, killed in Spain. That’s our century. (qtd. in Lewis 87)

By this point in Baldwin’s career he had become openly suspicious of the notion that histories terminated at national borders. When he tells Lewis to “[l]ook at the history of anybody you might know,” he is referring to history in terms of actual historical experiences—not the common existential conditions of oppression that bound the Harlem ghetto to the Algerian Casbah, but the real histories of slavery, migration, and dispersal that bound the histories of the Caribbean, as announced before the West Indian Students’ Union audience in 1968, to the histories of Harlem. Acknowledging these histories did not mean that Baldwin had lost what Kaplan and Schwarz term his “skepticism about the virtues of a unilateral diasporic memory” (“Introduction” 43)—he still reminded his London audience that “you are formed by what you see, and the choices you have to make. . . . I don’t know what it means to be black in London, but I do know what it means to be black in New York” (*Baldwin’s Nigger*)—but it did suggest an increasing sensitivity in Baldwin’s thought to the complexities that linked questions of race, identity, and belonging in the colonial and postcolonial world to those questions that plagued him about his own native America. When Baldwin turned to the relationship between black and white in Britain, he did so through his understanding of the links between the history of the black Caribbean and that of black America—that both black Caribbeans and black Americans were made uniquely modern subjects on their entry into the West, and in this transformation became inextricably tied to the West; and yet, for both, the significance of this history was denied by those others whom it most concerned: the white American and the white Briton.



The difference between the operations of race and identity in the United States and their operations in Europe was one premised, first and foremost for Baldwin, on the spatial and temporal differences he saw dividing the two locations. America represented a site where the cultures of the Old World (and we can particularly stress the temporal succession implied in these terms) were thrown into relief in the experience of the New, and where the spatial separation of racialized bodies upon which European imperialism functioned were overturned in America by the institution of domestic slavery. In these distinctions lay the premises of Baldwin's thoughts on Britain. They are developed most thoroughly in his classic essay of 1953, "Stranger in the Village," in which Baldwin describes the present condition of America as a site where the underlying logics of its European white supremacist antecedents are fought out in sharp relief as they confront the reality of black humanity face to face.

In the remote Swiss village in which the essay is set, Baldwin is confronted with the experience of existing in the eyes of the villagers only as "an abstraction."

Everyone in the village knows my name, though they scarcely ever use it, knows that I come from America—though this, apparently, they will never really believe: black men come from Africa—and everybody knows that I am the friend of the son of a woman who was born here, and that I am staying in their chalet. But I remain as much a stranger as I was the first day I arrived, and the children shout *Neger! Neger!* as I walk down the streets. (Notes 153)

Before these villagers, Baldwin's "human weight and complexity cannot be, or has not been, admitted" (153-54). The denial of his humanity is contrasted with, even contingent on, the untroubled and secure identity of the villagers, paradoxically achieved through their existence as unquestionably white subjects, and their simultaneous displacement of this racial identity, despite its centrality, in their own understanding of themselves. Racial identity, for the villagers, is displaced through far more mundane and apparently benign sources—the cathedral, skiing on a Sunday afternoon, their hymns and dances "out of [which] come Beethoven and Bach" (156)—sources that are substituted in to confirm it *in absentia*.

Baldwin is quite forgiving of the "innocence" of this displacement among Europe's populations. The covert signifiers of his inhumanity vested in the culture of the West are, he supposes, invisible to the village's inhabitants even while they are obvious to him. "I doubt that the villagers think of the devil when they face a cathedral because they have never been identified with the devil," he writes. "But I must accept the status which myth, if nothing else, gives me in the West before I can hope to change the myth" (164).<sup>15</sup> Keeping the physical presence of the black man "at a certain human remove," the cultures of Europe are able to sustain the unspoken codes of white supremacy by never having to confront them directly, and by this means the white man is able "to preserve his simplicity and avoid being called to account for crimes committed by his forefathers, or his neighbours" (157). Europe exists, then, undisturbed in its racial myths through the fact that its power in the world remains, for these villagers, unquestioned, and the somewhat abstract question of the humanity of the world's black populations remains comfortably distant.

