

WOMEN SPEAKING IN AND FOR INSTITUTIONS: A RHETORICAL HISTORY OF THE
POLITICS OF RESPECTABILITY IN BLACK CHICAGO, 1919 - 1939

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Institutions have been vital to the survival and uplift of Black communities. To that end, this dissertation analyzes how Black women -- as economic agents and women of faith -- used rhetoric within institutions to advocate and uplift their enclaved communities. Specifically, my dissertation explores how Black women used the discourse of labor unions and the Black Church to promote their enclaved communities in Black Chicago from 1919 to 1939. Black women often shouldered the work to help a community thrive and, while they may not be the public face of Black communities, their productivity in Black churches and labor unions challenges the male-centric narrative that Black men are more harmed by oppressive and discriminatory practices and, therefore, are in greater need of community initiatives, legislation, and protection. Through a rhetorical analysis of institutional documents from two labor unions and two Black churches that span across 20 years - including the boiling over of racial tensions, height of Black entrepreneurship, and the Great Depression - I demonstrate how Black women, both constrained and enabled by politics of respectability, worked as economic agents in defense of their labor/in advocating for greater economic equity for Black folk. My focus on the lived experiences of Black, urban Midwestern women thickens our understanding of concepts like institutions, community, identity-formation, civil rights, and citizenship.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The population of Chicago's Black Metropolis, also known as the Black Belt, exploded in the first half of the twentieth century because of a rural South to urban North movement known as the "Great Migration." Even though the city struggled to acclimate the influx of newcomers into its community due to segregation and class tensions between new and old Black residents, nevertheless it became a "model of Black achievement."¹ Without access to government assistance to help improve socio-economic conditions, the Black community became a city within a city, boasting Black entrepreneurship and a cultural hub, its own banking institution, the center of Black journalism, and the first Black politician from the North to be elected to the United States House of Representatives.² By 1920, the Black Metropolis housed 109,548 residents, an increase of 148% since 1910.³ The five-mile area was a narrow strip of land bordered on the west by railroads and industrial properties and on the east by affluent neighborhoods.⁴ Eventually the area, known hereafter as Black Chicago, continued to expand south to include a total of 30 blocks that extended from 31st Street to 55th Street and 337,000 residents.⁵ Despite the expansion south, the community was only one and one-half mile wide, with boundaries strictly maintained by surrounding ethnic immigrant communities.⁶

As St. Claire Drake and Horace R. Cayton note, "understand[ing] Chicago's Black Belt [allows scholars to] understand the Black Belt of a dozen large American cities."⁷ Studying the rise and decline of one of the United States' largest Black-populated cities provides an understanding of the constraints that enclaved communities face and the strategies and tactics they use to create community. My dissertation examines how urban Black women negotiated the public and private spheres in the Black Church and labor unions as a part of this enclaved community in the years between 1919 and 1939. To that end, I investigate the variety of

rhetorical practices that the women engaged in and in doing so, I broaden the definition of what counts as civil rights activism. By examining Black women's rhetoric in Chicago's enclaved Black Belt, my study also offers an opening for the Midwest to be included as a part of the way we remember and document the civil rights movement in the U.S.

Purpose and Goals of Study: Attending to Interlocking Institutions

The purpose of the study is to examine the historical and rhetorical importance of Chicago as a part of the long civil rights movement and of the social contexts that remain significant in Black communities today. I want to find out how Black women used rhetoric to navigate the roles of respectability, feminism, and nation-making in their enclaved community. As key social institutions, churches and labor unions are noteworthy because their histories offer insight into the ways that Black communities provided self-help in the face of political, economic, and social disenfranchisement from 1919 to 1939. This period is nestled between two world wars, includes the Great Depression, and captures the rural to urban migration period and is therefore a key period of social, political, and economic transformation in the Black community. Ultimately, I want to help my reader understand that location, period, institutions, and gender within an enclaved population are productive sites from which to study Black liberation activism in the United States. My approach, as I explain below, both expands attention to Black women's rhetoric in the field of rhetorical studies and also challenges to some extent current conversations among historians about the value of the so-called "long movement thesis" in the study of U.S. civil rights.

Because the study situates the voices of lesser-known Black leaders in Chicago and incorporates unpublished studies done by Black scholars, the project serves as a recovery

enterprise and complicates the way that we understand distinct regions of Black activism and of social movements in U.S. history. In U.S. public memory, *the* Civil Rights movement is more commonly associated with the efforts by southern leaders in the U.S. South during the 1950s-1960s.⁸ Other scholars acknowledge the importance of the American South but instead highlight the importance of the “Black counterpublic” that was already established in Black social networks and institutions, one that used a local approach with lesser-known leaders and the working class to serve as the foundation of the movement.⁹ Historians have also argued that the civil rights movement, as a social movement, has an earlier starting point and is a continuous movement across geographic location; they call this idea the “long movement.”¹⁰ Proponents of the “long movement” thesis emphasize how the civil rights movement extended across space and time, as well as highlighted the role of women as civil rights activists. However, critics contend that the long movement thesis also flattens important and diverse moments in the history of Black social movements (conflating the civil rights movement with the Black Power movement, for example), thereby dismissing the political, economic, and cultural factors that made the ruptures significant.¹¹

Yet starting at 1955, or at 1940 as the long movement thesis suggests, negates the earlier contributions and lived experiences of Blacks in the U.S. as they navigated, literally and figuratively, the national and local landscapes.¹² Furthermore, as Sundiata Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang suggest, including all of the tactics and strategies used across time and in different locales by an enslaved group does not assert that the experiences are the same.¹³ Quite the contrary: accounting for a myriad of experiences helps to provide a more complete picture of U.S. Black social movements. In addition, as a rhetorical scholar, I would caution against comparing and contrasting the severity of the human condition as a barometer for describing, evaluating, and

critiquing Black experience. This method encourages the privileging of only certain types of struggles and relegates the important differences in strategies and tactics used across the U.S. to obtain basic civil rights to the margins. Indeed, it leaves out a substantial legacy of communities, especially in the Midwest, that were denied constitutional rights and oppressed by local, community-enforced laws. Without a doubt, urban and rural communities across the U.S. faced different challenges, but by privileging the South and dating the civil rights movement as beginning in the 1940s, most historians render the contributions of the early twentieth century and Midwest activism invisible.

The communication discipline and rhetoric, in particular, is suited to critically engage with African American history and social movements because it provides a framework that takes into account the significance of identity, resistance, and gender in urban Black spaces. Rhetorical analysis affords us the opportunity to look for themes, patterns, and strategies that emerge discursively within and across seemingly different institutions. Moreover, a study focusing on understanding the relationship between the discourse used by urban Black women and the contexts in which that discourse was consumed and enacted offers an opportunity to examine more deeply their lived experiences. To that end, exploring two key Black institutions – the Black Church and labor unions -- while placing Black women at the center allows us to recognize that race, gender, citizenship status, and identity-making are rich spaces in which to explore color, class, culture, and consciousness within the Black public sphere.

Justification of the Study and Research Questions: Race, Gender, & Chicago

One reason Chicago is a fruitful place to study is because of the current economic, social, and political climate within its Black communities. According to a 2012 Economic Policy

Institute study, the Black unemployment rate ranked third in the U.S. at nineteen percent, which admittedly does not tell the complete story of the widespread and higher percentage of unemployment for unskilled Blacks in Chicago.¹⁴ Continued gentrification of Chicago spaces and the gulf between the Black working class and the rest of the community creates further economic and social segregation. Leading in local news, the face of violent crime in Chicago is overwhelmingly Black and male.

Affirming the dire state of Black communities, former F.B.I. Director James B. Comey asserted that the “ingrained gang culture” and “gang values that go back for decades are to blame for the high homicide rates.”¹⁵ The state of affairs in Chicago’s South Side communities has garnered national attention. A number of programs, including the Obama administration’s major initiative, “My Brother’s Keeper,” to help guide Black and Latino men; the organization, Echoing Green, whose focus is Black male youth; Youth Guidance’s Becoming a Man, and others have received millions of dollars in funding to thwart the violence and improve the lives of young boys and men in the South Side of Chicago.¹⁶

While these programs are needed and promote important discussions in the national dialogue on the issue of violence within disenfranchised communities, particularly in Chicago, and have shown significant promise among those who participate, they highlight the patriarchal strategy that privileges male experiences over female experiences. While there are programs for young girls and women, their exclusion from the national conversation heightens their invisibility and sends the message that women’s lives are not as valued or valuable. In a 2014 article in *The Chicago Tribune*, Kimberlé Crenshaw articulated similar sentiments when she stated that, “Gender exclusivity isn’t new, but it hasn’t been so starkly articulated in public policy in generations. It arises from the common belief that Black men are exceptionally

endangered by racism, occupying the bottom of every metric...Black women are better off, the argument goes, and are thus less in need of targeted efforts to improve their lives. The White House is not the author of this myth, but is now its most influential promoter.”¹⁷ Indeed, President Obama’s power and influence cannot be overstated as the first Black president of the U.S. and one who hails from the city of Chicago.

In comparison to male-centric initiatives, Black women have received little attention in national conversations. It is important for Chicagoans, in particular girls and women, to understand the rich history of ground-breaking women who come from their community. While there were efforts by the Obama White House to invest money into the lives of girls, the focus was on STEM, which left out the contributions of other groups, such as faith-based and working class.¹⁸ Challenging the well-publicized and negative image that comes with being both Black and urban is important. My project seeks to explore the strategies historically used by Black women to preserve culture and community in order to bridge Black female voices from the past to the present. In that exploration, we come to understand how interventions by Black institutions responded to the needs of their communities and how Black women constituted themselves as morally upright, independent, and valued citizens. Examining rhetorical practices of women in the Black Church and in labor unions offers more nuanced understanding of the history of urban Black communities in Chicago. This approach also illuminates the interconnectedness of Black institutions in everyday life and in the larger Black social movement in the Midwest -- institutions vital to the social, political, and economic life within Black communities, both in the past and today.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, debates about the evidence of racial progress fell into distinct categories based on class, color, and gender. Some Black women

believed that Black men had failed to improve the conditions they faced economically and politically. Derided as promiscuous, thieves, and prostitutes, Black women resolved to demonstrate “respectability” that likened their worthiness to that of White women, thereby proving that Blacks were deserving of civil rights as accorded by law.¹⁹ “Politics of respectability” or respectability politics is the process by which marginalized groups enact social values of the dominant class in order to gain access or equality. The way that it is commonly enacted is through education, literacy, manners, and heteronormative family structure. Serving as the standard by which the race would be judged has its own constraints because despite Black women’s attempts to adhere to a politics of respectability, the implications of their sex and race made it virtually impossible to be viewed as equal to Whites.²⁰ Understanding how women navigated private and public spheres while carrying the “weight of their race” on their shoulders illustrates some of the obstacles faced by early twentieth century urban women. Thus, my dissertation illuminates how this concept, politics of respectability, enabled Black women the ability to engage in their communities yet constrained how they participated in those same spaces.

The institution of the Black Church has traditionally been the center of Black life. The church was organized so that there would be independence and autonomy from white churches and a more congenial atmosphere. The church both established and served as school sites, fostered an environment that allowed fraternal organizations to emerge, and built alliances with businesses in order to help them better serve the community. The church was the community source of information, a place where social relationships were nurtured, new developments in technology and business shared, and where there was a sense of equality between economic classes.²¹ The church also served as a place for agency, “the first community [property] or public

organization that the Negro actually owned and completely controlled.”²² It allowed Black people, especially men, to build their reputation and prestige while it also opened up a space for women to run civic organizations. By studying the Black Church, we gain an insight into the heart of the Black Metropolis.

Studying labor unions that included women provides an opportunity to see how women traversed the public sphere as economic agents. My study examines two organizations: The Industrial Workers of the World, which was a union that allowed Black women to join as members, and the National Association of Negro Musicians, created exclusively for Black musicians. Studying these institutions helps to illuminate the differences between different types of Black women’s labor (manufacturing and music) and offers us the opportunity to study diverse modes of rhetorical practice.

Yet simply studying the Black Church and labor unions, as independent institutions, would yield an incomplete analysis. Indeed, my research attests to the connectedness of both the institutions and the activists that shaped the Black Metropolis during the early twentieth century. Second, centering Black women in a project that includes the rural to urban migration presents an opportunity to contribute to the growing scholarship on Black women orators and the role that the Midwest played in the way that we remember and talk about the U.S. civil rights movement. The field of rhetoric has explored the rhetoric of Black women in a variety of contexts, including some of those that I discuss in the dissertation; however, there remains a neglect of early twentieth century Black women’s rhetoric in the field, and certainly little focus on Midwest urban women and their institutions. To that end, recovering the work of urban Black women voices allows us to (re)insert their stories and experiences as valued and valuable.

There are three key questions that the dissertation seeks to answer. First, how did Black women in enclaved Chicago use rhetoric to engage their communities? Second, how did women communicate in and how was their engagement framed by the institutions of labor and church? Third, how might the study of rhetoric in these early twentieth century contexts tell us something about broader issues of concern to scholars of Black studies and rhetoric such as the long movement thesis; the role of the Black Metropolis; directions for future studies of Black rhetoric; the function of gender in urban, raced, enclaved spaces; and Chicago's situation today?

Literature Review: Rhetoric, Gender, and Place

Black Rhetoric and Gender

Rhetorical studies was challenged with responding to the 'unrest' of the 1960s and 1970s. Part of that critique included understanding how Blacks communicated in previous moments of unrest such as the abolitionist and reconstruction periods. The dominant areas of research on Black discourse within rhetorical studies include social movement theory, critical studies of abolitionist rhetoric, Black discourse during Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Movement, the so-called post-Civil Rights moment (primarily the presidential rhetoric of Barack Obama), and the theoretical shift to Afrocentricity.

The tension over how to understand the protests of the 1960s to 1970s is illustrated in the debates of many scholars. In particular, the debates of the late sixties were concerned with making sense of the contemporary protest groups as an object of study that was challenging the discipline to rethink what "traditionally has been called the province of rhetoric."²³ Franklyn Haiman asserted that the discipline needed to think beyond the "soapbox orator... [and acknowledge that] the civil rights movement has generated perhaps the widest range of new

forms [of protest].”²⁴ As a discipline, rhetoric was concerned with addressing legal and ethical concerns over protestor tactics and addressing issues of civility and decorum that did not prevent access by those who lacked formal power.²⁵

Over time, rhetoric scholars have also looked beyond social movements to understand Black rhetoric. They became interested in the recovery of marginalized voices during moments of unrest such as the abolitionist and civil rights moments: public protests that challenged segregation, speeches by predominantly Christian Black male leaders and educators, and civil rights legislation. For example, scholars explored case studies to understand how Black orators used arguments to affirm their humanity and sameness/equality to that of Whites and, using intertextuality as a critical framework, rhetoricians aimed to understand how narratives written by Whites shaped and defined marginalized voices that reinforced racial and gender stereotypes.²⁶ Since the mid-eighties, scholars have also been invested in the recovery of Black women’s voices, such as Sojourner Truth, Fannie Lou Hamer, Fannie Barrier Williams, Anna Julia Cooper, Audre Lorde, and others.²⁷

The discourse used by Black women to promote racial uplift, respectability, and community has been explored by scholars in rhetorical studies, literary, historical and Black studies. Some focused on the actual performance of idealized femininity, while others focused on the rhetoric of “pioneers” in the community.²⁸ For example, Christina Simmons explored the role of the Black middle class to create discourse that “advocated sexual restraint,” “challenged the racist reporting of high rates of venereal disease with actual historical information,” and “the absence of a focus on controlling women as the key strategy of social hygiene reform.”²⁹ Susan Kates examined the rhetoric of Hallie Quinn Brown and its celebration of Black vernacular, promotion of African American history and literature, and moral transformation in the individual

character and the community.³⁰ Finally, Maegan Parker Brooks explored the rhetoric of Fannie Lou Hamer in the context of the Black Freedom Movement.³¹

Continuing to examine individual Black women pioneers as case studies, Marilyn DeLaure, Brooks, Roseann Mandziuk, Wayne Thompson, Silva Xavier recovered and analyzed the rhetorical acts of Ella Baker, Fannie Lou Hamer, Sojourner Truth, Barbara Jordan, and Charlotte Forten and Ann Plato.³² Most recently, Mandziuk examined the depictions of Sojourner Truth that helped to reveal “rhetorical strategies that [were] evoked to preserve dominant power in the face of demands for gender and racial equality,” which indicates that there is still much work left to uncover and critique.³³ The important work that the aforementioned scholars undertook in recovering Black women’s voices is significant for the discipline. While my study does not highlight a specific woman, it does serve as a recovery project in its emphasis on the collective efforts of the countless unnamed women involved across institutions to advocate on behalf of their race. Furthermore, if one tracked the geography of the research on Black women described above, one will quickly realize that few scholars have explored the rhetoric of urban Midwestern Black women.

In addition to examining particular case studies of idealized femininity and pioneers, scholars of rhetoric as well as other and related disciplines have explored literacy as a tool for activism. Jacqueline Bacon, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, Olga Davis, Burt Lowenberg and Ruth Bogin, and Shirley Wilson Logan all explored how literacy functioned as a method of social change among Black women throughout U.S. history.³⁴ Jacqueline Jones Royster and Molly Cochran examined the use of civil rights discourse as human rights discourse in the activism of Black women writers. Royster and Cochran asserted that Blacks have consistently framed human dignity as a universal right, which allowed them to mobilize using key U.S. master narratives of

freedom, truth, and justice.³⁵ Black women writers' ability to do so helped to establish a link between their American-ness to that of Whites. Davis's use of "a Black feminist approach to rhetorical criticism" is particularly useful for my project in that I explore and broaden the types of work, i.e., the 'ordinariness of the everyday,' which Black women do to help advance civil rights advocacy.³⁶ My dissertation contributes to that literature as well as expands on the role that being urban and Midwestern played in the construction of Black identity and social justice in the early twentieth century. Additionally, rhetoric allows me to explore how those two types of institutions communicate and how agents communicate within and through those institutions.

There are many cross-cutting links between Black rhetoric and Black Studies. Both are invested in pedagogy that provides an opportunity to perform and a commitment to gain access to power. As a social construct, ritualized performance aids in knowledge production.³⁷ The body of work in Black rhetoric and Black Studies illustrates the diversity of alternative forms of processing experience. Additionally, the emphasis on education, be it through imitation, oratory contests, attainment and performance of educated status, and in scholarship found in both Black rhetoric and Black Studies highlights the performance of respectability. Indeed, it is the politics of respectability that provides evidence of the ability of Black folk to participate fully in the public sphere. Because respectability is an important concept to my project, a brief literature review follows.

Gender and Respectability Politics

Politics of respectability, a concept coined by Evelyn Higginbotham, serves as a thread through each of my case studies.³⁸ Higginbotham studied the women's movement in the Black Baptist church that spanned the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. She found

that Black women “developed a distinct discourse of resistance, a feminist theology” that was “not dramatic protest but everyday forms of resistance to oppression and demoralization.”³⁹ Those forms of resistance “emphasized manners and morals while simultaneously asserting traditional forms of protests such as petitions, boycotts, and verbal appeals to justice.”⁴⁰ Importantly, Higginbotham stressed that the messages were not only aimed to appeal to Whites but also as an admonition to Blacks as well. Politics of respectability eschewed the “lower-class idleness and vice on the one hand and high society’s hedonism and materialism on the other.”⁴¹ Through Higginbotham’s investigation of Black women’s work in the Black Baptist Church, she illustrated that respectability politics reinforced a White ideal of womanhood but also “transformed the logic of race and gender subordination.”⁴² After Higginbotham laid the groundwork, several scholars have taken up and extended her concept.

Broadly organized, the scholars’ case studies illuminated the following three categories: Black intellectuals, individual representations, and community. Kevin Gaines and Brittney Cooper focused their analyses on Black intellectual thought by drawing on the work of Black intellectuals. Gaines argued that articulations of racial uplift espoused by elites hurt Blacks because it affirmed the arguments of Black pathology that Whites used to support unequal status.⁴³ He found that the elite ideology prevented broader notions of rights and social justice. Brittney Cooper traced the intellectual thought of Black women as “public” intellectuals from the late nineteenth century through the Black Power Era. Cooper’s historical analysis posited that it was “performative utterance,” like listing Black women names, that provided greater intellectual space for race women.⁴⁴ Like Gaines, Cooper commented that respectability politics was exclusionary and ignored other forms of resistance that opened spaces for Black women to be heard. E. Frances White explored an array of Black scholarship to understand appearances and

reputation among Black scholars. Even though White's project was less historical, it also found that politics of respectability functioned to limit certain forms of Black scholarship and activism.⁴⁵ So, while Higginbotham saw productive sites of agency utilizing the conceptual framework of respectability, Gaines, Cooper, and White provided interesting counterarguments.

Rather than focus on a collection of intellectuals, Patricia Schecter, Megan E. Williams, and Theri A. Pickens investigated individual representations of Black women. Patricia Schecter completed a comparative analysis of respectability politics and the cult of true womanhood in her case study on the intellectual and activist career of Ida B. Wells-Barnett.⁴⁶ Schecter acknowledged that while respectability politics had constraints, it provided a vision that "[Black] women's particular needs and struggles were central to race progress and that womanhood might represent 'the race' in the public sphere."⁴⁷ Megan E. Williams explored the visual representations of Lena Horne in the postwar covers of *Ebony* magazine.⁴⁸ She argued that "the fledgling *Ebony* magazine drew on Lena Horne's wartime status as a beautiful [B]lack icon and represented her as a symbol of its ideological project, broadly, and as the *Ebony* image of postwar [B]lack womanhood, specifically."⁴⁹ Williams asserted that Lena Horne's image "illuminate[d] postwar debates over racial uplift, respectability...[and] colorism" and advanced *Ebony's* "goals of changing representations in order to 'change acts and institutions.'"⁵⁰ Theri A. Pickens examined the performance of the "ratchet" in her essay on Tamar Braxton.⁵¹ Similar to other arguments, Pickens averred that politics of respectability was constraining to the individual. She concluded that the "ratchet offer[ed] an opportunity to move beyond representation as a panacea for [B]lack cultural politics... [and Tamar Braxton] prov[ed] the necessity of individualism and reject[ed] the dangerous pressures of an irresponsible collective imagination."⁵² Schecter, Williams, and Pickens employed individual actors as case studies to

highlight and critique respectability politics. While they acknowledged the constraints of respectability, these case studies indicate that it also allowed space for other arguments and debates to be heard.

Scholars also explored the function of respectability politics in the community. Victoria W. Wolcott, Tiffany M. Gill, and Jane E. Dabel and Marissa Jenrich traced the concept in their case studies of community. Wolcott investigated respectability using a variety of community documents – churches, clubs, welfare agencies, transcripts of interviews, and secondary sources to elucidate Black lived experiences in Detroit. Wolcott referred to a “bourgeois respectability” which subtly implied that this form of respectability was not universally accepted.⁵³ She focused, instead, on the informal economy established by new migrants during the economic crisis of the Great Depression. The crisis “fostered an attachment to working class notions of respectability as self-respect, [which] became articulated more fully... [The] informal economy, including prostitution became more tolerated... [and the] New Deal and trade unions became the most influential sources of aid for [Black folk] so the bourgeois respectability fell to the wayside.”⁵⁴ Tiffany M. Gill also examined the different expressions of respectability as evidenced in beauty salons. She explored the ways in which racial uplift and gender was promoted through entrepreneurship in Black communities. Gill conceded that Black beauticians, in beauty salons and in schools, established economic independence, created alternative ways of performing Black womanhood, and used their space to transform social, political, and economic issues while building community.⁵⁵ Jane E. Dabel and Marissa Jenrich argued that ordinary Black women were committed to respectability during and following the Civil War. Dabel and Jenrich’s study highlighted the “examination of [Black] women’s dealings with local and federal governments reveal[ed] the construction of a broader definition of respectability, one that blended the middle-

class values of morality and virtue with the daily economic concerns experienced by the working class.”⁵⁶ In each of their case studies, Wolcott, Gill, and Dabel and Jenrich expanded the concept of respectability to be more inclusive of working class comportment as valued ways of performing respectability.

Higginbotham’s politics of respectability concept continues to be a useful framework to understand and analyze Black women’s performance, oratory, and agency in U.S. contexts. My dissertation illuminates the concept’s centrality in the different institutions that I explore. Thus, it is important that I define how I use the term institution in my project.

Enclaved Institutions and Institutional Theory

As articulated by Catherine Squires, the Black public sphere manifests in three distinct ways: as counterpublic, satellite, and enclaved. Briefly, counterpublics “engage with wider publics using tactics such as boycotts,” satellite publics “seek separation from wider publics...[and only] engage “in wider public discourse from time to time,” and enclaves are publics that “hid[e] counterhegemonic ideas and strategies in order to survive or avoid sanctions, while internally producing lively debate and planning.”⁵⁷ For the purposes of my project, I am interested exploring Black Chicago’s neighborhoods as a network of enclaved communities.

Within enclaved communities, institutions developed to provide outlets for agency, activism, and expression. The Black Church, as *the* center of life for Blacks, is one of the two types of institutions that my study examines. The church communicated on behalf of its communities: as the church voted, so did its members. One of the few places that Black women and men could hold leadership positions, the church’s position on gender, socio-economics, and politics was a reflection of that community. The rhetoric generated in response to the changing

Black urban city had the ability to shape and define the institution and Black women and men in particular ways. Conversely, labor institutions that allowed Blacks to join and that were created by Blacks helped to articulate an economic argument that their labor was valuable. Within the institution, Blacks could demonstrate their agency by articulating demands for economic equality. The two institutions – church and labor – were thus both vital to the survival of enclaved communities. As church and labor activity flourished, so did the communities.

A major part of my project relies on the assumption that institutions are organic and living spaces that carry power and influence, especially within Black communities. They often served as the center for political, cultural, and social life. Institutions, as defined by John Lammers and Joshua Barbour, have six functions: they “establish [relationships] among people,...endure,...[have formalized] organizational communication,...rules of conduct,... [and] guide individuals via knowledge formally stored and followed.”⁵⁸ As demonstrated by Lammers and Barbour’s definition (which draws from institutional sociology), institutions have tremendous power and scope. Their reach cannot be overstated, especially in enclaved communities like those of Black Chicago.

As the definition above makes clear, Lammers and Barbour defined institutions as having multiple meanings. By using the Black Church and labor unions as case studies, I am interested in the idea of the institution as established and enduring. Additionally, I am concerned with exploring how the enduring aspect of institutional traditions place expectations on speech and performance of and by Black women. Borrowing from the suggestion of Joep Cornelissen, Rodolphe Durand, Peer Fiss, John Lammers, and Eero Vaara, I want to understand how “speech and other forms of symbolic interactions are not just seen as expressions or reflections of inner thoughts or collective intentions but as potentially formative of institutional reality.”⁵⁹ That is,

part of my question tries to answer how speech and performance is both shaped by and also shapes institutions.

To answer that question, I need to understand how institutions communicate. Lammers argued that understanding how institutions communicate via institutional messages, allows us “to understand, establish, or destroy institutions.”⁶⁰ That is, institutional messages “carry... patterns of beliefs and rules as collations of thoughts that are intentional, enduring, have a wide reach, and encumber the participants to engage in certain behaviors and action.”⁶¹ Lammers also argued that how “patterns of beliefs and rules are interpreted and acted upon” provides some form of evaluation of the institutional message.⁶² Missing from his discussion, however, is the role rhetoric may play to help us understand and interpret themes and patterns and evaluate them. A challenge to Lammers’s discussion of institutional messages would highlight the role of rhetoric or persuasive messages “to offer an obvious means of connecting communication and institutional theory.”⁶³ Roy Suddaby argued that “patterns of communication determine social institutions.”⁶⁴ Furthermore, Suddaby cited others who have made similar arguments, including Marshall McLuhan, “who developed the idea that patterns of communication play an essential role in shaping social and cultural institutions and profoundly influence the direction of institutional change.”⁶⁵ Seemingly answering the critique offered by Suddaby and others, Cornelissen et al argued for a deepening of the praxis of communication in institutional theory. Cornelissen et al acknowledged the important work being done in “various types of communicative approaches... [that are] rooted in linguistics, discourse or rhetorical analysis, or communication theory” to help scholars understand the “performative effects of language.”⁶⁶ While this is a step in the right direction, more work should be done to emphasize the strength of rhetoric to not just examine the performative effects but to also interpret and evaluate the

patterns that emerge within institutions. Using the tools from rhetoric allows me to understand and make connections between the institutions and the texts that are generated in those spaces. My study investigates the themes and patterns that emerge in the different institutions, which offers insight into the ways in which Black women's participation was both constrained and encouraged in Black communities.

Institutions of Black Chicago

Black Chicago created a community replete with banks, political and voting systems, social and cultural organizations, churches, and schools. Often the discourse shared among the neighborhood was based on Black interests and needs, especially messages of racial progress and uplift. As such, it is in this "safe place" that community members mobilized against the disenfranchisement they faced. Thus, this project engages with Karma Chávez's notion that as scholars we should "expand our understanding of how enclaves function within the context of counter-publics and social movement, but...also [to create] a richer understanding of the many facets of rhetorical activity in these contexts."⁶⁷ Hence, studying the discourse of Black women in and through institutional enclaves is just as fruitful for exploring the interworking of movements as is studying communication used in wider publics.

As an enclaved group, Black women created a sense of community and nation-making by using constitutive rhetoric. According to James Boyd White, constitutive rhetoric is the "constituting of character, community, and culture in language."⁶⁸ My study examines the inventional and generative ways that rhetoric helped to construct the women of Black Chicago as a collective and how through their interpellation as subjects of that rhetoric they became constituted.⁶⁹ Studying how Black women's gender informs their ways of speaking, leading, and

carving out spaces to advocate on behalf of their communities helps us to understand the role of institutions as a vital part of that discourse. To underscore the importance of institutions and how they operate as interconnected, powerful and influential organic living spaces, a brief discussion of the labor organizations and Black churches that my dissertation studies follows.

Most Black women did not have the financial largesse to remain at home to care for children. Their lack of personal wealth and their husbands' limited earnings required that women join the workforce. As an enclaved group, Blacks had to be creative in finding employment in the early twentieth century. Often excluded from union-protected spaces, Black workers were often relegated to the lowest-wage earning positions. Black women, in particular, faced even more limited opportunities as a result of the double bind of their sex and race. Labor historians remark that the niche businesses like salons and domestic service, state-level minimum wages for women and federal minimum wage established under the Fair Labor Standards of 1938, and the solidarity of Black men and women using cross-class organizations rather than formal labor unions functioned in ways that both restricted their earning potential and improved their community resources.⁷⁰ The Industrial Workers of the World and the National Association of Negro Musicians were two organizations that extended membership to Black women in Chicago in the early twentieth century. Studying the rhetorical strategies employed by Black women in defense of their labor/in advocating for greater economic equity during the early twentieth century adds to growing labor history scholarship as well as to studies in rhetoric. More importantly, it tells us something about how women participated in economic argument within and across institutions.

The second institution I study, the Black Church, has been the cornerstone of Black communities. The Black Church is not monolithic: the beauty of its strength is in its diversity of

the types of worship service, leadership, and religious traditions. Olivet Baptist Church on 31st and South Parkway in Chicago's Southside is no exception. Established in 1850, it is considered the second oldest Black church in Chicago and still flourishes today. Led by Pastor Lacey Kirk Williams in the early twentieth century, the church firmly believed in Booker T. Washington's "model of racial uplift rather than social action and confrontation."⁷¹ Even though the Church encouraged politics of respectability for the Black middle-class as a way to illustrate equality with Whites, it was also instrumental in "maintain[ing] peace during the Chicago Race Riot of 1919, host[ing] gatherings of [Black male] leaders while they strategized...how to restore peace [and] provid[ing] social reform and assistance to migrants...during the Great Migration."⁷² Olivet Baptist Church served the community broadly but left little room for Black women to lead, unlike the autonomy they found in ecumenical churches.

The Cosmopolitan Community Church, led by Reverend Mary Evans, was a Protestant church also located in the Chicago's Southside. Reverend Evans was "never married but had two long-term relationships with women."⁷³ Her sexuality and gender allows me to explore the flexibility that women-led congregations like Cosmopolitan offered for women to hold significant leadership roles. Through a variety of ministries, Cosmopolitan was able to provide a church home for many people in the Black Metropolis. Comparing and contrasting the work of Olivet Baptist Church and Cosmopolitan Community Church opens up the opportunity to understand the role of church to respond and relate to the community as well as uncover the spaces where Black women were able to negotiate leadership roles. Because I rely on a vast number of institutional documents and personal papers to understand how Black women communicated within/outside of institutions, I next discuss my approach to rhetorical history and use of the archives.

Method: Writing Rhetorical History through the Archives

My dissertation is a project based on rhetorical history and grounded in archival work. According to David Zarefsky, a rhetorical historian is primarily concerned with “how messages are created and used by people to influence and relate to one another.”⁷⁴ Moreover, Zarefsky asserted that “the focus of the study would be on how, and how well, people invented and deployed messages in response to the situation.”⁷⁵ Studying rhetorical history provides an opportunity for us to understand the present-day moment as well as “help to articulate the rhetorical climate of the age.”⁷⁶ An inherently interdisciplinary project, rhetorical histories help us to understand the lived experiences of urban Midwestern Black women as defined by and through the patterns and thematic forms of messages and identity-formation during a time period of tremendous change and disenfranchisement.