America, by contrast, has had to confront the myths of white supremacy upon which its European inheritance is based every day. There is, Baldwin writes,

a dreadful abyss between the streets of this village and the streets of the city in which I was born, between the children who shout *Neger!* today and those who shouted *Nigger!* yesterday—the abyss is experience, the American experience. The syllable hurled behind me today expresses, above all, wonder: I am a stranger here. But I am not a stranger in America and the same syllable riding on the American air expresses the war my presence has occasioned in the American soil. (159)

It is this condition of blacks as no-longer-strangers that defines the American situation apart from that of Europe. It is also this that constitutes the modernity of the

American situation. For while the villagers are untroubled and seemingly stable in their identities, they are nonetheless able to retain such stability only by living beyond the modern world. It is not just the typewriter under his arm in a village which still carries its milk in buckets and drags its wood from the forest on sleds that signifies the modernity Baldwin brings; his presence represents the full dimensions of the modern world brought before those who are unable, really, to understand it. And here the “innocence” of the villagers takes on a deeper meaning: they are, like the image of the African “watching the conquerors arrive” with which Baldwin compares his visit to the village, returned to a premodern phase, left behind because unable to understand the reality of the world they inhabit (156).<sup>16</sup> In America the reality of Europe’s power is laid bare as the racial codes and violence on which it depends are necessarily confronted, but this is a process that Europe will have to go through too, a history it will have to accept, to enter fully into the modern world.

Baldwin argues that the difference between white Europeans and white Americans is that white Americans, living with black Americans, were constantly confronted with defining the limits of humanity and their identity in a way that Europeans were not. “[T]he history of the American Negro is unique . . . in this: that the question of his humanity, and of his rights therefore as a human being, became a burning one for several generations of Americans,” wrote Baldwin.

It is an argument which Europe has never had . . . Europe’s black possessions remained—and do remain—in Europe’s colonies, at which remove they represented no threat whatever to European identity. If they posed any problem at all for the European conscience, it was a problem which remained comfortingly abstract: in effect the black man *as a man* did not exist for Europe. But in America, even as a slave, he was an inescapable part of the general social fabric and no American could escape having an attitude towards him. Americans attempt until today to make an abstraction of the Negro, but the very nature of these abstractions reveals the tremendous effects the presence of the Negro has had on the American character. (161)

The difference between America and Europe, then, is that in America the racial myths of Europe were thrown into relief through the dilemma of having to reconcile the denial of black humanity with the presence of actual, rather than merely figurative, black people on a daily basis. In America “the strain of denying the overwhelmingly undeniable forced Americans into rationalizations so fantastic that they approached the pathological” (163).

“Stranger in the Village” appears at first to confirm American exceptionalism. James Miller (“What Does It Mean”) has recently argued that Europe in the 1950s functioned for Baldwin primarily as a means by which he came to understand and argue for the historical exceptionality of the American situation. Miller’s argument holds some weight, particularly in such essays as “Encounter of the Seine” and “The Discovery of What it Means to Be an American,” which repeatedly stressed the gulf that stood between Americans, both white and black, and their European and African cousins. However, Baldwin’s essays never really dealt in such absolute terms. Although the dynamism of America could often be invoked in comparison with a more static and fixed Europe,<sup>17</sup> Baldwin was more than aware of the upheaval across the world that was changing Europe as much as it was America. In Paris he witnessed decolonization up close as the Algerian independence struggle raged on the streets of the French capital and not just the streets of Algiers (Kaplan and Schwarz, “Introduction” 29-32). “No road whatever will lead Americans back to the simplicity of this European village where white men still have the luxury of looking on me as a stranger,” Baldwin wrote in the closing paragraph of his essay (165); but if the impossibility of return blocked the way for white Americans, the inevitability of decolonization meant that Europeans would soon have to learn the lessons of America too. And to refuse to do so, to cling to their “innocence” in the face of the historical reality of colonialism, slavery, and the weight of black humanity,

would be to act as Baldwin condemned white Americans for acting, and as he later accused the British, with their immigration restrictions, of acting: in “bad faith.” There is therefore considerable significance to be read into the lines with which Baldwin closes the essay: “It is precisely this black-white experience [in America] which may prove of indispensable value to us in the world we face today. This world is white no longer, and it will never be white again” (165).

Here Baldwin closed the gap between America and Europe which he had ostensibly described, and offered a reading of how decolonization would play out in mainland Europe as the myths of white supremacy were brought up against the realities of black humanity both through the termination of white global dominance in imperialism and in the effects of decolonization felt in the European metropolises from postcolonial migration. America was thus not exceptional in relation to Europe, but instead represented a further point in the logical historical progression of relations between the black and white in a globalized world that had begun with Europe’s imperial conquests and from which, sooner rather than later, Europe would catch up once again with America. There was no going back. The inevitable break up of European dominance would mean that the myths of white supremacy would be as starkly brought up against reality in all other parts of the world as they had been already in the experiment of modern America.

Baldwin’s insistence, as early as 1953, that it was the spatial distance separating the white European metropole from its black colonial possessions that allowed questions of race to remain in the abstract within Europe, and European cultural identity to be displaced through less directly racial symbols proved remarkably accurate, as the wealth of research into the effects of decolonization and black immigration on British postwar culture now attests.<sup>18</sup> “It was not dreamed, during the Second World War,” Baldwin later wrote, “that Churchill’s ringing words to the English were overheard by the English slaves—who, now, coming in their thousands to the mainland, menace the English in their sleep” (*Nobody* 174). The effect of postcolonial immigration had been, then, to move those subjects who always existed on the periphery of the English consciousness (or, as Baldwin would say, always existed in the abstract), and who nobody imagined were real enough to be listening to Churchill’s speeches in the very white public memories of the Second World War, into the center of the former colonial metropole itself, to disrupt the English’s dreams of themselves (as a white country); to menace their sleep. As Baldwin had predicted in “Stranger in the Village,” the end of empire and decolonization would mean, precisely, that those unspoken racial codes which implicitly structured European culture and self-identity would be, as they had been in America, thrown into sharp relief as Europe confronted the reality of its colonial history in the first person.

Baldwin’s early considerations of the racial situation in postwar Britain reveal how he rehearsed the logic of his Paris essays to make sense of the country. In a letter to the actor Gordon Heath in 1955, concerning the possibility of producing *The Amen Corner* in London, Baldwin suggested that the English, unlike white Americans, “have fewer apprehensions of Negroes, and the holding on to these apprehensions is not for them, as it is for us, a matter of life or death” (qtd. in Campbell, “Notes” 4). In attributing these “fewer apprehensions” to the newness of large-scale black immigration to Britain, Baldwin was supposing, and with some accuracy, that the effect of black immigration was at this early stage only beginning to significantly challenge white England’s self-image. The frantic reimaginings of national identity along explicitly racial lines in the postwar period had not reached the intensity—as the sense of wartime unity fostered during the fight against fascist Germany began to crumble, the Cold War failed to provide substitutable narratives of national purpose, and the decline of empire and rise of the U. S. on the international stage, as well as in popular culture, raised public concerns over the fragmentation of national identity—that it was later to assume.<sup>19</sup>

And Baldwin was not deaf to these changes as they did begin to occur with greater intensity in the coming years. In 1962, while being interviewed by Donald Hinds—then a young reporter for the *West Indian Gazette*, and later secretary of the Caribbean Artists Movement and editor of their newsletter—Baldwin responded by quizzing Hinds himself on the condition of West Indians in Britain. As W. J. Weatherby, also present at Hinds's interview, recalled, "The answers he received were depressing" (187). The *Gazette* was the foremost West Indian publication involved in publicizing the day-to-day racism encountered on Britain's streets, the drive for antidiscrimination legislation in Britain, and the calls for immigration restrictions that resulted in the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962. Only recently had it published George Lamming's assessment of West Indian life in Britain, which appeared to confirm Baldwin's predictions in "Stranger in the Village" that, over the last decade in Britain,

race ceased to be a liberal speculation about life in America or South Africa and became, instead, a fact like the milk on your door-step. People who were ashamed of the conduct of their army in Kenya or the Caribbean found themselves unprepared for a black stranger, whose skin made class irrelevant, and who had read that there was a room within which he would like to rent. ("After a Decade" 9)

Although Baldwin still maintained in an interview of early 1963 that "[blacks] don't mean as much to Europeans. We don't menace you as much as the American Negro menaces North Americans. You never had any slaves on the mainland, you never had to deal with Negroes as human beings" (Interview), the *Observer* reported some months later that he had publicly stated rather more condemningly "that moving from New York to London is trading 'one colour-bar city for another'" (Rukeyser 18).