My study explores the role that Black women played during the early twentieth century Bronzeville and Westside of Chicago, in which they acculturated rural, southern Black women to the rigors of urban life; navigated the changing social, economic, and political landscape; and endeavored to improve the conditions and standing of other Black women. More specifically, my project investigates their experiences with respectability politics, feminism, and nation-making in Black Chicago via key social institutions and organizational contexts of the Black Church and labor unions. I make sense of the significance of the rhetorical contributions of the women in a nuanced and complex way, while also questioning present-day Chicago’s preoccupation with saving Black and Latino men while summarily devaluing the worth of Black women. In order to understand how the arc of the past connects to the present-day moment, archives are valuable

resources for the recovery of Black women's voices and writings. They "help to articulate the rhetorical climate of the age" from *their* perspective.⁷⁷

Kathleen Ryan's notion that "recovery emphasizes adding to the storehouse of rhetorical knowledge to make the rhetorical tradition more gender inclusive" underpins my interest in archival research as a scholar-activist.⁷⁸ Ryan makes the point that scholarship that focuses on Black women is especially prescient for my project in that "at first study [it] represents an extreme point of support for recovery...as a means for theorizing about the roles subjectivity and context play in speaking and writing situations, and as an argument for recovering marginalized women's voices to further explore and re-chart rhetorical studies in light of different women's rhetorical experiences."⁷⁹ Carol Mattingly states that she is "convinced that recovery efforts and contributions to what counts as evidence – as well as the questioning that provokes further examination and discussion about their merit – are essential to the vitality and validity surrounding scholarly activity in feminist historical scholarship."⁸⁰ Mattingly shares Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's observation that the rhetoric canon has been established through thousands of years of male voices. We have only begun to scratch the surface with respect to including women's voices. The work of Gerda Lerner, Gesa Kirsch, Jacqueline Jones Royster, Shirley Wilson Logan, Maegan Parker Brooks, and others must continue.

Archival research provides a textured and layered understanding of lived experiences, which is especially important for my project. Despite the overwhelming amount of data in the archives, the individuals and organizations that are privileged in scholarly research account for very little diversity.⁸¹ That is, often it is the same organizations, men, and women that are utilized in research, which has the potential to provide an unfair, imbalanced, and inaccurate narrative. Moreover, using archival resources from collections housed in urban Black spaces

highlights the wealth of available material that remains underutilized. With respect to my project, incorporating institutional records and a variety of women's written communication affords us the opportunity to understand how Black women communicated inside/outside of their enclaved spaces.

As articulated by Ryan, the recovery project “specifically refers to recovering historical women rhetors, recuperating contemporary and historical women’s writing and speaking not traditionally viewed as rhetoric, and analyzing recovered women’s texts.”⁸² Mattingly also supports a diverse range of artifacts as a way to recover women’s voices and place them as a part of history: “We must immerse ourselves in a broad range of historical texts, across genres, including but not limited to texts of speeches, to gain a clearer understanding of both the politically active women in our history and the evidence that demonstrates their facility with rhetorical matters.”⁸³ My dissertation uses archival material to examine spaces where women had the autonomy to be vocal or silent on issues of concern.

Procedures: Archival Work

This dissertation relied on several archives. The following archives and special collection sites contain holdings specific to my project: Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection at the Carter G. Woodson Regional Library, Chicago History Museum’s Research Center, Columbia College: Center for Black Music Research, and the Walter P. Reuther Library Archives at Wayne State University.

The primary documents collected at Vivian G. Harsh (VH) archives include the Cosmopolitan Community Church: records, sermons, correspondence, and photographs/pamphlets of events held. Additionally, the VH includes the *Chicago Defender* and

The Voice of the Negro collections. These newspaper collections contain a Woman's Weekly column and articles written by the women in the National Association of Negro Musicians.⁸⁴

I collected a number of archival materials for Olivet Baptist and National Association of Negro Musicians from the Chicago History Museum's Research Center (CHM) and Columbia College. The materials gathered from the CHM include Olivet Baptist's church anniversary book and sermons. At the Center for Black Music Research at Columbia College, I recorded a variety of documents from the National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM) and the R. Nathaniel Dett Club (Chicago branch of the NANM) collections. From these holdings, I have the following: NANM administrative correspondence and records, meeting minutes, and photographs. Additionally, I have the convention programs, which include presidents' addresses and manuscripts about NANM functions: early efforts to form, promoting Black music and musicians, and contests.

The primary documents collected at the Walter P. Reuther Library Research Collection comprise the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) papers. In particular, I have accumulated proceedings from IWW convention minutes and the IWW Chicago-branch meeting minutes. Specific papers and pamphlets targeting Black workers and restaurant, hotel, and domestic workers are also part of the compilation of documents.

In sum, I have gathered a variety of data. My rhetorical analysis thus incorporates different types of materials – personal papers, newspaper articles/weekly columns, magazine, meeting minutes/convention programs, pamphlets, and photographs. The documents provide an opportunity to understand how women communicate within the institutions using institutional documents as well as outside of those institutions via external communication organs.

Chapter Summary

The dissertation is organized based on institutions. Chapter two focuses on grounding the reader in the history of Chicago. I argue that a constellation of circumstances, including the disenfranchisement of Black workers, racial conflicts, and overcrowding due to the influx of Black southern migrants, created the conditions for enclaved institutions to emerge in the urban city. First, I begin with a roadmap of Chicago's demographics and neighborhood layouts. In addition to researching the demographics and layout of Chicago, I explain the impact of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1921 and the Johnson-Reed Act in 1924 on labor and migration. Finally, I explore Black Chicago's neighborhoods, the Black Church, and labor as well as the impact of the rural to urban migration during the early twentieth century on the social, political, and economic structures within the Black communities.

Chapter three analyzes the activism of women in the IWW and the National Association of Negro Musicians, and here I uncover the rhetorical strategies and themes Black women used in those institutions. I argue the Industrial Workers of the World used "race" as a way to appeal to potential members yet limited participation, while the National Association of Negro Musicians celebrated race achievements and encouraged Black women to fully participate in the organization. As a communist/socialist union, the Industrial Workers of the World was one of the earlier adopters of interracial union membership and it actively recruited women. The organization also focused on organizing into a "big union" that covered a variety of industries/work. I analyze the meeting minutes for their general recruiting union, organizing committees, and the Chicago Branch of the IWW; official proceedings and records of conventions; and related paraphernalia to understand whether women could articulate their economic rights in the context of their engagement with the union and their communities. The

National Association of Negro Musicians membership was exclusive to Black musicians. To trace their labor, a review of the archival records of the National Association of Negro Musicians helped to illustrate their work and labor in Black Chicago. Specifically, I examine convention programs/presidential addresses, meeting minutes, and news articles written by and about Black women musicians. I analyze the discourse to understand how Black women's participation as economic and educational agents within a music union engaged the community and promoted Black music as a valuable artistic and economic contribution to their communities.

Chapter four focuses on the Black Church. Using meeting minutes, pamphlets, pictures, and sermons from the Olivet Baptist Church and Cosmopolitan Community Church, I aim to understand how Black women's leadership roles in the different institutions were enacted as well as analyze how they communicated given the constraints of respectability politics and institutional expectations. I argue that both churches promote gendered respectability politics despite the differences in institutional leadership. A part of the evaluation includes investigating the social programs that were created as a part of the ministry of two churches and the role women played in developing and implementing those programs in the community.

Chapter five explores the threads that connect the case studies and discusses the implications of my study. Specifically, I summarize the kinds of rhetoric women used and how their rhetoric operated across institutions. While the Black press, as an institution, was not discussed in the dissertation, it was ever-present so I illuminate the ways in which the press is a link that connected the institutions. Also in this chapter, I explicitly lay out the ways that my study contributes to the scholarly conversations about the politics of respectability; elaborate on what my study demonstrates about the relationships between enclaved institutions and institutions; and connect my findings to issues in Black studies, in rhetorical studies, and

highlight the overlaps between the two areas. I also comment on the scholarly framings of the civil rights movement, the long movement thesis, and the importance of the Midwest in that conversation. Finally, I make recommendations for future iterations of the project.

Chapter 2 History of Chicago and Bronzeville, 1919-1939

Early twentieth century Chicago experienced a tumultuous period of instability due to mass influx of migrants, racial and ethnic conflicts, massive strikes, and the impact of the Great Depression. While there are many topics that could be explored, my chapter considers the influence that the Great Migration, Race Riot of 1919, and the Great Depression had on the structure and makeup of the city of Chicago at large and Black Chicago, in particular. I argue that economic, social, and political conditions in Chicago during the early twentieth century were such that the Black community came to recognize that the best/most suitable path to navigating life in urban Chicago was to focus on building and sustaining institutions within the Black community itself – institutions that could be relied upon to work for the good of the community. First, I provide a brief roadmap of Chicago during the time period that I study. Second, I take up the question of what made Chicago a city of migration. Third, I explore the influence of labor and business and explain the political and social conditions that contributed to the formation of the city, in general, and Black urban spaces, in particular. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of what all of this means to the development of the Black Metropolis.

Roadmap to the Migration City

In 1917, the U.S. Congress enacted the first widely restrictive immigration law. It included: a literacy test that required immigrants over 16 years old to demonstrate basic reading comprehension in any language; an increase in the tax paid by new immigrants and allowance for immigration officials to exercise more discretion in making decisions over whom to exclude; and exclusion from entry anyone born in the geographically defined “Asiatic Barred Zone” except for Japanese and Filipinos.⁸⁵ Legislators realized, however, that the literacy test was not

enough to bar immigration, so members of Congress “sought a new way to restrict immigration in the 1920s.”⁸⁶ Although vetoed by Wilson, “newly inaugurated President Warren Harding called Congress back to a special session to pass the law” which “create[d] immigration quotas.”⁸⁷ The quotas limited immigration to “three percent of the total population of the foreign-born of each nationality in the United States as recorded in the 1910 census” which “put the total number of visas available each year to new immigrants at 350,000.”⁸⁸ In 1924, the quota system was adjusted to reflect an immigration acceptance rate lowered to two percent of the foreign-born population and based its calculations on the 1890 census, rather than the 1910. Additionally, the “new law traced the origins of the whole of the U.S. population, including natural-born citizens. The new quota calculations included large numbers of people of British descent whose families had long resided in the United States [which increased visas from British Isles and Western Europe and limited immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe].”⁸⁹ There was a provision in the 1924 Immigration Act that also “exclud[ed] from entry any alien who by virtue of race or nationality was ineligible for citizenship,” which meant that “even Asians not previously prevented from immigrating – the Japanese in particular – would no longer be admitted to the United States.”⁹⁰

The impact of the 1921 and 1924 immigration acts meant that cheap labor was needed. Aggressive hiring practices in the southern part of the U.S. brought unskilled and semi-skilled workers to the city. Additionally, the reduction in immigration rates also created tensions as the various groups competed for jobs and living arrangements in metropolitan cities across the U.S. Those tensions boiled over in the stockyards and into the city streets through race riots, unscrupulous hiring practices, and discriminatory zoning of neighborhoods.

Because of the restrictive immigration policies, Chicago, in particular, focused on internal migration to help meet the demand for workers in burgeoning manufacturing companies. They aggressively recruited southern Black migrants to work as unskilled and semiskilled workers. This in turn would force union workers, predominantly White and European, to accept the lower wages and to make up for labor shortages as a result of the immigration acts.⁹¹ A consequence of the influx of migrants, aside from the tensions that it produced, is that Chicago's neighborhoods had to accommodate the newly settled Blacks. Yet housing practices that limited the movement of ethnic groups also affected where Blacks could live.

During the early twentieth century, Illinois was the third most populous state in the United States (behind New York and Pennsylvania, respectively) and the bulk of its citizens lived in urban spaces. In fact, Chicago ranked as the second most populous city in the United States behind New York City. Consistently across census years from 1920-1940, males outnumbered females across all races, including native-born and foreign born. A majority of the population for Whites, Blacks, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and all others was 44 years of age and younger.⁹² By 1940, the population for Chicago was 73.6 percent native White, 18.9 percent foreign-born White, and 7.2 percent Black. The U.S. Census followed internal migration from 1935 to 1940, which indicated that there were more migrants moving out of the state than moving into Illinois by the end of the 1930s.⁹³ Despite the downward trend in internal migration to the state, Chicago's population continued to increase over time: 2,701,705 in 1920, 3,376,438 in 1930, and in 1940 the population rose to 3,396,808. To understand this trend and to highlight Chicago's role in the context of my interest in Black migration, I explore what made Chicago a migration city for Blacks.

Chicago Provided Economic, Social, and Political Possibilities for Black Migrants

Moving to Chicago was especially favorable for domestic born citizens in the early twentieth century: “[T]he immediate effects of the War(s) [led to a] reduction in European immigrants... [which] created labor shortages in [Northern] industrial cities.”⁹⁴ In particular, northern industries actively recruited Black labor from the South. The transition to northern cities was aided by established kinship networks that encouraged black migrants. Blacks were especially familiar with Chicago’s history. Founded by Jean Baptiste Du Sable in the 1700s (an Afro-Frenchman) as the first permanent resident, Chicago has long served as a beacon of light for Blacks who understood his legacy as an example of entrepreneurial achievement and success. In addition, technological advancement in agriculture, which led to a reduction in jobs in the South, opportunities for improvement in living conditions, and a chance to leave the oppressive social conditions of the South encouraged migration to the city.⁹⁵

Work in Northern cities drew a variety of migrants to their industrial centers, especially during World War I when the opportunities for employment far outweighed employment in the South. Notices and advertisements for higher wages were shared via the press, letters, and word of mouth.⁹⁶ Dubbed the ““Flight out of Egypt,”” Black southern migrants relocated to Northern cities in “staggering proportions.”⁹⁷ Most of the major northern U.S. cities received an influx of migrants, but the ease of accessibility of Chicago by means of train meant that most migrants either settled or passed through the city to get to other northern cities. It became the nucleus of the Great Migration in the Midwest. In addition to the ease of transportation, the most influential Black newspaper, *Chicago Defender*, was instrumental in providing potential travelers with a glimpse of city life.

Indeed, it was the weekly newspaper that printed advertisements for jobs and extolled the value of living in Chicago. An “anti-South” newspaper, the *Chicago Defender* printed in gory detail the horrors of the South, which stood in sharp contrast to the glowing terms used to describe life in the North.⁹⁸ The circulation of the newspaper throughout the South revealed its legitimacy and authority as *the* voice for racial uplift. Because of its reach, the *Chicago Defender* played a major part in the network that southern Black migrants used to become acclimated to their new life.

Not unlike other ethnic groups that settled in Chicago, Blacks tended to live in close proximity to each other. In fact, what was known as Bronzeville was actually a small sliver of the expansive reach that Blacks had across the city in small enclaves. (See figures 1-3.) Their pattern of settlement followed the movements of families. Highly networked, Blacks resided with families across the city in order to become acclimated to the city. Chicago was the most accessible northern city for Blacks from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Along with their



Figure 1. Chicago History Museum, *Historic City: The Settlement of Chicago 1920*, Chicago, IL. Photographed March 23, 2016 at CHM. In the Settlement Map of 1920, the grey areas with light stippling are the areas that Blacks lived.



Figure 2. Newberry Library, *Census Tracts of Chicago 1934: Per Cent of Total Population Negro*, Digital collection: <http://dcc.newberry.org/system/artifacts/588/medium/Map-Census-tracts-of-Chicago-1934.jpg>



Figure 3. “Racial and Nationality Map of Chicago,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 8, 1951. The map was generated by University of Chicago students based on the 1940 census tracts.

southern sensibilities, the migrants also established churches that mimicked the style of church they left in the South.

What's important to note is that the individuals who settled in Chicago who came from the rural south quickly realized that the urban landscape was different from the South. The immediate contrast spoke to the difference in living conditions. Shoes, weather-appropriate clothing like heavy coats, hats, scarves, and coal/gas for heating were needed more than half the year, which was in stark contrast to the luxury of warmer climates. Also, the groups that migrated to Chicago were not a homogenous group – some were from families of means, some brought themselves as their economic asset, while others were reconnecting with family and pooling those resources (military veterans).⁹⁹ A number of migrants joined aunts, uncles, and siblings to seek a better life in the city, while single women found military veterans, with their ample military benefits, to be eligible bachelors. The number of marriages between younger women and older servicemen became such a commonplace that the Veterans Administration often questioned the authenticity of the marriages when widows sought out their deceased husbands' pensions.¹⁰⁰ The Black network of family, churches, and organizations that welcomed the migrants into the city ensured that their necessities were met.

In addition to the climate differences, the industries that were available in the city required that the migrants learn new types of work and skills. The percentage of Black participation in the semiskilled work of the packinghouses demonstrated the availability of resources during and shortly after World War I. In fact, the estimated number of unskilled and semiskilled Blacks employed ranged from 25 to 33 percent.¹⁰¹ The employment percentages were particularly high because of aggressive hiring practices by the factory owners, who sought to acquire labor from Black southerners as strikebreakers. The stronghold of racism in the South

and distrust of unions generally led Southern migrants to “jump at any chance for advancement, no matter the collateral costs to any group.”¹⁰² It is this attitude toward work that divided some Black laborers, especially those who decided to join unions. Regardless, the influx of migrants created an interesting quandary for labor and political leaders.

The surplus of jobs available during World War I contributed to the flood of women and ethnic minorities. The end of the war brought an end to the surplus and those same workers were displaced by ethnic immigrants. Black military veterans also returned home to Chicago. They were entitled to pensions for their service, which provided them with a modest income. The income was especially useful when relatives of the veterans and suitors migrated to the city. In fact, having a family member in the military meant that families would be more likely to be able to accommodate migrants.¹⁰³ Even with the income and service, however, the veterans faced the same discrimination and segregation that they left prior to the war.

In fact, the level of discrimination and prejudice against blacks intensified during the Great Migration. The presence of Blacks as strikebreakers and as genuine contenders for jobs created immense tension and hostility in the city. As Robert Boyd notes, “the rising tension and hostility between blacks and whites...prompted a rapid expansion of unyielding social and legal barriers to [B]lacks’ entry into the better occupations and neighborhoods of the urban North, and an unprecedented degree of racial segregation in workplaces, residential spaces, and public accommodations.”¹⁰⁴ Despite the treatment that the migrants received, the conditions that they experienced in the South prepared them for the realities of the North. The conditions that Black Chicagoans faced worsened as the Great Depression approached. The community, as previously discussed, had to accommodate its growing population. The established networks, churches,

businesses, and the press worked together to meet Black Chicagoans' needs. They were wholly unable to prepare for, and in some cases unable to recover from, the Great Depression.

The Great Depression affected the U.S. in a variety of ways. Most significantly, it strangled the economy and ushered in a growth of the government. Some scholars argue that the change between the role of the government and the private sphere was a result of the Great Depression; however, Michael Bordo et. al argue that while the Great Depression may have sped up the economic changes, the economic reforms were already in motion.¹⁰⁵ Hence, those reforms were more readily accepted given the dire situation of the country.

Such reforms had lasting impacts for Chicago's Black metropolis: the Black-owned bank collapsed, businesses shuttered their doors, and financial capital/loans were harder to acquire. While the government offered programs like unemployment insurance that "covered nonagricultural, non-public-sector workers in firms with more than eight employees," Blacks were usually excluded because the bulk of their work was in the domestic industry and claimants had to demonstrate their "availability for work and...search behavior. [Job abandonment and justified] terminations [were] typically invalid reasons" to submit unemployment claims.¹⁰⁶ The likelihood that Blacks would be able to secure employment over their White counterparts during restrictive times was dubious at best.

The number of migrants coming to the city varied during the twenty-year period I am studying, especially during poor economic times like the Great Depression and the period immediately following it. The Great Depression hampered migration efforts. The *Chicago Defender* abandoned its previous promotion of migration to Chicago and instead discouraged it.¹⁰⁷ That is not to say that the *Defender* ever endorsed the South as a better living environment; rather, the newspaper encouraged migrants to relocate to other places, like the West and northern

rural areas.¹⁰⁸ Using advertisements that indicated the shift in tolerance in the North to one of intolerance, the *Defender* tried to argue for self-reliance rather than “their geographical location to achieve the equal rights and the quality of life they deserved.”¹⁰⁹ The shift by the newspaper was significant because it established what most scholars contend was the motivation for the mass migration – better economic opportunities, for sure, but also to enjoy the rewards of the citizenship that Blacks were denied in the South.

The migration patterns also varied with respect to where migrants chose to move in the city. Some scholars argue that most Blacks lived together because the general feeling among Blacks was survival rather than political participation.¹¹⁰ Indeed, living together provided some modicum of economic and social security as families and neighbors pooled resources. Establishing fictive kin bonds, the community created an internal economic system to meet the needs of its members. Although focusing on economic survival may be true in some cases for Black migrants, Blacks were equally interested in local and state-level politics during the Great Migration. In fact, their relative success in electing an alderman, congressman, and serving as the crucial voting bloc for the Republican Party demonstrates their ability and desire to be a part of the political process and the future of the city.¹¹¹ Furthermore, they established roots in the city by erecting businesses and civic and social organizations. This indicates that their permanence in the city, as a group, warrants a more complex understanding than stating that they were only interested in economic survival. I would argue that their participation in labor, both formally through membership and informally through strikebreaking, as well as participating in politics *were* ways that Blacks survived, thrived, and became a part of the fabric of Chicago. While Chicago offered better opportunities and quality of life than the South, it was clear that Black Chicagoans had to depend on their own networks and Black institutions to thrive.

The Economic and Political Capital of Labor and Business

The supply of jobs and the available networks made the allure of the city primarily economic in nature for most migrants, regardless of ethnic or racial group. As an industrial center, Chicago's factories and newspapers encouraged people to relocate to the city in the droves. Andrew Strouthous explained that success of labor unions and political action made Chicago a unique place when compared to New York and Seattle. What made it easier for Chicago to embrace labor, at least during this time period, is that unions enjoyed an easier relationship with the political bodies. Chicago had the most organized labor, enjoyed the support of trade unions across the city, and encouraged women and Black people to participate in union activity.¹¹² Unfortunately, despite labor's efforts to reach out, the alignment of Black Chicago with labor parties proved to be difficult to facilitate. Those tensions boiled over in the stockyards and increasingly nurtured the entrepreneurial spirit of Black Chicagoans to launch their own organizations and establishments.

Marked by Distrust: The Relationship of Black Migrants and Chicago Labor, 1918 – 1924

The Chicago Federation of Labor encouraged “foreign-born and [B]lacks to join the union...[through] organizing drives in steel and the stockyards...to recruit the unskilled irrespective of nationality or colour.”¹¹³ While the CFL made inroads in the number of Northern Black workers who joined, three quarters of the Black Southern migrants were not as eager to join the unions. Several factors contributed to their hesitancy, including their use as strikebreakers. Participating as strikebreakers in a landscape that already saw the new migrants as competitors had consequences beyond the stockyards and often spilled over into the strained

social conditions that existed in Chicago. Also, while the CFL encouraged Blacks to join, the union did little to help quell the violence and racial animus that they faced in the stockyards.

Chicago was an industrial hub: “[D]ue to its geographical position at the juncture of water and rail transport, [it was known as] a market-place for agricultural and primary goods.”¹¹⁴ Despite its smaller geographic size compared to other manufacturing cities like New York, Chicago enjoyed a larger workforce in its meatpacking, steel, railroad, and coal industries. The large number of union members was not always beneficial. In fact, it often hampered the unions’ ability to reach all of their members regardless of the leadership or strategy. Unions also put individual group interests before wider public interests in order to maintain and assert power, which eventually worked to their detriment.¹¹⁵ The size and centrality of Chicago’s industrial production, failure to organize Black workers, and the division among ethnic groups that the Democratic and Republican Parties encouraged proved to be a disaster for the future of labor in the city.

As an industrial Midwestern city, Chicago provided a variety of jobs for unskilled and skilled labor. As such, it provided the economic impetus for those contemplating relocation to the city. Upon arrival, however, Black migrants were confronted with the reality that ethnic immigrants were more favored for their labor than Blacks were, so most of the skilled labor went to union workers.¹¹⁶ While the unions had some degree of success in getting Northern-born Blacks to join, the lack of protection in the stockyards as well as the use of Southern Black migrants to break strikes did not make their inclusion easy. Because of this, Blacks established their own unions as well as adapted to life in the city by creating businesses within their own enclaves.

Work Here, Spend Here: The Black Business Boom in Chicago, 1920 - 1929

Spatial, horizontal, and vertical mobility strategies made Black businesses successful because they enabled Blacks to not only survive but prosper. Black businesses used their extensive kinship, social relationships within and across ethnic lines, and their active participation in their community to increase resources, political and economic strength, and additional business opportunities.¹¹⁷ The lack of institutional means of support, as well as discrimination and segregation, afforded Black businesses the ability to exploit their own communities while also benefiting those individuals living in the communities. Bronzeville, in particular, became the “hub of [B]lack business enterprise in the United States” and was considered a model for other Black urban spaces in the country.¹¹⁸ Business opportunities were plentiful in the Black metropolis, but there were some who were more successful than others.

The Great Migration and purchasing power of Blacks helped to spur entrepreneurial activity and a financial boom for Black communities in Chicago during the 1920s, fulfilling the “Black Metropolis Dream.”¹¹⁹ Robert S. Abbott, Jesse Binga, and Anthony Overton dominated Black Chicago’s business enterprise. Robert S. Abbott was the editor and publisher of *The Chicago Defender* from 1905 until 1940, Jesse Binga founded the Binga Bank in 1905 (which the Auditor General of the State of Illinois closed in June 1930), and Anthony Overton owned a variety of businesses that ranged from insurance to banking to publishing.¹²⁰ Abbott, Binga, and Overton realized their greatest entrepreneurial success during the 1920s. Due to their financial wealth and access to as well as control of information, they became the “face” of commercial enterprise. The ability to be self-sufficient and create a city within the city came with a price – reputable as well as “illicit” businesses blossomed.

The types of businesses that flourished often became the financial backing for future politicians and later-reputable business owners: “Expanding commerce along State Street became a wellspring for economic and political strength for Black Chicagoans, and in many ways, transformed the structures and substances of urban politics in the early twentieth century.”¹²¹ Saloons, theaters, and dancehalls generated new streams of revenue in the city and provided leisure opportunities for Black patrons. Not all of the establishments were Black-owned. In fact, many of the State Street businesses were not owned by Blacks, but the owners would hire all-Black staff and managers to run the day-to-day operations. The businesses and churches formed an uneasy alliance that brought municipal resources into the city and worked within the political machine that “helped construct the gilded fortress that prevented more radical demands for social change and civil rights from gaining a foothold in city government.”¹²² Thus, working within the political machine in the short-term legitimized the system’s authority and made Black Chicagoans’ business and political worlds unique bedfellows.

The commingling of business and politics was a mutually valuable arrangement. In exchange for protection, businesses helped to mobilize voters and secure voting blocs for politicians. The State Street “vice” was the primary financial backer for most of the well-respected businessmen and politicians. The capital created by vice helped to buy political power, and that political power demonstrated the power of Bronzeville and the West Side. Black labor unions and businesses provided economic, political, and social support that Black Chicagoans greatly needed since they were effectively shut out of the mainstream sources of income and seats of power. Their capacity to organize and run successful businesses without outside help provided further proof that not only did they understand the necessity to do so, but also that they could demand more from political leaders who often took them for granted.

The Influence of Political and Societal Conditions

Chicago politics during this time period was anything but simple. The Democrats dominated the city council and the Republicans the mayoralty. Each of the parties was also split into factions. There was a Labor Party and a Socialist Party. The strategies used by the parties often pointed to the ways in which they were the “workers” party. For example, the Chicago Federation of Labor organized major recruiting classes and drew great distinctions between their party and the Republican incumbent, Thompson.¹²³ Captains in the various wards helped to canvass neighborhoods and mobilize voters to cast their votes at the polls. The use of captains helped to reach out to the large populations in each ward. The success of a party’s candidate depended on the corralling of the Black vote at the local level. The success of Black candidates at the alderman, mayoral, and congressional district level provided proof to Black voters that strides were being made – even if the fruit of that success did not immediately trickle down to the average Black voter. The highly structured and networked organization of politicians helped the city to earn the nickname “political machine.”

Courting the Black Vote with Unfulfilled Promises: Chicago Politics and the Black Community, 1910 - 1929

As a political machine, Chicago politics was often mired in controversy and corruption. Republicans and Democrats were both guilty of accepting kickbacks, appointing political allies regardless of experience, and using ethnic and racial groups to advance their own personal and political ambitions.¹²⁴ The city of Chicago and the state had a tenuous relationship during the early twentieth century that rested primarily on the issue of power. The decrease in rural living and farming presented new challenges in governing the state. The population’s transition from a

rural life to an urban one bolstered Chicago's effort to stake a claim in the management of its own affairs via a centralized government. Chicago political leaders jockeyed for more political autonomy on the grounds that having a centralized government was effective since the bulk of the population lived and worked in the city.¹²⁵ The tug of war between the city and the state had disastrous effects. Because of the pace in the growth of the city and the state laws governing Chicago, along with "worker exploitation, extremes of wealth and poverty, and the corruption of both businessmen and politicians...neither federal [n]or local governments had the power to confront the worst aspects of economic and social injustices."¹²⁶ The use of political favors to acquire votes ushered in a machine-style political structure.

Some scholars believe that political machines are economic in nature. That is, the machine is "a business organization in a particular field of business – getting votes and winning elections" which ultimately benefits the people running and working for the machine.¹²⁷ In order to gather votes, political actors had to incentivize voters in financial ways (i.e., jobs, contracts, promised improvements in the community). Other scholars believe that the political machine is not an economic, but rather a coalition building, model.¹²⁸ They argue that the relationships built between the machine's agents and voters established a collective interest as the driving force behind the machine. While both the economic and coalition-building perspectives have wide support, other scholars contend that there is a political perspective that privileges the elites at work in the machine, which trumps the economic and coalition-building standpoints. Clarence Stone argues that there is a dual authority in political machines: "those in authority inevitably possess a degree of discretion and that discretion may be used to fortify the power they have and perhaps even expand the privileges they and their allies enjoy. Political authority thus can be used to further personal or factional aims; this is the second face of authority."¹²⁹ The three types

of perspectives – economic, coalition-building, and political – are all present, in varying degrees, in Chicago.

In terms of major parties, the Republican and Democratic parties ran Chicago. The Republican Party traditionally backed business and professional men while the Democratic Party traditionally was divided along ethnic lines (for example, the Irish, Polish, and Italians controlled the politics in their neighborhoods) during the early twentieth century. Blacks were conspicuously absent from having a major party or group interest openly support their welfare (but they were still lobbied for their votes). Couched in economic rather than racial improvement, the rhetoric of the parties and interest groups offered promises but failed to deliver on most of them. This was especially true of the Republican Party's relationship to Black voters. Despite the lack of support, Blacks voted for the "Party of Lincoln" long after the Republican Party demonstrated its apathy towards them. Chicago's Black population continued to vote for Republican candidates even after the rest of Black voters in the U.S. shifted their support.¹³⁰ While the rest of the nation became distrustful of the Republican Party, Black Chicagoans' loyalty remained steadfast due, in part, to Chicago's courting of the Black voting bloc, promise of jobs, and its entrenched political power in the city.

Prior to the Great Depression, Black Chicago voted overwhelmingly Republican. Understanding voting behavior and political alliances, however, is far more complex. William Grimshaw underscores this complexity through a historical analysis of the Black political tradition.¹³¹ The tension between cultural values and socioeconomic needs were often at odds with the political choices that Blacks made.¹³² Because of its power and influence, the Black Church had an impact on the values that extended into the political sphere. Politicians who were successful in garnering support from Black Chicago understood this tension. For example, some

scholars note the influence of Congressman William Dawson, an integral part of the Black political machine.¹³³ Understanding the currency of the church within Black communities, Dawson “regularly commingled the roles of preacher and boss by couching his political messages in religious terms.”¹³⁴ By pulling from the cultural traditions of the Black Church, Dawson mobilized support for his candidacy as well as deliver votes for his political allies.

The Republican stronghold in Chicago, however, began to weaken as the effects of the Great Depression set in. Blacks, in general, had already begun to suffer from record unemployment prior to the Great Depression: “Thousands had already lost agrarian jobs in the mid-1920s due to the declining cotton market [while] others had lost industrial jobs in the first stages of economic contraction...before the stock market collapsed...in 1929.”¹³⁵ Black Chicagoans were hit particularly hard by the economic downturn: “In Chicago, one-fourth of welfare recipients were Black, although Blacks made up just 6 percent of the city’s total population.”¹³⁶ Roosevelt’s New Deal programs provided the potential for economic relief, which helped to propel Arthur Mitchell, the first Black Democrat, to be elected to Congress as well as help to realign Black Chicagoans’ political affiliation.

Vote of No Confidence: The Black Press’s Political Influence, 1905 - 1939

Another driving force behind the voting behaviors of Black Chicago was the press. The most widely read Black newspaper during the early twentieth century, *The Chicago Defender*, encouraged its readership to vote Republican even after most of the “Black Americans had largely abandoned their loyalty to the Republican party to embrace Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal.”¹³⁷ While the newspaper served as a voice for the Black community, it also was the voice of its founder, Robert Abbott, who “established the format for political discussion as a debate

between Lincoln's legacy and the Democratic party's promise of material benefits" that focused on the language of racial consciousness.¹³⁸ Furthermore, "Abbott's convictions about social equality prompted him to use the *Defender* not only to reflect the public opinion of black Americans, but also to attempt to shape opinion and influence patterns of behavior."¹³⁹ He used the paper to emphasize that the party of Lincoln, not the Democratic Party, would defend the cause of racial and social equality because the Republican Party proved it. Abbott asserted that the Republican Party's track record of progress, which included Emancipation and a number of Black political office holders, was evidence of the party's ability to defend equality. The Democrats, according to Abbott, had a history of preventing racial and social progress. Through the *Defender*, Abbott pointed to the Roosevelt Administration's failure to put forth an anti-lynching bill as evidence that despite the material or socioeconomic benefits offered by the Democratic Party in the form of the New Deal (as well as asked Black Chicagoans to ignore the dire circumstances that the Great Depression left them in), it did not preclude the fact that Blacks needed equality and justice. And, once they received equality, they would be able to take care of their own needs. The legacy of Lincoln, and by extension the Republican Party, held a potent sway with Black voters.

It was after Robert Abbott was forced to retire and his nephew, John Sengstacke, took over the newspaper in the late 1930s that Black Chicagoans begin to shift their support to the Democratic Party. In 1940, the same year that Robert Abbott died, Sengstacke used a race-conscious focus to re-orient the Black voter to the Roosevelt Administration. This strategy was particularly evident when Sengstacke "[drew] parallels between Lincoln and Roosevelt" as the country moved closer to the election.¹⁴⁰ So, from the first publication of the *Chicago Defender* as the voice of Black politics in 1905 until the change in leadership in 1940, the newspaper was the

voice of Black Chicago voters. Its ability to influence the voting behaviors of Black Chicago was significant.

Labor, business, and political actors relied on the press because of the significant power and sway it held in Black communities. The *Chicago Defender* reflected the views of its owners, who were profoundly loyal to their community and to racial uplift. Because of their investment in Black Chicago, the newspapers were also meticulous in recording the social conditions that affected Black communities. The racial and economic conditions that existed in the city of Chicago shaped their relationships with labor unions and politicians as well as motivated entrepreneurs to create an insular community that was self-reliant. Hostility and violence was brimming below the surface throughout this time period, which had profound consequences for race relations and social conditions in Chicago. As the official voice of the Black community, the newspaper held tremendous power and influence. Under the leadership of Abbott, a Black Chicagoan, and, later, Sengstacke, the newspaper not only chronicled Black life but was also one of the most important components of the Black urban network. Emphasizing its collective strength, the Black press promoted self-reliance in order to sustain and grow the Black community. It encouraged migration, highlighted business opportunities, critiqued political parties, and celebrated Black achievement. Unrestrained by political correctness, the Black press was able to have significant discussions about racial tensions in the urban North and South, the failure of political leadership, and the obligation that each Black resident had to protect its own community.

Uneasy Race Relations and Social Conditions between Whites and Black Chicagoans: Race Riots 1914 - 1919

The same year that the United States entered into World War I, race riots occurred all over the nation. Christopher Robert Reed asserts that unlike in other parts of the United States, Blacks in Illinois during the early twentieth century were not passive.¹⁴¹ Some might argue that the consequence of being assertive was different in the North versus the backlash they would receive in southern states, but that is not true: “Fueled by bigoted and alarmist trade unionists, self-centered corporate managers, strikebreaking black migrants from the South, corrupt white politicians, the inflammatory news reporters, and biased and lax police officers, the smoldering fires of antagonism between Blacks and Whites exploded into furious rioting [in East St. Louis, IL] in July 1917.”¹⁴² The ongoing animus points to the harsh reality that Blacks faced in the North, despite the claims that migrating to northern urban centers would offer protection from racial antagonism. In short, lynching occurred in Illinois just as it did across the U.S. Black people’s desires to both protect and fight what was justifiably theirs – freedom and opportunity – was especially salient in Illinois at the end of the First World War.

The Race Riot of 1919 was a culmination of a variety of factors. The tensions that led to the East St. Louis riots had not been resolved. The first wave of migration began in 1915 and remained steady until 1930, which meant that the increase of Black migrants to the city posed a serious threat to the availability of jobs and housing. Finally, the military veterans returning from the War were no longer willing to accept the unequal housing and economic conditions that they left prior to their participation in the War. All of these factors introduced a “phenomenal level of collective agency.”¹⁴³ Black Chicagoans banded together in the face of opposition.

Black Chicagoans grew tired of the lack of jobs and housing. The Red Summer of 1919, which referred to the wave of race riots that swept across the North and South, culminated after years of indignities experienced. In Illinois, as in other places, racial conflicts in the workplace spilled into the streets. The drowning of Eugene Williams because he accidentally floated to the White section of Lake Michigan made those tensions boil over. Because of the already immense strain of racial hostilities in Chicago, “The bombing of Black homes, employee and union friction in the stockyards, white threats and interracial squabbles over the use of recreation facilities, resentment over emerging Black political power, and the heat of a raging summer night all contributed to the tension and potential for an uprising.”¹⁴⁴ Williams’s death was a part of the bubbling up of strife over the use of recreation facilities, specifically access to the lake. Places for leisure had become scarce in the city, especially for Blacks who were confined to segregated and inadequate facilities. Therefore, while Williams’s death is often cited as the catalyst for the Race Riot of 1919, in reality it was one of a long list of injustices that Black Chicagoans faced.

From 1916 until 1918, the city’s Black population doubled in size due to the influx of Southern migrants. “[B]lack people, visibly distinct and with behavior patterns ostensibly alien to whites, were convenient scapegoats, especially for whites who fear that their social status had dropped because of the influx of [B]lacks from the South.”¹⁴⁵ It was more lucrative and advantageous for Blacks to work as nonunion employees or as strikebreakers, which “left a long legacy of violence and helped produce the bloody 1919 race riot.”¹⁴⁶ After working long, hard hours for less pay than White workers, Blacks often used part of their income to participate in leisure activities. The disparities between their public and private accommodations versus those of Whites’ were too great to ignore. Blacks and Whites both rioted and participated in individual acts of violence during the riot.

In terms of location, the riot was primarily contained in the Black neighborhoods. Food shortages in the Southside and in pockets on West side and the Loop resulted from the interruption of services during the rioting. Paychecks were also interrupted because Blacks had to go through White neighborhoods to retrieve them. Black workers had to resort to alternative methods to get their wages. Even after securing their wages, however, Blacks were unable to spend it due to the interruption of services and businesses in their community.

By the end of the riots, twenty-five Blacks and thirteen Whites had been killed. Chicago created a Commission on Race, which appointed Whites and Blacks and was supposed to produce solutions in order to prevent future riots. Although created in good faith, the commission failed to address the real issues that would continue to fan the flames of discontent – improving the living conditions by ending the “residential bombings, school level tensions, personal assaults, and job conflicts.”¹⁴⁷ Irrespective of the failings of the commission, the riot and subsequent aftermath united Black Chicagoans in the “support of the Black Metropolis concept – an ideal that called for the creation of [B]lack-dominated enclave within Chicago on the South Side.”¹⁴⁸ And, so the desire to create a community that included all of their needs – leisure, banking, living, and working – was realized.

An Economic, Political and Social Imperative: The Black Metropolis as an Enclaved Space

The economic challenges facing the city of Chicago were not unlike those facing the rest of the country. The United States faced periods of highs and lows, from the migration of foreign and domestic migrants to the industrial complexes in the country’s urban cities to the banking crisis and Great Depression. Some groups of people – mainly the poor, working class, and racial minorities - were more negatively affected even when the rest of the country began to rebound.

The Great Depression was one of many defining moments in the city and the country. It helped to galvanize support around the progressive reform program, the New Deal. Instituted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the New Deal provided a shift in both the way that the country addressed social problems and in the groups of people who identified with the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party was able to rebrand itself as a liberal party, in part due to the establishment of the New Deal and reframing of the Republican Party as a conservative party. Additionally, the collection of programs helped Chicago to meet its economic challenges and orient the Black, former-Lincoln Party voters to the Democratic voting bloc.

The change in voting blocs was significant for a variety of reasons. First, the Great Migration encouraged a significant portion of Southern Black migrants to relocate to Chicago. Moving to the Northern city provided an improvement in their economic and social status. The migration also meant that Blacks could enact their citizenship by casting votes without poll taxes, tests, and intimidation. Furthermore, Blacks voted based on loyalty. Thus, when the *Chicago Defender* endorsed a candidate or party, most of the Black Chicagoans voted based on that endorsement even if the party or candidate was unlikely to advance concerns particular to their communities. By most accounts, Blacks were eager to cast their votes, which meant that they made a formidable voting coalition in Chicago.¹⁴⁹

Their small but significant voting power enabled them to establish their position as integral to the success of the city. By delivering votes, Black businesses were able to prosper, Black politicians were groomed and given seats for their loyalty, and the Black Metropolis was able to re-invest in its community – both socially and economically. The result of the Great Migration meant not just an increase in population, but a shift in mentality. The racial conflicts that resulted only made the Black population more aligned ideologically.

Blacks established their own labor unions and created programs to help elevate the race. “[B]lack churches were not only concerned with migrant living and social conditions but also wanted to reduce any negative associations with ‘backward’ southerners.”¹⁵⁰ Clubwomen, sororities, fraternal organizations, businesses, and churches started programs aimed at instilling socially acceptable behaviors. Although clubwomen established programs well before the influx of the southern migrants, the large numbers of rural women in particular challenged the clubwomen to acclimate the migrants to the rigor of city life so that they did not fall victim to the vices available. Moreover, Black churches struggled to accommodate the large number of new members. Without the capital to buy more land or larger facilities, churches created overflow services and social service programs that were geared towards southern migrants. The Great Migration and the Depression also shaped the “[B]lack leaders’ responses with notions of the ability of [B]lack girls to represent their race, sheds light on the future social movements in the South and the North.”¹⁵¹ It is this transition to viewing women as the indication of the wealth and health of the race that becomes especially important to my project.

The early twentieth century posed significant challenges for the country and for the city of Chicago. As an industrial hub, the city attracted a variety of population groups seeking economic opportunity. Attitudes about racial equality, housing, and employment, combined with an increasing migrant population, provided an intoxicating recipe for conflict and violence. But out of those clashes, Black Chicagoans demonstrated their determination and power. The Black Metropolis became not just a model for other cities to manage their Black populations, but also served as an example for Blacks to realize their collective agency and power as enclaved populations.

It is within this context and the key types of issues that I describe that underscore the importance of understanding how Black women, in particular, navigated politics of respectability, economic, social, and political concerns during the early twentieth century. Often serving as the backbone of most communities, Black women face these types of negotiation and navigation in communities across the U.S. In the subsequent chapters, I aim to understand how underserved groups advocate on behalf of their communities historically in order to understand the contemporary milieus that face Black Chicago today. Uncovering rhetorical strategies and themes used in two types of institutions as well as across them by Black women, I explore two case studies to illuminate their efforts to improve their communities.

Chapter 3: Domestics, Musicians, and Black Labor

“The European war, as bloody, tragic and deplorable as it is...has meant that the thousands who a year ago were dependent on charity are today employed and making a comfortable living for themselves and their families. Whatever the reason to be, now is our opportunity.” – Chicago Defender¹⁵²

Black migrants and native Chicagoans found that the economic haven of northern urban industrial cities favored some workers over others. The “economic social changes...that transformed the United States into the world’s leading industrial nation” created racial animus in the stockyards, pitted laborers against each other, and left behind disillusioned Black workers, in particular.¹⁵³ “[A] significant minority appeared to be bypassed altogether by industrial progress...none had a stronger grievance against the system than the American Negro. Freed at last from the bondage of chattel slavery, he found new forms of economic subservience waiting for him. Only the Negro’s presence kept the Italian, the Pole, and the Slav above society’s mudsill.”¹⁵⁴ As the economic outcast, Black folk created opportunities for their communities in a variety of ways. Black laborers worked as strikebreakers, built Black businesses in their communities, joined integrated labor unions, and established their own. Black women, in addition to their race, faced the obstacle of their gender.

Despite the number of jobs that opened in industrialized cities for women during World War I, Black women were unsuccessful in securing employment. The factory jobs overwhelmingly went to White women. The jobs gained during that period ultimately returned to male workers once the war ended. While the labor market was difficult for women, in general, Black women faced even smaller opportunities. Understanding how they navigated and advocated for economic equity during a period of transition (post-World War I through the Great Depression and rumblings of World War II) helps us to understand the role of Black-led

organizations like the National Association for Negro Musicians (NANM) and integrated unions like the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

The two organizations supported different types of labor practices. NANM's primary focus was to provide a way in which Black musicians could both respond to the music industry and elevate the music range of Black composers, arrangers, and performers. IWW was concerned with several worker-related issues, but primarily it advocated on behalf of wage earners in both skilled and unskilled labor. The organizations shared a common desire to represent individuals who faced unfair hours, unscrupulous wage practices, and exclusion from job opportunities. This chapter aims to understand how Black women navigated the institutions and what rhetorical practices the institutions used to engage Black women's labor based upon the organizations' aims/goals. I begin with the IWW and examine four public materials/pamphlets used to encourage support for women/Black folk to join the IWW. Then I transition to a brief history of the NANM and follow with an analysis of institutional documents. Finally, I comment on the ways in which the IWW's approach and the NANM's approach are both liberating and constraining. I argue that IWW's class-based approach ignored the harsh realities that Black workers faced but used "race" when it was convenient for membership opportunities, while NANM offered significant opportunities for Black women to engage in leadership, assert their expertise, and define their own experiences as musicians and activists.

Industrial Workers of the World: "Abolition of the Wage System"

The *Chicago Defender* extolled the surplus of jobs waiting for migrants in a news article in January 1916.¹⁵⁵ Migrants answered the *Defender's* call but found that employers were not as eager to hire Black workers unless they were employed as strikebreakers. Unions controlled most

of the industrialized jobs in the city and most of them deliberately excluded Blacks from membership. As an integrated organization focused on the working class, the Industrial Workers of the World saw the influx of Black migrants as an opportunity to grow its membership and to “abolition the wage system.”¹⁵⁶

The economic changes in the United States and shift from an agrarian to an industrial nation meant that more workers resided in urban settings. Ethnic enclaves were scattered throughout the nation’s cities as workers immigrated to the U.S. Black men, women, and children also migrated to Northern and Midwestern cities. No longer in the bondage of slavery, Black workers migrated north to escape the Jim Crow South and earn a living wage. But the conditions they faced were just as difficult as the conditions they left in the South. Mostly unskilled workers, their options were limited in the industrialized city.

The Industrial Workers of the World was established in 1905 and was the first union to adopt the mantra of a unified working class regardless of race, ethnicity, or nationality. IWW’s preamble asserts that distinction and “offered to do what other unions, including the AFL, declined to attempt: organize the Negroes, the new immigrants, and the workers in mass-production industries where craft lines dissolved under the pressures of technology.”¹⁵⁷ The IWW established a general industrial union that embraced all industries, “founded on the recognition of the class struggle and administered on the basis of an irrepressible conflict between capital and labor; [determined that] all power [should] reside in the collective membership; and [endorsed] universal free transfer of union cards.”¹⁵⁸ They emphasized their mission during national conventions and publication materials.

A perusal of the meeting minutes of the IWW demonstrated that the union’s focus during the national conventions included international relationships, pending law actions, and the

customary review of officer remarks. Peppered throughout the meeting minutes were discussions about the issues facing international members of the union, but not explicitly addressing issues of race. The absence of race talk in the minutes appears to be in keeping with the IWW's desires to primarily focus on class struggles. The extant material that does indicate an interest in Black workers are the pamphlets and the official IWW preamble. Encouraging the circulation of IWW materials, the institution included the following header on the first page of each pamphlet, "Workingmen have paid for this leaflet out of their earnings. When you have read it, pass it on." The wide distribution of the pamphlets served as the institutional voice of the IWW.

The discourse in the pamphlets and preamble make clear that the Wobblies wanted to fold all workers into their organization. To thwart other unions, the IWW dismissed the use of trade unions as a viable option. The trade unions, like the employing class, "foster a state of affairs which allow[ed] one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars."¹⁵⁹ Championing the working class that was heterogeneous - ethnic, racially, nationally, and industry diverse - was the aim of the organization. Black folks had a different relationship to unions because they were often excluded from joining, used as strikebreakers, or left to fend for themselves in hostile stockyards. Joining a union was not a common practice or wholeheartedly embraced. So, the organization had some work to do to attract members.

This attention and investment in literature indicates that and the pamphlets acted as a conduit/voice/face of the organization. The leaflet, as an institutional document, allows us to examine the ways in which the IWW reached out to Black folks. The pamphlets are undated; however, IWW's focus on Blacks escaping the Jim Crow South, use of a lynching image, and efforts to organize domestics, it is fairly certain that the dates of the pamphlets coincide with the

migration period.¹⁶⁰ The first pamphlet that I examine, “Justice for the Negro,” served as a form of outreach to Black workers. The second pamphlet addressed the work of hotel, restaurant, and domestic workers and the third pamphlet implored the “colored workers of America” to join the IWW. First, I describe each of the pamphlets. Then I provide a summary of the overall arguments in the pamphlet. Finally, I analyze those arguments to understand how Black women are implicated in those arguments as members of the integrated organization.

The first pamphlet titled, “Justice for the Negro: How He Can Get It,” was four pages in length. As was customary with IWW headers on pamphlets, it asked the reader to pass the leaflet along to someone else and stated, “Workingmen have paid for this leaflet out of their earnings.”¹⁶¹ Directly below the circulation notice, the pamphlet included the title to the left of a photograph of the remains of a charred man hanging from a tree. White spectators stand behind the lynching tree and are facing the camera person. Written underneath the photograph included the words “How He Can Get It” and a description of the image: “Actual Photograph of Charred Body of Jesse Washington, a Colored Lad Burned to Death by a Mob at Waco, Texas, May 15, 1916.”¹⁶² The remaining pages are filled with a discussion related to the topic of justice for Black people.

“Justice for the Negro” argued for membership a few ways. First, the union argued for its ability to empathize with Blacks. That is, by drawing parallels between Black folks' historical disenfranchisement, racial violence, and the current moment, IWW appeared to understand the difficulties faced by Black folk in Chicago. Acknowledging the ongoing discrimination in housing, transportation, and political activity, the IWW bridged those instances to the “systematic discrimination” as a worker.¹⁶³ The union affirmed what Blacks already knew - they were excluded from most jobs because of their race, placed in the most menial jobs, and received

the lowest wages. IWW indicated through its discourse that they understood the plight facing Black workers.

Second, the union argued that the tactics used by Black workers were ineffective: “Protests, petitions, and resolutions [were] useless [and] waste[d] time and money.”¹⁶⁴ The IWW saw the government as owned by the 'ruling class' with no literal regard for any other groups. Protesting in the hopes of transforming the government to recognize Black humanity was the wrong strategy. The IWW believed that the way to get attention was for all “colored working men and women of the United States must organize in defense of their rights...so as to be able to enforce their demand for an equal share of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’”¹⁶⁵ The rationale was that by refusing to work, Black folks would force employers to pay and treat them equitably in the workforce. Moreover, the refusal of work would garner the attention of the government and serve to transform all of the other areas of injustice, including the “hidden forces behind the government [would] see to it that lynchings cease and discrimination comes to an end.”¹⁶⁶ This line of argument was perplexing because it asked individuals who had already experienced unemployment, underemployment, and inequality in wages to give up voluntarily the few economic resources that they had with the potential to reap a reward. By joining IWW and striking with white workers, Black workers would thus receive their justice in the workplace and politically. IWW wanted Black workers to embrace an ideology steeped in class without regard for race.

Finally, IWW appealed to Black workers by distinguishing their union from others, especially trade unions. The Wobblies claimed that the trade unions did not want Black workers. IWW cited the American Federation of Labor's disdain for Black workers and the "case of the Switchmen's Union to permit a strike aimed to prevent the employment of colored men.”¹⁶⁷ IWW

touted its full membership admittance for Black women and men: "There is one international labor organization in this country that admits the colored worker on a footing of absolute equality... The first section of its By-Laws provides that 'no working man or woman shall be excluded from membership because of creed or color.'"¹⁶⁸ In addition to IWW's commitment to racial equality, it touted its form of organization was "far superior to the old-fashioned trade unions."¹⁶⁹ Any form that designated workers into separate categories weakened their power; thus, organizing as one big union was the future of the working class. Now, I examine how the audience may have read the circulated pamphlet, including Black workers.

The first image that confronted the reader was a photographic copy of the lynched body of Jesse Washington. In a widely known case, Washington was found guilty of rape and murder in Waco, Texas in May 1916. A teenaged illiterate farmhand, Washington's lynching occurred before he could be sent to jail. His body was mutilated: genitals, fingers, toes, and other body parts were removed and passed to the crowd, which included children, before he was burned alive.¹⁷⁰ Lynching as spectacle was a tactic to intimidate Black folk. It also worked to preserve the supposed difference in humanity between White and Black folk. For southern migrants, the image would have had a more salient effect. In addition to the economic and familial advantages of moving to the north as a part of the Great Migration, they were also escaping the South's racial violence and terror. The reproduced image of Jesse Washington's body may have worked against the IWW's aims - for the leaflet to be read. Additionally, the use of the Black male body and emphasis on the "justice for the Negro...[and] how he can do it" ignored that Black women also are affected by inequality in the workplace and victims of lynching.

The arguments offered by IWW failed to acknowledge the role of race as a unique problem. "The IWW, unlike most unions of the time and since, practiced what it preached, even

in the deepest South where it raised the banner of ‘No Race, No Creed, No Color,’ and united [B]lack and [W]hite workers in a common struggle.”¹⁷¹ Despite the pamphlet’s appeal, the inability to answer the race problem meant that IWW would ultimately fail in gathering large numbers of Black union members.

The pamphlet, “Colored Workers of America Why You Should Join the I.W.W.,” appeared to be a direct plea to Black workers. The pamphlet made the argument that the wage worker experience was the same as the chattel slavery experience.¹⁷² The writer argued that the Black worker was, in fact, no better off than before he was freed from bondage: “As chattel slaves the property of [their] masters and, as a piece of valuable property [their] masters were considerate and careful of [their] health and welfare.”¹⁷³ While slave owners were economically invested in the health of their property, that did not mean that slave life was an easy one. The institution of Slave Codes restricted slaves’ ability to travel, they were forbidden to read, had no constitutional rights, and were always at risk of being sold off and separated from family and friends. Furthermore, slaves’ marriages had no legal standing and they were subjected to searches without cause, whippings, and curfews. Wage workers, while their remittance may have been paltry, received payment for their work. They were not restricted from the other freedoms that Blacks had only just begun to receive in the northern states.

The prose appeared to have been written by a Black worker. That is, the writer used the words “we” to explain the escape from the Jim Crow South. The writer stated that the employing class has “used us as wage slaves to beat down the wages of the white wage slaves... and by a continual talk of ‘race problems,’ ‘Negro questions,’ ‘segregation,’ et cetera, make an artificial... hatred and division by poisoning the minds of both whites and blacks in an effort to stop any movement of labor that threatens the dividends of the industrial kings.”¹⁷⁴ The writer attempted

to identify him/herself with Black workers by stating that s/he was being used to exploit White workers. Then, s/he invoked Abraham Lincoln, “The strongest bond that should bind man to man in human society is that between the working people of all races and of all nations.”¹⁷⁵ By invoking the “Great Emancipator,” the union pamphlet drove the point that the union was an emancipator, too. Thus, the union could free Blacks (and Whites) from servitude if they allowed them to.

The arguments that the pamphlet made were compelling; however, it is difficult to ascertain how well-received the pamphlet was because of the attempt to erase the racial tensions that existed in the labor market. It also appeared to be contradictory, because while it argued against talking about race problems, segregation, et cetera, the pamphlet invoked Abraham Lincoln, who wrote a proclamation granting the freedom of Blacks. Southern Black folk who migrated to northern industrial cities understood and experienced division and discrimination. The author who wrote the pamphlet, if s/he was indeed Black, would have a different connection to Lincoln. Lincoln was a unifier of the races in attesting to Black equality; however, it did not mean that race was a nonissue for Black workers.

It is impossible to know the exact number of Black union members who were a part of the IWW. Much of the institutional documents that might have listed ethnic and racial numbers were seized by the U.S. government during the time period studied. Furthermore, the union was in the midst of a decline by the 1920s. While the IWW was unsuccessful in some industries, the domestic industry proved to be more fruitful, so the union spent resources in the recruitment of domestic workers in the mid-1930s through the 1940s.¹⁷⁶ With the Great Migration and industrialization, Black women made up the largest percentage of domestic workers in Chicago and most urban cities in the U.S. during the early twentieth century. Linked to a racial history of

slavery, domestic service is “rooted in the gendered and racial makeup of the workforce. The low status of domestic labor was firmly intertwined with both the status of those who predominantly served and the history of slavery.”¹⁷⁷ Domestic service included private care as nannies, cooks, house cleaners, caregivers, and attendants.¹⁷⁸ Marcia Chatelain averred that many young Black girls who migrated to the city wrote to the *Chicago Defender* their desire to work as domestic servants; all that they asked in return was the payment of a train ticket to reach Chicago.¹⁷⁹ Thus, the Black migrant women and girls moved to the city in the search of domestic work and trained their daughters to follow in their footsteps.

The third pamphlet, “Hotel, Restaurant, and Domestic Workers: How They Work and How They Live” by L.S. Chumley, is distinct from most of the pamphlets circulated by the IWW: there is an author and it contains thirty pages. The focus of the booklet was to arouse the worker and provide a plan of organization that “will assure lasting results.”¹⁸⁰ The author referenced the report written by the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, in which the JPAC discussed girls who worked in hotels and restaurants.¹⁸¹ While the author agreed with the assessment, Chumley wanted to highlight that the condition of men and boys was equally as bad. Thus, it was important that men and boys were also included in discussions about protections and need for unionization. Chumley discussed that notion that hotel and restaurant workers are like domestics because they perform the public duties that domestics perform in private homes. Because hotel, restaurant, and domestic workers were more likely to traverse the three different occupations since they shared the same skillset, the workers needed an organization that was inclusive.

Chumley argued against craft/trade unions using similar IWW arguments: individual unions divide workers, lack of solidarity only benefits the employing class, and discrimination

against workers turns them into strikebreakers. The author stated, “The average hotel where there are a hundred or more workers, there are from fifteen to twenty crafts represented.”¹⁸² Having that many unions worked to the employing class’s advantage because, unless all the unions struck at the same time, the operations at a hotel would continue to function. Additionally, the “situation [during that period was that only] a small portion of the 'white waiters' [were] in a craft union, colored waiters, [G]reeks and buss-boys [were] left out to become scabs in time[s] of strike.”¹⁸³ The author did not blame the strikebreakers; rather, he empathized with their precarious position.

According to Chumley, solidarity was something unfamiliar to hotel and restaurant workers despite their deplorable work conditions and lack of organizing that resulted in poor treatment and wages. The author stated that in the “last few years wages have been cut, and in many places abolished altogether... [In] Chicago there are more than a hundred cafes that do not pay the waiters any wages and indeed, in some of these places, the waiter must pay to work.”¹⁸⁴ The author also shared that “work hours have increased [so much that] eleven hours [was] considered by many a short day.”¹⁸⁵ The conditions that Chumley described were exacerbated by the treatment that waiters received: managers called them thieves and failures and insulted with terms that the author did not want to print. Additionally, he argued against tipping, which “originate[d] with chattel slavery, as it [was] an ideal incentive for slaves” as a “system of bribery.”¹⁸⁶ Chumley went on to state that the “receiver becomes servile, slavish, mealy-mouthed and beggarly” and that “people who receive tips [were] the lowliest of the low” and called into question the masculinity of a person who accepted tips.¹⁸⁷ Chumley made a good case for the solidarity of workers; however, he expected workers that were already in an insecure work industry and receiving subsistence wages to not accept tips. So, while the focus of the pamphlet

was to get workers to organize by highlighting the deplorable conditions, Chumley also shamed the same workers for accepting money to supplement their poor wages.

Chumley turned his focus to women who worked in the hotel and restaurant industries by providing a variety of narratives to illustrate the problems that women faced. He argued that women were led into immorality and managers turned a blind eye especially in “low class hotels [where] colored or Americans of the ‘down and out’ type” worked; the industries violated Illinois ten-hour law for women; and compelled to work at two different restaurants to earn more money.¹⁸⁸ Chumley softened his critique when he said that in most cases, when children were at school and husbands were at work, women worked at restaurants to “earn some money for themselves.”¹⁸⁹ But, this seemed to contradict an earlier narrative when he gave an example of a mother who worked as a “rush hours” waitress and was in the habit of leaving her baby at home on a folded quilt in the bathtub.¹⁹⁰ In one moment, he was espousing politics of respectability – marriage, family, discretionary income – and in the next moment recounted the story of a mother who did not have access to those same luxuries. The list of injustices that restaurant workers suffered seem to support that the exception was the married wife who earned money for herself. Indeed, the money earned was most likely used to help support the household. Additionally, any time that he referred to a woman who worked at a restaurant, hotel, or in domestic service, he referred to them as girls. Similar to his shaming of men who received tips and calling into question their masculinity, Chumley reduced women to girls in need of protection. He discouraged their pleading to their employers and voting because both were a waste of time. Southern migrants, who were restricted or obstructed from voting in the South, were eager to cast votes in their new city. Indeed, in 1926 Black women were beaten by elected officials to

prevent them from registering to vote in Birmingham, Alabama, so dissuading migrants who had been disenfranchised from voting was not going to work.

In the section where Chumley addressed domestics, which was the primary occupation for Black women migrants, he argued that “The Servant Problem” was the same as the “Negro Problem.” He asserted that the conditions and the treatment that servants experienced, including the “lustful advances” of their employers and their children, were similar to what slaves experienced. Domestic “labor [was] what their masters consider too degrading to do for themselves: scrub, sweep, and clean their homes; prepare, cook, and serve their meals; nurse and plaything of the master's children.”¹⁹¹ And, the abuse was also passed down to their employers’ children. “Children of rich families usually treat the servants of the house with domineering words, names of contempt and imperious carriage as if there were of another race or species beneath them.”¹⁹² Unlike Chumley’s and IWW’s argument against craft and trade unions, Chumley asked whether the reader was a part of the Domestic Workers Industrial Union (DWIU). He claimed that the DWIU realized “that their only hope lies in arousing the workers to a knowledge of their own power, and that their strength lies in organization.”¹⁹³ He implored domestic workers to join DWIU and to not sit idly by while they did all the work. Chumley saw the value in domestic workers organizing as a separate arm of the union but underscored in that plea was the fact that domestic workers would be full members of IWW with the same rights and benefits.

Organizing domestic workers was difficult for a variety of reasons. Workers were transient. The amount of work available changed over time, especially during the Depression. There were so many workers available for a few spots that families could fire a domestic worker for joining a union and the number of domestics available lowered the pay. Additionally, the fact

that domestics had different employers, were disqualified from the National Labor Relations Act, and had little access to others outside of the home, which prevented collective action, made them seem unorganizable.¹⁹⁴ Finally, domestic work was broken down among race and class lines. Because White middle-class women could enjoy the leisure of the home by employing domestic work, it was difficult to get women of privilege to help organize. Black women and poor ethnic White women were the bulk of the labor pool and thus White middle-class women did not often identify with domestic workers' struggles even though they were often the beneficiary of the workers' poor conditions. Despite those difficulties, the DWIU and IWW achieved some success in organizing and enrolling domestic workers as members of the union.

This was important because most unions did generally not accept women. IWW was one of the few unions that welcomed every wage worker, including women. Most unions refused to organize women because they felt that they lowered the wage standard and belonged in the home.¹⁹⁵ Additionally, domestic work was not considered skilled work, so it was difficult for unions to get their male members to vote in favor of domestic work members. IWW not only advocated for DWIU, they also accepted domestic workers as members directly. While it is difficult to account for the number of Black domestics, IWW's Chicago branch was successful in organizing women following their victory in Colorado.¹⁹⁶

What is rhetorically notable about the three pamphlets is that they seem to be geared toward audiences other than Blacks. The pamphlet, "Justice for the Negro: How Can He Get It," provided arguments for the recruitment of Black workers, but the first image that confronted the reader was the lynching of a Black man. The lynching image, coupled with the well-known history of the spectacle of violence visited upon black bodies, was a poor choice by IWW. Black workers would have been familiar with such images, which were distributed as ways to control

and dictate the behavior of Black folks. This particular pamphlet would not have provided a strong argument or be helpful to give to a black person, especially if it was disseminated by a white worker. “Colored Workers of America: Why You Should Join the I.W.W.,” despite appearing to be written by a Black author, also seemed to fall short in understanding that for Black workers, race was a material obstacle to their recruitment, hiring, and advancement. What the pamphlet succeeded in doing was to highlight the difficulties that Black workers faced, which could have garnered empathy from other, non-Black workers. The third pamphlet, “Hotel, Restaurant, and Domestic Workers: How They Work and How They Live,” focused on the workers that were the hardest to organize. Chumley described the treatment of hotel, restaurant and domestic workers and provided arguments to convince them to organize. Some of the arguments that he used were contradictory, offensive, and failed to account for the ways in which race and transient work operated as stumbling blocks for workers. All of the pamphlets, as was customary with IWW, used the metaphor of master/slave to denote the employing class versus the working class. As mentioned previously, these arguments would not have convinced Black workers.

In addition to a failure to acknowledge the real differences Black workers faced, the few Black women who did join were invisible in IWW. It was unclear that they held any leadership positions or remained connected to the union consistently. Based on secondary sources, some Black workers joined the union in urban cities, including Black Chicagoan domestic workers, but not in large numbers.¹⁹⁷ In primary documents such as convention pamphlets, the IWW did not discuss the racial tensions that faced Black workers. Instead, they focused their commentary on international branches, internal financial business, and litigation. The literature that IWW circulated outside of the union indicated that while it understood the conditions that Black

workers faced, the pamphlets appeared to speak to audiences other than Black workers. Class-based arguments that discouraged voting, used a lynching photograph to argue for justice, and used terms that shamed workers who subsisted on insecure wages were mostly ineffective. The IWW was more successful when it used the DWIU to recruit Black domestic workers.

The IWW sought out Black women workers by focusing on race-based arguments and targeting the domestic industry, in which Black women workers accounted for more than fifty percent during this period. The domestic industry included work in homes as well as in hotels and lodging houses.¹⁹⁸ There was evidence that integrated unions, like the IWW, had more success in recruiting Black women domestic workers than any other industry.¹⁹⁹ However, the refusal to advocate for Black workers beyond recruitment did little to diminish the difficulties that Black women faced. So even though the IWW courted Black women through the arm of the Domestic Workers Industrial Union, it was unsuccessful in engaging Black women in leadership or economic opportunities once a part of the union.

It's important to highlight, however, that part of IWW's success with Black domestic workers may have been the result of how Black women viewed their work and how they viewed the role of the union. Domestic work offered working-class women the opportunity to demonstrate respectability through cleanliness, thrift, and work ethic. As remarked previously, respectability was not always tied to economic status. In most cases, respectability was achieved by performing middle-class behavior. Additionally, the *Chicago Defender* advertised domestic work on behalf of the IWW and based on letters to the editor, most Southern migrants sought out that form of work. So, while there was no literature that demonstrated Black women engaging in leadership or advocating for economic agency, their status as domestic workers and IWW's

engagement with DWIU to organize them indicated that their labor had value and that they valued that form of labor as a way to provide a living in the city.

Although the Industrial Workers of the World's rhetorical strategies were ineffective in garnering much support by Black women, the National Association of Negro Musicians was instrumental in advocating for public music teacher salaries, showcasing the creativity and talent of the composers, teachers, and musicians, and elevating Black women to positions of leadership. The next section provides a brief history of the Bronzeville music scene and the establishment of the National Association of Negro Musicians. Then I explore the ways in which four Black women – E. Azalia Hackley, Nora Douglas Holt, Lillian LeMon, and Camille Lucie Nickerson – created spaces for their voices to be heard and used their expertise to drive the organization forward.