By the time of Baldwin's interview with Mossman and MacInnes on *Encounter* two years later, he clearly thought a historical shift had occurred. Speaking out against the "bad faith" in which the question of immigration control was asked, Baldwin was holding white Britain to account for falling into the same trap into which white Americans had fallen: denying their past to protect their present. The *Encounter* interview was filmed at a particularly tumultuous moment in British race politics. At the General Election of the previous year Peter Griffiths, a Conservative parliamentary candidate whose campaign had been buoyed by unofficial leaflets bearing the slogan "If you want a Nigger for a neighbour—vote Labour!" had won the seat for Smethwick in the West Midlands on a swing of 7.5 percent, and had since lent his support to a local council proposal to buy up property in Smethwick's Marshall Street for occupancy by white residents only. Malcolm X had visited Britain only days before Baldwin's interview, dropping by Marshall Street in person. In an address which, in referring to the town's black community as a domestic population denied its citizenship rights, refused the terms of "immigrant" and "native" upon which Smethwick's council's policies had been framed, Malcolm brought the significance of the American black liberation struggle to Britain, to the anger of many of the national papers.<sup>20</sup>

Baldwin expressed great admiration for Malcolm X at this point in his career and was likely to have followed his Smethwick controversy in the British papers. Following the news of Malcolm's assassination in New York just two weeks later, as the national press clamored for a comment, Baldwin was direct in his message to Britain. Asked by a *Daily Mail* reporter "if the colour problem in Britain could produce a Malcolm X," he replied:

Britain is no longer white. Black people have been working for you for a long time. Now they come into your country and cities and it is their country as well as yours. London is their metropolis as well as yours. ("Malcolm Avengers" 2)

The possibility of producing a Malcolm X in Britain lay, for Baldwin, in the manner in which Britain faced the fact that it was no longer white. The denial of the reality of the nonwhite world, made possible through the spatial distance which separated the empire from the erstwhile colonial metropole and allowed questions of race to remain comfortably abstract, was now impossible as the realities of the history of empire came back to haunt Britain through black immigration.

Although Baldwin remained relatively ignorant of and unengaged with black politics in Britain—as he said in answer to MacInnes’s protestations in the *Encounter* interview, “I’m not trying in any way whatever to denigrate England. I don’t know England well enough to be able to do that” (qtd. in Mossman 56)—he nevertheless located the politics of race in Britain within a wider conceptualization of the global dimensions of race and modernity that he had developed as early as his first trips to Europe in the late 1940s and ’50s. In this Baldwin provided a means (one among many) through which Britain could come to reimagine itself in postcolonial terms. He was not making specific claims on the political record of race in Britain; he was casting a new way of seeing the landscape of postcolonial Britain through which Britain could recognize its past. Black Caribbeans, like black Americans, were from a history that allowed them to understand the reality behind the myths of white supremacy and Western civilization, a reality of which Europe had remained “innocent,” and America wilfully so. The postcolonial moment refuses the operation of “innocence” in Europe as much as it was refused since the institutionalization of domestic slavery in America: just as the “Negro” was created by America, so too “black Englishmen” were “created by England when she was an empire [and] are now trying to go to London, which is where they’re supposed to ‘belong’” (qtd. in Gresham 164). As these “black Englishmen” came to Britain to claim that right, Britain had either to recognize the unspoken histories that contributed to its current position, or to face the same troubles with which America was saddled.

Baldwin repeatedly stressed his role as that of a witness. “That’s my responsibility,” he told Ida Lewis. “I write it all down” (92). Witnessing, for Baldwin, was both a moral duty and a testimonial activity. Performing his role as a witness at the intersection of its political, religious, and juristic meanings, Baldwin delivered a political and moral intervention into and critique of American society that was necessarily public (Joshua Miller, *passim*). It involved speaking out (or writing down), testifying against the nation in which he claimed membership. From his earliest forays into the public political sphere in 1960s’ Britain, Baldwin expanded his role as a witness to bridge the gaps of American and British exceptionalism, intervening in the tortured debates surrounding immigration and race in the former colonial metropole. In so doing, he offered both an account of Britain’s colonial past and present and the opportunity for imagining a postcolonial future. Gaining a public platform in his position as an interpreter of America, he used this space to offer a critique of the operations of race in Britain.

If the coupling of race and national identity operating in Britain in the 1960s relied upon forgetfulness, upon a refusal to tell the truth about the past, Baldwin’s intervention called Britons to task on these issues by extending his analysis of American racism to cover the operations of racism in Britain. The very act of speaking of the historical relationship between white and black Americans and between white and black Britons (and between Britain and its erstwhile colonies) as being contiguous refuted the logic by which British commentaries on the racial situation in America operated, as a case apart, and threatened to destabilize the coupling of race and nation through which British politics implicitly functioned. Baldwin used his authority as a voice of the black American civil rights movement to

pass judgment on Britain's own record on issues of race, but he also used his reading of the predicament facing America as the basis for understanding that facing Britain.

Colin MacInnes, already a committed defender of black immigration and a figure at the forefront of antiracism in the 1950s and '60s, was clearly impressed by Baldwin's writing. When, in August 1967, he wrote in the *New Statesman* that "we fail to realise that we, too, created in the West Indies, a 'deep south' of our own . . . [a]nd just as few southerners seem to realise that southern blacks are literally their own cousins, so do we fail to realise the same reality about that charming (but very angry) fellow taking tickets on the bus" (MacInnes, "Through a Glass" 197), he was no longer restricting his arguments to the West Indian contributions to victory in 1945; Baldwin's vision seemed to be shining through. But beyond this, Baldwin's writing also provided a touchstone for blacks in Britain. George Lamming, reviewing *The Fire Next Time* for the *Spectator*, readily broadened Baldwin's text to be read "as an example of a paradox at the heart of Western civilisation," which told the reader about "America and elsewhere" ("Dark Challenge" 59; emphasis added).

The notion that blacks brought with them the means of ushering the white world into modernity could be critical to Baldwin's reading of the encounter of black and white in America and in Britain, by offering an insight into its true dimensions. This is a theme that resonated strongly with West Indian intellectual thought in Britain at this time,<sup>21</sup> and it seems an appropriate point on which to close. Writing to the new black radical fortnightly publication *Magnet*, in response to an editorial on the question of racial integration in Britain, Arthur F. Lawrence invoked Baldwin to argue that "[i]t is not the British or any other white people who have to accept the black man. The position is rather the reverse. As James Baldwin says: 'It is *we* who have to accept them, for *they* are trapped in a history which they cannot understand' " (11). The passage from *The Fire Next Time* from which Lawrence was drawing ("They are, in effect, still trapped in a history which they do not understand; and until they understand it, they cannot be released from it" [8]) was a comment about the dilemma facing Americans. But the prediction had proved remarkably relevant for Britain of the 1950s and '60s too, where, like America,

the black man has functioned in the white man's world as a fixed star, as an immoveable pillar: and as he moves out of his place, heaven and earth are shaken to their foundations. . . . And if integration means anything, it means this: that we . . . shall force our brothers to see themselves as they are, to cease fleeing from reality and begin to change it. (*Fire* 16-17)

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1. The term "late renaissance" comes from one recent publication to add to this transnational turn, Kaplan and Schwarz, *James Baldwin*.

2. See Zaborowska. Representative of the focus on Baldwin's Paris years are the essays concerned with his transnational position in McBride and, more recently, Lloyd Kramer, "James Baldwin in Paris: Exile, Multiculturalism and the Public Intellectual," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 27.1 (2001): 27-47, and James Miller.