National Association of Negro Musicians: The Future of Black Chicago and Race Progress *Music and the Great Migration in Black Chicago*

The Great Migration helped to foster a musical renaissance in Bronzeville. Migrants longing for music that reminded them of home, displaced musicians followed the beaconing call of the northern bright lights, and efforts to quell the fiery music of Black southern church music encouraged the flourishing of classical music. Jazz, blues, classical, and gospel music collided among the halls, saloons, churches, and street corners. The entertainment district, also known as The Stroll, provided leisure and pleasure-seekers with an intoxicating concoction of music. The South Side was the center of Black music innovation and creativity that rivaled the Harlem Renaissance.²⁰⁰

Robert Bone and Richard Courage asserted that “the phonograph-cylinder was displaced in the 1920s by the relatively inexpensive 78-rpm phonograph-disk.”²⁰¹ This music innovation meant that music was more accessible to a variety of audiences and the music industry took notice. “Race records” became popular when the recording industry saw a new revenue stream in the Black migrants, especially within the blues genre: “Sales of mid-1920s...bluesmen demonstrated a significant audience for down-home sounds among migrants in the North.”²⁰² Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, Mamie Smith, and Alberta Hunter frequented the halls and theaters along State Street; “W.C. Handy had made a repertory of classic blues songs available on sheet music, and the blues queens had popularized them on the vaudeville circuit.”²⁰³ A combination of accessibility via larger White record company distributors, the large number of readily available blues artists, and the exclusivity of music conservatories established blues and ragtime as *the* music of Blacks. By saturating the market with the blues and ragtime, White record companies profited off of Black support for Black musicians while simultaneously squeezing Black musicians out of other categories of music.

A vocal critic of white recording companies’ practices, Harry Pace, established Black Swan Records. Pace lamented the exploitation of Black music art forms at the hands of white-owned publishing companies: “The truth is, no company has given our artists a fair chance no matter what their training or ability. In addition to keeping our singers and players from reproducing their art and trying to limit them to certain kinds and types of music they also keep off the records of all Negro compositions except those which smack of a certain type and which are brought out by white publishers.”²⁰⁴ Pace and other prominent Black musicians were interested in the equal treatment for musicians and strived to present a more complex view of the

musical range of Black music. So, they encouraged musicians to pursue jazz, gospel, and classical music in addition to the blues and ragtime.

The improvisations found in jazz were a “product of the interaction of a Black entrepreneurial culture with two distinct faces of the northern migration: the wartime influx of thousands of unattached young men and women, drawn by bright lights and urban diversions as well as job opportunities, and a movement of professional musicians from New Orleans. From these migratory streams came a musical elite and its most receptive audiences.”²⁰⁵ Among the many professional musicians that migrated to Chicago and spent considerable time in the hallowed streets, cabarets, and “black and tans” on the Stroll, Joseph Oliver and Louis “Satchmo” Armstrong (Oliver’s disciple) helped make Jazz an American sound, and not just a “regional curiosity.”²⁰⁶ While jazz became an important part of Chicago’s music scene, it was Thomas A. Dorsey who would put Chicago at the forefront of music modernization.

Dorsey, the father of urban gospel music, provided a space to connect the spiritual and the musical. “The rise of gospel music in Chicago provided a counter-response to the supposedly more formalized New Negro spirituals project, highlighting a struggle over competing sacred expressions of black modernity.”²⁰⁷ Gospel music combined “sacred texts and secular rhythms.”²⁰⁸ Despite his accomplishments and its popularity, churches were less than enthusiastic about urban gospel music. Churches, with the help of choir directors, ensured that audiences preserved emotional restraint by only hiring classically-trained musicians.²⁰⁹ Because the choir director directed the musicians to play at a slow pace, churches were able to avoid arousing a passionate response from the audience. Restraint, like decorum and respectability, also distinguished an audience from the “backward” and raucous behavior of southern Black folk.

A cultural mecca, Bronzeville was home to a burgeoning music scene. From music to composition to publishing, Black artists and entrepreneurs found inspiration and audiences along the stroll and in churches alike. White publishing companies also noticed by commissioning select music to represent Black music. In addition to blues, ragtime, jazz, and urban gospel music, classically-trained Black musicians found a home in the city. In fact, classically-trained Black musicians garnered the most support from Black churches in the city and illustrated the evidence of racial uplift and progress. Unfortunately, because White recording companies endorsed ragtime and blues primarily, conservatory music was considered a European endeavor. Established Black Chicagoans and classically-trained musicians decided to work together to exhibit the range of Black creativity and musical intellect and challenge that narrative.

National Association of Negro Musicians: A Space for Women to Lead

The National Association of Negro Musicians, established in 1919 and headquartered in Chicago, came into existence for several reasons. Publishers and recording companies often restricted Black musicians to ragtime or blues music, which meant that Blacks were excluded from both venues and recording opportunities that demonstrated their musical range and training. Furthermore, classically-trained musicians also desired a platform that helped to promote their education, encourage fair wages, and “elevate the music of the race.”²¹⁰ Nora Holt, a writer for the *Chicago Defender* and the co-founder of the NANM, echoed the organization’s aims in the pages of the newspaper. In her words, the organization would “raise the musical standard of the teaching profession of our race throughout this country. Better instruction in music and a systematic means of improving the musical taste of the public.”²¹¹ The organization was aimed at both internal and external audiences: if the organization could demonstrate the range of musical

training; artists, educators, and conductors supported and joined the organization; the Black public asked for and purchased other forms of music produced by Black musicians, then Blacks would garner better contracts and exposure.²¹² The organization from its outset emphasized respectability in that it sought to elevate particular forms of music, promoted conservatory-trained musicians, and relied on established social networks of upwardly middle-class Black folks to lead the organization. Indeed, their emphasis on trained musicians induced some tensions in its early formations.

Wellington Adams in the *Washington Bee* critiqued the composition of the organization. When the organizers held the first meeting, prominent artists accounted for the bulk of attendees. Adams stated, “In the special meeting held a few local teachers and musicians were present, and a limited few at that, because no notice was given others who wished to attend, and as I see it, this conference was intended mostly for outsiders of reputable standing in the musical world, those deemed as artists merely.”²¹³ Instead, Adams argued, it was the “common people, they of the music-loving interest, the thousands of insignificant music teachers, choir directors, choir members, local chorals and the like” that should be a part of the organization.²¹⁴ Adams also questioned the rationale to exclude the groups who make artists relevant. “It doesn’t matter how great an artist thinks himself, if the common people do not want his ‘wares,’ the artist is just plain so and so... I admire organization and desire it, but not at the price of a ‘partridge’ or at the will of a ‘great I am.’”²¹⁵ The argument is significant for a couple of reasons. First, Adams, a classically trained pianist, was one of the original musicians consulted to organize the association. Second, despite the privilege that Adams attained as both a male and trained musician, he had foresight to recognize the importance of the entire Black music public for the

success of the organization. Thus, it was resolved that the organization recognized membership for artists, educators, and composers.²¹⁶

The NANM endeavored to establish itself as an organization whose purpose included elevating Black music appreciation. To do this, the organization made a distinction between the music of Black folks and indigenous Americans, compared its musical greats with White artists, and argued that Black music was America's folk music. In the article, *Musings*, Leonard Liebling asserted that while both the "Indian and Negro started as savages, the Negro forged far ahead of his red brother... [because, even though] rhythm was the outstanding characteristic of primitive Indian music...the Negro has developed infinitely more complex, resourceful, and interesting rhythm."²¹⁷ Reprinted in the *Chicago Defender*, Holt introduced to a Black audience the conversations about the development of Black music by the wider public in White publications. Marian Anderson, NANM's first scholarship recipient and a high school student at the time, "exhibited a voice equal to that Rosa Raisa, the wonderful contralto of the Chicago Grand Opera Company and every one stood and acclaimed her with the cries of bravo, while tears of joy were in the eyes of many of the musicians who felt that the dawn of a new era in music has arisen for [Black] people."²¹⁸ Anderson's comparison to an established White operatic soprano provided evidence of her musical advancement. Only a teenager, the comparison to Raisa and the increasing interest in White music world's interest in Black music's development provided proof of the equality, if not superiority, of Black music. But it was not enough to be compared. The NANM wanted to gain the respect of White audiences, which meant increasing the "high class numbers" offered at music stores. Therefore, the NANM encouraged Black audiences to request and purchase more than ragtime and blues. In proving purchasing power and range of musical art form, NANM hoped to demonstrate Black musicians' equality with

White musicians. NANM also agreed with Dvorak and Kriehbel's assertion that "the only American folk song was that produced by the Negro" and concurred with the opinion that Black music was the only form of music that was "stamped with the character of the race."²¹⁹ Hence, the NANM understood that importance of the moment and what was at stake: the progress of Black music and the race.

From the beginning, NANM included women as a part of leadership. Nora Douglas Holt, an accomplished pianist and editor of a music column, was the co-founder and vice president of NANM. The focus of this section of the chapter examines the various women who navigated within the organization. I argue that, because the NANM was a Black institution, Black women had more latitude to be vocal and advocate on behalf of their gender. Despite an effort to make the NANM a monument to the "higher class" of music, Black women saw that there was utility in all facets of music types and publicly advocated for the inclusion of all Black music despite the NANM efforts to promote a politics of respectability. I illustrate the ways in which Black women navigate the patriarchal organization by examining, first, Emma Azalia Hackley's critique of the newly-formed organization. Then I explore Nora Douglas Holt's power as a columnist for the *Chicago Defender* and owner of the *Music and Poetry* to assert her expertise as an entrepreneur and musician. Lastly, I conduct an analysis of speeches given by the first woman president of NANM, Lillian LeMon, and later president Camille Lucie Nickerson. As members of the institution, their critiques and words have relevancy. They elevated the role of Black women in the organization and in the larger music world.

Because they played an instrumental part in the organization, a brief introduction of each woman follows. Emma Azalia Smith Hackley (E.A. Hackley, hereafter), a Detroit native, was a music genius who strongly identified with her Black ancestry, provided immense leadership, and

supported Black music. E.A. Hackley was the first Black person to earn a degree from the University Denver School of Music.²²⁰ Nora Douglas Holt was a co-founder of the NANM. She was also a classically-trained musician who wrote a column in the *Chicago Defender* and owned a magazine publication. Much of what is known about Lillian LeMon exists in the NANM archival materials. She, like Holt and Nickerson, was a trained pianist. Camille Lucie Nickerson, a native of Louisiana, earned her bachelor and master's degrees from Oberlin Conservatory of Music. Additionally, Nickerson collected and recorded over one hundred creole folk music pieces, of which she arranged fifty of them.²²¹ Hackley, Holt, LeMon, and Nickerson left their imprint on NANM through their advocacy and desire to promote racial uplift and progress. Early on, Hackley demonstrated her investment in the direction of the organization and its potential to chart the future of Black music, despite not being a formal member of the board.

In a letter published August 14, 1920 in the *New York Age*, E.A. Hackley challenged the NANM to recognize the community as an integral part of music. Choosing to write to the *New York Age* also meant that Hackley addressed the readership most likely to view Black folk music as a musical form that failed to demonstrate the intellectual and creative production of Black musicians and composers. The editor of *New York Age*, Lucien White, was a classically trained pianist and solidly middle class (as were most of his readers). He, along with other middle class Black musicians and supporters, regarded European classical music as the pinnacle of musical genius. He ascribed to the notion of highbrow music and demonstrated a disdain for Black vernacular music that infiltrated the music scene. His column aided in intensifying this belief.²²² Despite the difference in opinion, White published Hackley's letter "without comment."²²³ Hackley was not a stranger to readers: she was a social activist, role model, and singer. She organized community concerts and mass folk festivals that featured both classical and folk

music; traveled across the U.S., including the Jim Crow south, to train anyone who wanted to sing during the festivals; and her Chicago-based Vocal Normal Institute was also responsible for many concerts aimed at fundraising to support Black students to go to Europe for training.²²⁴ She believed that there had to be a mindset to create and communicate and that communication developed through song. Thus, Hackley's classically trained background brought in the crowds and she used that training to teach Negro spirituals to connect the elite with the working class and the church.²²⁵ While Hackley's views on music differed from White's, her standing in the community and previous work for *New York Age* meant that her voice and opinions had the power to not be censored by the editor.

Hackley used the article to talk about and highlight the importance of folk song. She reminded the readers of her efforts to advance "Negro music" - and not European classics as middle-class musicians/middle class preferred - as a mission that was biblical, almost, to convert the masses to the belief in the importance and beauty of folk music. She derided the Black musicians who bragged about teaching the masters but did not count Black composers as "masters." Indeed, their explicit condemnation of Black folk music and Black composers was considered warfare, in Hackley's opinion.²²⁶

The fighting within and outside of Black music was warfare, according to Hackley, and was nonsensical. She asserted that local musicians did a disservice to Nathaniel Dett, a musical legend in Black service, by not promoting Black music and composition. She pointed out that, "Dett's suite, Juba, has yet to be played by Blacks but since White musicians are dabbling in the 'Bottoms,'" perhaps then Black musicians would take an interest.²²⁷ She accused elitist musicians' recent interest in racial pride as a way for them to promote the idea that the race was lucky to count them among the number. Furthermore, the same musicians came home to roost

when they figured out that being an artist was hard and financially unrewarding. Their newfound race consciousness was a result of Black musicians' limited options in mainstream and their disregard for their race was a thorny issue for Hackley. She believed that they exploited Black folk music as way to "earn praise, encores, and to get racial support" from Black audiences when the highbrow (including White) audiences refused to listen to their music and when their expensive European and African tours resulted in indebtedness.²²⁸ Hackley hoped that the role of the NANM would be to teach the Black public about the wily ways of musicians that use Black public ignorance to line their pockets when they took them for granted otherwise. She expressed interest in and appreciation for the NANM, but remained skeptical that the officers would promote the uplift of music as a community good.

Hackley believed in the spirituality of music. And she deemed her Christian mission to be the uplifting of music as the province of the community, not the gifted few. Using the term, "warfare," Hackley emphasized the gravity of the moment. She was careful to remind the readers of the *New York Age* that she was not above discrimination and recounted an international and domestic example. The discrimination abroad occurred when she applied to be a delegate for a Christian event that was to be held in Japan but was asked to pay \$125 more than the other White delegates by the tour agency "unless [she] knew another lady of race to occupy the upper berth of a two-berth stateroom."²²⁹ Hackley responded that she "refused to pay more than any other delegate for the privilege of attending a convention of Christians meeting in a country of colored people."²³⁰ In her hometown of Detroit, Hackley was denied the ability to use a music hall despite paying a deposit and signing a contract: "After going all over the U.S. and after having the best auditoriums, to come to my hometown, Detroit, where my family has paid taxes since 1845...to receive a 'color' surprise of such magnitude adds another shock to my already broken

down nervous system.”²³¹ Hackley’s mission was a difficult burden that wore down her health. Throughout the letter-to-the-editor, she dispersed comments of her failing health resulting from her tireless and lonesome work on behalf of Black folk music. This strategy demonstrated Hackley’s commitment to Black music as a form of activism, of which she hoped that the NANM would take up as an integral part of its organization.²³²

She also called Black musicians to task for the ways that they dismissed Black folk music and, by extension, the community. Because Hackley was a classically-trained musician, her comments seemed even more caustic. Her letter, according to White, caused a stir among readers. He received several replies but chose to reprint a letter in response without the author’s name. He withheld the “gentleman’s name because he did not have permission to use it.”²³³ In that anonymous reply, the writer argued that Hackley labeled herself as the poor suffering servant and questioned her assertion that she, alone, was responsible for the racial progress and uplift in Black music. While Hackley may have omitted the work of other Black musicians and only highlighted her contributions, as a writer to a letter-to-the-editor column, she did not err in her providing her opinion. White wrote that he “printed her letter without comment,” which absolved him of any responsibility for her words and his failure to disclose the name of the response writer was peculiar.

In the end, however, Hackley used the *New York Age* as a platform to advance her activism and to shame the Black music elite. Her letter also created an opportunity to have a voice in charting the course of the NANM, despite not being an officer or board member. Her letter elevated the conversation about the importance of Black vernacular music and challenged the music elite to see the Black community as just as important as international and White audiences. Finally, Hackley warned the Black music elite to stop exploiting Black audiences for

their personal gain and called out their strategic use of the community for the Black public to see. It struck a chord among the men, according to White, and they felt compelled to respond and prove Hackley wrong. Hackley's extensive work in the community and her background as a classically trained artist proved to be too great an obstacle. Subsequent meeting minutes of the NANM show that her efforts (and others) to promote folk music in the organization worked.²³⁴

Nora Douglas Holt, cofounder and vice president of NANM and editor of *Music and Poetry*, was a vocal advocate for the organization and protected her personal interests as well. One of the goals of the organization was to establish an official bulletin. At the NANM convention, the board voted to use the *Negro Musician* (established by Henry Grant, the president of NANM) rather than publish in *Music and Poetry*, which had taken "a high place in the world of journalism by virtue of its merit and attractiveness."²³⁵ Not everyone agreed with using the *Negro Musician*; in fact, there was a faction that vigorously argued in defense of *Music and Poetry*. Even though people felt that the *Music and Poetry* journal was a better journal, as a compromise it was decided that Grant's organ and Holt's would merge, which occurred under the guise that the organization did not want tension between the president and vice president. In a personal letter to Lucien White, Holt shared that the merger between her journal and Grant's had failed.

Holt alleged that Grant made demands that she was unwilling to oblige: he wanted her to buy his floundering magazine. Even though she wrote the letter privately, Lucien White disclosed her name (despite withholding the man's name who had critiqued Hackley's response) and published it in its entirety. She stated that she "made one investment the first month when my magazine was launched and have not even had a deficit since and owe no one in the world. Of course, men are supposed to have better business minds than women, but I made the journal

go and the opportunities are yet unlimited.”²³⁶ In response, Lucien White said that Holt “can hardly be blamed for her sly dig at the men. She deserves commendation of the highest sort for the splendid success achieved from an artistic and literary viewpoint, and it is doubly meritorious if, at the same time, she has won financial independence.”²³⁷ Holt’s statement and White’s response are important. They show that despite the strength of her journal, Holt still had to compete against and compromise with a male-led journal that was not as successful just to prove that her journal was worthy. Holt’s unwillingness to be used and her shrewd business sense enabled her to walk away from the merger. Grant thought that he could change the terms of the merger after the convention and that she would not be smart enough to recognize that the purchase would have been a financially poor decision.

Even as White commended her journal, he cast doubt on her financial record. In the *New York Age* article, he wrote that wealthy donors may have financed Holt’s journal. He applauded her artistic and creative efforts, but provided an alternative source of her financial success. Similar to White’s strategy in Hackley’s letter-to-the-editor response, he appeared to be judicious in publishing their letters. However, it is evident that White held particular beliefs about the contributions of women: while he had no retort to offer Hackley, his follow-up column referred to her letter as caustic and published only the response of men. In Holt’s case, he published a personal letter that she had written to him, then tried to cast doubt on her financial acumen. Clearly, women wrote to the *New York Age*; however, White responded or used the responses of other men to comment on the words of two well-respected Black women. Despite his efforts to control the reception of messages, however, public spaces like the *New York Age* provided an opportunity for educated Black women to advocate on behalf of themselves and their interests.

Holt's position of privilege as a classically-trained, middle-class woman entrepreneur, provided the opportunity for her to be vocal about the direction of the organization and to speak publicly about organizational business. She followed decorum by acquiescing and allowing the organization to vote on the merger of her journal with Grant's floundering company. When the terms of the agreement were not kept, Holt was able to demonstrate that she acted in the best interest of her business and the organization by terminating the agreement. Even though she had a well-established reputation as a musician and entrepreneur, which provided her the agency to be vocal, men like Lucien White casted aspersions on her independent success. Thus, respectability allowed Holt entry into leadership spaces but her gender prevented her from being fully embraced as an equal.

As the organization matured, Black women gained seats in significant leadership roles with the NANM organization. Nora Douglas Holt was the cofounder and vice president of NANM and she created spaces to engage in leadership despite the obstacles she faced because her gender. In the organization's meeting meetings and in the musical criticism column that she wrote for *The Chicago Defender*, Holt provided justification for the creation and support of NANM. The weekly column served as an important vehicle to promote the scholarships, meetings, and events to the wider Black community. Notwithstanding her early work in the organization, it took more than ten years for NANM to elect a woman as president. The following section explores three presidential addresses by women: Lillian LeMon's 1931 and 1933 speeches and Camille Lucie Nickerson's short message to the convention in 1937. Although their messages were similar in content, their speech style of speaking differed—LeMon's used flowery speech and metaphors of home and creation in her 1931 speech and the

metaphor of a machine and explicitly addressed men and boys in her 1933 speech while Nickerson's brief speech was brief and results-oriented.

Lillian LeMon was the first woman to hold the position of president. In her address, she stated, "I hope that you are not disappointed in me" immediately following the acknowledgement that she was the first woman president.²³⁸ Using inclusive language, LeMon referred to the rest of the board and the members as her co-workers. Aside from the beginning of the speech, LeMon used "we" throughout the remainder of the speech. She stated, "We want the artist, the teacher, the composer, and the music lovers to feel that there is a place for him and that he is a part of this big family. We want everyone to be assured that music is not restricted to a favored few, but to help cultivate it in everyone who desires it. Let everyone help his neighbor; and everyone faith to his brother: 'Be of good courage.'"²³⁹ Additionally, LeMon appeared to only use the pronoun "he" to stand in as the artist, teacher, composer, and music lover. This approach, coupled with LeMon's reluctance to acknowledge her personal success as president (she would be re-elected several times), demonstrated that, as the first woman president, LeMon was hesitant to engage her leadership in a way that offended male members.

LeMon also used an agricultural metaphor in her 1931 speech. LeMon believed that music was "cultivated" and grew with practice and adequate resources. Additionally, LeMon stated, "let us gather in the beautiful seeds of enthusiasm and love for our chosen art at this convention and carry them back to our branches so that by our next convention there shall be so many blossoms that everyone will know us by our fruit and we shall grow in love for the best in music and our national association for negro musicians will live forever."²⁴⁰ In this passage, LeMon used the words "seeds," implied a planting of those seeds by the "carrying them back to [the] branches," and "blossoms" and "fruit" as evidence of their growth in the community.

LeMon continued this same style of speaking in her 1933 address and added the metaphors of home, war, and machines. Acknowledging the Depression, she stated, “I realize that we musicians have been handicapped by the 'so called depression' but we should be stronger from the experience. We need music and the generous, loving charitableness that goes hand in hand with it more now than during the World's war. We in reality are at war between the spiritual and material things.”²⁴¹ LeMon saw music as spiritual and stated that the Depression could not defeat the spiritual. While people may struggle to purchase things, music was a gift that should be continued, especially when communities faced difficult times: “Music which is all spiritual, is combating each day with these mechanical devices such as the radio and vitaphone and unless we arise and say to ourselves that we must demonstrate that music is one of the most vital things in our cultural development and prove to all the absolutely necessity of music in our daily program, we shall have missed the mission which our organization has set out to fulfill.”²⁴² The material things, innovation, had the potential to displace the need for the organization. Additionally, LeMon’s privileging of live music ensured that teachers and musicians could continue to secure employment. In LeMon’s words, the organization was under attack: people criticized the organization and were losing their faith in the mission of NANM because of innovations in the music industry, like the inexpensive 78-rpm phonograph-disk. Alluding to industrial innovation and as disorienting as the Depression may have been, LeMon asserted that the organization was a “big wheel” and the “little wheels have to run well in order for the big wheel to run well.”²⁴³ She went on to admonish current office holders and warn future office holders that they must perform the duties of the office in order to have a superior running machine. LeMon’s use of “wheel” is different from the more flowery parts of her previous speech. The shift from an agricultural metaphor to a more machine-focused metaphor may have

been a way for LeMon to incorporate language more familiar to the period (i.e., industrial) to connect with her audiences.

Despite a family's financial situation, LeMon asserted that it was the home where music was cultivated first. Music, LeMon argued, was the way that parents bestowed upon "him the very best heritage." She addressed the music teachers as instrumental in the success of the destiny of the nation because "a nation is judged by its type of music... and that [they must] take care [to] guide...student[s] in the right way." She addressed the boys in the audience and stated that "music creates real friendship. It is the password to cultural society. Boys, do not let anyone discourage you, for men have more opportunities to use musical education than women do."²⁴⁴ LeMon contended that music was just as important as other subjects taught in classes and parents had the onus to encourage and foster musical taste. Additionally, even though LeMon served as president of the NANM, she knew that Black men still financially dominated the Black music industry despite the gains that women had earned in leadership positions. This could have signaled to the audience that LeMon was upholding respectability politics. That is, music education could be fostered at home. Girls and boys were equal in that endeavor; however, the economic outcome ultimately for boys was far greater. But while she often used words of inclusion and flowery language to present her speeches, LeMon used that speaking opportunity to lay bare the hypocrisy of the music field. The NANM promoted music education, composition, teaching, and love of music within Black communities. It provided an outlet for Black musicians to instill racial pride and to illustrate racial progress. She agreed that both boys and girls learn character and community lessons from music, yet explicitly encouraged boys to see the value in their participation in music. However, adding that boys can go farther in their musical careers than girls showed that LeMon was cognizant of the disparities and uneven

playing field that existed in music. By saying it, rather than passing judgment, she allowed the audience to resolve for themselves the error in outcomes.

Unlike LeMon's style of speech, Camille Lucie Nickerson's 1937 president's message was brief and focused on the results that she accomplished as president. Nickerson's second year was a successful one. She established competitive scholarships to promote classically trained musicians and revived the NANM's bulletin/magazine.²⁴⁵ Also during Nickerson's tenure, the organization created exhibitions to demonstrate the work produced by the NANM branches and to share photographs and publications by Black musicians.²⁴⁶ To build the next generation of musicians, Nickerson focused on developing the junior musicians' branches and adding more member branches into the NANM.²⁴⁷ Finally, she established a convention chorus in order to standardize the music process at each convention.²⁴⁸ Her speech began with a salutation to her "Co-workers in the Cause of Music" and stated, "It is because of your interest and work and faith that we have been able to see some of our labors come to fruition in the past two years – the brief period of the present administration." Nickerson prefaced her list of accomplishments with the caveat that she was not in her position long, however, she and her administration were successful. She ended the message with a thanks to those who had "cooperated so splendidly" and "faith in the present administration." This was in sharp contrast to LeMon's plea to the members and office holders that they work with her to move the organization forward. Also, included in the president's message was a photographed black and white image of Nickerson in a formal gown. An accomplished pianist and composer, the photograph selected to accompany her message did not show her sitting at a piano or composing music. The image denoted middle-class status and an adherence to politics of respectability. Perhaps that image was selected to

dictate the types of people that made up the NANM or that her leadership and wealth were things that musicians and members of NANM should aspire to be and achieve.

Nora Douglas Holt, Lillian LeMon, and Camille Lucie Nickerson were accomplished and classically-trained musicians. Prior to the 1940s, NANM was almost exclusively made up of classical musicians and teachers. Holt, Lemon, and Nickerson exemplified the types of musicians that the organization promoted. E. Azalia Hackley, noting the individuals on the board, questioned their ability to promote Black music in addition to European classical music. Her activism in communities demonstrated her interest in creating spaces for the working class to find a space in an exclusive club of middle-class, educated, elite musicians. Because of the period, it is unclear whether Holt, LeMon, or Nickerson could have done more within organization to include folk music and working class Black folks. What is evident, however, is that there was a shift in leadership over time and eventually the organization transitioned to be more inclusive of Black music genres.

The National Association of Negro Musicians promoted classical music, education, and teaching in the early twentieth century. A Black institution, members were organized and committed to using music to elevate the progress of the race. But the organization also promoted a politics of respectability. NANM defined the types of music that promoted progress. It made class distinctions based on music composition and established contests so that judges could award composers who displayed formal education in their musical arrangements. Finally, when the organization advocated for Black classically-trained composers and public teachers, they meant men. Despite the organization's efforts, women found agency in the spaces afforded to them.

Nora Douglas Holt was both the cofounder and vice president of the organization, which indicates that the organization valued the support of women. It would take more than ten years however, before the organization elected a woman as president of NANM. So, while women were present from the beginning, their initial positions were support positions. The vice president role was largely administrative and only filled the role of president whenever the president was absent. Hackley, Holt, LeMon, and Nickerson advocated on behalf of the race through their letters and speeches. They also illustrated through their various leadership roles – creator of the Chicago-based Vocal Normal Institute, owner/editor of a successful and prominent music journal, editor of a weekly musical criticism column for the largest Black newspaper, and executive officer positions – that women were capable leaders. In fact, after LeMon's election two additional women would accept the presidency role: Maude Roberts George and Camille Lucie Nickerson, respectively. Finally, it is important to note that women were instrumental in the development of youth branches of the NANM. They understood that if the mission was to advance the race through music, they could not wait until the music student was in high school like the first scholarship recipient, Marian Anderson. So, they addressed them directly in their annual messages and worked with local communities to bring their labor to fruition. Hackley, Holt, LeMon, and Nickerson differed in speech styles and garnered different outcomes; however, that diversity speaks to the various ways that women lead, and succeed, when given an opportunity.

It is important to note that the speech diversity is tied to the medium that the women used to communicate to audiences. Newspapers, and race papers in particular, have a history of allowing Black women to be more critical and open in voicing displeasure, righting wrongs, and advocating on behalf of their race and gender. So, the liberties with which Hackley and Holt used

the press to voice concern and to craft their identities was a common tactic. In the case of LeMon, as the first woman president, her speaking style was similar to a feminine style of speaking, which would have been common for the period.²⁴⁹ Like Holt's administrative acumen, Nickerson's style of speaking gained acceptance because her speech demonstrated the administrative success that she achieved and, in Black communities, administrative expertise was valued regardless of gender. Thus, while their speeches and writings were diverse, there was a precedent that existed that allowed for this diversity.

Black women, when given the opportunity, flourished in organizations. Illustrated by their success in the NANM, Black women held the organization accountable to its members, grew the organization, refused to be exploited monetarily, and openly critiqued the organization's mission and goals. The Black women were educated and middle-class. Hackley, Holt, LeMon, and Nickerson had substantial reputations that afforded them the opportunity to join, lead, and be critical of the direction of NANM. The visibility of Black women in the NANM meant that even though they had agency to lead, there was immense pressure to be successful -- especially for the first woman president, Lillian LeMon. Even though it took more than ten years for the first woman to be elected president, women proved their mettle and were elected and reelected.

Black women who joined IWW, however, did not enjoy the same luxury. They were outnumbered both by gender and race, which meant that, other than their labor, they were invisible.²⁵⁰ The invisibility of Black women in the IWW made it hard to understand what roles, if any, they held. IWW used pamphlets to rhetorically engage with Black workers while the Black women who were members of NANM wrote in newspaper columns, owned publication outlets, led the NANM, and gave speeches to foster racial pride and chart the course for Black

music. Based on the pamphlets that were circulated, IWW felt that issues of race would be solved by the class argument, which meant that the IWW did not truly understand the lived experience of Black workers. Perhaps if there was evidence that IWW had provided significant opportunities for Black women to lead and organize, the outcome for membership would be different. Integrated unions were good in theory but difficult to execute in reality, especially in the early twentieth century.

Bronzeville encouraged a range of pursuits and Black women were at the center of it all as educators, musicians, entrepreneurs, and leaders. Even when they were excluded from formal positions of leadership, Black women used the press to ensure that their voices were heard. Integrated unions that focused on class-based arguments like the IWW sought Black labor but it was Black organizations, like NANM, that offered Black women significant opportunities to fully participate and lead. NANM, and its drive to promote classical music as a form of respectability politics, gained a powerful ally in the church. Black churches encouraged the use of classical music during service and “promoted social programs on hygiene and domestic arts and sermons on public behavior” to teach Black migrant women and men how to navigate urban life.²⁵¹ The next chapter investigates the ways in which Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church advanced heteronormative values through their sermons and church memorabilia.

Chapter 4 Respectability and Restraint in the Church

“Through him we have also obtained access by faith into this grace in which we stand, and we rejoice in hope of the glory of God. More than that, we rejoice in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not put us to shame, because God’s love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us.”- Romans 5:25

The power and centrality of the Black Church in Black life cannot be understated. As a source of spiritual nourishment, educational opportunity, political activity, and commerce, the Black Church served as the beating heart of communities. Completely owned and operated by Blacks, the Black Church served as evidence of Black freedom and success.²⁵² In that space, they were unburdened by the gaze of outsiders, had a sense of belonging and equal footing among economic classes, and nurtured social and business relationships.²⁵³ During the Great Migration, these institutions served another purpose: to acclimate rural migrants to the urban landscape. Migrants who escaped the South in search of work also brought with them a desire to continue their religious practices. Churches dotted the South and West side of Chicago to accommodate the Black migrants, and in some cases, southern migrants established churches of their own.²⁵⁴

In this chapter, I explore the ways in which Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church articulated gender expectations in their sermons and church memorabilia. Understanding how the Black Church served as resource during immense change in a transitioning Black urban city allows us to trace the leadership roles that women held in the early twentieth century church. My comparative analysis aims to understand how Black women utilized the varying positions of autonomy and power to shape sermons and social services through the church. I argue that, despite the difference in institutional structure, Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church communicate messages of decorum that attempt to instruct Black women migrants, in particular, how to perform socially acceptable

womanhood.²⁵⁵ Indeed, it was the influx of often poor, minimally-educated, single Black women and girl migrants that spurred the churches into action. Labeled as destitute, promiscuous, or at the very least vulnerable to the vices of the city, churches advocated personal responsibility, the embracing of adversity, and fidelity to righteousness. First, I briefly introduce the two institutions. Second, I follow with a textual analysis of sermons and anniversary books from each church in order to understand what institutional messages the churches sent with respect to gender.²⁵⁶ Finally, I speculate about the ways in which the churches addressed morality in Bronzeville by uncovering how gender is embodied or masked in the churches' rhetorical practices.