3. Although he traveled frequently to Britain, Baldwin resided in London for any significant length of time only in late 1967, living in Chelsea while he drafted a script for a play about Malcolm X. He remained largely detached from and uninformed about British politics, and indeed while he made reference to Enoch Powell—the British Conservative politician at the apex of popular racism in late 1960s' Britain—on at least two occasions (see Lewis 85 and Thorne 35), he was often quicker to defer to others or avoid comment. At a London rally in support of Angela Davis and the Soledad Brothers in 1971, as a black woman in the audience interrupted Baldwin's speech to protest about the channeling of black school children into "sub-normal" schools in the British education system, Baldwin's reply was unequivocal: "that woman's voice is what you have to hear" (Thorne 35). See also Douglas Field, "London Calling: Baldwin's Black Britain," American Studies Association Annual Convention, Washington, D.C., November 2009, unpublished conference paper.

## Notes

4. Some of the most important work in this area is still to be published, in the forthcoming volumes of Bill Schwarz's *Memories of Empire* trilogy (New York: Oxford UP). Anticipations of this work can be found in Schwarz's published material. See, for example, Schwarz, " 'Claudia Jones and the *West Indian Gazette*': Reflections on the Emergence of Post-Colonial Britain," *Twentieth Century British History* 14.3 (2003): 264-85, and the contributions to his edited collection *West Indian Intellectuals*. Other work to contribute to this turn includes Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), and *British Culture and the End of Empire*, Stuart Ward, ed. (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001).

5. Paradoxically, of course, Baldwin's reading of America was also always contingent on his experiences beyond its frontiers. See Kaplan and Schwarz, *James Baldwin*; and McBride.

6. See Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005); Edward Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country: West Indians and the Notting Hill White Riots* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1988); Nuala Sanderson, "The Impact of the Struggle for Racial Equality in the United States on British Racialised Relations from 1958 to 1968," Diss. (U of Southampton, 1999), 30-40; and Jane Rhodes, *Framing the Black Panthers: The Spectacular Rise of a Black Power Icon* (New York: New, 2007), 273-74. As Britain faced its own mounting racism in the 1950s, the tortured history of the American South was appropriated often as a counterpoint "[against which] to define the virtues of the British nation . . . and appeal to the imagined antiracist ideals tethered to notions of what it meant to be British" (Perry 158). Indeed, as the country that outlawed chattel slavery in the metropole and in the colonies long before the U. S., Britain long had the opportunity to cast itself as the racially liberal counterpart to America, a role furthered by entertaining black critics of American racism from Frederick Douglass to Paul Robeson. It is perhaps in recognition of the work he was being required to do to clear British consciences that Baldwin would set his sights on Britain itself in his public addresses.

7. Baldwin and MacInnes became friends during his visits to London, MacInnes acting as Baldwin's guide into the underground London locations that populate his fiction (e-mail correspondence with James Campbell, 1 Mar. 2011). While Baldwin's relationship with MacInnes presents us with another facet of his reception in Britain, and shows the more private, vernacular routes by which Baldwin and Britain intersected, it also points us to the very particular reading of Baldwin that assumed a public stage in Britain, and those areas of Baldwin's thinking that found a less accommodating reception. Both Colin MacInnes and James Mossman were, like Baldwin, gay. Reviewing *Giovanni's Room*, MacInnes had proposed that "the greater the degree of obsession with [homosexuality] in any society, the greater will be the social frustration and torment it engenders. Now if this be true, we may see a parallel . . . between the 'homosexual problem' and the 'Negro problem.' The plain fact about both is that neither is: the Negro is not a problem to himself, but to the racist; the 'problem' of queerness resides in the hearts of queer-haters" ("Dark Angel" 26). MacInnes brought these concerns to his discussion with Baldwin and Mossman, although the ensuing dialogue strained to get past ideas of equivalence: that race and sexuality were analogous, but not intersecting, structures through which oppression operated. Baldwin's insistence that emancipation from race was always contingent on "a concomitant revolution in Americans' psycho-erotica" (Ross 19), that sexual and racial relations must be thought through together, struggled to find articulation in the discussion. While Baldwin insisted that MacInnes's attraction to black men had to be reckoned against the history of racism which bound the identities of the two (Mossman 53)—he would elsewhere repeatedly insist on the central place of the sexualized figure of the black man in the fantasies of whiteness—this was the point at which communication broke down for the trio. On the links between sex and race in Baldwin's work, see also James A. Dievler, "Sexual Exiles: James Baldwin and *Another Country*," in McBride 161-83.

8. By concentrating on World War II, MacInnes was, however, aiming at a cultural memory central to postwar British identities, and this is an intervention made again in one of the most popular recent novels of postcolonial Britain: Andrea Levy, *Small Island* (London: Review, 2004). See also Gilroy, *After Empire*.

9. Baldwin's speech was recorded by his friend Horace Ové, under the title *Baldwin's Nigger*. Ové, born in Trinidad in 1939 and living in Britain since the early 1960s, has since become one of Britain's leading black independent filmmakers. His feature film *Pressure* (1975), following the involvement of a black teenager with the Black Power politics of his Trinidad-born brother, returns again to the transatlantic dialogues that oriented responses to British racism among African Caribbean communities in Britain.

10. Baldwin's Istanbul, Leeming tells us, was "strangely familiar. . . . The streets [that] teemed with life . . . , he said, reminded him of Harlem" (263). Harlem, here, could signify more than just despair.

11. As far as Lamming is concerned, the threat of an erasure of difference that would force white Britons to see the histories by which white and black, metropolitan and colonial, were inextricably bound to each other threatens the British critic. The loss of innocence that threatened Baldwin's white American subject turned precisely on the unsettling recognition of this intimate history within America. To recognize *why* black colonial or black American stands so close to white is to begin to acknowledge that history which has remained always displaced, denied or concealed by the hegemonic narratives of whiteness.

12. See Irma Watkins-Owen, *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930*

(Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1996); Jason Parker, "'Capital of the Caribbean': The African American-West Indian 'Harlem Nexus' and the Transnational Drive for Black Freedom," *Journal of African American History* 89 (2004): 98-117; and Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (London: Verso, 1998).

13. It was during his time at the Calypso Café that Baldwin joined the Young People's Socialist League, and became, briefly, a Trotskyite. His turn to Trotskyism was in large part through his friendship with Eugene Worth, but later comments by C. L. R. James suggest that he (James), a prominent Trotskyite in this period, also influenced the young Baldwin. See Young 253.

14. See also C. L. R. James, "The Making of the Caribbean People," in *Spheres of Existence: Selected Writings* (London: Allison and Busby, 1980), 173-90.

15. It is worth recalling, when reading Baldwin's description here of his relationship to the architecture of the Chartres Cathedral, his comments with which I opened this essay, on being "in competition" with Dickensian London.

16. This instrumental recruitment of Africa in Baldwin's essay, however, proves problematic for how Africa itself, in this schema, might enter the modern world. Modernity, as Baldwin portrays it, and historical time with it, appear to begin with the Middle Passage out of the Dark Continent. Baldwin's relationship with Africa was always troubling, although his position was never resolute, and changed significantly throughout his life. See Douglas Field, "What is Africa to Baldwin?: Cultural Illegitimacy and the Stepfatherland," in Kaplan and Schwarz, *James Baldwin* 209-28. It is in his frequent omission of Africa as a dynamic constituent within a black Atlantic framework, however, that Baldwin's work proved most at odds with that of his contemporaries coming out of pan-Africanism and *Négritude*, and that made him a target of the black nationalists of the next generation.

17. See, for example, Baldwin, *Nobody* 22.

18. See Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005); Bill Schwarz, "Reveries of Race: The Closing of the Imperial Moment," in *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain, 1945-1964*, Becky Conekin, Frank Mort and Chris Waters, eds. (London: Rivers Oram, 1999), 189-207; Bill Schwarz, "'The Only White Man in There': the Re-Racialisation of England, 1956-1968," *Race and Class* 38.1 (1996): 65-78; and Chris Waters, "'Dark Strangers' in Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947-1963," *Journal of British Studies* 36.2 (1997): 207-38.

19. See Chris Waters, "'Dark Strangers' in Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947-1963," *Journal of British Studies* 36.2 (1997): 207-38, and *British Culture and the End of Empire*, Stuart Ward, ed. (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001).

20. See Joe Street, "Malcolm X, Smethwick, and the Influence of the African American Freedom Struggle on British Race Relations in the 1960s," *Journal of Black Studies* 38.6 (2008): 932-50.

21. See *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain*, Bill Schwarz, ed. (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2003).

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