Black women and girls migrated from the South with a strong affinity for the Church and the desire to create a spiritual home in their new city. Churches struggled to accommodate the number of migrants and their needs, which led to variety of storefront and ecumenical churches that popped up. The outgrowth of the migrants was a return to the social gospel to accommodate and acclimate the strangers. Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist are two churches that were especially attuned to the needs of the newcomers. They attempted to meet the varying spiritual, economic, and social needs of the Black migrants. Implicit in their efforts was a desire to ease the tensions that existed between the migrants and the established Black Chicagoans by espousing heteronormative gender expectations.

While the Black Church was eager to accommodate the influx of migrants, there were unique challenges to that desire. According to Reverend Lacy Williams, the pastor of Olivet Baptist Church, while Black folk migrated for “new, better environments and living conditions... justice and better police protection... best educational advantages... industrial opportunities... better wages and improved religious opportunities” they often found “strenuous

economic and complex social conditions. During the slow and tedious process of assimilation they sometimes lose hope and inspiration that led them to town.”²⁵⁷ Churches had to demonstrate their ability to speak to varying needs of the migrants while also balancing the needs of their existing congregations.

Situated on the South Side, the churches varied in their approaches to ministry and migration. Olivet Baptist Church had a long and enthusiastic history of accepting migrants. Indeed, the number of social programs that Olivet provided made them a community resource for all – not just their congregation. While men led as pastors and deacons, women served in administrative and care-taking roles. As a hierarchical body that reported into the National Baptist Convention, the lack of opportunities for women to be ordained and participate in leadership roles in the church was common. Jacqueline Grant’s study of churches concluded that there was a greater likelihood for women to be “accorded greater participation on the decision-making boards of smaller rather than larger churches.”²⁵⁸

Effectively shut out from pulpits, women established churches of their own. Reverend Mary Evans led Cosmopolitan Community Church, the second institution that I study. Evans is an exception. Rather than building her own church as was customary for women pastors in the early twentieth century, Cosmopolitan Community Church hired Evans to lead the church. Reverend Evans’s plainspoken sermons and focus on women and children demonstrated the church’s commitment to provide resources for families. Indeed, she was responsible for many programs that were open to all community members, not just those in the church. Illustrated through the institutional documents, Olivet Baptist Church and Cosmopolitan Community Church advocated for a respectability politics that aimed to *teach* women and girls how to be “good” race women, albeit in different ways. Cosmopolitan Community Church’s female pastor

served as the embodiment of gender expectations, both through her performance as pastor and her oratory and through the images that she permitted to be published in their memory book. Olivet Baptist Church's heteronormative gender expectations were illustrated through the pastors' sermons and photograph selection and text in their anniversary book. Both churches, through their respective documents, aimed to not only teach them how to be good race women but also how to be good wives and mothers.



Figure 4. Cosmopolitan Community Church. Original Structure. Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

Cosmopolitan Community Church

Located on the Southside of Chicago at 5249 S.

Wabash Avenue, Cosmopolitan Community Church

“is a happy tithing church” (fig. 4).²⁵⁹ However, that

was not always the case. Established in 1926 and

pastored by Reverend Harvey, the small church

struggled to maintain membership. Cosmopolitan

Community Church was financially on the brink of ruin. Marjorie Stewart Joyner, one of the founders of the church, advocated for a new direction in leadership and led the charge to hire Reverend Mary G. Evans.

Familiar to Cosmopolitan Community Church, Reverend Evans preached as a guest pastor on previous occasions. Installed as the pastor in January 1931, she found that “its property was run down...with scarcely over a hundred members and a heavy indebtedness on the church.”²⁶⁰ Reverend Evans's discipline and the “Biblical method of church finance” turned around the church's misfortunes: “Dr. Evans introduced the Tithe system of Malachi 3:10, and assert[ed] that the scripture has stood the test. With a well-defined program and an unusual

service, Dr. Evans has made Cosmopolitan one of the outstanding churches of the city and nation.”²⁶¹ Cosmopolitan Community Church prided itself on having no entertainment and sole reliance on tithing and public contributions to sustain its numerous services.²⁶² The church noted proudly that the “electric cross in [the] chancel, the cathedral community service, the baptism bowl and the modern bulletin board on the church lawn are gifts from...members and friends.”²⁶³ By the end of 1936, the church erased the debt on its second mortgage and had a surplus.²⁶⁴ Reverend Evans proved to be responsible for Cosmopolitan Community Church’s legacy as its second pastor.

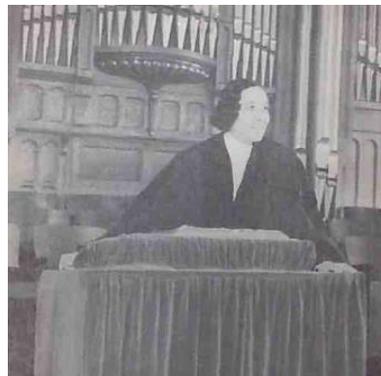


Figure 5. Cosmopolitan Community Church. Pastor Evans. Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

Born on January 13, 1891 in Washington, D.C. and orphaned by the death of her parents, Reverend Mary Evans was the youngest of four girls (fig. 5).²⁶⁵ An aunt who lived in Evanston, Illinois reared her. Planting the seeds of fidelity to the Church, Reverend Evans’s aunt was also the wife of a minister.²⁶⁶ Evans gave her first sermon, at age twelve, in Quinn Chapel, a church located on Chicago’s South Side.²⁶⁷ An accomplished and educated woman, Evans attended Wilberforce University and completed graduate work at Butler and Columbia universities and the University of Chicago.²⁶⁸ Additionally, she served as the first Black national student secretary of the Y.W.C.A. and as a pastor of two Indianapolis churches before pastoring Cosmopolitan Community Church in Chicago. Shrewd with money, she erased the \$36,000 debt, modernized the building, and opened a community center that housed health clinics and care for pre-school children as well as a home for elderly women of the church.²⁶⁹ Reverend Evans pastored Cosmopolitan Community Church for 35 years.²⁷⁰

An interdenominational church located in Bronzeville, Evans served as the human embodiment of the Cosmopolitan Community Church. Specifically, her leadership led to the church's success and structure. She dedicated her life to the church, and while she never married, she "had two long-term relationships with women."²⁷¹ Her sexuality and gender presents another perspective in the potentialities that women-led congregations like Cosmopolitan Community Church offered women to be able to hold significant leadership positions. Bronzeville had a "visible and well-accepted" queer community and Evans was one its most "powerful" members.²⁷² Thus, Cosmopolitan Community Church provided a safe place for all believers.

Her unmarried status meant that she betrothed her life to the Church. Reverend Evans never spoke openly about her personal life beyond the church walls. Indeed, the church consumed her life. Her plain attire -- black pants, tie, white shirt, and black robe, makeup free face, and insistence on no jewelry or embellishments -- illustrated her desire to minimize herself and allow the Church to speak through her. A common strategy of female pastors during this time, she referred to the Church in the pronouns "her" and "she," which privileged the church's femaleness. Evans provided spiritual evidence for her right to serve as pastor by emphasizing nurturing and a caring of/for the spirit and the flesh.

In addition to her leadership, the church offered many programs such as the Girl Scout Troop No. 258, Cub Pack No. 3531/Boy Scout Troop No. 531, and the Social Service Club. Of the nineteen departments, fourteen women accounted for the heads of each unit. My focus on Evans is not to privilege her as an exemplar but rather to demonstrate that Cosmopolitan Community Church flourished because of Evans's leadership. Exploring her sermons as official institutional documents allows us to understand the strategies that Evans used as a leader in the church. Articulated through her sermons, the following themes emerged which locate Evans in

the rhetoric of racial uplift through the politics of respectability: accountability, loyalty, and hope.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, debates about the evidence of racial progress fell in distinct categories based on class, color, and gender. Some Black women believed that Black men had failed to improve the conditions the race faced economically and politically. Thus, Black women adopted manners of dress and behavior that demonstrated their progress as race women as well as provided a model for the influx of Black southern migrant women and girls. Black churches like Cosmopolitan and Olivet used their pulpit and organizations to challenge congregants to focus inwardly on themselves as a method of self-care and racial pride.

Olivet Baptist Church

Established in 1850, Olivet Baptist Church is the oldest Black Baptist church in Chicago and was an integral part of the Great Migration (fig. 6). Two men and one woman first organized the church: John Larmon, Samuel McCoy, and Sally Jackson under the name of Xenia Baptist

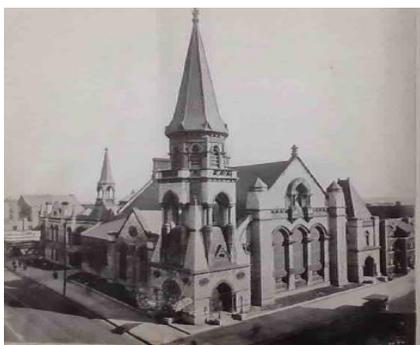


Figure 6. Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L.K. Williams," [1922], Olivet Baptist Church Collection, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.

Church in 1850.²⁷³ After three years, Annie Simpson joined them and the church was formally organized into Zoar Baptist Church in 1853.²⁷⁴ Despite having no pastor, the membership continued to increase. Eventually, the church secured a number of pastors, including a reverend who pastored Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Reverend J. F. Boulden. Combining Zoar Baptist Church and Mt. Zion Baptist Church in 1860, the congregations selected the name

“Olivet Baptist Church” to signify their new church name. Significant about Olivet Baptist Church’s beginnings is the delegation of tasks shared among the two men and two women who organized the church. Their shared commitment to the church demonstrated the importance of cooperation to keep the church afloat. After the pastors were formally installed, the hierarchical structure and decision-making came from the pastor, deacons, treasurer, and trustees – all men.²⁷⁵ Women were largely relegated to support and administrative roles.

Under the pastorate of Reverend Lacy Kirk Williams, Olivet Baptist Church played a major role in the Great Migration.²⁷⁶ They advertised their role in securing jobs and housing. The highly organized and detailed departments demonstrated not just their commitment to encourage migrants to choose Chicago but also to highlight the ways in which they were dedicated to supporting their assimilation into the city.²⁷⁷ Embracing the message of the social gospel, Olivet Baptist Church provided a variety of services to their congregants and the wider community and the church enjoyed a large following.

Reverend Lacy Kirk Williams was installed as pastor of Olivet Baptist Church in 1916 (fig. 7). He succeeded the pastor, Elijah John Fisher, and served as pastor until his death in 1940 in a five-passenger plane crash.²⁷⁸ A popular pastor who traveled extensively on behalf of the Church and politics, Williams also served as president of the National Baptist Convention and as vice president of the Baptist World Alliance in 1922.²⁷⁹ “During his leadership...Williams sent members of the church to greet the flood of poor migrants from the South and direct them to the many educational, recreational, and social services Olivet provided.”²⁸⁰ This generosity was mutually



Figure 7. Pastor L.K. Williams, Olivet Baptist Church, “Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L.K. Williams,” [1922], Olivet Baptist Church Collection, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.

beneficial for Olivet: its reputation helped to secure the migrants' church participation and membership. Nationally recognized, Reverend Williams was honored in 1928 for "distinguished religious service" by the Harmon Foundation.²⁸¹

As the head of the church, he embodied the institutional voice of Olivet. Williams was also responsible for permitting guests like the Reverend J. H. Jackson to provide sermons to his congregation. A pastor of a large Philadelphia Baptist Church, Jackson's sermon presents an opportunity to understand the continuity among denominational churches to advance notions of religious fidelity and civic participation as Christians in urban spaces. Unlike Cosmopolitan, Olivet Baptist restricted the overt rhetorical practices of women. That is, the pastors dictated where and what activities women could do in the church.

The sermons examined in this section include an analysis of texts given by Reverends Mary Evans, Lacy Kirk Williams, and Joseph Harris Jackson. Of interest are the ways in which gender and politics of respectability are illustrated in the selected sermons. First, I explore the ways in which Reverend Mary Evans's sermons communicate notions of respectability through the rhetoric of perfection. Evans's rhetoric encouraged her congregation to strive for perfection by being accountable, demonstrating loyalty, maintaining hope, and using her constructed image as an example to follow. Then, I examine how Reverends L.K. Williams and J.H. Jackson's sermons used purification through the metaphors of suffering and resilience to advance aspirational ideals. Finally, I provide a comparison of the churches to underscore the differences between the two institutions with respect to size, popularity, and competition.

“I am Going to Preach the Truth if I have to Walk out of Chicago”²⁸²

One of the ways that Cosmopolitan focused on self-care was through the rhetoric of accountability. There are approximately forty-one verses in the King James Version that address responsibility and accountability to God that span both the Old and New Testaments. Evans, however, primarily focuses on the New Testament in her sermons to explore accountability. The monitoring of Black folk in White spaces had the potential to be a burden for Black Chicagoans to bear. Nevertheless, Evans used scripture to demonstrate that the only surveillance that they should be mindful of is God.

Even though the queer community was accepted by the wider Black public, that did not imply that it was well-accepted in religious spaces. In fact, Evans’s suppression of any mention of homosexuality, including her own, within the context of sermons provided support that, perhaps, it was not welcomed in the pulpit. She was probably aware of people inside and outside of the church that commented or had an opinion about her personal relationships. Thus, when Evans preached about surveillance being under the authority of God, it may have been a subtle way to remind her parishioners that He was the final judge. Furthermore, the sermon allowed Evans to dictate decorum for her parishioners.

Using the story of the “Decision of a Traitor” and “Decision of a Politician,” she offers these examples to articulate the ever-present Father who knows the sin before it is committed and, through His love, gives an opportunity to repent and be saved (fig. 8). Evans does not lay this only at the feet of the individual, but also the community and the church. Using the book of John, Evans says, “The Book records that Jesus knew from the beginning what Judas

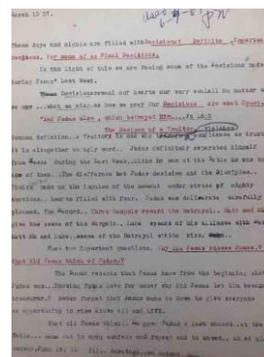


Figure 8. Sermon. Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 7], Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

was...knowing Judas' love for money why did Jesus let him become treasurer[?] Never forget that Jesus came to [s]ave to give everyone an opportunity to rise above all and LIVE."²⁸³ It is the responsibility of everyone to understand that their decisions can have lasting consequences. Illustrated through the story of Pontius Pilate, Evans asks her congregants to not compromise their beliefs to the pressures of the world. "A politician who would like to save Jesus...but who feels he must save himself... A man who might have become one of the world's greatest Judges became a vacillating [sic] cowardly politician."²⁸⁴ To demonstrate the connection of the responsibility shared by everyone, Evans lists the decisions made by the disciples, Judas, and ultimately Pilate that carried tremendous weight: "His enemies sought to put Him to death. His disciples forsook Him and fled. Judas became the most infamous of traitors. Pilate compromised his position and delivered Jesus into the hands of His enemies."²⁸⁵ Evans owned up to the responsibility that the Church had to its congregation, which guided her disciplinarian approach to her sermons.

Cosmopolitan understood the kinds of obstacles it faced and Evans laid bare the problems facing her congregation. The Great Depression had settled in earlier for Blacks. At this point, the communities had suffered from stagnant wages, unemployment, and limited resources for almost ten years. Rather than allow her congregants to succumb to despair, she turns their misfortune into a source of strength. "Not by might nor by power but my Spirit. Listen now and know; sometimes the angel of the Lord comes in the experience of great joy...with a stroke of adversity...headaches...great loss...sorrow...God loves us, and grants us new opportunities to be and to do...if you accept this, then there will be a great awakening."²⁸⁶ The competition of jobs inside and outside of Black Chicago created a "narrow mindedness, prejudice, and hurt feelings."²⁸⁷ Evans, instead implored the congregation to accept that faith without work is not

faith. That is, to receive the full abundance of His blessings, believers must accept that there will be a bit of adversity in the midst of the joy. Evans's sermon articulated respectability politics in that she advocated for restraint and thrift.

Even as she acknowledged the church's responsibility to help articulate a message of resilience, Evans continued to remind the congregation that they could not be passive to receive salvation. "Some people stay in the Church for no other reason. Theirs is an attitude of indifference. Indifference to Truth, Worship, [and] Life...Like Roman soldiers they wait by with spears to use them. Sitting down they watched Him. Watching us for the least opportunity to use the spear."²⁸⁸ Addressing members of her congregation, Evans made it clear that she understood that her audience was made up of believers and of those who would like to dismantle the spiritual work being done. She continued, "In every Church group despite the fact that the Church stands for the Kingdom of Love, they go on hating...yes even kneel here [and] every other altar...Hating. Seeking by what little influence they have to destroy that for which He died."²⁸⁹ Different from her other sermons, this particular text demonstrated her frustration with the lack of accountability on the part of some worshipers. In naming their actions, Evans opened the opportunity for them to repent, reconcile, and do the work of faith. Loyalty to the Church meant loyalty to the Kingdom. Thus, Evans stressed that idle gossip was not only an indicator of low social status but also went against the teachings of God.

The message identified a rift in the community and for Evans that was unacceptable. Having disgruntled congregants had the potential to poison her entire congregation. As a small church, that would have been devastating because Cosmopolitan needed every member to be engaged in the work of the church both materially and monetarily. It was crucial that Evans found a way to demonstrate that she was a step ahead of those that tried to secretly challenge her

leadership. Evans demonstrated her authority by bringing to light their disloyal behavior to light and defining what they did as wrong. The rumors may have been correct; however, Cosmopolitan's ability to drive the narrative precluded any argument in support of the naysayers. This strategy had the potential to shut down reasonable critiques of the church and established an expectation that Evans's leadership should never be challenged. From the perspective of the church, Evans had the experience, proven leadership, and financial success to support her strict and rule-bound approach to church operations. By using the rhetoric of the church as a stand-in for the kingdom of God for which Jesus died, Evans addressed the clandestine rumors without naming the individuals or the statements; in doing so, she reasserted her authority over the church. It also meant that as the all-knowing mother, nothing said in secret would be hidden. Treating her congregation in this manner conformed to the heteronormative gender structure: mothers ferreting out nefarious challenges to their authority and shaming them into behaving in a manner acceptable for a familial unit. Furthermore, it also had the desired impact of keeping those critiques in house/in the private spaces of the church rather than allow those statements to be consumed in the public spaces. Evans's reputation as the head of the church family would not be tarnished.

Spanning sixty-five verses, loyalty can be traced from Genesis to the book of Peter. Quoting Matthew 10:37, "He that loveth father and mother, son or daughter more than He is not worthy of Me." Evans drove home this scripture to illuminate the spiritual and real world gain in pledging fidelity to the Kingdom. She asserted that at the basic level, "a Christian makes a good father...mother...son or daughter...husband wife...friend."²⁹⁰ That is, if worshipers were loyal to their faith, what Jesus "teaches we cannot be disloyal in any capacity."²⁹¹ Thus, to be

authentically loyal to worldly relationships, at the core must be a fidelity to the teachings of Christ, and subsequently “values become real and lasting.”²⁹²

Again, Evans articulated a message of respectability. Using scriptural evidence, Evans promoted a heteronormative family structure – starts with father, then mother, then children. Placing the father first in the line of succession, Evans demonstrated his position in the family as head of the household and implied that, as the head of the household, his relationship with his faith was the most important. Second, the mother’s position as second demonstrated that Evans saw mothers in supporting roles to their husbands while maintaining authority over the children in the household. Her faith would inform the teaching of children. Finally, Evans privileges the roles of a husband and wife as greater than the responsibilities that being a friend required. That is, a marital union required the faith of both partners to be spiritually pure. There was no middle ground – if the congregant was not married, any other relationship outside of friendship failed to demonstrate fidelity to the will of God.

Evans makes a distinction between obligation and loyalty in the sermon. “I wish so much that we would distinguish between [l]oyalty and [o]bligation. To make Jesus one’s [s]upreme [l]oyalty is vastly different from obligating one’s self to a group or to an organization. When we declare allegiance to Jesus, we pledge ourselves to all for what He stands of which He approves. *Then we obligate ourselves to a cause.*”²⁹³ A number of organizations competed for the same individuals in the churches doing social service work. Evans understood that and made the case that any organization that her congregants participated in, they must first discern whether the organization and their participation is in line with their fidelity to their faith and Cosmopolitan.

At the end of 1939, not only was Black Chicago suffering from an economic downturn due to the Depression, the United States was monitoring a global war. The prospect of a hopeful

future was limited to Blacks. In a December sermon, Evans focused on the youth who were especially vulnerable to the city's entertainment stroll. She understood that the secular world's temptations tested the mettle of the youth: "for the most part Youth [are] called upon to live in a shallow superficial vulgar world... to be a part of an age of sensational movies... untruthful newspapers, high pressure advertising and pleasure seeking."²⁹⁴ She encouraged the youth to continue to dream despite the outside worries and the secular pitfalls of an urban landscape. As she had done in other sermons, Evans held them accountable despite that "the very air [they] breathe...is poisonous."²⁹⁵ She insisted that they "in a very large measure... choose the set of circumstances that will rule their lives... it is for [them] to decide whether [their] life [will] be ruled by a passion and desire for things Righteous or for gold."²⁹⁶ Although the youth were at a crossroads, Evans understood that they were capable of aspiring to the highest ideals. To achieve that, they needed to be grounded and loyal to God first.

Two observations can be made about this specific passage. First, Evans asserted that aspirational goals were proof of morality and, by extension, respectability. Implicit in Evans's critique of the city's vices, and those that succumbed to its temptations, was that they were morally bankrupt and would never achieve their highest potential because they focused on instant gratification and pleasure. However, the same establishments that she railed against often provided funding for political campaigns and church operations in Bronzeville, which meant that they were providing resources when traditional forms of lending were unavailable. Despite her sharp critique, the money earned often filtered back into the community. Second, Cosmopolitan was not a flashy church: there were strict rules of decorum, dress, and work ethic. Evans believed that the audience should be silent; short, plain-spoken sermons should be given; and only permitted singing and organ playing in the church. Yet Cosmopolitan competed against

churches whose ministers were flashy, performed sermons and singing that would emotionally charge up the audience, and encouraged congregants to audibly participate in the sermons. By attending churches where they heard sermons that preached what audiences wanted to hear and not what they *needed* to hear, Evans implied that those churches and their congregants were no different than the pleasure seekers in the city. By focusing their attention on their fidelity to God, Evans made the argument that they did not need to go to a place where His message might be obscured.

Evans's sermons provided a message of hope – no matter how faint. Cited over twenty-five times in the Bible, hope is the foundation of loyalty and accountability in order to achieve spirituality and growth. Using the metaphor of an “unshakeable foundation,” Evans emphasizes that “whether or not [a person] is conscious of what [they] are doing, everyone is building a dwelling place...for [her] soul.”²⁹⁷ Steeped in faith, a believer remains filled with hope and eschews fear and self-interest. Building climax, Evans moved the audience from the foundation of fear, to the foundation of self-interest, to the foundation of success, to the foundation of theology, then revealed to the audience that Jesus was the “One Unshakeable Foundation.”

Evans elevated the Church above theology. “Doctrine. Creeds. What bickerings have followed...split after split...all because men have built upon the Foundation of Theology. Show me the way: Instead of ‘Thus saith the Lord.’ We attempt to say this or that...personal opinion...experience... Wrong, I tell you.”²⁹⁸ She confessed the failure of churches to stay faithful to the Word. Centering sermons on the experience and opinions of pastors, rather than privileging the text and the words of Jesus, was a disservice to the ministry and to the student of faith. A person's call to faith and the obstacles to remain faithful in the face of adversity, in spite of temptations, got in the way of understanding and articulating the Word. Highlighting the

virtue of hope, Evans brought the audience back to the core of her message: the promise of a foundation built upon the everlasting Word.

This disavowal to preach about her struggles ensured that Evans's personal life outside of the church would never be discussed in the pulpit. If the congregation learned about the obstacles that Evans faced in her faith, then it would have conflicted with the carefully crafted religious journey that was widely known in the community. With her first sermon at twelve, her advanced education, international missionary work, and successful service as pastor of a church meant that Evans was the perfect Christian. There was no personal story of failure or doubt offered in her sermons to disprove that image. Based on newspaper accounts and her reticence about her life, Evans was the model of Christian perfection because she wore plain clothes and did not adorn herself with jewelry or makeup; accepted no salary (once she started to receive monetary "love offerings," she donated back to the church); she never married and dedicated her childhood and adulthood in the service of the church. Furthermore, Evans's life was evidence of her hope and faith: orphaned as a child, she was introduced to the Church by relatives that took her in, that led to international missionary work, which sparked an interest in advancing her education that ultimately permitted her to pastor several churches. Evans's reliance on the Church and not changing doctrine allowed her to consistently be rewarded.

Even though Evans was a model for Christian perfection, it had a limiting effect on her ability to connect with the average congregants' experience. She often told worshippers to worry about God's judgment; however, her acerbic sermons judged and condemned actions that she deemed were not godly, regardless of whether a person was in her congregation, in the community, or leading another church – there was no grey area for Evans. She modeled the behavior that she expected from her congregation. Like respectability politics, perfection was

unattainable. The congregants did not have the financial capacity to live up to those unrealistic ideals and the wider publics would be unwilling to see the humanity in the Black folk that are educated, middle-class, Christian, in heteronormative family structures, et cetera. Despite those contradictions, Evans understood that decorum was just as, if not more, useful for self-determination than it was for wider publics to accept Black folks so she demanded dignified and godly behavior.

Finally, returning to the message of hardship, Evans reminded her audience of the value of hope when faced with challenges and sacrifices. A key component of hope was determination: she recounted the story of a woman in the book of Matthew whose faith and hope in Jesus's healing power was so great that "she would pay any price, stand anything in order to receive the needed help."²⁹⁹ Evans asserted that in order for people to escape the burdens that they faced, they had to have a "conquering faith." Moreover, the tools to conquer the obstacles were hope, persistence, and faith. Promoting hope through self-determination, Evans's sermon illustrated the strength of decorum for the individual was its aspirational aims. Anyone could attain His grace, and respectability, if they remained committed to His teachings via her sermons.

The categories of accountability, loyalty, and hope helped to define the religious discourse used in the Cosmopolitan Community Church. Through the teachings, Evans provided a foundation for her congregants to follow to experience a spiritual awakening during difficult times and to model a particular form of respectability. Her sermons asked the audience to "work with her to realize and uncover if they have the great faith" and these inwardly reflections laid the groundwork for understanding the role of faith with respect to womanhood.³⁰⁰ Additionally, Evans's persona drove her rhetoric. Managed by her insistence on closeting her personal life and

laying bare her fidelity to the church in both manner and dress, her life provided an example for her congregation to follow.

Cosmopolitan Community Church articulated a strict viewpoint of performing Christianity and of navigating a Christian life beyond the church walls. Known to expel members who did not adhere to her guidelines, Evans's expectations of morality outside of the church were paramount. In her sermon, *The Wages of Sin is Death*, she calls out "private, select card playing," "men with two living wives and...women with two living husbands," church bazaars with door prizes, and church festivals where "smug sisters dip up just as little ice cream...a mere spoonful... and sell it for twenty-five cents."³⁰¹ Uncleanliness in the community through gambling, extramarital affairs, and profiteering, meant uncleanliness in the church. Evans was clear in her messages that Christianity was an important part of navigating both the spiritual and secular worlds. Indeed, Cosmopolitan Community Church saw no separation between them. If a member failed their moral obligations outside of church, they have defiled the church body. Cosmopolitan Community Church demanded perfection through accountability and loyalty while also providing a measure of hope to sustain congregants.

If race women were the bastion of hope for the destiny of Black communities, then forging a path that highlighted their status as being above reproach was important. She denounced the infidelity of husbands and wives, gambling, and profiteering, yet did not mention homosexuality in any of her sermons. Evans's history of lesbian relationships had the potential to disrupt the carefully crafted image of purity that she and the church worked hard to preserve. She was not immune to whispers, however, so Evans created sermons that allowed her to contest those rumors without outing her private life. She pointed out the sinful nature of the churchgoers to redirect their attention to their own private lives shrouded in the messages of accountability,

loyalty, and hope. Thus, by establishing strict rules of decorum meant no deviation from the respectability script so that her private life remained private. Olivet Baptist Church did not have the same constraints: its pastor was married and had a son. The family's presence during church services and at church events performed the visual image of what respectable Black family life was and what others could aspire to achieve.

Olivet Baptist Church and the Suffering Servant

A popular church for Black migrants and native Chicagoans, Olivet Baptist's pastors focused on teaching their audiences that to be human is to sin. Olivet Baptist Church acknowledged that there were temptations that faced the congregation.³⁰² Olivet Baptist pastor and visiting pastors used a mixture of texts and imagery to connect with its diverse body, which included Southern migrants. Both sermons, Williams's "The Lord that Doth Go Before Thee" and Jackson's "The Old Religion in the New Age," address the role of the Church in a changing world and community. I argue that Olivet Baptist's focus on purification -- couched in rhetorical suffering and resilience metaphors -- positioned the church as uniquely qualified to address the transitioning and unpredictable life of Bronzeville residents. Furthermore, the idea of purification gave the pastors a way to rhetorically influence the behavior of women and men in the congregation by prescribing respectability politics in their sermons.

Whether the community was enjoying the fruits of its successful entrepreneurship or floundering in the throes of a Great Depression, Olivet Baptist's message remained consistent -- suffering was not based on a lack of faith. Indeed, it was the most faithful who endured the greatest suffering. In a message ushering in the New Year, Reverend Williams referenced Acts 7:5 to illustrate what Abraham received for his faith: "But what Abraham expected his heirs got.

Of the patriarch[,] it is said: ‘They all died without having received the promise.’”³⁰³ Olivet Baptist was instrumental in promoting Chicago – and the church – as a prosperous and welcoming place for migrants. However, relocating to Chicago proved to be harder than migrants imagined: housing was scarce, employment was not guaranteed, and the community’s urban and rural division led to some migrants questioning their move to Bronzeville. Speaking directly to migrants, Williams asserted that “By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; ...not knowing whither he went. By faith he sojourned in the land of promise as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs of the same promise.”³⁰⁴ By using the story of Abraham, Williams reminded the congregation that, “God’s promises are fulfilled in His own way.”³⁰⁵ Olivet Baptist also downplayed the significance of the New Year to temper the congregants’ expectations.

“You are thinking, with the coming of the New Year, of the death of the past and the coming of something new in the future.”³⁰⁶ Instead, Williams emphasized that “[w]e shall [be] motivated by the same old prejudices, passions and affections. This being true, the New Year is wrongly labeled, and we are deceived and disappointed.”³⁰⁷ Williams stated, “[r]ight dreams do come true, in God’s way and time. If all were given in your own way, you would grow inactive and complacent.”³⁰⁸ Paul prayed for the removal of his handicaps but, according to Williams, “God’s answer was, ‘My grace is sufficient for thee.’”³⁰⁹ That is, God assured Paul that His unmerited favor was a greater gift than the removal of his earthly limitations. Using those examples, the pastors at Olivet Baptist reinforced the idea that the presence of suffering did not demonstrate God’s abandonment. Rather, Olivet Baptist posited that it was the congregation’s expectations that were incorrectly conceived, which led to greater despair.

Williams used male biblical figures and the pronoun “he” to speak directly to the men in the congregation. The primary audience for this part of his sermon was southern migrants; however, implied in the message to established Chicagoans was that migrants deserved empathy, and not scorn, which revealed his awareness of the tension that existed in the community between the two groups. Additionally, Williams’s use of inheritance harkened back to heteronormative gender expectations. Black women received inheritance through their husbands; single, unmarried women could only receive inheritance from their family. Thus, men who had greater access to money and property controlled the future generations of their families. As head of the household or potential households, men carried the burden of procuring a financially secure future. This meant that women were prohibited from competing against men for jobs because men either had or would have families to support.

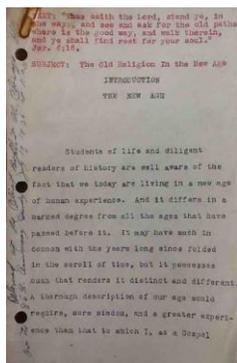


Figure 9. Sermon. Reverend J. H. Jackson papers [manuscript], Box 32, Folder 1936 June – December, “The New Age” Chicago History Museum Research Collection.

Olivet Baptist acknowledged that the way to salvation and happiness was through faith in God, determination, and acceptance of their imperfection.

Jackson discussed the implications of progress and desire for change: he feared that people would disregard religion in favor of modern tools (fig. 9).³¹⁰ The “unprecedented progress in the field of science” has made

“[m]an's experience of power, and his ability to subdue so many things that he once feared and revered has led him to a position of stern courage, a fear of nothing, and a doubt of the existence of any permanent and abiding values.”³¹¹ Casting the Bible and Jesus’ teachings as antiquated because of

the successes of education and industrialization was not the way to go about receiving salvation or happiness. To illustrate, he used several examples of ways that people tried to find happiness: buying fancy cars rather than being satisfied with a dependable car, divorcing spouses, regardless

of penalty, because they had grown weary of their partner; “follow after change and worships at the shrine of the new.”³¹² Jackson admonished churchgoers who visited church after church because of the promise of a new pastor or new sanctuary. A new church was not the answer. Rather, Jackson argued, “In the God of Jesus there is a way out of all human problems.”³¹³ He reasoned that the way to happiness was not through material acquisitions or dissolution of marriages or switching churches but rather the fidelity in God that cultivated a sense of happiness and prosperity. Olivet Baptist offered ways in which congregants, as imperfect and sinners, could navigate their Christian faith inside and outside of the church. The mixed congregation represented a variety of economic backgrounds – educated, uneducated, skilled, and unskilled. Some northern Black communities believed that the “backward” ways of southern Black migrants tarnished the reputation that they built. That is, the presence of rural migrants in their view did not promote respectability. Olivet Baptist, as a proponent of the Great Migration, constructed messages that appealed to both native and non-native Chicagoans. Jackson highlighted their value when he stated, “there seems to be more real fellowship among the men of the cotton fields of Mississippi and Georgia than among the citizens of great cities.”³¹⁴ Jackson pointed to their fellowship and faith as a reason to value the rural migrants. Jackson challenged the idea that rural migrants did not bring value to an urban space and that native-born Black Chicagoans had the most to teach their newcomers. This valuing of migrants indicated that Jackson believed that anyone could elevate their status if they promoted behavior consonant with His teachings.

The presence of migrants in the city demonstrated their desire for a better life; however, it did not mean that the city and city folk were above critique. The closeness of the city did not equate to closeness in the community. “We have been brough[t] close together, but we are still

spiritually far apart.”³¹⁵ Olivet Baptist and other churches believed that the vices of the city – gambling, prostitution, and drinking – tempted individuals to stray away from a life of spirituality and contributed to the negative stereotypes of the race. The Black enclaved city’s small size meant that people lived closer together and closer to those temptations. Interestingly, the pastors painted those vices as uniquely urban despite the existence of divorce, gambling, prostitution, and drinking in the rural South. The pastors placed the home and church as the leading authorities of respectability. The home “is more than a house and an enclosure; it is the fold, the harbor, the fortress, the sanctuary and the hall of Heaven.”³¹⁶ Pastor Williams argued that the home was where individuals learned “the value of love and being loved” and that “it [was] the reflection of Heaven on the earth.”³¹⁷ Centering the message on the influence of the home placed the burden of decorum on women. Even though men led the church and used the Bible to justify that men also lead the home, it was the responsibility of women to demonstrate and teach morality. Therefore, the responsibility of the health of the home, and by extension the Black citizen, rested on the upbringing in the home and the fidelity to the church.

Olivet Baptist focused on the role of the suffering servant. Irrespective of fortune or scarcity, the church challenged Bronzeville to place the church and God first. The sermons analyzed demonstrated that the church invested its institutional voice speaking to the challenges that their congregation faced. Overwhelmingly, the temptations facing the congregation included economic uncertainty, lure of the entertainment stroll, and lack of faith in the church. Pastors acknowledged the difficulties present in everyday life in Bronzeville; however, they offered the God’s word as a permanent and consistent voice in the midst of a transitioning world. Unlike Cosmopolitan Community Church, Olivet Baptist Church recognized the imperfection of their congregants as a starting place of commonality and humanness. Positioning imperfection as

human allowed Olivet Baptist the opportunity to connect with their congregation. Rather than browbeating their behavior, the church acknowledged the struggles and offered tangible ways that they might receive salvation. Indeed, the use of stories positioned Olivet Baptist Church as a forgiving institution and qualified to lead the congregants on the right path.

By most accounts, churches were unable to sustain the large number of migrants who settled in Chicago due to the limited size of their churches and the inability to secure loans to build larger sanctuaries. Olivet Baptist accommodated the influx better than most because it was one of the largest churches in Bronzeville. By promoting an image that reflected the embrace of the migrants, the stream of migrants would choose Olivet Baptist as their spiritual home. It was not completely altruistic: the increase in membership would mean an increase in economic security for the church to perform community initiatives and support the ministerial staff. Furthermore, by embarrassing the Black elite in the audience, Olivet Baptist demonstrated to the rural migrants that they were valued, which also worked to fill the pews. Once the migrants were in the church, Olivet Baptist's pastors centered their sermons on the behavior of men since they represented the head of the household by which everyone else followed. When the pastors discussed women, they argued that their position in the home was where they were most needed. Thus, by articulating a message of private sphere work for women, the pastors suggested that they did not approve of women competing against men for jobs because it got in the way of women teaching Christian principles at home and modeling the expected role of a wife and mother. Olivet Baptist used its institutional messages to teach newly settled Black folk how to be respectable. And, in doing so, the church also controlled the behavior and leadership possibilities of women in the church through the rhetorical practices of the pastor.

Comparison: Sermons, Gender, and Respectability

Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church used different approaches to reach their congregants, as evidenced by their sermons. The structure of the sermons varied based on the institution. As a female led institution, Cosmopolitan Community Church's sermons relied heavily on biblical texts. Evans focused on a particular passage in the Bible and built her sermons around a specific biblical chapter and verse. Williams and Jackson, however, incorporated stories, famous names, and imagery to provide textual evidence for a reliance on the church. Through a variety of strategies including argument by authority, use of narrative and focus on audience, Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church tackled respectability politics differently.

The major difference between the sermons given at Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church was their structure. Cosmopolitan used plain language and built the sermons around specific biblical passages. Olivet Baptist preachers, on the other hand, developed sermons that included stories about recognizable local, national, and international leaders. Olivet Baptist infused its sermons with stories that educated and uneducated audience could verify. For example, in one sermon, Williams cited twelve figures: Spurgeon, Tennyson, the Duke of Wellington, Napoleon, Joseph Addison, and biblical figures: David, Samson, Adam, Paul, Moses, Job, and Jacob. Jackson used the case of a "Chicago Banker," which his audiences knew referenced Jesse Binga, to reveal the perils of a life without the church. Additionally, the Cosmopolitan sermons were short in comparison to Olivet Baptist's sermons. Both churches used the same size paper to draft their sermons: Cosmopolitan averaged two pages while Olivet Baptist averaged thirty pages.³¹⁸

The different style of sermons is curious. Well-educated, Evans chose plain speech and specific biblical passages that indicated she privileged the Word as the authority, rather than individual women and men. Evans believed that pastors were not immune to the same temptations that church members faced. Thus, she elevated the Word as the supreme authority and relied on biblical stories to help audiences to understand their immorality. Williams and Jackson instead chose to preach sermons that showed off the depth of their education: citing a poet, historical figures, and religious figures. Evans railed against this style of preaching – it buried the biblical passages to a vague reference rather than centering the Word in the messages. Williams and Jackson’s style of preaching was also a common strategy used by male pastors. It was not boastful for a male pastor to show off his intellectual prowess; indeed, it was expected. Evans’s authority was not in her intellect but rather her spiritual gifts and administrative acumen.³¹⁹

Additionally, the churches approached audiences differently in their sermons. Cosmopolitan left no stone unturned – the sermons addressed men, women, and youth. Each member of the congregation incurred a responsibility for their behavior inside and outside of the church. Olivet Baptist, instead, primarily focused on men. The examples in the sermons centered men: male leaders and historical and literary figures and men from the Bible. In one of the sermons evaluated, the centering of the home provided evidence of an implicit message to women: women, as nurturers, held the responsibility to demonstrate and teach morality. Therefore, it burdened the misfortunes or failure of home life on that of women since as Williams described the home, “it is the reflection of Heaven on Earth.” Experiences in the home that contradicted that assertion meant that it was a failure of the woman in the home. While

Olivet Baptist saw the home as place of nurture, Cosmopolitan viewed the home as place where temptation abounded and implored her audience to remain vigilant in its faith.

Both institutions expected families to represent heteronormative values. As a part of the National Baptist Convention, Olivet Baptist Church advocated the heteronormative family structure as the foundation of Christian values. Cosmopolitan asserted similar values when Evans criticized the behavior of married couples in the church. Furthermore, in the same sermon, Evans demonstrated that she was aware of people who condemned gambling but held card parties in their homes and women who charged exorbitant amounts for “a mere spoonful” in the name of the church. In other words, Evans called out the congregants’ hypocrisy. Evans’s personal relationship with a woman never prompted discussions of homosexuality or the church’s stance. Cosmopolitan Community Church followed the holiness doctrine; therefore, homosexuality should have been on the lists of topics to discuss in church and it is notable that it is absent.

Olivet Baptist Church and Cosmopolitan Community Church differed in their approaches to their sermons. As sermons, the materials represented the institutional voice of the churches and the institutional expectations of its congregation and community. The style of language adopted by each church reflected their pastors but also the physical structure and presentation of each institution. Despite their different approaches, both institutions delivered sermons that privileged heteronormative gender expectations. The next section addresses those differences through an analysis of an anniversary booklet from each church. Similar to the churches’ sermons, the memory books advance respectability politics.

It is important to note that the performance of respectability politics was important not only for the church, but also for the individual. Women were limited in leadership roles in the community. It was rare for a woman to lead a church and even rarer to have a married woman

lead a church.³²⁰ So, even though women did not preach in Olivet Baptist Church, like Cosmopolitan, their roles as leaders in church classrooms and organizations provided the platform for them to demonstrate racial uplift and develop the intellectual minds of the youth. That work laid the foundation for the ways in which future civil rights organizations used the standard of dress, behavior, and gender expectations to illustrate their sameness with White communities.

Celebrating Service: Church Anniversary Books

Cosmopolitan Community Church

Church anniversary booklets, similar to other commemorative memorabilia, provide an opportunity for institutions to establish and promote a specific institutional memory and history: “[A]rtifacts of memory have a problematic relationship with history because they identify and amplify certain people and events and consign others to oblivion.”³²¹ The church has an invested interest in portraying specific images. Examining the choices made provides insight into what the churches distinguish as valued and valuable. In this section, I examine the anniversary booklets separately and analyze the visual politics contested in each brochure. Finally, I compare and contrast the anniversary booklets.

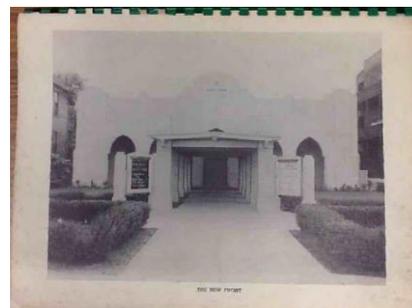


Figure 10. New Front of Cosmopolitan Community Church. Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

Cosmopolitan Community Church memory book includes eleven pages, primarily filled with images, and a plastic binding.³²² The first page of the memory book consists of the church front. Labeled “The New Front” indicated that the church underwent a transformation (fig. 10).

The foreground of the image reflected manicured shrubbery, an expansive walkway in front of the entrance, and a church sign. The second page depicted the Reverend Mary Evans inside the church sanctuary (see previous image, fig. 5). Garbed in a black robe and positioned as the center image, Evans gazed away from the camera. The closest thing to the viewer is the large pulpit. The organ pipes and empty seats filled the background of the image. In the first two pages of the memory book, the church opted to highlight the new façade and the pastor.

The choice of highlighting the new front of the church and the pastor was purposeful. The manicured shrubbery and the white exterior of the front of the church gave an image of purity and structure. Not a plant out of place and the cleanliness of the white gave the effect of an ethereal or heavenly appearance. As in the second image, there are no stewards, ushers, choir members or other church staff presented in the photograph even though *Cosmopolitan* had nineteen departments listed in the back of the booklet. Instead, the selection of this image as the second photograph in the anniversary book positioned Evans as the authority figure behind the church.

The next three pages displayed images of the Social Service Club, Girl Scout Troop No. 224, and Cub Pack No. 5531 – Boy Scout Troop No. 321. Each of the photographs showed the members seated and standing outside of the church. Dressed in overcoats, dresses and suits, the Social Service Club photograph contained twenty-five adults: twenty-four women and one man. The images of the Girl Scout troop, Cub pack and Boy Scout troop consisted of children and a troop leader. They also wore uniforms of their respective organization. The American flag and organization flags flanked the photographed Girl Scout troop. The Cub Pack and Boy Scout troop flags bordered the left and right side of the image. A young male holds the American flag in the center of the photograph.

The inclusion of the Boy Scouts, Cub Pack, and Girl Scouts illustrated the church's investment on teaching the youth how to be good citizens. Virginia Abner, a long-time member of Cosmopolitan Church, "credited Evans with helping her to raise her children in a fine, Christian manner."³²³ Her children's success was evidence of that: they were all educated, had lucrative careers, and were all married.³²⁴ As the images depict and Abner's comment attests, community service, patriotism, and Christian principles endorsed the idea that all the rewards of respectability are available when children were raised in a Christian environment.

The Social Service Club was established to provide outreach to the Bronzeville community. Social work, according to Cosmopolitan, was a predominantly female job; therefore, women made up the bulk of the membership. This taught the community that a woman's role was to be a caretaker and a nurturer. Similar to the youth organizations' photographs, there was a discernable uniform required of the women and men. Cloaked in dresses, a suit, and overcoats, the women and man signified their middle-class standing. This photograph functioned as way for Cosmopolitan to promote not just the actions of respectability, but also the visage of respectability.

A picture of the altar filled the fourth page of Cosmopolitan's church memory book (fig. 11). Contained in the photograph are two stained glass windows that border the organ pipes, part of the church ceiling and lighting, the choir stand, potted plants, and the altar bench. Tilted upwards, the camera lens angle allows the viewer's eyes to focus on the organ pipes in the center of the photograph. Contained in light-colored vases, the plants and flowers provide a contrast from the choir stand seats the altar railing.

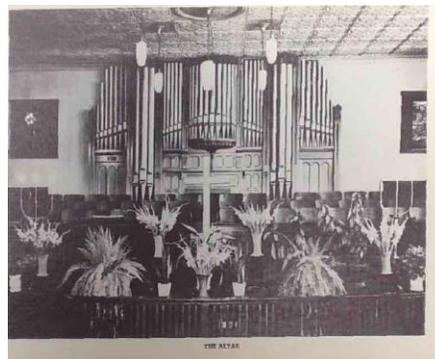


Figure 11. Inside the Sanctuary: Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

Although the altar contained flowers and plants, the altar was unadorned with any other ornaments. The image of blooming plants and flowers gave the impression that the church was a living, growing church. Members of the congregation should, therefore, expect to flourish and grow in their faith. Again, *Cosmopolitan* chose to focus on the altar without inserting bodies into the photograph. It allows the viewer to focus exclusively on the size of the altar, which was considerable in size despite the small church that Evans rhetorically created through her sermons. The size of the altar in the photograph also made the viewer appear diminutive. This signified to the congregation, and to the wider public, the immense power of the church.

Dated January 1932, figure 12 is a head and shoulder photograph of Reverend Mary



Figure 12. Reverend Mary Evans, 1932. Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

Evans. Her shoulders faced the left with her head facing the camera. Evans combed her bobbed hair with a part of the left side. Underneath her black robe, Evans wore a white shirt with an open collar. Tied loosely around the collar is a dark tie. A light-color backdrop fills the background of the photograph. Smiling in the photograph, Evans appears to not wear any make up or discernible jewelry.

The formal photograph of Evans promotes expectations for her congregation. Her plainness in dress represented the austerity of her speech and the church. Additionally, it demonstrated that although Evans was considered a young and attractive pastor, she was not caught up in that narrative.³²⁵

Cosmopolitan used this photograph to indicate that Christian women, regardless of their countenance, should focus more of the duties of the church than being distracted by the desire to wear makeup or jewelry. Evans modeled the behavior that she expected in her congregation –

modesty and purity. The tie that Evans wore in the photograph, however, was an atypical accessory of dress for women during this period. Known to wear the same clothes repeatedly, her personal use of a tie would have been commonplace. There are multiple reasons that Evans wore the tie in the photograph: it could have been a wink to her homosexuality or her acknowledgement that men were often in the position of authority and, as such, she wore a tie to represent masculine power that she possessed.

The sixth page showed the Director of Music (fig. 13). The image showed the director clothed in a two-toned choir robe and standing in front of the organ with her arms raised and hands outstretched.

Flowers fill the foreground of the picture along with candelabra. The organ fills the entire background of the photograph. Similar to the photograph of the altar on page four of the memory book, the angle of the camera lens tilts upwards. Rather than centered, however, the scene is photographed from the left side of the altar.

Again, *Cosmopolitan* limited the number of people in the image. The organ pipes and the flowers overwhelmed the director of music in the photograph. There were no other instruments or vocalists present in the picture. Like Evans, she is garbed in church robes and wore no makeup or jewelry. This reinforced *Cosmopolitan's* expectations for women in the church, and more broadly, in the community. Because music teachers were often women, the selection of a woman director of music was not uncommon, particularly when they led vocalists only. *Cosmopolitan* demonstrated that women were capable of leading when given positions that reflected their gendered abilities.



Figure 13. Director of Music. Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

The images of the original church front and the minister's secretary filled figure 14. Aside from the sky and the cement entrance walkway, the centered image of the church fills the photograph. Seated at a desk, the secretary types a document using a typewriter. She wears a short-sleeve blouse, dark skirt, no discernable jewelry. The viewer sees the side profile of the secretary. In addition to the secretary, the desk contains a notepad, writing instrument, small file box, a lamp. The only page in the memory book that contains more than one photograph. In this photograph, the viewer sees a woman engaged in some type of work. Dressed modestly without visible makeup or jewelry, *Cosmopolitan* advocated for a form of respectability politics that eschewed ornamentation of any kind.³²⁶ Despite Evans's close scrutiny and rules for women's appearances, there were no rules for the men to follow with respect to dress. This discrepancy communicated that only women needed to be taught how to perform the appearance of respectability.

The tenth and eleventh pages of *Cosmopolitan's* anniversary book depict the indebtedness and expenditures from January 1932 through October 1939 and statement by departments, respectively. The mortgages, other creditors, current indebtedness for 1939, expenditures including original debt, improvements, love offerings, membership, and

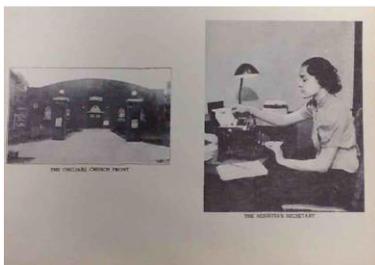


Figure 14. Left image - original front of the church. Right image: Minister's Secretary, Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

departments are itemized. Of the nineteen departments listed, women supervised fourteen of them at *Cosmopolitan*. The Statement by the Departments listed expenditures and amounts “raised through Tithes and Offerings, NO pay entertainments of any kind.”³²⁷ Evans, “second pastor of the *Cosmopolitan* Community Church, became the first African American minister in Chicago to successfully maintain the operation of a

church solely through ‘tithing,’ a biblical tax system based on the Old Testament text Malachi 3:10.”³²⁸ Proud of this distinction and the church’s ability to sustain its operations, *Cosmopolitan* highlighted the achievement in its anniversary memory book.

Evans’s accomplishment illustrated that *Cosmopolitan* was invested in being thrifty with its budget and that a woman was capable of managing the financial affairs of the church. By highlighting this triumph, Evans was teaching the community about the benefit of frugality and that women were uniquely able to accomplish that task. Women had to manage households, including the income, so it should have come as no surprise that women would be more fiscally responsible than men, especially if they did not waste their time on trinkets and baubles. Although Evans could have used the opportunity to be progressive about the possibilities that existed for women, her preoccupation with their appearance meant that only respectable women could achieve success.

Cosmopolitan Community Church’s anniversary photographs and texts demonstrated its investments. While the church showed pictures of clubs and organizations that appear professional, the other images of women – Evans preaching in the pulpit, the Director of Music perhaps guiding the audience to sing, and the minister’s secretary typing at a desk – showed them engaged in the work of the church. The anniversary album does feature a portrait of the pastor (that appeared in the *Chicago Defender* and *Chicago Tribune* on separate occasions). However, that portrait follows a formal altar photograph. The altar photograph does not contain any people; instead, someone organized the potted plants and flowers in rows at the front of the altar. All the photographs, including the pastor’s portrait, contain the church. That is, Evans’s position as pastor allows her to stand in the place of the church. In addition to centering the church in all the images, the organizations that *Cosmopolitan* highlighted were also important.

The church opted to select the Social Service Club, Girl Scout, Cub Pack, and Boy Scout troops to feature. “Despite a self-imposed insistence that she not speak on social issues from the pulpit, Evans staunchly supported [Black] civil rights.”³²⁹ The selection of a predominantly female organization and children organizations demonstrated that Cosmopolitan saw those organizations – and its participants – as especially valuable to the church. The Social Service Club worked on issues germane to the community while the Girl Scouts, Cub Pack, and Boy Scouts focused on building character, citizenship, confidence, and leadership in children.³³⁰ Like the other programs that Cosmopolitan offered, church membership was not required to be a participant in any of the programs. The church “believed in responding to the challenges that city life presented to [its]...congregation by establishing charitable programs, and in orienting religious worship in ways that reflected the religious inclinations of poor and working-class Black southern migrants.”³³¹ Thus, while Cosmopolitan may not have preached about civil rights, the church aided through action: Social Service Club, missionary work, and children programs.

Olivet Baptist Church

Olivet Baptist Church’s anniversary program, in contrast to Cosmopolitan Community Church’s book, spanned forty-eight pages.³³² The memory book celebrated the church as well as the pastorate of Reverend Lacy Kirk Williams. The first three pages contained advertisements for Chicago businesses: Binga State Bank, The Douglass National Bank of Chicago, Tucker Realty Company, and Lincoln State Bank of Chicago. Binga State Bank’s full-page advertisement promoted that it was “Manned from *Start to Now* by *Intelligent, Successful Business Men* doing

the Community Untold Good...Approved by Business Interests of the Community... Approved by OLIVET, other Churches, and Religious Institutions. PATRONIZE.

IT., MAKE IT YOUR BANK. IT WILL WISELY HELP TO SAVE

THE COMMUNITY” (fig. 15).³³³ The second page displayed an

advertisement for The Douglass National Bank of Chicago and Tucker

Realty Company. Both advertisements measure half-page in length. The

Douglass National Bank of Chicago listed its capital and surplus as “the

race’s largest bank” along with the officers, directors, and facts about

banking.³³⁴ The Tucker Realty Company focused its advertisement on admonishing the

community to “set an example and stop renting.”³³⁵ Tucker Realty wrote, “Don’t let your

children be renters – our Race should be a Race of owners. The destiny of our children and Race

depends upon the opportunities you create for them. Give them a chance to be real men and

women and insure yourself against old age.”³³⁶ The Lincoln State Bank advertisement completed

the third page of the memory book. A full-page ad, Lincoln State Bank listed the condition of the

bank, resources, and liabilities.³³⁷

Armed with the support of local businesses, Olivet Baptist reserved the first pages of its anniversary book to banks. The banks represented respectability politics: the accumulation of wealth, homeownership as an indication of standing, and their emphasis on supporting Black communities. It was a symbiotic relationship because bankers and their customers attended the church, the prime real estate in the front of the memory book assured outreach to potential new customers, and the money earned from their ads allowed Olivet Baptist to produce a lengthy memorial of their work. The advertisers advocated for the community to prepare for the future generations and later quality of life. Carrying the message of the church, the businesses promoted



Figure 15. Binga State Bank advertisement. Olivet Baptist Church, “Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L. K. Williams,” [1922], Olivet Baptist Church

the notion of racial progress being tied to the material appearance of their success. Furthermore, Binga State Bank boasted about the predominantly male organization. This conveyed that only men could be bankers and that a man's masculinity was tied to his intellect, economic achievement, and personal success. Olivet Baptist agreed: its sermons were used to display the pastors' intellectual ability. If a congregant was not well-read, then they would have difficulty understanding all the stories in the sermons. By placing the advertisements at the beginning of the church book, Olivet Baptist promoted respectability politics wrapped up in wealth and the accumulation of things. To fit in as a respectable member of the community, worshippers either participated in banking and real estate or they were encouraged to aspire to those goals.

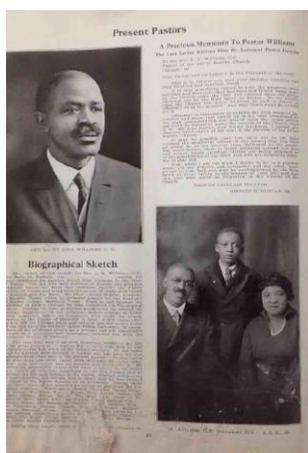


Figure 16. Pastor and First Family. Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L.K. Williams," [1922], Olivet Baptist Church Collection, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.

The pages following the advertisements include a foreword; full-page image of the church; pastor's greeting that detailed what the church believed; the history of Olivet Baptist Church and images of "Some of Former Pastors and First Workers," and the pastor.³³⁸ Images of the pastor and his family appeared on the ninth page of the anniversary book (fig. 16). Both images of the pastor and his family appear to be professional photographs. Located in the upper-right hand corner of the page, the pastor's head tilts away from the camera. A message from the assistant pastor and a biographical sketch surrounds the images of the pastor and of his family. The family portrait includes his wife seated to the right and their son standing slightly behind his parents and centered in the photograph. Pastor Williams and his son wore suits while his wife clothed in a dress appear to look directly at the viewer. The single photograph of the church to position the pastor as the head of the church. To sanction his

credibility, a photograph of his family is placed on the same page. The family portrait reminded the community that to demonstrate morality, they had to be in a heteronormative family structure that included children.

The anniversary book illustrated the various programs and departments at Olivet

Baptist Church. The pages depicted the following groups: deacons, officers, several groups of choirs and quartets, missionaries, nurseries, and church health bureau. Rather than describe each image from the anniversary book, I selected four images, in addition to the aforementioned photographs, that reflected a cross section of Olivet Baptist's investments to the church and community. The images singled out include the pastor and women because it provides an opportunity to see how women navigated Olivet Baptist and how it depicted leadership.

The first image shows a woman leading Sunday school (fig. 17). The Sunday school teacher faced the semi-circle of seated children. The teacher and female students donned dresses while the male students wore suits. Three adult women stand in the back of the classroom. The image of the individuals in the class fills most of the photograph.

The woman and children are dressed in attire that denotes their middle-class standing. All the women and girls' hair in the photograph was off their shoulders in a variety of coiffures, which further illustrated the ways that modest and respectable Black women and girls should appear. Additionally, showing a woman teaching the class conveyed the expectation that a woman's role was to teach Christian principles and virtue to children. Highlighting a room filled with children suggested that not only was the church invested in the destiny of the future but so,



Figure 17. Sunday School. Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L.K. Williams," [1922], Olivet Baptist Church Collection, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.

too, should women in their roles as mothers in the community. Conspicuously absent from the photograph are men. While girls and boys could learn from women, the image insinuated that job, as well as serving as an aid in the classroom like the other adults photographed in the image, was for women only. The second image shows a woman seated on the floor of the children's



Figure 18. Children's Church. Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L.K. Williams," [1922], Olivet Baptist Church Collection, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.

church. The children also sit on the floor. The female children wear light-colored dresses and the male children wear suits. Except for a young male child kneeling in front of the camera, most of the male children fill the back rows of the children's church. To the left of the image are three adults: two women and a man. In the photographed image, the number of children crowd the photograph. The room contains no windows in this

angle but does have a picture hanging in the background.

Olivet Baptist highlighted another image of a classroom; however, figure 18 appears to include older children than the previous image. The photograph communicated a continued interest in every part of a child's Christian life. Thus, the church illustrated a woman's role to be consistent in the teaching of the bible. While there is a man in this photograph, it seems that he is overseeing the class, not participating in the role of teacher or aid. What this exemplified was that men became interested in the teaching of youth once they were older and that, while they were not expected to teach the principles, they were responsible for ensuring that the women who taught the class were teaching accurate material.

In the section of the anniversary book labeled “Resume of Olivet Worshiping and Working,” described include a group of women in the church sewing room (fig. 19). Some of the women use sewing machines while other women use needle and thread on the swath of fabrics. Two tables in the front of the room hold sewing machines. The first row of women shows two of them using the machine while three manually sew fabric. In the back of the photograph, women sit around a large table. A woman leans over one of the women at the table. Four women stand along the wall on the right side of the photograph.

The sewing machine room image advocated the teaching of skills that women would need in the home. There are no men in the photograph; thus, women in the home – or if they worked outside of the home as a seamstress – were responsible for the upkeep of the appearances of the family. Teaching women how to use a sewing machine, in addition to manually sewing with a needle and thread, helped to prepare women for work inside and outside of the home. It also signified a recognition of the differences in social class. While Olivet Baptist taught its congregants how to look and act the part of middle-class respectability, they understood that not every home could afford their own machine. Indeed, as large as Olivet Baptist’s congregation was, they only owned two machines. Nonetheless, working-class folk could not use the excuse that they were unable to keep up the appearance of decorum, since they had access to machines at church and received instructions on manually sewing the latest fabrics from the church’s sewing room attendant.

Teaching in classrooms and learning how to sew were tangible skills that women could use outside of the home. Despite the church’s efforts to



Figure 19. Sewing Room. Olivet Baptist Church, “Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L.K. Williams,” [1922], Olivet Baptist Church Collection, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.

promote heteronormative family structures, many southern migrant women were single. This meant that they most likely worked outside of the home to earn a living. Though poorly compensated for their work and admonished to not compete for the same jobs as men, the skills learned allowed women some modicum of agency. Additionally, women passed the skills down to their daughters, which allowed their daughters to eventually support themselves or help support their families.



Figure 20. Pastor Williams's home and Cadillac. Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L.K. Williams," [1922], Olivet Baptist Church Collection, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.

Olivet Baptist donated a car to the pastor of the church, which they include in the section showing Olivet Baptist's worship and community practices. The photograph depicts the Cadillac parked in front of the pastor's house (fig. 20). Two women and two men stand on the porch of the pastor's house. The men appear to wear suits while the women wear blouses and skirts. The first-floor window shows curtains pulled back and exposes the inside of the home while the other windows appear opaque. The car takes up the foreground of the photograph.

Even though the congregation donated the car, it provided the material evidence of respectability politics. Parked in front of a home with well-dressed men and women on the front porch proved that Black people could be successful. If Black women and men were faithful to the church, they would also receive the rewards of a Christian life well-lived. Working-class folks could achieve the same success as their middle-class neighbors if they worked hard, paid their tithes, and embodied the Christian principles espoused by Olivet Baptist. It was also important for the pastor of a successful church to look the part. By owning a car and presumably the home, Williams demonstrated to his congregation and the wider public that he was successful;

therefore, Black people were capable of attaining the same luxuries that White middle-class communities enjoyed.

Olivet Baptist Church created a forty-eight-page anniversary book, which speaks to the lengthy history of the church and its eagerness to display its success. As the oldest Black Baptist church in Chicago, the church included its institutional history in photographs and text. One studio's signature decorated most of the photographs in the anniversary book. The church showed images of the various boards, groups, and leadership activities. Olivet Baptist also highlighted four Black businesses in its anniversary book, which is curious considering the number of Black businesses in Bronzeville.

Only a few photographs in the anniversary book depicted the pastor or the pastor's family. The pastor and his family appear once in a professional studio image. Missing from the collection of images is the pastor engaged in the work of the church: giving a sermon or giving a talk. Instead, we see formal photographs. The image of the Cadillac parked in front of the pastor's home in combination with the advertisements can be perceived as promoting wealth as success and as a blueprint for how other Black families might attain it. Olivet Baptist actively recruited southern migrants who often came with little resources and lived in insecure housing with extended family or friends. Showing the church's use of resources to donate a car to the pastor and displaying multiple images of the pastor's house while preaching a message of the "suffering servant" has the capability of ringing hollow to congregants' ears to some or as inspirational to others.

Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church's anniversary books prove to be adequate representations of the respective institutions. Cosmopolitan Community's memory book is short in length and only includes financial records as text in the book. Few men

occupy the eleven-page book. In contrast, Olivet Baptist tells through words the story of its history and its leadership. Neither the pastor nor the men engage in community work; that work is relegated to women. Men are photographed as deacons, officers, and directors within the church. Additionally, Olivet Baptist's photographs selected images that demonstrated the immense number of community members that the church served. While *Cosmopolitan* highlighted the fact that it survived only on tithes, Olivet Baptist reserved the first three pages of its memory book to Black businesses and had such largesse that the congregation bought the pastor a car. Reverend Evans received a love offering that placed her as the highest paid pastor in Chicago, yet Evans chose to put the money back into the church in the form of building improvements and construction of a health clinic and elder home for women. The money and donations given to Williams demonstrated Olivet Baptist's interest in displaying the church and the pastor as successful. The disparate ways that *Cosmopolitan* and Olivet Baptist's pastors demonstrated their success provided proof of the parts of respectability politics that was important to each church: *Cosmopolitan* promoted piety, thrift, and plainness, which were mostly inward expressions, while Olivet Baptist encouraged the outward manifestation of success through the appearance of wealth and the accumulation of things.

The sermons and the anniversary books also provided a contrast in the approach by each pastor. For example, *Cosmopolitan* Community Church emphasized the sinful nature of humans and preached a message of perfection. Evans believed in the Bible as the authority. As such, the anniversary book focused on images of the church and official representatives of the church. *Cosmopolitan* Community Church opted not to include any community members. The only exception are the photographs of the children's organizations.

Olivet Baptist Church, on the other hand, emphasized the suffering servant in its sermons. The anniversary book demonstrated an answer to the effects of life for the congregants. That is, when Reverend Williams and Reverend Jackson preached about the difficulties facing their members, they pointed to the departments and programs that Olivet Baptist created to help mitigate their suffering. Additionally, Olivet Baptist preached sermons that distinguished the roles of men as leaders and women as nurturers in the home. Selecting advertisements and images that privileged heteronormative expectations for men and women provided visible evidence of Olivet Baptist's message.

Conclusion

Exploring the sermons and memorabilia of Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church provides the opportunity to explore the ways in which the churches articulated gendered notions of respectability. Evident in both the sermons and in the memory books, each church had a stake in the perception of their respective churches. The Great Migration brought an influx of migrants and a variety of churches vied for their membership. Cosmopolitan Church chose to preach a message of prudence. The pastor wore the same clothing and donated much of her salary back to the church. Olivet Baptist Church chose to preach a message of the suffering servant; however, the celebrity status of the pastor, its business relationships and numerous programs fostered an impression of wealth, which seemed out of place for many in the congregation. Perhaps the contradiction is purposeful since the church, as a mixed congregation, could not afford to alienate its middle and upper-class members.

Regardless of the approach, both churches assigned roles for women that spoke to heteronormative expectations. Cosmopolitan Community Church explicitly preached about

infidelity among heterosexual couples. Less explicit, Olivet Baptist Church focused its lessons on men in the audience and inferred that women controlled the responsibilities of the home by teaching values, how to love, and to provide love. Failure in the home meant that women had failed. Reverend Mary Evans, more egalitarian in her dispensing of blame, advocated for each member of the congregation to put the Bible's message before any other relationship. Her reticence about her own personal relationships, her frugality, and administrative acumen reflected the way in which she managed the church. Other than the photographs of the pastor, the images selected by both churches featured women in supportive roles; however, those roles enabled women to develop transferable skills outside of the home.

Evans preached short sermons that focused exclusively on biblical passages while the pastors at Olivet Baptist Church delivered lengthy sermons that focused on stories and historical figures. The anniversary books represent the same sort of approach: Cosmopolitan Community Church's memory book was short and limited in text while Olivet Baptist Church was lengthy and told a story about its history through text and images. Both churches had humble beginnings as small institutions that grew under the leadership of the pastors. Cosmopolitan Community Church continued to celebrate its "small" size, Olivet Baptist's memory book included a narrative of success both in length and images selected.

Despite the disparity in size and institutional structure, Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church advanced respectability politics. They supported civil rights outside of the church; however, they focused on providing a path for the congregants to model citizens as Christians and community members. The congregations' adherence to the guidelines that each church gave each individual control over their success – even if that success was measured solely on fidelity to faith and not on material wealth.

As evidenced by Cosmopolitan Community and Olivet Baptist Church, Black women were a central part of Black Chicago. They promoted racial uplift by privileging an ethic of self-care, modeled heteronormative behavior, and filled both leadership and administrative roles in the church. The next chapter connects the threads common between the case studies and provides conclusions about the implications of my study.

Chapter 5 Conclusion and Implications

The focus of my dissertation was to understand how urban Black Midwestern women in enclaved Chicago used rhetoric to fully participate in their communities. Specifically, I explored four organizations to understand how Black women in those enclaved institutions communicated and to illuminate how the study of these institutions articulates broader issues of concern to scholars of Black studies and rhetoric. Also of importance was the role of the Black metropolis and the function of gender to shed light on the future of Black rhetoric and challenge the male-centric narratives in current-day Chicago.

There were a number of women who left their mark on Black Chicago. They led with an ethic of care and an understanding that their success reflected the racial progress of Blacks in the early twentieth century. Their voices collided and intermingled within the pages of the press: supporting, commenting on, and carving out spaces so that their interests might be known. Indeed, the dominant method of communication for Black women in Chicago was the press: newsprint and magazines. Significantly, the press was a constant presence in each of the case studies that I explored. The *Chicago Defender* advocated “black migration north and at the same time imposed ‘middle class deportment among the migrants’ in public dress and behavior.”³³⁹ The paper relied on white advertisers so “on many issues the *Defender* held an ideological middle ground by combining a pride in separate institutions with an analysis of politics through the lens of race.”³⁴⁰ So, it makes sense that the Black institutions I studied –the National Association of Negro Musicians, Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church -- promoted gendered notions of respectability. Industrial Workers of the World failed to yield evidence of Black women’s voices or their agency in the early 1900s.

The invisibility of Black women's engagement in the Industrial Workers of the World, as illustrated in their absence in the meeting and convention minutes, does not mean that their labor was not sought after or considered. Rather, their invisibility points to a larger issue. The Industrial Workers of the World demonstrated they understood the legacy of slavery, impact of Jim Crow, and race relations by the writing and dissemination of pamphlets that addressed issues of race. Additionally, the pamphlets addressed the specific harms that faced women and girls who worked in private homes, restaurants, and hotels as domestics. IWW capitalized on a sensational image of Jesse Washington's lynching to signify justice for Black folk, used the comparison of wage slavery with the experience of enslaved Blacks, and tried to provide reasons why White workers should empathize with Black workers. IWW approached issues facing women in a paternalistic way -- using the rhetoric of safety and protection -- but failed to account for the economic argument that placed women and girls in the position to work under those conditions in the first place. IWW pursued Black women laborers through its use of race-based arguments and interest in growing its domestic workers' union membership, yet did not provide space for Black women's voices to be heard in its meeting minutes or convention minutes. Without genuine efforts to connect with Black workers beyond recruitment, IWW and other integrated unions during this period that failed to acknowledge the distinction between Black and White workers would be unsuccessful in garnering the widespread support of Black workers.

From its beginning, Black women played an integral part of National Association of Negro Musicians' founding, development, and leadership. Black institutions like the NANM formed cross-class organizations rather than formal labor unions as a method to build coalitions and argue for better socioeconomic conditions. Despite being created by and for Blacks, NANM was not immune to race or gender politics. Respectability politics played a major part in how

women navigated that enclaved space. As vice-president, Holt's role was primarily a support role to the president. However, she used the press as a platform to share her side of a brewing controversy within the organization. Hackley, not a member at the time, used the press to ensure that NANM embraced the use of Negro folk music. And LeMon and Nickerson issued speeches in their roles as president of the organization. It is important to note that all of the women spoke from a position of privilege: they were all educated and financially secure. They embodied the decorum necessary for their voices to be heard and listened to.

In the churches, regardless of the institutions' leadership, respectability politics was ingrained in the sermons and church memorabilia. Reverend Mary Evans, as pastor, demanded that her congregants strive for perfection by offering herself as an exemplar and rhetorically through her sermons. With respect to Olivet Baptist Church's pastors, they demonstrated respectability politics in the content of their prose within their respective sermons. Both institutions showed women in supportive and nurturing roles as well as in gendered professional settings – sewing, typing, and teaching. The churches prescribed ways of behavior that demonstrated their congregants' adherence to gendered heteronormative expectations.

Based on the institutions studied, Midwestern Black urban women engaged their rhetoric in the church and in organizations when opportunities were available to them: Evans used the pulpit and Hackley, Holt, LeMon, and Nickerson used print media. Hackley and Holt established in the NANM that Black women were vocal, capable of leading, and had good ideas. LeMon, as the first woman president, used feminine style of speaking to connect with her audiences, while Nickerson used a results-based approach in her speech. NANM's audience reception to a woman speaking would have no longer been a novelty by the time Nickerson is named president so it was unnecessary to continue to use a feminine style approach. Thus, while the institutions

constrained Black women's modes of participation, it is evident Black women also shaped organizations through their rhetorical practices.

Irrespective of the type of institution, organizations both constrained and enabled the women to use the opportunity to rhetorically engage with their communities. The churches' sermons and images communicated that women were limited in *how* they could participate in communities, which prevented women's participation in more traditional rhetorical activities like speaking in public. However, the role of women as partners in the social missions of the community was important. NANM offered greater opportunities for women to contribute to the organization and wider publics yet still limited *where* those rhetorical activities took place.

Respectability politics was a common thread that connected most of the institutions. IWW was the outlier, in that it focused on arguments based on patriarchy whenever it addressed labor concerns for women workers. NANM, Cosmopolitan Community Church and Olivet Baptist Church, as institutions, were more explicit in providing guidelines for Black women and men to follow. Women emerged in the texts visually in the anniversary materials as teachers and referenced in the pastors' passages. The texts illustrated that women served their church in supportive, nurturing roles: missionaries, Sunday school and children's church teachers, nurses, and sewing instructors and participants. Using classical music to prove racial progress, NANM demonstrated that women were capable of leading organizations as long as they fit the model of respectability: educated and middle class.

Studying institutions is valuable for scholars of Black rhetoric because it allows us to understand alternative ways that Black folk navigated public spaces. Investigating organizations that both men and women traversed allows us to understand how institutions value and devalue speakers as well as invest in or privilege particular types of work. Furthermore, it provides us the

opportunity to see how Black folk can use those spaces as places for racial uplift, community-building, and illustrating racial progress. More broadly, understanding the role of gender in the history of the Black metropolis allows us to give voice to individuals, explore contributions, and understand how gender affects the shaping of the community. Because Black urban spaces are created out of necessity and survival, women and men have to work together. There is a commonality of lived experience based on race, but the additional lens of gender allows us to complicate and find divergent voices as way to better understand Black urban life.

The Great Migration was a period of significant transformation, yet it was clear that respectability politics was the strategy that Black urban communities used to elevate the race. Evidence through the sermons and images selected to represent each of the church institutions underscores their recognition of this strategy: literacy, intellectual pursuits, Christianity, heteronormative family structures, emphasis on racial progress and uplift by showing the sameness as Whites. In addition to churches, Black organizations like the NANM adopted the same strategies of decorum. The initial reason that the NANM was instituted was to demonstrate to the wider publics that Blacks were capable of producing, composing, and teaching more music than ragtime and blues. The founders believed that classically-trained musicians would uplift the race and prove racial progress, which would lead to higher wages for public music teachers. This tactic is not unique to the period that I studied. Evelyn Higginbotham explored the tenets of respectability politics in the late 1800s to 1920s.³⁴¹ It does, however, connect Black urban Midwestern spaces and Black women as invested in those same strategies, which establishes my time period as a link between Reconstruction and the 1950s and 1960s civil rights efforts to promote an image of respectability that would demonstrate the humanity and equality with White communities.

My study utilized archival materials to understand how women rhetorically engaged with and through institutions. In that analysis, I uncovered various ways that women and institutions used respectability politics to control behavior and to subvert heteronormative expectations. As a result, this project contributes to ongoing scholarly conversations about the role of respectability. Cosmopolitan Community Church's pastor, Reverend Mary Evans, espoused respectability politics through restrained services, heteronormative roles illustrated in the anniversary book, and a strict adherence to plain-spoken language. Closeting her queerness from her sermons, Evans made no attempt to discuss homosexuality and its implications in the Black church. However, that did not prevent her from queering respectability via her individual style of dress and purposefully focusing on vices that did not include homosexuality. So, as we think about the future of respectability, decorum, and the role of agency in accessing respectability, my study helped to illuminate an example of how queer folks might have used respectability to gain acceptance in spaces during the early twentieth century while adding to the growing scholarship like the work of being done by Brittney Cooper in *Beyond Respectability*.

In addition to queering respectability, analyzing the NANM provided evidence of the unending tension of gender within Black communities. Politics of respectability scholars like Cooper, Schechter, and Gill have used feminist theorizing to explore how gender was used to illustrate racial progress (i.e., Black women intellectuals, beauty standards, et cetera). Additionally, scholars such as Higginbotham, Anne Meis Knupfer and Pamela E. Klassen have explored gender in the context of an enclaved community's institutions, some of which I discussed in my dissertation.³⁴² However, I intervene into the conversation by exploring an understudied and informal union, the NANM. NANM highlighted that despite its elevation of women in position of leadership, gender often played out in detrimental ways in Black

institutions, even when members were similarly educated. Black women in the NANM used other institutions like the press to subvert the constraints of respectability while simultaneously upholding its principles in order to be authorized to speak. Thus, my analysis contributes to ongoing scholarship that exposed the unintended consequence that limited racial progress because of enclaved institutions' overreliance on gender expectations and decorum.

Lastly, my study invites scholars to continue to consider the aspirational and self-determination possibilities within politics of respectability. The institutions that I explored largely focused on individuals being in control of how they performed racial uplift. The pastors gave sermons in which they preached personal responsibility even though respectability was generally thought of in terms of the collective group. *Cosmopolitan* encouraged thriftiness while *Olivet Baptist* provided visual representations of what material successes they could aspire to if they followed His teachings. And given the tumultuous period, the sense of control that respectability politics offered would have provided tools for Black folks to weather the uncertain times.

In addition to contributing to the scholarship on the concept of respectability, my study also interrogated the relationships between enclaved communities and institutions. Institutions provided a fruitful space to explore how enclaved communities organized themselves as workers and citizens and served as a liberating space for marginalized people. Based on my analysis, enclaved communities unsurprisingly found more opportunities to develop and lead institutions that existed within their community. Those enclaved institutions developed hierarchy via class, gender, and education to demarcate difference and relied on decorum and respectability politics to establish the distinction in the categories. Despite the hierarchy, enclaved communities

understood that managing their own institutions allowed them to present an image of racial uplift and progress even if they could not agree on matters of gender or class.

Rather than focus on the marginalized position of Black folk in opposition to Whites, my study centered the lived experiences of Blacks as a fundamental part of society. In doing so, I demonstrate a connection to Black studies' desire to decentralize Eurocentric studies and highlight "that the Black experience...represented a truth worth knowing, but also one worth living and offering as a paradigm for human liberation and a higher level of human life."³⁴³ Discovering how Black women engaged in rhetorical practices within and outside of institutions was also a major premise in my study. Black studies' intersectionality clarified that Black women's experiences were multilayered and not representative of all Black women. The diverse experiences of Reverend Mary Evans, E. Azalia Hackley, Nora Douglas Holt, Lillian LeMon, and Camille Lucie Nickerson provided evidence that there was not one way of performing decorum or subverting the constraints of respectability.

In exploring respectability politics through enclaved institutions, I illustrated the concept's discursive power within a specific racial and historical context. Rhetorical studies provide the interpretive tools to recognize that institutions are important because they communicate and help me to understand how they communicate. Even as I center Blackness in my study, the multiple identities of gender and class forces us to consider ways in which those without formal access to power create alternative approaches – or seek out other institutions – to communicate with the status quo. Institutions and their discourses are rhetorically constructed and because of this, can play a significant role in how marginalized bodies can access/or challenge institutional power. I found that Black women challenged institutional power structures (which limited where they could speak) by writing the press. Therefore, because race,

class, and gender influenced Black women's communicative practices, Black studies and rhetorical studies are equally important in the context of my dissertation.

My study identified some areas of overlap between Black studies and rhetorical studies. As Karma Chávez aptly observed, most of the scholarship in rhetoric examined marginalized groups focused on challenging, sustaining, trying to gain access to, and enacting citizenship.³⁴⁴ My inquiry diverges from that scholarship. I found the internal discourse within the enclaved institutions more illustrative of why a Black rhetor or organization might respond in a particular way and revealed concrete ways they negotiated respectability from within. Second, having collected a variety of Black institutional documents that have been neglected in rhetorical studies and understudied in Black studies, using both disciplines can provide additional tools to understand the range of human experiences as explored through the interplay of text and context while also contributing to Black intellectual history. Lastly, my study uncovered the significance of agency within enclaved institutions who espoused respectability politics. Agency is central to rhetorical studies and Black studies which indicates the importance of placing rhetorical studies and Black studies in dialogue with one another in order to problematize race and gender in discourse.

Finally, my study invites us to think about the scholarly framings of the civil rights movement, long movement thesis, and the spatial location of the Midwest. First, my dissertation complicates the argument for the long movement thesis, primarily that strategies from 1940 through 1980 should be considered, because the institutions that I explored articulated messages of racial uplift and racial progress well before 1940. These institutions used local leaders who asserted that decorum was a prerequisite to be heard, promoted self-determination, and included women. My project demonstrates similar characteristics to the principles of the long movement

thesis; however, I argue that we should extend the thesis to a date earlier than 1940. Second, the centrality of the church to be the example for the enclaved community to follow and its employment of social welfare programs in community connects to a long tradition of Black churches filling in the need when denied external resources. Third, the Midwest and its urban centers experienced immense transformations during the early twentieth century with industrialization, migration, race riots, and economic crises. By advocating for diversity in music composition and economic equity as well as establishing guidelines for decorum, Black Chicago provided the tools for Black folks to confront the severity of the urban landscape. These rhetorical strategies continue to be used today, which highlight the enduring nature of these strategies to persist over periods of time and in different locales.

The current work being done in Chicago to reduce crime and promote programs is geared towards Black men and boys. The national initiatives highlight the importance of improving the lives of Black men and boys by endorsing gendered notions of respectability. Like the invisibility that Black women experienced in the IWW, Black women and girls are also hidden in those male-centric programs. By not fully incorporating all of Black Chicago, Black women and girls are receiving the message that their lived experiences are secondary to those of men and boys. My dissertation aimed to unveil the work of women who were not widely known but were instrumental in the success of churches and organizations as leaders in Bronzeville as a way to assert that their lives mattered.

Ladies of Virtue, established by a South Side Chicago woman, and HerStory: My Sisters' Keeper are current initiatives that focus on mentorship and leadership of Black girls and women in Chicago. Jessica Disu, founder and executive director of Chicago International Youth Peace Movement, relaunched the HerStory movement in 2017 because, "Many groups and programs

focus on black men and boys, leaving women and girls excluded from life-changing opportunities for growth and advancement. Black women, young and old, are the fabric holding households together. Having dedicated programs that target women of color will also have an impact on the men in their communities.”³⁴⁵ Furthermore, global organizations like the World Bank attest to the benefits of investing in women and girls as way to tackle poverty and improve communities since they typically reinvest in their communities at a higher rate than men and boys.³⁴⁶ Thus, I advocate that historical education be a part of community programs in order to acknowledge the legacy of Black women’s work and to make sense of the current moment. The institutions I studied demonstrate women have taken on roles as both supporting cast and leaders in order to better their communities. Continuing to uncover the various ways that women use institutions, including exploring how the rhetorical strategies they employ provide a historical arc to the present, allows us to fully illuminate how women participate in their communities as economic and social change agents.

Limitations and Plans for Future Work

There are limitations to this study. Many of the archival materials that I used do not exist as their own collections. Because of this, there could exist additional material in archives and collections not accessed as a part of this study; future iterations of the project may include additional archival research. Also, I included an integrated union, IWW, because I initially thought that it would provide a stronger argument that coalition-building between races afforded women with better opportunities to engage in leadership. Unfortunately, it did not yield adequate results with respect to Black women specifically. To remedy this, an analysis of a variety of integrated unions might have provided an opportunity to understand if IWW’s recruitment tactics

were common or an exception. By examining another integrated institution like the United Packinghouse Workers Union of America, we can begin to understand how Black workers were fully integrated in those types of institutions with respect to leadership and advocating on behalf of issues particular to race.

Another limitation relates to the number of institutions selected. As mentioned previously, the Black press should be incorporated as a third institution. The *Chicago Defender* was a “middle of the road” race paper that was an integral part of the Great Migration and provided textual evidence of the work of Black Chicagoans. As a third case study, the *Chicago Defender* would incorporate elements of both -- as its own institution and as a crossroads where labor and church institutions and their leaders interacted.

Finally, including more materials outside of the organizations might provide clues about the roles of Black women beyond their roles as laborers and Christians. That is, future studies should include an investigation of the political landscape during this period. For example, Marjorie Stewart Joyner, who was responsible for the hiring of Reverend Evans, was a major player in the Democratic Party and Black women were politically active on behalf of Republican candidates like Ruth Hanna McCormick. Understanding the political landscape more fully might provide additional clues to the uniqueness of Black urban Midwestern spaces and how Black women used those spaces to promote and advance their communities.

Conclusion

Despite its limitations, my study illustrated the multitude of ways that Black women engaged in rhetorical practices: as a pastor, as leaders, teachers, and exemplars of decorum. Black Chicago in the early twentieth century welcomed Black women as leaders as long as they

promoted gendered notions of respectability. Yet, in spite of those constraints, Black women found ways to create spaces in order to advocate and invest their labor to improve their communities.

Notes

¹ St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton, *The Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945).

² "Black Metropolis Thematic Nomination" (Cook County, Illinois) National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, accessed July 17, 2014, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/53Black/53factsr.htm>; St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton, *The Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945); Christopher Robert Reed, *The Rise of Chicago's Black Metropolis 1920 – 1929* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011). Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, The Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

³ "Black Metropolis Thematic Nomination" (Cook County, Illinois) National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, accessed July 17, 2014, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/53Black/53factsr.htm>

⁴ "The Black Metropolis – Bronzeville District," Commission on Chicago Landmarks, revised December 1994, http://www.cityofchicago.org/dam/city/depts/zlup/Historic_Preservation/Publications/Black_Metropolis_Bronzeville.PDF; "Black Metropolis Thematic Nomination" (Cook County, Illinois) National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, accessed July 17, 2014, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/53Black/53factsr.htm>; Christopher Robert Reed, *The Rise of Chicago's Black Metropolis 1920 – 1929* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011).

⁵ "The Black Metropolis – Bronzeville District," Commission on Chicago Landmarks, revised December 1994, http://www.cityofchicago.org/dam/city/depts/zlup/Historic_Preservation/Publications/Black_Metropolis_Bronzeville.PDF; St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton, *The Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945). This location, as described, makes up the Bronzeville neighborhood which has been contested over the years. According to an informal meeting with Ben Peterson, archivist for the Black Metropolis Consortium on Friday, August 29, 2014, the neighborhood was officially "named" 10 – 15 years ago.

⁶ St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton, *The Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945).

⁷ St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton, *The Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945), 12.

⁸ Rhoda L. Blumberg, *Civil Rights: The 1960s Freedom Struggle* (Boston: Twayne, 1984); Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954 – 1963* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988); David Chalmers, *Backfire, Backfire: How the Ku Klux Klan Helped the Civil Rights Movement* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); Leon Friedman, ed., *The Civil Rights Reader* (New York: Walker, 1967); Fred D. Gray, *Bus Ride to Justice: Changing the System by the System, the Life and Works of Fred Gray* (Montgomery, AL: NewSouth Books, 2002); Reneè C. Romano and Leigh Raiford, eds., *The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2006); J. Harvie Wilkinson III, *From Brown to Bakke: The Supreme Court and School Integration: 1954 – 1978* (New York: Oxford Press, 1979).

⁹ Clayborne Carson, "Civil Rights Reform and Black Freedom Struggle," accessed June 15, 2014, http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/sitepages/files/civil_rights_reform.pdf; William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford Press, 1980); John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press, 1984).

¹⁰ Stephen Lawson and Charles Payne, *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968: Debating Twentieth-Century America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2006); Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Jeanne F. Theoharris and Komozi Woodard, *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles Outside the South, 1940 – 1980* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003); Jeanne F. Theoharris, Komozi Woodard and Charles Payne, *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

¹¹ Bettye Collier-Thomas and V. P. Franklin, eds., *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long? African American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York: Oxford Press, 2000); Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968 – 1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

¹² Jeanne F. Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Freedom North: Black Struggles Outside of the South, 1940 -1980* (NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).

¹³ Sundiata Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, “The ‘Long Movement’ as Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies,” *Journal of African American History* 92 (2007): 265 – 88. Accessed June 17, 2014. url: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20064183>.

¹⁴ Algernon Austin, “No Relief in 2012 From High Unemployment for African Americans and Latinos,” *Economic Policy Institute*, February 16, 2012, accessed May 5, 2014, <http://www.epi.org/publication/ib322-african-american-latino-unemployment/>.

¹⁵ “FBI Chief Comey Blames ‘Ingrained’ Gang Culture for City Homicide Rate,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, April 14, 2014, accessed April 15, 2014, <http://www.suntimes.com/26851035-761/fbi-chief-comey-blames-ingrained-gang-culture-for-city-homicide-rate.html#.U926sPldXUU>.

¹⁶ For more details on the programs, please see the following: “I am my Brother’s Keeper,” Whitehouse.gov, accessed June 20, 2014, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/my-brothers-keeper#> ; Brianna Edwards, “Helping Black Boys Become Great Men,” *The Root*, July 19, 2014, accessed July 20, 2014, http://www.theroot.com/articles/culture/2014/07/helping_black_boys_become_great_men.html; Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, “Youth Program Gets More Funding,” *The Chicago Tribune*, July 21, 2014, accessed July 21, 2014, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/breaking/chi-youth-program-gets-more-funding-20140721-story.html>.

¹⁷ Kimberlé Crenshaw, “The Girls Obama Forgot,” *The Chicago Tribune*, July 30, 2014, accessed July 30, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/30/opinion/Kimberl-Williams-Crenshaw-My-Brothers-Keeper-Ignores-Young-Black-Women.html?_r=0.

¹⁸ The White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans is a part of the U.S. Department of Education. For more information about existing programming and curricula: <http://sites.ed.gov/whieea/>

¹⁹ Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894 – 1994* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999).

²⁰ Please see *Atlantic’s* Ta-Nehisi Coates for a discussion of respectability politics: <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/05/how-the-obama-administration-talks-to-black-america/276015/>

²¹ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in America* (New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1966); Benjamin E. Mays and J.W. Nicholson, *The Negro’s Church* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933); Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1921).

²² Mays and Nicholson, *Negro’s Church*, 279.

²³ Franklyn S. Haiman, “The Rhetoric of the Streets: Some Legal and Ethical Considerations,” *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 53, no. 2 (1967): 99.

²⁴ Haiman, “The Rhetoric of the Streets,” 99.

²⁵ Haiman, "The Rhetoric of the Streets," 100; Robert D. Brooks, "Black Power: The Dimensions of a Slogan," *Western Speech* 34, no.2 (1970): 108-14; Richard B. Gregg, "The Ego-Function of the Rhetoric of Protest," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 4, no. 2 (1971): 75.

²⁶ Stephen Howard Browne, "'This Unparalleled and Inhuman Massacre': The Gothic, the Sacred, and the Meaning of Nat Turner," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 3, no. 3 (2000): 309-32; Kirt Wilson, "The Racial Politics of Imitation in the Nineteenth Century," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89, no. 2 (2003): 89-108; Angela G. Ray, "'In My Own Hand Writing': Benjamin Banneker Addresses the Slaveholder of Monticello," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 1, no. 3 (1988): 387- 405; Roseann M. Mandziuk, "'Grotesque and Ludicrous, but Yet Inspiring': Depictions of Sojourner Truth and Rhetorics of Domination," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 100, no. 4 (2014): 467-87; Matthew K. Samra, "Shadow and Substance: The Two Narratives of Sojourner Truth," *Midwest Winter Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1997): 158-71.

²⁷ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Style and Content in the Rhetoric of Early Afro-American Feminists," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 72 (1986): 434-45; Maegan Parker Brooks, "Oppositional Ethos: Fannie Lou Hamer and the Vernacular Persona," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 14, no. 3 (2011): 511-48; Lester C. Olson, "On the Margins of Rhetoric: Audre Lorde Transforming Silence into Language and Action," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 83, no. 1 (1997): 49-70; Maegan Parker, "Desiring Citizenship: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Wells/Willard Controversy," *Women's Studies in Communication* 31, no. 1 (2008): 56-78; Shirley Wilson Logan, *"We are Coming": The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999); Maegan Parker Brooks, *A Voice That Could Stir an Army: Fannie Lou Hamer and the Rhetoric of the Black Freedom Movement* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014).

²⁸ See also Jinx C. Broussard, "Mary Church Terrell: A Black Woman Journalist and Activist Seeks to Elevate Her Race," *American Journalism* 19 (2002): 13 -35; Iris Carlton-Laney & Sandra Carlton Alexander, "Early African American Social Welfare Pioneer Women," *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work* 10 (2001): 67-84; Patricia Davis, "The Other Southern Belles: Civil War Reenactment, African American Women, and the Performance of Idealized Femininity," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 32 (2012): 308 -31; Olga Davis, "A Black Woman as Rhetorical Critic: Validating Self and Violating the Space of Otherness," *Women's Studies in Communication* 21 (1998): 77 -90; Patricia Guthrie, "Mother Mary Ann Wright," *Women & Therapy* 16 (1995): 161-73; Janice D. Hamlet, "Assessing Womanist Thought: The Rhetoric of Susan L. Taylor," *Communication Quarterly* 48 (2000): 420 -36.

²⁹ Christina Simmons, "African Americans and Sexual Victorianism in the Social Hygiene Movement, 1910-40," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4 (1993): 58.

³⁰ Susan Kates, "The Embodied Rhetoric of Hallie Quinn Brown," *College English* 59 (1997): 59 – 71.

³¹ Maegan Parker Brooks, *A Voice that Could Stir an Army: Fannie Lou Hamer and the Rhetoric of the Black Freedom Movement* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014).

³² Marilyn Bordwell DeLaure, "Planting Seeds of Change: Ella Baker's Radical Rhetoric," *Women's Studies in Communication* 31 (2008): 1-28; Roseann Mandziuk, "Commemorating Sojourner Truth: Negotiating the Politics of Race and Gender in the Spaces of Public Memory," *Western Journal of Communication* 67 (2003): 271-91; Maegan Parker Brooks, "Oppositional Ethos: Fannie Lou Hamer and the Vernacular Persona," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 14 (2011): 511-48; Wayne N. Thompson, "Barbara Jordan's Keynote Addresses: Fulfilling Dual and Conflicting Purposes," *Central States Speech Journal* 30 (1979): 272-77; Wayne N. Thompson, "Barbara Jordan's Keynote Addresses: The Juxtaposition of Contradictory Values," *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 44 (1979): 223-32; Silva Xavier, "Engaging George Campbell's 'Sympathy' in the Rhetoric of Charlotte Forten and Ann Plato, African-American Women of the Antebellum North," *Rhetoric Review* 24 (2005): 438 – 56.

³³ Roseann M. Mandziuk, "'Grotesque and Ludicrous, but Yet Inspiring': Depictions of Sojourner Truth and Rhetorics of Domination," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 100 (2014): 467-87.

³⁴ Jacqueline Bacon, *The Humblest May Stand Forth: Rhetoric, Empowerment, and Abolition* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002); Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Style and Content in the Rhetoric of Early Afro-American Feminists," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 72 (1986): 434-45; Olga Idriss Davis, "A

Black Woman as Rhetorical Critic: Validating Self and Violating the Space of Otherness,” *Women’s Studies in Communication* 21 (1998): 77-90; Bert James Lowenberg and Ruth Bogin, eds. *Black Women in Nineteenth-Century American Life: Their Words, Their Thoughts, Their Feelings* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976); Shirley Wilson Logan, “Literacy as a Tool for Social Action Among Nineteenth-Century African American Women,” *Nineteenth Century Women Learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 179-96.

³⁵ Jacqueline Jones Royster and Molly Cochran, “Human Rights and Civil Rights: The Advocacy and Activism of African-American Women Writers,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 41 (2011): 213-30.

³⁶ Olga Idriss Davis, “A Black Woman as Rhetorical Critic: Validating Self and Violating the Space of Otherness,” *Women’s Studies in Communication* 21 (1998): 77.

³⁷ Diana Taylor, *The Archive & the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

³⁸ Please note that I use the phrases “respectability politics” and “politics of respectability” interchangeably. Both uses are based on Higginbotham’s definition.

³⁹ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women’s Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1993), 2.

⁴⁰ Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 187.

⁴¹ Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 187.

⁴² Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 188.

⁴³ Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

⁴⁴ Brittney Cooper, *Beyond Respectability: The Intellectual Thought of Race Women* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017). Listing is the performative utterance in which a rhetor says a list of prominent Black women’s names during a presentation or speech. The act of listing their names allows their intellectual thought to be grounded and appreciated in the present. For example, a scholar might list the names of Black women scholars who are not present in the physical room but nonetheless are “doing the work.”

⁴⁵ E. Frances White, *Dark Continent of Our Bodies: Black Feminism and the Politics of Respectability* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

⁴⁶ Patricia Schechter, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American Reform 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

⁴⁷ Patricia Schechter, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American Reform*, 121.

⁴⁸ Megan E. Williams, “‘Meet the Real Lena Horne’: Representations of Lena Horne in *Ebony* Magazine, 1945-1949,” *Journal of American Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 117-130.

⁴⁹ Megan E. Williams, “‘Meet the Real Lena Horne:’” 117

⁵⁰ Megan E. Williams, “‘Meet the Real Lena Horne:’” 130.

⁵¹ Theri A. Pickens, “Shoving Aside the Politics of Respectability: Black Women, Reality TV, and the Ratchet Performance,” *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 25, no. 1 (2015): 41-58.

⁵² Theri A. Pickens, “Shoving Aside the Politics of Respectability:” 41.

⁵³ Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

⁵⁴ Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 215.

⁵⁵ Tiffany M. Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics: African American Women’s Activism in the Beauty Industry* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

⁵⁶ Jane E. Dabel and Marissa Jenrich, “Co-Opting Respectability: African American Women and Economic Redress in New York City, 1860-1910,” *Journal of Urban History* 43, no. 2 (2017): 32.

⁵⁷ Catherine R. Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres,” *Communication Theory* 12 (2002): 448.

⁵⁸ John C. Lammers and Joshua B. Barbour, “An Institutional Theory of Organizational Communication,” *Communication Theory* 16 (2006): 364.

- ⁵⁹ Joep P. Cornelissen, Rodolphe Durand, Peer C. Fiss, John C. Lammers, and Eero Vaara, "Putting Communication Front and Center in Institutional Theory and Analysis," *Academy of Management Review* 40, no. 1 (2015): 11.
- ⁶⁰ John C. Lammers, "How Institutions Communicate: Institutional Messages, Institutional Logics, and Organizational Communication," *Management Communication Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (2011): 176.
- ⁶¹ Lammers, "How Institutions Communicate," 174.
- ⁶² Lammers, "How Institutions Communicate," 175.
- ⁶³ Roy Suddaby, "How Communication Institutionalizes: A Response to Lammers," *Management Communication Quarterly* 20, no. 10 (2010): 4.
- ⁶⁴ Suddaby, "How Communication Institutionalizes: A Response to Lammers," 5.
- ⁶⁵ Suddaby, "How Communication Institutionalizes: A Response to Lammers," 5.
- ⁶⁶ Joep P. Cornelissen, Rodolphe Durand, Peer C. Fiss, John C. Lammers, and Eero Vaara, "Putting Communication Front and Center in Institutional Theory and Analysis," *Academy of Management Review* 40, no. 1 (2015): 24.
- ⁶⁷ Karma Chàvez, "Counter-Public Enclaves and Understanding the Function of Rhetoric in Social Movement Coalition-Building," *Communication Quarterly*, 59 (2011): 13.
- ⁶⁸ James Boyd White, *Heracles' Bow: Essays on the Rhetoric and Poetics of Law* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), x.
- ⁶⁹ See Maurice Charland, "Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the *People Quebecois*," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73 (1987): 133-50.
- ⁷⁰ Robert Boyd, "The Great Migration to the North and the Rise of Ethnic Niches for African American Women in Beauty Culture and Hairdressing, 1910 – 1920," *Sociological Focus* 29 (1996): 33 -35; Nina Banks, "Uplifting the Race Through Domesticity: Capitalism, African-American Migration, and the Household Economy in the Great Migration Era of 1916 – 1930," *Feminist Economics* 12 (2006): 599 – 624; Ellen Mutari, Marilyn Power, and Deborah M. Figart, "Neither Mothers Nor Breadwinners: African American Women's Exclusion From the US Minimum Wage Policies, 1912- 1938," *Feminist Economics* 8 (2002): 37 – 61; Venus Green, "Not Your Average Fraternal Organization: The IBPOEW and Labor Activism, 1935 – 1950," *Labor History* 53 (2012): 471 – 94.
- ⁷¹ Christopher Reed, *Black Chicago's First Century: Volume 1, 1833-1990* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005). See more at: <http://www.blackpast.org/aah/olivet-baptist-church-obc-chicago-illinois-1850#sthash.Hlgv6TIU.dpuf>.
- ⁷² Reed, *Black Chicago's First Century: Volume 1, 1833-1990*.
- ⁷³ "Queer Bronzeville: The History of African American Gays and Lesbians on Chicago's South Side," OutHistory.org, accessed June 27, 2016, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queer-bronzeville/part-2/religious-leaders>
- ⁷⁴ David Zarefsky, "Four Senses of Rhetorical History," in *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases*, ed. Kathleen J. Turner (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 30.
- ⁷⁵ David Zarefsky, "Four Senses of Rhetorical History," 30.
- ⁷⁶ David Zarefsky, "Four Senses of Rhetorical History," 31.
- ⁷⁷ David Zarefsky, "Four Senses of Rhetorical History," 31.
- ⁷⁸ Kathleen J. Ryan, "Recasting Recovery and Gender Critique as Inventive Arts: Constructing Edited Collections in Feminist Rhetorical Studies," *Rhetoric Review* 25 (2006): 24.
- ⁷⁹ Ryan, "Recasting Recovery and Gender Critique as Inventive Arts," 36.
- ⁸⁰ Carol Mattingly, "Telling Evidence: Rethinking What Counts in Rhetoric," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 32 (2002): 105.
- ⁸¹ Please see the following links to review the course syllabi: Heather Hayes, <http://static1.squarespace.com/static/515a1658e4b0e6ea87dfc1fe/t/525884d1e4b077ec7f467bcd/1381532881454/4616+Syllabus.pdf>; James Jasinski, <http://www.pugetsound.edu/faculty-pages/jjasinski>; and Martin Medhurst, <http://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/134932.pdf>
- ⁸² Ryan, "Recasting Recovery and Gender Critique as Inventive Arts," 24.
- ⁸³ Mattingly, "Telling Evidence: Rethinking What Counts in Rhetoric," 105.

⁸⁴ The Vivian Harsh Research Collection is the primary location of most of the materials that have been collected.

⁸⁵ “The Immigration Act of 1924,” Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, United States Department of State, accessed September 8, 2016, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>. In 1907, the Japanese Government had voluntarily limited Japanese immigration to the United States in the Gentlemen’s Agreement. The Philippines was a U.S. colony, so its citizens were U.S. nationals and could travel freely to the United States. China was not included in the Barred Zone, but the Chinese were already denied immigration visas under the Chinese Exclusion Act.

⁸⁶ “The Immigration Act of 1924,” Office of the Historian, accessed September 8, 2016.

⁸⁷ “The Immigration Act of 1924,” Office of the Historian, accessed September 8, 2016.

⁸⁸ “The Immigration Act of 1924,” Office of the Historian, accessed September 8, 2016.

⁸⁹ “The Immigration Act of 1924,” Office of the Historian, accessed September 8, 2016.

⁹⁰ “The Immigration Act of 1924,” Office of the Historian, accessed September 8, 2016.

⁹¹ The census records indicate that the majority of the immigrants came from Northwestern Europe: England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and France. There were almost two million people who migrated from Northwestern Europe in the early twentieth century. The Countries that represented Central and Eastern Europe migrants included Germany, Austria, and Hungary. As World War II loomed, however, migration slowed significantly.

⁹² Abstract of the Fourteenth census of the United States, 1920. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off. 1923; United States Census, “Census of Population and Housing, 1930,” accessed July 11, 2016, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>; United States Census, “Census of Population and Housing, 1940,” accessed July 11, 2016, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>. Additionally, important to note that the census recorded Mexicans as White before 1930.

⁹³ The internal migration report from the U.S. Census did not account for race, ethnicity, or sex. Instead, it tracked the categories of native versus foreign born.

⁹⁴ John Chika Agboso Ndulue, *Urban Black Adaptation and Successful Entrepreneurship in Chicago: An Extended Case Study of a Black-owned and Operated Construction Industry* (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1985), 48.

⁹⁵ Ndulue, *Urban Black Adaptation and Successful Entrepreneurship in Chicago: An Extended Case Study of a Black-owned and Operated Construction Industry*, 43-44.

⁹⁶ James R. Grossman, “The ‘Chicago Defender’ and Black Migration During World War I,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 78, no. 2 (1985): 82 – 96.

⁹⁷ Grossman, “The ‘Chicago Defender’ and Black Migration During World War I,” 82. According to Grossman, the numbers ranged from 400,000 to 500,000.

⁹⁸ Grossman, “The ‘Chicago Defender’ and Black Migration During World War I,” 82, 86. For example, articles about lynchings next to articles about “migration fever” were used strategically as reminders that remaining in the South was unwise. See also Alan D. DeSantis, “Selling the American Dream Myth to Black Southerners: The Chicago *Defender* and the Great Migration of 1915-1919” *Western Journal of Communication* 62, no. 4 (1998): 474-511.

⁹⁹ Christopher Robert Reed, *Knock at the Door of Opportunity* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2014).

¹⁰⁰ Christopher Robert Reed, *The Rise of Chicago’s Black Metropolis 1920 – 1929* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011).

¹⁰¹ Reed, *The Rise of Chicago’s Black Metropolis 1920 – 1929*, 123.

¹⁰² Reed, *The Rise of Chicago’s Black Metropolis 1920 – 1929*, 122.

¹⁰³ Reed, *Knock at the Door of Opportunity*.

¹⁰⁴ Robert L. Boyd, “The Northern ‘Black Metropolis’ of the Early Twentieth Century: A Reappraisal.” *Sociological Inquiry* 81, no. 1 (2011): 88.

¹⁰⁵ Michael D. Bordo, Claudia Dale Golden, and Eugene Nelson White, *The Defining Moment: The Great Depression and the American Economy in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998).

- ¹⁰⁶ Bordo, Golden, and White, *The Defining Moment: The Great Depression and the American Economy in the Twentieth Century*, 230.
- ¹⁰⁷ Felecia G. Jones Ross and Joseph P. McKerns, "Depression in the 'The Promised Land': The *Chicago Defender* Discourages Migration, 1929 – 1940," *American Journalism* 21, no. 1 (2004): 53-73.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ross and McKerns, "Depression in the 'The Promised Land': The *Chicago Defender* Discourages Migration, 1929 – 1940," 63.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ross and McKerns, "Depression in the 'The Promised Land': The *Chicago Defender* Discourages Migration, 1929 – 1940," 67.
- ¹¹⁰ Ndulue, *Urban Black Adaptation and Successful Entrepreneurship in Chicago: An Extended Case Study of a Black-owned and Operated Construction Industry*.
- ¹¹¹ Reed, *The Rise of Chicago's Black Metropolis 1920-1929*. See Reed's discussion of Daniel "Dan" Jackson, Oscar DePriest, Edward Wright, and others from the Southside who participated in electoral politics during the early half of the twentieth century.
- ¹¹² Andrew Strouthous, *US Labor and Political Action, 1918-24: A Comparison of Independent Political Action in New York, Chicago, and Seattle* (New York: S. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000).
- ¹¹³ Strouthous, *US Labor and Political Action*, 15.
- ¹¹⁴ Strouthous, *US Labor and Political Action*, 14.
- ¹¹⁵ Maureen A. Flanagan, "Politics." In *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago Historical Society, 2005. Accessed October 5, 2015; Strouthous, *US Labor and Political Action*, 54-55.
- ¹¹⁶ Margaret Garb, *Freedom's Ballot: African American Political Struggles in Chicago from Abolition to the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).
- ¹¹⁷ Ndulue, *Urban Black Adaptation and Successful Entrepreneurship in Chicago: An Extended Case Study of a Black-owned and Operated Construction Industry*.
- ¹¹⁸ Boyd, "The Northern 'Black Metropolis' of the Early Twentieth Century: A Reappraisal," 91.
- ¹¹⁹ See a discussion of the goals and aims of northern urban centers as bastions of hope, self-sufficiency, and entrepreneurial success in Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 115-16. See also August Meier and Elliot Rudwick *From Plantation to Ghetto* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 252.
- ¹²⁰ Reed, *The Rise of Chicago's Black Metropolis 1920 – 1929*.
- ¹²¹ Garb, *Freedom's Ballot: African American Political Struggles in Chicago from Abolition to the Great Migration*, 147.
- ¹²² Garb, *Freedom's Ballot: African American Political Struggles in Chicago from Abolition to the Great Migration*, 149.
- ¹²³ Strouthous, *US Labor and Political Action*, 54.
- ¹²⁴ Flanagan, "Politics."
- ¹²⁵ That is, having a centralized government was effective because the bulk of the population lived and worked in the city.
- ¹²⁶ Flanagan, "Politics."
- ¹²⁷ Edward C. Banfield and James Q Wilson, *City Politics* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 115. See also Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).
- ¹²⁸ See Amy Bridges, *Big City in the Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Stephen Erie, *Rainbow's End* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Thomas M. Guterbock, *Machine Politics in Transition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); and Clarence N. Stone, *Regime Politics* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1989).
- ¹²⁹ Clarence N. Stone and Heywood T. Sanders, eds., *The Politics of Urban Development* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1987).
- ¹³⁰ Wallace Best, "The *Chicago Defender* and the Realignment of Black Chicago," *Chicago History*, Fall 1995, 5.
- ¹³¹ William J. Grimshaw, "Unraveling the Enigma: Mayor Harold Washington and the Black Political Tradition," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (1987): 187-206.

- ¹³² Christopher Robert Reed, "Black Chicago Political Realignment during the Great Depression and New Deal," *Illinois Historical Journal* 78, no. 4 (1985): 242-56; Grimshaw, "Unraveling the Enigma."
- ¹³³ Reed, "Black Chicago Political Realignment;" Grimshaw, "Unraveling the Enigma," 188;
- ¹³⁴ Grimshaw, "Unraveling the Enigma," 188.
- ¹³⁵ "Party Realignment and the New Deal," History, Art & Archives: United States House of Representatives, accessed February 15, 2016, <http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Keeping-the-Faith/Party-Realignment--New-Deal/>
- ¹³⁶ "Party Realignment and the New Deal," History, Art & Archives: United States House of Representatives.
- ¹³⁷ Best, "The *Chicago Defender* and the Realignment of Black Chicago," 5.
- ¹³⁸ Best, "The *Chicago Defender* and the Realignment of Black Chicago," 5.
- ¹³⁹ Best, "The *Chicago Defender* and the Realignment of Black Chicago," 7.
- ¹⁴⁰ Best, "The *Chicago Defender* and the Realignment of Black Chicago," 20.
- ¹⁴¹ Reed, *Knock at the Door of Opportunity*, xi.
- ¹⁴² William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Antheneum, 1970), 12.
- ¹⁴³ Reed, *Knock at the Door of Opportunity*, xi.
- ¹⁴⁴ Reed, *Knock at the Door of Opportunity*, 296-97.
- ¹⁴⁵ Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*, 21.
- ¹⁴⁶ Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*, 156.
- ¹⁴⁷ Reed, *Knock at the Door of Opportunity*, 303.
- ¹⁴⁸ Reed, *Knock at the Door of Opportunity*, 303.
- ¹⁴⁹ Flanagan, "Politics"; Garb, *Freedom's Ballot: African American Political Struggles in Chicago from Abolition to the Great Migration*; Reed, *The Rise of Chicago's Black Metropolis 1920 – 1929*.
- ¹⁵⁰ Marcia Chatelain, *South Side Girls: Growing up in the Great Migration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 92.
- ¹⁵¹ Chatelain, *South Side Girls: Growing up in the Great Migration*, 128.
- ¹⁵² Ethan Michaeli, *The Defender: How the Legendary Black Newspaper Changed America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 64.
- ¹⁵³ Melvin Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 5.
- ¹⁵⁴ Melvin Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 8.
- ¹⁵⁵ The quotation used at the beginning of the chapter was from the January 15, 1916, which addressed the "labor question."
- ¹⁵⁶ The preamble for the Industrial Workers of the World includes this phrase as a rebuttal to more conservative mottos.
- ¹⁵⁷ Melvin Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 12.
- ¹⁵⁸ Melvin Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 78.
- ¹⁵⁹ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 3-3, Minutes – 15th Convention, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University
- ¹⁶⁰ In particular, IWW references migration in the pamphlets, the organization of domestics in the United States covered the dates of 1870-1940 with the IWW making strides in organizing them in the 1900s, and the lynching image dated 1916 would have had more potency post-1916 and when Black folks still experienced lynching violence in the United States southern states.
- ¹⁶¹ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 166, Justice for the Negro, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.
- ¹⁶² The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 166, Justice for the Negro.
- ¹⁶³ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 166, Justice for the Negro.
- ¹⁶⁴ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 166, Justice for the Negro.
- ¹⁶⁵ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 166, Justice for the Negro.
- ¹⁶⁶ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 166, Justice for the Negro.

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- ¹⁶⁷ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 166, Justice for the Negro.
- ¹⁶⁸ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 166, Justice for the Negro.
- ¹⁶⁹ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 166, Justice for the Negro.
- ¹⁷⁰ Patricia Bernstein, *The First Waco Horror: The Lynching of Jesse Washington and the Rise of the NAACP* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006).
- ¹⁷¹ Philip S. Foner, "The I.W.W. and the Black Worker," *The Journal of Negro History* 55, no. 1 (1970): 48.
- ¹⁷² The use of slave/master is commonplace in union work; however, it falls short when considering the actual form of slavery that Blacks experienced.
- ¹⁷³ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 158, Colored Workers of America, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.
- ¹⁷⁴ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 158, Colored Workers of America.
- ¹⁷⁵ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 158, Colored Workers of America.
- ¹⁷⁶ Hina Shah and Marci Seville, "Domestic Worker Organizing: Building a Contemporary Movement for Dignity and Power," *Albany Law Review* 75, no. 1 (2012): 419. Jane Street, a domestic worker and organizer of the Domestic Workers Industrial Union IWW Local 113, inspired other successful organization efforts in cities around the U.S., including Chicago.
- ¹⁷⁷ Hina Shah and Marci Seville, "Domestic Worker Organizing": 413-46
- ¹⁷⁸ I use the same definition for domestic service as the one offered by Hina Shah and Marci Seville, "Domestic Worker Organizing: Building a Contemporary Movement for Dignity and Power," *Albany Law Review* 75, no. 1 (2012): 413-46.
- ¹⁷⁹ Marcia Chatelain, *South Side Girls: Growing up in the Great Migration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).
- ¹⁸⁰ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers: How They Work and How They Live, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.
- ¹⁸¹ According to Thomas Jaconetty and Nicole Jaconetty's article, "An Historical Perspective on the Juvenile Court Movement in Chicago (1890-1930) and Its Impact and Continuing Social and Legal Implications," JPAC conducted a series of reports on the commercial vice districts in Chicago from 1923-1926. Please see: The John Marshall Law School's Restorative Justice Project: <http://www.jmls.edu/restorative-justice/> for more information.
- ¹⁸² The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁸³ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁸⁴ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁸⁵ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁸⁶ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁸⁷ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁸⁸ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁸⁹ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁹⁰ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁹¹ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁹² The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁹³ The Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Box 163, Hotels, Restaurants and Domestic Workers.
- ¹⁹⁴ Hina Shah and Marci Seville, "Domestic Worker Organizing": 413-46.
- ¹⁹⁵ See: Hina Shah and Marci Seville, "Domestic Worker Organizing: Building a Contemporary Movement for Dignity and Power," *Albany Law Review* 75, no. 1 (2012): 413-46; Donna L. Van Raaphorst, *Union Maids Not Wanted: Organizing Domestic Workers, 1870-1940* (New York: Praeger, 1988); Peggie Smith, "Organizing the Unorganizable: Private Paid Household Workers and Approaches to Employee Representation," *North Carolina Law Review* 79, no. 1 (2000): 45 -110.
- ¹⁹⁶ Hina Shah and Marci Seville, "Domestic Worker Organizing": 413-46.

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- ¹⁹⁷ There is secondary evidence of union success with Black longshoremen in Philadelphia. In Chicago, the existing secondary source by Shah and Seville indicated that the IWW duplicated its successful recruitment of domestic workers in Chicago.
- ¹⁹⁸ St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945), 248.
- ¹⁹⁹ Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life* 248.
- ²⁰⁰ Robert Bone and Richard A. Courage, *The Muse in Bronzeville: African American Creative Expression in Chicago 1932-1950* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 2.
- ²⁰¹ Bone and Courage, *The Muse in Bronzeville* 99.
- ²⁰² Bone and Courage, *The Muse in Bronzeville* 99.
- ²⁰³ Bone and Courage, *The Muse in Bronzeville* 99.
- ²⁰⁴ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, NANM Constitution and Bylaws July 1919, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.
- ²⁰⁵ Bone and Courage, *The Muse in Bronzeville* 64.
- ²⁰⁶ Bone and Courage, *The Muse in Bronzeville* 66. Black and tans were establishments that allowed the intermingling of Blacks and Whites.
- ²⁰⁷ Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 135.
- ²⁰⁸ Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, 135.
- ²⁰⁹ Old Settlers, those who migrated prior to the Great Migration, emphasized the use of European composed music in churches. By not being demonstrative during church service, Black folks could illustrate their highbrow, middle class sensibilities. Olivet Baptist and Cosmopolitan Community Church both valued restrained audiences.
- ²¹⁰ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, NANM Constitution and Bylaws I 1:12, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.
- ²¹¹ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, Music and Poetry column: History of NANM, NANM I 1:8 Chronological History of NANM July 1921 Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.
- ²¹² The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, Constitution and Bylaws, NANM Constitution and Bylaws I 1:12.
- ²¹³ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, The Musical World Pertinent Comment, NANM I 1:6 Conference of Colored Musicians at Dunbar 17 May 1919, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.
- ²¹⁴ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, The Musical World Pertinent Comment, NANM I 1:6.
- ²¹⁵ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, The Musical World Pertinent Comment, NANM I 1:6.
- ²¹⁶ It is important to note that the organization transitions over time to include amateur artists; however, its earliest manifestation included only trained musicians, educators, and composers.
- ²¹⁷ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, Music News. Nora Holt Chicago Defender July 1919, NANM I 1:9 Conference of Colored Musicians at Dunbar 17 May 1919, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL. The article was contributed by Leonard Liebling, the editor-in-chief of the Musical Courier.
- ²¹⁸ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, Musicians Organize National Association; Holt, Nora; Cdef, Aug 1919, NANM I 1:11 Musicians Organize National Association 9 August 1919, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL. Rosa Raisa was a naturalized citizen of Polish descent who was Italian trained Russian-Jewish operatic soprano.
- ²¹⁹ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, From the Minutes of the First Annual Meeting of the National Association of Negro Musicians, NANM I 1:12 Constitution and Bylaws July 1919.

²²⁰ Additional information about E.A. Hackley is available via the E. Azalia Hackley Collection of African Americans in the Performing Arts, Detroit Public Library.

²²¹ Nickerson's biography is available as a part of Louisiana's "Folklife in Louisiana: Louisiana's Living Tradition" project, located here

http://www.louisianafolklife.org/LT/Articles_Essays/lfmcontributions.html. Additionally, her personal papers are available at Howard University: Camille Lucie Nickerson Papers, Collection 161-1 to 161-19.

²²² Jacob Goldberg, "Paying Their Dues: African-American Musicians and Early Musicians' Union," *Allegro* 114, no. 2 (2014).

²²³ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music: Mme. E.A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music, NANM Papers I 1:19 Mme. E. A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music 14 August 1920, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.

²²⁴ Lisa Pertillar Brevard, *A Biography of E. Azalia Hackley, 1867-1922 African American Singer and Social Activist* (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellen Press, 2001).

²²⁵ Brevard, *A Biography of E. Azalia Hackley, 1867-1922*.

²²⁶ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music: Mme. E.A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music, NANM Papers I 1:19 Mme. E. A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music 14 August 1920.

²²⁷ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music: Mme. E.A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music, NANM Papers I 1:19 Mme. E. A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music 14 August 1920.

²²⁸ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music: Mme. E.A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music, NANM Papers I 1:19 Mme. E. A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music 14 August 1920.

²²⁹ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music: Mme. E.A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music, NANM Papers I 1:19 Mme. E. A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music 14 August 1920.

²³⁰ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music: Mme. E.A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music, NANM Papers I 1:19 Mme. E. A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music 14 August 1920.

²³¹ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music: Mme. E.A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music, NANM Papers I 1:19 Mme. E. A. Hackley Gives Some Comments on Negro Music 14 August 1920.

²³² E. Azalia Hackley's fair skin and hair could have permitted her the ability to pass for white. She refused, however, and worked until her death to promote racial pride through music. The year following the publication of her letter to the editor, Hackley died in Detroit, Michigan.

²³³ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music: Comments on Use of Negro Musicians by Race Musicians, NANM Papers I 1:20 Replies to Hackley's Letter: Comments on Use of Negro Music by Race Musicians, 18 September 1921, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.

²³⁴ Listed on the NANM's website, one of the purposes of the current organization is to "encourage the use of Negro Folk Themes as a basis for composition."

²³⁵ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music, NANM Papers I 1:29 "Music Journals' Merger is Declared Off by Mrs. Holt" 13 September 1921, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.

²³⁶ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music, NANM Papers I 1:29 "Music Journals' Merger is Declared Off by Mrs. Holt" 13 September 1921.

²³⁷ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, In the Realm of Music, NANM Papers I 1:29 "Music Journals' Merger is Declared Off by Mrs. Holt" 13 September 1921.

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- ²³⁸ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, The President's Annual Address Lillian LeMon, 1933, NANM Papers I 1:69 Lillian LeMon, President's Address at the 1931 Convention, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.
- ²³⁹ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, The President's Annual Address Lillian LeMon, 1933, NANM Papers I 1:69 Lillian LeMon, President's Address.
- ²⁴⁰ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, The President's Annual Address Lillian LeMon, 1933, NANM Papers I 1:69 Lillian LeMon, President's Address.
- ²⁴¹ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, NANM Papers I 1:73 Lillian LeMon, president's message to the convention 26 August 1933, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.
- ²⁴² The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, NANM Papers I 1:73 Lillian LeMon, president's message to the convention 26 August 1933.
- ²⁴³ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, NANM Papers I 1:73 Lillian LeMon, president's message to the convention 26 August 1933.
- ²⁴⁴ The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection, NANM Papers I 1:73 Lillian LeMon, president's message to the convention 26 August 1933.
- ²⁴⁵ The National Association of Negro Musicians, Collection, NANM Papers I 1:76 Camille Lucie Nickerson, president's address to the convention, August 1937, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, IL.
- ²⁴⁶ The National Association of Negro Musicians, Collection, NANM Papers I 1:76 Camille Lucie Nickerson, president's address to the convention.
- ²⁴⁷ The National Association of Negro Musicians, Collection, NANM Papers I 1:76 Camille Lucie Nickerson, president's address to the convention.
- ²⁴⁸ The National Association of Negro Musicians, Collection, NANM Papers I 1:76 Camille Lucie Nickerson, president's address to the convention.
- ²⁴⁹ For a sample of scholarship on feminine style, I recommend: Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric*, vol.1 (New York: Praeger, 1989); Olga Idriss Davis, "A Black Woman as Rhetorical Critic: Validating Self and Violating the Space of Otherness," *Women's Studies in Communication* 21 (1998): 77-90 and Bonnie J. Dow, "Feminism, Difference(s), and Rhetorical Studies," *Communication Quarterly* 46 (1995): 106-17.
- ²⁵⁰ Lucy Parsons was the second woman who joined IWW. As a woman of color, she saw race and gender as intertwined with class and was one of IWW's most vocal critics of the employing class during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Limited information about Lucy Parsons is available here: <https://iww.org/history/biography/LucyParsons/1> and <http://www.blackpast.org/1886-lucy-parsons-i-am-anarchist>
- ²⁵¹ Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, 137.
- ²⁵² Benjamin E. Mays and J.W. Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933).
- ²⁵³ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in America* (New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1966); Benjamin E. Mays and J.W. Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933); Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1921).
- ²⁵⁴ For example, Mississippians established Liberty Baptist Church, located on the South Side of Chicago, in 1917.
- ²⁵⁵ The health of the race depended on the health and status of Black women.
- ²⁵⁶ Please note that the institutional documents available from each church varies.
- ²⁵⁷ Lacy Kirk Williams, "Effects of Urbanization on Religious Life," *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, January 13, 1929.
- ²⁵⁸ Jacquelyn Grant, "Black Women and the Church," in *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us are Brave*, 2nd ed., ed. Akasha (Gloria) Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith (New York: The Feminist Press, 2015), 141.

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- ²⁵⁹ “Cosmopolitan Community Church,” *Chicago Defender*, June 25, 1932, National edition.
- ²⁶⁰ George White, “Woman Pastor’s Faith Is Her Guiding Light: Her Dream Came True,” *Chicago Defender*, July 31, 1943, National edition.
- ²⁶¹ “Men Rally to ‘Out-Of-Debt’ Aim of Cosmopolitan Rev.; Goal Near; Praise Rev. Evans,” *Chicago Defender*, November 7, 1936, National edition.
- ²⁶² “Cosmopolitan Community Church,” *Chicago Defender*, June 25, 1932, National edition.
- ²⁶³ “Cosmopolitan Community Church,” *Chicago Defender*, June 25, 1932, National edition.
- ²⁶⁴ “Men Rally to ‘Out-Of-Debt’ Aim of Cosmopolitan Rev.; Goal Near; Praise Rev. Evans,” *Chicago Defender*, November 7, 1936, National edition.
- ²⁶⁵ “Obituaries,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1966.
- ²⁶⁶ “Obituaries,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1966.
- ²⁶⁷ “Obituaries,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1966.
- ²⁶⁸ “Obituaries,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1966.
- ²⁶⁹ “Obituaries,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1966.
- ²⁷⁰ “Obituaries,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1966.
- ²⁷¹ “Queer Bronzeville: The History of African American Gays and Lesbians on Chicago’s South Side,” OutHistory.org, accessed June 27, 2016, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queer-bronzeville/part-2/religious-leaders>.
- ²⁷² “Queer Bronzeville: The Emergence of Queer Networks in Bronzeville (1910-1940),” OutHistory.org, accessed June 27, 2016, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queer-bronzeville/part-1>.
- ²⁷³ Olivet Baptist Church, “Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L.K. Williams,” [1922], Olivet Baptist Church Collection, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.
- ²⁷⁴ Olivet Baptist Church, “Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary.”
- ²⁷⁵ Olivet Baptist Church, “Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary.”
- ²⁷⁶ Installed in 1916, Reverend Lacy Kirk Williams served until his death in 1940 due to a plane crash.
- ²⁷⁷ Olivet Baptist Church, “Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary.”
- ²⁷⁸ The pastor was a staunch Republican and often used his status and pulpit to advance Republican ideals during the party’s realignment of the 1930s. Reverend Williams was on his way to give a speech to 300 republicans at a Wilkie rally. See: David W. Kellum, “Two Members Die When Told of Rev. L.K. Williams Death,” *Chicago Defender*, November 9, 1940.
- ²⁷⁹ Martha Simmons and Frank A. Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire: An Anthology of African American Sermons, 1750 to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2010), 476.
- ²⁸⁰ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 476.
- ²⁸¹ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 476.
- ²⁸² Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Daughters of Thunder: Black Women Preachers and Their Sermons, 1850-1979* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998), 152.
- ²⁸³ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 3], Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature. In the original text, “live” is in all capital letters.
- ²⁸⁴ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 3].
- ²⁸⁵ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 3].
- ²⁸⁶ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 2], Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.
- ²⁸⁷ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 2].
- ²⁸⁸ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 4], Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.
- ²⁸⁹ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 4].
- ²⁹⁰ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 7], Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.
- ²⁹¹ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 7].

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- ²⁹² Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 7].
- ²⁹³ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 7], italics added.
- ²⁹⁴ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 5], Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.
- ²⁹⁵ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 5].
- ²⁹⁶ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 5].
- ²⁹⁷ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 7].
- ²⁹⁸ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 7].
- ²⁹⁹ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 4], Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.
- ³⁰⁰ Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers, [Box 17, Folder 4].
- ³⁰¹ Collier-Thomas, *Daughters of Thunder*, 152.
- ³⁰² Olivet Baptist Church had a mixed congregation. Mixed congregation refers to the blend of educated and uneducated classes in the same audience. Cayton and Drake coined the term “mixed-type” preaching. Only pastors who were particularly skillful at preaching were successful in this approach. See: Horace R. Cayton and St. Clair Drake, and William Julius Wilson, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- ³⁰³ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 477.
- ³⁰⁴ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 477.
- ³⁰⁵ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 477.
- ³⁰⁶ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 476.
- ³⁰⁷ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 478.
- ³⁰⁸ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 481.
- ³⁰⁹ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 480.
- ³¹⁰ Reverend J. H. Jackson papers [manuscript], Box 32, Folder 1936 June – December, “The New Age” Chicago History Museum Research Collection.
- ³¹¹ Reverend J. H. Jackson papers [manuscript], Box 32.
- ³¹² Reverend J. H. Jackson papers [manuscript], Box 32.
- ³¹³ Reverend J. H. Jackson papers [manuscript], Box 32
- ³¹⁴ Reverend J. H. Jackson papers [manuscript], Box 32.
- ³¹⁵ Reverend J. H. Jackson papers [manuscript], Box 32.
- ³¹⁶ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 479.
- ³¹⁷ Simmons and Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire* 479.
- ³¹⁸ In sermons published, Evans’s sermon is one page, Williams’s sermon is seven pages, and Jackson’s spans 15 pages.
- ³¹⁹ Wallace D. Best, *Passionately Human, No Less Divine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 153.
- ³²⁰ Elder Lucy Smith is an exception. When she first arrived to Chicago, she told people that her husband left her and their children. A short time later, he joined her in Chicago but it is unclear whether they ever lived together as husband and wife once he arrived to Illinois. Traditionally, when a married woman like Reverend Addie Wyatt, for example, pastored a church, she often shared the responsibility with her husband. Other than Lucy Smith, Black women did not pastor by themselves. For more information on Elder Lucy Smith and Reverend Addie Wyatt, please see their personal papers located at the Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature in the Woodson Regional Library of the Chicago Public Library system.
- ³²¹ Ekaterina V. Haskins, “‘Put Your Stamp on History’: The USPS Commemorative Program *Celebrate the Century* and Postmodern Collective Memory,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89, no. 1 (2003): 2.
- ³²² My use of “memory book” is based on the archivist labeling of the anniversary booklet.
- ³²³ *Chicago Daily Defender* (Big Weekend Edition), “Cosmopolitan Salutes Two Pioneering Leaders,” January 11, 1969.

³²⁴ Virginia Abner's children grew up in Cosmopolitan Community Church's children church and participated in church activities. At the time of the writing of the article in the *Chicago Defender*, Abner's children achieved the following distinctions: Dr. David Abner was a graduate of Indiana University and the head of the business administration department at Texas Southern University; Willoughby Abner was a graduate of John Marshall Law School and the special assistant to the federal director of mediation and conciliation in Washington; Ewart Abner was a graduate of DuPaul University and vice president of Motown Records in Detroit; Edward Virgil Abner was an opera singer and psychologist who was working on a Ph.D. at the University of Michigan; Theodore Abner served in the military; Virginia A. Newman graduated from Teachers College and was a teacher while her sister, Rosemary Ellison attended Wilson Junior College and was a national bowling champion and instructor. For more information about long-time members Virginia Abner and Minnie Cook, please see: *Chicago Daily Defender (Big Weekend Edition)*, "Cosmopolitan Salutes Two Pioneering Leaders," January 11, 1969.

³²⁵ Best discusses the remarks about Evans beauty and youth in: Wallace D. Best, *Passionately Human, No Less Divine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013). Additionally, several articles in the *Chicago Defender* reference her youthful look, trendy hairstyle, attractiveness.

³²⁶ Best discussed her rule about no makeup or jewelry for any church staff. Wallace D. Best, *Passionately Human, No Less Divine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

³²⁷ Chicago Public Library, Vivian Harsh Research Collection, Reverend Mary G. Evans Box 17, Folder 23, Church Memory Book. The original script at the bottom of the eleventh page reads – "S.B. The above amounts were raised through Tithes and Offerings, NO pay entertainments of any kind."

³²⁸ Best, *Passionately Human, No Less Divine* 150.

³²⁹ Best, *Passionately Human, No Less Divine* 150.

³³⁰ For more information, please see the official Boy Scouts of America website: www.scouting.org and the official Girl Scouts of America website: www.girlscouts.org.

³³¹ Best, *Passionately Human, No Less Divine* 153.

³³² Please note that the page length difference may have resulted in missing pages from Cosmopolitan Community Church's original memory book.

³³³ Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary." Italics and capitalization used in the original advertisement.

³³⁴ Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary."

³³⁵ Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary."

³³⁶ Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary."

³³⁷ Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Church and Six Years Pastorate of Dr. L.K. Williams."

³³⁸ Olivet Baptist Church, "Greetings Celebrating the Seventy-Second Anniversary."

³³⁹ Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes* 40.

³⁴⁰ Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes* 40.

³⁴¹ Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*.

³⁴² Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*; Anne Meis Knupfer, "'Toward a Tenderer Humanity and A Nobler Womanhood': African American Women's Clubs in Chicago, 1890-1920," *Journal of Women's History* 7, no. 3 (1995): 58-76; Pamela E. Klassen, "The Robes of Womanhood: Dress and Authenticity among African American Methodist Women in the Nineteenth Century," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 14, no. 1 (2004): 39-82.

³⁴³ Maulana Karenga, "African American Studies and the Problematic of Paradigm: The Philosophical Dimension," *Journal of African American Studies* 18, no. 4 (1988): 398.

³⁴⁴ Karma R. Chàvez, "Beyond Inclusion: Rethinking Rhetoric's Historical Narrative," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 101, no. 1 (2015): 162-72.

³⁴⁵ "HerStory: New Chicago Group Serving Black Girls Says Funding Women Funds Communities," E-News Park Forest, last modified April 3, 2017, accessed April 25, 2017, <https://enewspf.com/2017/04/03/herstory-new-chicago-group-serving-black-girls-says-funding-women-funds-communities/>.

³⁴⁶ For more information, the World Bank has a dedicated section, “Gender,” on their website, which can be found here: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/gender>.

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Archival Resources

Camille Lucie Nickerson Papers. Howard University Archives, Howard University Libraries and the Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Washington, D.C.

E. Azalia Hackley Collection of African Americans in the Performing Arts. Detroit Public Library, Detroit.

Marjorie Stewart Joyner Papers. Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago.

Olivet Baptist Church. Olivet Baptist Church Collection, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.

The Industrial Workers of the World Collection. Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit.

The National Association of Negro Musicians Collection. Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago.