The Black Church: A Hegemonic and Counter-Hegemonic Community Influence

Rupe Simms
Loyola University Chicago

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss

Part of the Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons

Recommended Citation
https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/3688

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License.

Copyright © 1997 Rupe Simms
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE BLACK CHURCH: A HEGEMONIC AND COUNTER-HEGEMONIC COMMUNITY INFLUENCE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

BY

RUPE SIMMS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JANUARY 1997
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. INTRODUCTORY ISSUES</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Thesis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Definition of Terms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem and the Literature Review</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Preview of Chapters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. THE RESEARCH DESIGN</strong></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Proposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Data Collection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Data Analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Data Display</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Data Presentation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conclusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. THE PRODUCTION OF IDEOLOGIES IN BLACK CHICAGO 1840-1996</strong></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Migration and Ideology of the 1840s-1916</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Migration and Ideology of 1916-1930</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Migration and Ideology of 1930-Present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conclusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. THE IDEA PRODUCTION OF ST. LUKE CHURCH, CHICAGO FELLOWSHIP OF FRIENDS, AND LIGHT OF LIBERTY CHURCH</strong></td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ideology of St. Luke Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>iii</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Ideology of Chicago Fellowship of Friends

The Ideology of Light of Liberty Church

The Cross-case Analysis and Results

5. THE CONCLUSION ........................................ 268

The Black Church: A Historically Hegemonic Institution

The Black Church: A Potentially Counter-hegemonic Institution

Appendix

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHURCH LEADERS AND MEMBERS ............. 287

WORKS CITED ............................................. 290

VITA .......................................................... 307
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTORY ISSUES

The Christian Church has been the indisputable epicenter of cultural development in the African-American community from the early days of slavery to the present. Lincoln discusses this institution as a source of social and intellectual formation, stating:

The Black Church has no challenger as the cultural womb of the black community. Not only did it give birth to new institutions such as schools, banks, insurance companies, and low income housing, it also provided an academy and an area for political activities, and it nurtured young talent for musical, dramatic, and artistic development.¹

¹C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, The Black Church in the African American Experience (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 8. Lincoln's view of the church is held by the large majority of scholars writing on the Black experience from varying perspectives. For example, Aldon D. Morris, professor of sociology at Northwestern University, identifies the church as "the dominant institution within black society" as he discusses the role of the church in the Civil Rights Movement in The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change (New York: The Free Press, 1984), 4. Similarly, Theophus H. Smith, professor of religion at Emory University, views the church as the political and religious center of the Black community and the Scriptures as its "conjure book" in Conjuring Culture: Biblical Formations of Black America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) as he traces the history of African-American religion. Finally, Abdul Alkalimat, in an African-American history for college students, identifies the church as "the most important social institution in the Black community." Introduction to Afro-American Studies: A Peoples College Primer (Chicago: Twenty First Century Books and Publications, 1973), 190.
The idea of the church as the cultural fountainhead of the community provokes challenging questions for the sociologist. What is the nature of the church-produced culture? How does that culture influence community values? What is the political orientation of the church as a culture-producing institution? Does the church reproduce hegemony and thereby stabilize social inequality, or does it exert a counter-hegemonic influence in opposition to ruling class domination?

The Thesis

This study will address these questions as they apply to three of Chicago’s African-American churches. It will give emphasis to Gramsci’s notion of hegemony as a type of leadership through culture in which one class dominates another by controlling ideology. The research will employ a multiple-case design in exploring these churches as hegemonic and counter-hegemonic institutions relative to religion, education, politics, and State authority. Case study research will replicate and inform Gramscian theory regarding the groups as institutions creating a worldview that at times stabilizes and at other times opposes the capitalist structure. It will investigate the day-to-day social activity of these congregations and record how they flesh out their community culture and idea production. Preliminary research supports the notion that these assemblies are primary sources of hegemonic and counter-
hegemonic ideas in the African-American community.

I have been conducting explanatory research on the religious and social life of selected Black Chicago churches intermittently over the past two years. After conducting forty-five open-ended interviews and spending many hours as a participant observer, I have concluded that, pursuant to culture production, some churches are hegemonic, while others are counter-hegemonic. This is based on my examination of four specific areas including morality, theology, community rituals, and group norms and values.

In so far as the church is a moral community, the focus on personal sin engenders both spiritual responses, supporting the ruling order, and political activism, challenging the status quo. Their theology, that is, their notion of God and His relationship with humankind frequently obstructs, but on occasion stimulates counter-hegemonic development. In terms of community rituals, their worship services commonly reinforce, but in some instances deprecate ruling class views. Regarding group norms and values, their teachings on Christian living usually support, but oftentimes scorn dominant ideology.

Thus, at this juncture, I hypothesize that the churches described in this study produce both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic beliefs relative to religion, education, politics, and State authority. In developing this argu-
ment, I define several critical terms from a Gramscian theoretical perspective.

The Definition of Terms

Christian Churches of Cabrini-Green and Religion

I would like to define the phrases "Christian churches of Cabrini-Green" and "religion" by relating the Gramscian notion of religion to the specific assemblies of the community. In stating the significance of "religion," Gramsci quotes Turchi:

- The word religion in its broadest sense denotes a relation of dependence that binds man to one or more superior powers on whom he feels he depends and to whom he renders acts of worship of both an individual and collective nature. ²

Therefore, in Gramsci's view, the church is a social institution in which people express their dependence on superior powers and their individual and cooperate worship. Of course, for Gramsci religion is political by nature, not spiritual; it is an institutionalized system of beliefs, influencing a community of devotees:

- Note the problem of religion taken not in the confessional sense but in the secular sense of a unity of faith between a conception of the world and a corresponding norm of conduct. But why call this unity of faith "religion" and not "ideology," or

²In Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks, trans. and ed. Derek Boothman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 9, Antonio Gramsci quotes Turchi's Storia delle religioni (Turin, 1922).
even frankly "politics"?³

In this study, the three churches under investigation are sites of spiritual expression and ideological production in the Gramscian sense. They are situated within a five-by-eight block area of 70.5 acres and bounded on the north by North Avenue, on the south by Chicago Avenue, on the east by Franklin Street and on the west by Halsted Street. The churches are Christian in that, regardless of their theological, political, or social orientation, they view the Judeo/Christian Bible as a sacred book and guide to faith and practice, and they acknowledge Jesus Christ as the Founder of their religion.

Hegemony

The term "hegemony" as it applies to Cabrini churches and their influence in the community refers to a type of ideological leadership in which one class exercises authority over another through the control of beliefs and worldview. The ruling class does not employ violence or coercion to govern, but instead relies on a popularly accepted worldview to solicit voluntary consent--this notion of voluntary consent cannot be over emphasized. According to Gramsci, the hegemonic apparatus defines popular consciousness so effectively that it dominates the values, traditions, lifestyles, and cultural orientation of

the majority of society. The ideological elites accomplish this through the influence of "traditional intellectuals" who produce dominant culture. Thus, hegemonic ideas become the popular common sense and what Gramsci calls "the traditional popular conception of the world." In this situation, through "traditional intellectuals," the economic elite diffuse a set of ruling ideas throughout society in order to control the thinking and life experience of the masses and to facilitate their exploitation. Thus, hegemony is instrumental, instrumental in the sense that it employs the intellectual, moral, and philosophical elements of culture to accomplish economic, political and social exploitation.

Gramsci's notion of hegemony also requires a consideration of "counter-hegemony," an oppositional, cultural

---

4Hoare, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 199. In this context, Gramsci argues that the hegemonic ideas are "'spontaneous' in the sense that they are not the result of any systematic educational activity on the part of an already conscious leading group, but have been formed through everyday experience illuminated by 'common sense'. . . ."

5Benedetto Fontana's definition of "hegemony" emphasizes its political implications:

Hegemony is the formulation . . . of a conception of the world that has been transformed into the accepted and "normal" ensemble of ideas. . . . Such a process is immediately political, for such a transformation cannot be accomplished without the people viewed as a social force. Hegemony is thus . . . the moment of philosophy as politics, and the moment of politics as philosophy. Hegemony and Power: On the Relation between Gramsci and Machiavelli (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) 20-21.
force, through which the revolutionary class displaces dominant ideology and finally overthrows capitalism. Accordingly, the ruled class must develop counter institutions of its own and actively oppose the bourgeoisie State with a view toward gradually replacing capitalism with socialism through counter-cultural strategies, rather than violence.  

Gramsci's phrase "collective will" is relevant at this juncture: it refers to the revolutionary party's development of a counter-hegemonic State and historical bloc unified by an expanded hegemony. This revolutionary ideology becomes universal and fosters a foundational change in popular philosophy and the role of the State. In explaining the concept, Gramsci writes:

An historical act can only be performed by "collective man," and this presupposes the attainment of a "cultural-social" unity through which a multiplicity of dispersed wills, with heterogeneous aims, are welded together with a single aim, on the basis of an equal and common conception of the world.  

---


7 Quintin Hoare, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 349. Further, in relating collective will to revolutionary leadership, Gramsci writes:

The modern prince . . . cannot be a real person, a concrete individual. It can only be an organism, a complex element of society in which a collective will, which has already been recognized and has to some extent asserted itself in action begins to take concrete form. History has already provided this organism, and it is the pulicidal party--the first
Thus, collective will is the popular basis for a new set of social and political structures, that is, for a new State in which the revolutionary party has convinced the working class to represent the interests of society as a whole.\(^8\)

Gramsci’s notion of "popular religion" is inseparably bound with the idea of collective will, for it explains his theory regarding the full, volitional consent of the led. He sees Italian catholicism as a model of how an organization of intellectuals are capable of influencing the masses in developing a particular hegemonic worldview. He argues that socialist intellectuals must emulate the example of church leaders; they must assume the intellectual and moral leadership in civil society essential to spreading Marxism among the masses. He forms this position understanding

\[\text{cell in which there come together germs of a collective will tending to become universal and total.} (\text{Hoare, 129})\]

\(^8\)Mouffe clarifies Gramsci’s notion of "collective will":

... hegemony is not to be found in a purely instrumental alliance between classes through which the class demands of the allied classes are articulated to those of the fundamental class, with each group maintaining its own individuality within the alliance as well as its own ideology. According to him [Gramsci] hegemony involves the creation of a higher synthesis, so that all its elements fuse in a "collective will" which becomes the new protagonist of political action during that hegemony's entire duration. It is through ideology that this collective will is formed since its very existence depends on the creation of ideological unity which will serve as "cement" (emphasis in the original). Lauren Langman, "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci," Reading packet, Modern Social Theory, Sociology 406, Loyola University, 1993, 53.
that religion functions as a popular worldview with a specific moral value system, set of beliefs, and prescribed lifestyle—religion is ideological:

If, by religion, one is to understand a conception of the world (a philosophy) with a conformant norm of conduct, what difference can there exist between religion and ideology (or instrument of action) and in the last analysis, between ideology and philosophy?³

Thus, because ideology, like religion, involves the complete absorption of the masses living in full compliance with a belief system, hegemonic ideas prevail, not because they are intrinsically logical, but because they become a "popular religion." Therefore, in order for a class to win ideological dominance, its principles must become the moral and intellectual belief system of the masses, that is, it must become their religion. In sum, hegemony is a type of leadership based on ideological and cultural domination, that is, the dissemination of a ruling worldview that solicits consent from the governed and activity which reproduces domination.

Education, Politics, and the Legal System

In defining the words "education," "politics," and "the legal system," as employed in the thesis, it is necessary to observe that Gramsci divides society, which he calls "the integral State," into two major categories: the

³Antonio Gramsci, Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 383.
"State," the means of coercion, and "civil society," the means of establishing hegemonic leadership. He describes their interdependent relation stating, "[The integral State is] political society plus civil society, in other words, hegemony protected by the armour of coercion."\(^\text{10}\)

According to Gramsci, the State consists of the means of violence, that is, the police, military and the like, and state-funded bureaucracies, which include the educational institutions. Thus, in an instance of weak hegemony and threat to elite authority, the police, and perhaps the military, might be deployed to put down challenges to dominance in the form of protests, strikes, and such. Further, Gramsci argues, the State fulfills a pedagogical role: it fosters moral and intellectual unity throughout society by appealing to religion, the law, and cultural traditions and by influencing educational curricula. Thus, the State, through the legal apparatus, exerting a negative function and through the educational system, exerting a positive one, engenders a cultural atmosphere supporting the interests of capitalism and hence those of the dominant class. So, in a Gramscian sense, education and the legal system are elements of the State employed to maintain elite

\(^{10}\)Hoare, \textit{Selections from the Prison Notebooks}, 263. Roger Simon observes that Gramsci argued that "the social relationships of civil society are relations of power just as much (thought in a different way) as are the coercive relations of the state." \textit{Gramsci’s Political Thought: An Introduction} (London: Lawrence and Wiehart, 1991) 72.
domination.

By the phrase "civil society," Gramsci refers to social institutions which are neither part of the economy, nor part of the State, but are instead independent organizations, which Gramsci calls "the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private'."

These organizations include religious organizations and political parties that publish, preach, politic and otherwise reproduce the hegemonic values of the dominant society. Thus, through the ideological control of civil society, elites are able to foster an entire spectrum of values, attitudes, norms, and beliefs that stabilize the disparate relations of class and multiple structures of domination, seducing the masses to consent to their own exploitation. This study employs the term "politics" to refer to the political activity of national and local parties within the framework of Gramsci's notion of civil society.

Case Study Research

Qualitative research strives for an all inclusive understanding of social life; it attempts to comprehend the realities of the world from the standpoint of its inhabitants by giving them the opportunity to tell their own

\[101\]Hoare, Selections from the Prison Notes, 12.
stories. For this reason, it serves as a voice for marginalized people—that is, people for whom the ruling class speaks—and is, therefore, the only approach suitable for this study.

Snow's definition of case studies as a type of qualitative research is employed throughout this study:

... they are relatively holistic analyses of systems of action that are bound socially, spatially, and temporally; they are multi-perspectival and polyphonic... they allow for the observation of behavior over time and thus facilitate the processual analysis of social life ...

Further, case studies give comprehensive insight into a single social phenomenon or an individual happening, insight with which the researcher is able to inform an existing theory. These qualities make the case study ideally suited to this project which will examine three churches

---

12 Perhaps the most provocative comment about qualitative research that I have ever read is that of Matthew B. Miles and Michael Huberman stating, "Qualitative data are sexy." Qualitative Data Analysis, 2d ed. (London: Sage Publications, 1994), 1.

13 Michael Burawoy reflects an understanding of this idea when he describes how laborers act and are treated on their jobs and how employers manage to harness their energies to serve their own interests. Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labor Process Under Monopoly Capitalism (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979).

holistically as individual cases in a multiple-case design and apply the results to replicating and expanding Gramscian theory.  

The Problem and the Literature Review

A study of existing research indicates a two-faceted problem regarding Gramscian theory and the African-American church. First, studies of the Black church generally deal with the institution's centrality to African-American culture and specifically with Black political resistance specifically; however, they do not employ Gramscian theory as an interpretive grid. Second, works, which apply Gramscian theory to the examination of ecclesiastical culture and politics, consistently focus on Euro-American churches. Thus, the problem consists of an omission in the literature. This observation highlights the uniqueness of my proposed research and its potential for contributing to the field.

I argue that methodologically the single- and multiple-case designs are essentially the same with the major distinction between the two being that the latter yields more persuasive results (a position which I explain below). Of course, some researchers like Harold Eckstein distinguish methodologically between single and multiple-case studies. "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," in Strategies of Inquiry (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1975), 79-137. Additionally, Robert Yin offers discussion on the circumstances under which the case study is the best research strategy to apply and concludes stating that "this is when a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control. Case Study Research: Design and Methods (London: Sage Publications, 1994), 4-9.
The Black Church and African-American Culture

Studies on the Black church and African-American culture tend to emphasize either an historical approach to interpretation or focus on present day issues. For example, illustrating the historical approach, Frazier's *The Negro Church in America* opens stating the following presupposition:

In studying any phase of the character and the development of the social and cultural life of the Negro in the United States, one must recognize from the beginning that because of the manner in which the Negroes were captured in Africa and enslaved, they were practically stripped of their social heritage.16

On the other hand, Lincoln’s *The Black Church in the African-American Experience* cites the church as the "cultural womb of the black community" and goes on to present an exhaustive study of the present circumstances of several large, mainline denominations.17 Again, these studies involving the church and culture do not employ Gramscian thought as an interpretive frame of reference.


The Black Church and Political Resistance

Although historically the church has been the vanguard of community resistance to exploitation, most of the literature on this subject deals with the institution's role in the protests of the 60s. For instance, Morris presents the church as the "center" of the movement:

Churches provided the movement with an organized mass base; a leadership of clergymen largely economically independent of the larger white society and skilled in the art of managing people and resources . . . and meeting places where the masses planned tactics and strategies and collectively committed themselves to the struggle.18

As mentioned earlier, these studies examining the church as an institution of resistance do not make use of Gramsci's political theory.

The Euro-American Church and Gramscian Thought

Only a small portion of Gramsci's writings on religion has been translated into English; therefore, relatively few studies have been done by English-speaking scholars relating

his theory to the church. However, as mentioned above, the existing work focuses on Euro-American, not African-American congregations. Billings' research on the role of the church during the miner strikes of Appalachia and the labor disputes in southern Piedmont is a case in point. He concludes that the assemblies of Appalachia, which supported the strikers, were counter-hegemonic and that those of Piedmont, which aligned with the mill owners, were hegemonic. Similarly, Nesti, a critic of Gramsci but also studying white religion, states that, although Gramsci "thought it was necessary to clarify the relationship between religion and social classes," he "remains rather uncertain on

---


this subject."\textsuperscript{21} In sum, this study makes a contribution to the field by uniquely applying Gramscian theory to the influence of the Black church on an African-American urban community, an approach which has been unexplored by other researchers.

The Preview of Chapters

In the following chapter, I will present my research design, arguing that a multiple-case approach is most suitable for examining the complex and subtle meanings of the political and religious culture of the Black church. I will develop this argument by emphasizing the appropriateness of the multiple-case strategy as I present the specifics of the design giving attention to its proposition and methods of data collection, analysis, and presentation.

I will present in chapter three a history of the ideological development revolving around the Southern Black migration to Chicago, arguing that this background is essential to appreciating the culture of the assemblies under investigation. This discussion will expose the consistent and forceful effect of ruling class ideas on the city's African-American population from 1850 until the present, demonstrating that the community has always been the object of hegemonic exploitation.

Chapter four presents three case studies done at

selected Chicago churches, emphasizing their culture produc-
tion relative to religion, education, politics, and State
authority. It employs Gramscian theory in defining the
hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideas of the ministries which
their members express in their individual conversations and
collective activities.

Finally, chapter five offers a summary of the proposal
and its implications for change in church/community rela-
tions. It calls for church leaders to develop and espouse an
Afro- rather than a Euro-centric reading of Black history and
approach to doing theology.
CHAPTER TWO

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

To most scholars of sociology and psychology the case study is a step-child in the family of social science: it has a right to exist, but is accorded little respect; it has a contribution to make to the field, but only in a supportive role. Kratochwill's comment supplies an example of this attitude:

Since considerable ambiguity surrounds the interpretation of case-study methodology, these studies have been correctly relegated to a rather poor standing in the scientific community.\(^1\)

One of the reasons scholars demean case studies in this manner is because researchers often fail to report tech-


She goes on to explain that "much of the criticism leveled against the case study method or research is based on the accepted canon that it is impossible to generalize from one case." (emphasis mine) "The Case Study Method," 30.
niques of data collection and analysis that are methodologically sophisticated enough to demand respect within the academic community. To avoid this shortcoming, I followed a research design which I believe will insure the credibility of my final conclusions.

This design is in essence a "blueprint" of the study, addressing four critical issues: the proposition, data collection, data analysis, and data presentation. It is a "plan of action" insuring discipline and logical progress from the research question to the study's conclusions.

I will present a multiple-case study of three Black Chicago churches which replicates and informs Gramscian theory as mentioned earlier. This involves "analytic generalization"—a research approach employing the empiri-

---

2Jay MacLeod illustrates this failure in his multiple-case study on youth from low-income neighborhoods:

I would mentally cultivate and modify my views in line with the empirical material, but I should have noted after every interview how the new data had forced revisions in or had affirmed my previous thinking. Had I kept such notes, the stage between the end of my fieldwork and the beginning of the actual writing would have been considerably less hectic and would have filled me with much less dread. Ain't No Making It (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987), 192.

3In developing this design, I employ Qualitative Data Analysis, 2d ed. (London: Sage Publications, 1994) by Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman and Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 2d ed. (London: Sage Publications, 1994) by Yin as primary resources which should be consulted for greater detail on the major issues that I raise here.
cal results of a case study to inform existing theory. According to this method, findings may reproduce or amplify theory, so that field data actually speaks to the proposition—testing, refining, and qualifying its significance.

Analytic generalization radically differs from statistical generalization. With the latter, the researcher makes inferences about a population, collects data from a representative sample, and generalizes using mathematical formulas. Analytic generalization is quite distinct: case studies are not "sampling units," nor are they selected as such. Rather, they are individual subjects of investigation which the analyst compares to an existing theory, making generalizations from them to the theoretical propo-

---

4 I borrow the phrase "analytic generalization" from Robert Yin (which he uses interchangeably with "theoretic generalization") and develop the following discussion largely from his Case Study Research and Walter A. Firestone's "Alternative Arguments for Generalizing from Data as Applied to Qualitative Research," Educational Researcher 22 (4) (1993): 16-23.

5 For illustrations of how case studies inform theory, see Paul A. Anderson's research which concludes that U.S. decision making during the Cuban missile crisis deviated from decision-making theory in three notable respects. "Decision Making by Objection and the Cuban Missile Crisis," Administrative Science Quarterly 28 (1983): 201-22. Similarly, MacLeod's case study of social reproduction among white and African-American youth finds that individuals respond to structural forces in creative ways that escape the theories of Bowles and Gintis and Bourdieu. Ain't No Makin' It. Finally, according to Lawrence Pinfield's case study of the Canadian government bureaucracy, the structured and anarchic theories of organizational decision making should be synthesized and no longer viewed independently as theorist have done historically. "A Field Evaluation of Perspectives on Organizational Decision Making," Administrative Science Quarterly 31 (1986): 365-88.
sition, not to populations or universes. Thus, case studies confirm or disconfirm theory, either enhancing validity or necessitating refinement—but always adding clarity.

Researchers are then able to make reliable inferences to broad populations through the use of good theory—theory which might very well be strengthened and refined through case studies. Given this argument, Yin’s definition of

6In distinguishing between analytical generalization and statistical generalization, Yin states:

[Analytical generalization is] analogous to the way a scientist generalizes from experimental results to theory. (Note that the scientist does not attempt to select "representative" experiments.) Case Study Research, 370.

Gordon W. Allport agrees with my position on case study and theory, but adds a provocative dimension: he argues that understanding an individual in his uniqueness is a credible scientific enterprise because each life is lawful and that lawfulness does not depend on the frequency with which an activity transpires among many people. The Use of Personal Documents in Psychology (New York: Social Science Research Council, n.d.), 57.

Although Robert E. Stake’s view differs from my own, I nonetheless mention it as a secondary position regarding case study generalization: he holds that qualitative research data tend to resonate phenomenologically with large numbers of readers, enabling them to generalize "naturalistically" based on their own life experience. "The Case-Study Method of Social Inquiry," Educational Research 7 (1978): 5.

7It is important to appreciate that the elemental functions of sociological theory as noted by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, include: "(1) to enable prediction and explanation of behavior and (2) to be usable in practical applications—prediction and explanation should be able to give the practitioner understanding and some control of situations." The Discovery of Grounded Theory (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), 3. These are not the functions of case studies.
"theory" is appropriate at this juncture: "a theory can be seen as a predicted pattern of events, which we place alongside what happened to see whether the pattern matches." In sum, I used analytic generalization within a case study framework to inform Gramscian theory.

The Proposition

I employed a multiple-case research design in examining three churches as hegemonic and counter-hegemonic institutions. I found that the assemblies both reproduce and oppose dominant values relative to religion, education, politics, and State authority as viewed from a Gramscian perspective. Thus, I used case study research to develop Gramscian religious and political thought.

The Data Collection

It is important to discuss data collection—a process exerting a profound influence on the study's validity, reliability, and generalizability. This section sub-divides into four elements: conceptual framework, multiple-case studies, purposive sampling, and triangulation and field and literature research.

---

The Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is a graphic and narrative explanation of the study, presenting its key elements and the flow of their relationships. Thus, I first indicated the theory and then determined the cases to be studied and the research protocol. Next, I analyzed the three cases independently, treating each as a "whole" study; then I attempted to replicate each case's conclusions with data from the other cases. From there, according to the chart, I developed a summary report from both the individual cases and the cross-case comparisons which in turn informed the originally stated theory. Finally, I presented the policy implications and the final report.

In sum, the conceptual framework presents the key factors of the study and shows the logical progress of

---

9For a diagram of this type of conceptual framework see, Yin, *Case Study Research*, 56.

10This procedure concerns "replication logic," a method discussed in detail below; however, I supply an abbreviated explanation at this point: replication logic involves using a prescribed theory to select each case in a multiple-case study that predicts either similar results (literal replication) or contrasting results for predictable reasons (theoretical replication). If, after analysis, the cases turn out as predicted, the study supplies impressive support for the theory under investigation. For a full explanation of "replication logic," see Kathleen Eisenhardt, "Building Theories from Case Study Research," *Academy of Management Review* 14 (4) (1989): 542-43. For an illustration of its application in a multiple-case study, see Kathleen Eisenhardt and Lewis Bourgeois, "Politics of Strategic Decision Making in High Velocity Environments: Toward a Mid-range Theory, *Academy of Management Journal* 31 (1988): 737-70.
their relationships. It necessarily precedes defining the unit of analysis, the second element of data collection.

Multiple-Case Studies

It is axiomatic that the generalizability of a multiple-case study is greater than that of a single-case study due to the possibility of cross-case replication. Therefore, I employed a multiple-case design.

I examined three selected churches, finding that they demonstrate varying ideologies regarding four variables, namely religion, education, politics, and State authority. In two churches, the studies generally developed as predicted, producing literal replication and supporting the theory under discussion. In one church, the study varied

11Anslem L. Strauss, writing on grounded theory, offers material on "integrative diagrams" which complements my discussion but takes a somewhat different spin: it emphasizes the integration of data in the formation of theory. Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 184-85.

from Gramscian thought, so that theoretical replication occurred, again supporting the theory. 13 In both instances, the studies produced a rich, theoretical framework explaining the conditions under which replication is likely (literal replication) or unlikely (theoretical replication) to take place. 14

Purposive Sampling

I employed purposive theory-driven sampling. This type of sampling differs significantly from statistical sampling, which selects a representative group from a larger population, and also from theoretical sampling which Strauss describes, stating:

Theoretical sampling is a means whereby the analyst decides on analytic grounds what data to collect next and where to find them. The basic question in

13 Charles Ragin offers a more detailed and refined explanation of this method, emphasizing the case as an entire entity. First, he looks for associations, causes, and effects within the case and then proceeds to the other cases using comparative analysis. The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies (Berkley: The University of California Press, 1987), 13-14.

theoretical sampling is: What groups or subgroups of populations, events, activities . . . does one turn to next in data collection.\textsuperscript{15}

Purposive sampling is theory-driven in that the researcher uses the theory in question to govern his choice of subjects to study.\textsuperscript{16} Thus, I selected churches, activities, and informants which I predicted would speak to the question raised by Gramscian theory regarding religious culture production.

I also chose to emphasize diversity.\textsuperscript{17} That is, although the churches are all African-American and Christian, there are variations regarding the pastor's ethnicity and the congregation's socioeconomic status, denominational affiliation, size, and years of existence.\textsuperscript{18} The leaders

\textsuperscript{15} Strauss, \textit{Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists}, 38-39.

\textsuperscript{16} Although they present methodology for discovering grounded theory, Glaser and Anselm's material on sampling governed by "theoretical relevance" complements the present discussion. \textit{The Discovery of Grounded Theory}, 49-50.

\textsuperscript{17} I borrow the term and modify the sense of "maximum variation" from Edna Guba who suggests that the field worker deliberately investigate outlier cases that challenge existing patterns. \textit{Fourth Generation Evaluation} (Newbury Park, California: Sage, 1989).

\textsuperscript{18} Illustrations of maximum diversity in multiple-case studies include, Mercer L. Sullivan's \textit{Getting Paid: Youth Crime and Work in the Inner City} (London: Cornell University Press, 1989) which examines the criminal behavior of young urban men and takes as units of analysis three neighborhoods which are Black, Latino, and white. Similarly, Robert Blauner's study of industrial diversity examines four factory industries, demonstrating a choice evidently intended to maximize diversity, \textit{Alienation and Freedom} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964). Finally, MacLeod investigates the aspirations of young urban males by re-
of Fellowship of Friends are white, while the leaders of both St. Luke Church and Light of Liberty Church are African-American. The churches include St. Luke Church Of God In Christ, Chicago Fellowship of Friends, and Light Of Liberty Church Of God In Christ.

In terms of the members' socioeconomic status, St. Luke Church is 70 percent middle-class, 15 percent working-class, and 15 percent under-class. Fellowship of Friends is 20 percent middle-class, 30 percent working-class, and 50 percent under-class. And Light of Liberty is 25 percent middle-class, 65 percent working-class, and 10 percent under-class.¹⁹

Pursuant to denominational affiliation, size, and years of existence, St. Luke Church, which was founded fifty-two years ago, is a member of the Church Of God In

¹⁹I base class status on the job that one holds, understanding that an individual's income is an accompanying benefit and that one's education is a cause of one's class position. However, neither education nor income are part of the Marxist definition of class. Middle class people are those working white-collar (nonmanual) jobs plus small businessmen, craftsmen, and foremen and service occupations such as firemen and policemen, which require a period of training before full employment. Working-class jobs include semiskilled operative positions, while under-class employment involves service workers and unskilled laborers. For a more full discussion on this subject, see the following authors from which this material has been developed: William Julius Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), ix-x, 127, and Bart Landry, The New Black Middle Class (Berkley: University of California Press, 1987), 5-11.
Christ denomination (COGIC), and has 1,200 members.\textsuperscript{20} Light of Liberty, which was established four years ago, is also a COGIC church, but is remarkably smaller with a membership of 125.\textsuperscript{21} Finally, Fellowship of Friends, which has a ten year history as a church, is a Quaker assembly with thirty members.\textsuperscript{22}

I selected respondents and episodes with a view toward informing Gramscian theory through replication. Of course, this sampling was iterative and progressive, so that I developed research opportunities step-by-step along an evidential trail. More specifically, I conducted fifty-five in-depth interviews and did participant observation intermittently for twenty months at the three churches.\textsuperscript{23} I spoke with leaders, including the pastors and their assisting staff, and with the congregation members, including men and women of various ages both with and without

\textsuperscript{20}Fifty percent of the 1,200 members are between the ages of 15-35 years, 35 percent are between the ages of 35-55 years, and 15 percent are above 55 years.

\textsuperscript{21}Of the 125 members, 75 percent are between 15-35 years of age, 15 percent are between 35 and 55 years, and 10 percent are above 55 years.

\textsuperscript{22}In fact, the ministry was founded in 1976; however, for the first ten years of its history, it was a youth service organization, not a church. Eighty-five percent of its 30 members are between 15-35 years of age, and 15 percent are between 35-55 years.

\textsuperscript{23}I conducted 20 interviews at both St. Luke Church and Light of Liberty and 15 interviews at Fellowship of Friends. See the Appendix 2 for the interview questionnaire.
I conducted these interviews in the churches as well as the private homes of the respondents until reaching a point of information saturation at each location. Furthermore, I developed rapport with several individuals who served as key informants and helped me to establish relationships and interpret data. I found these relationships invaluable in checking my understanding and analysis of the various cultural subtitles throughout the research process.

In terms of observations, I attended church functions such as the Sunday worship service and the Wednesday night prayer meeting, generally filling the role of participant-as-observer. I also observed on occasion when congrega-


25 I discovered three reasons for remarkable ideological uniformity: (1) the churches provide thorough programs of indoctrination through their religious education ministries which all members are encouraged to attend as frequently as possible for the duration of their lives, (2) each assembly employs effective rewards and sanctions for promoting ideological and behavioral conformity among its entire congregation, and (3) people attend the churches voluntarily, so that they are free to terminate their membership over a point of difference whenever they desire. I followed Glaser and Strauss' discussion on interviewing until a point of saturation is reached. Discovery, 61-62.

26 Raymond L. Gold defines this role stating:

... both field worker and informant are aware that
tion members were informally socializing in unstructured situations. Moreover, I taught a class of eight two-hour sessions at St. Luke Church on Bible study skills from October through December 1995. This was in addition to teaching five one-hour classes at Liberty Church on self-identity in the Black Men's Workshop during the summer of 1996. These situations afforded an excellent opportunity to establish rapport with the members and leadership.

I further studied the literature used and produced by the three assemblies. This included, for example, the Church Of God In Christ Official Manual and the Faith and Practice of the Quaker church, publications which treat the history, theology, and policies of the respective denominations. Moreover, I examined in-house printed material like "Welcome - St. Luke Church of God in Christ," a booklet distributed to first-time guests presenting the history, doctrine, financial condition, and ministerial structure of theirs is a field relationship. . . . At times [the researcher] observes formally, as in scheduled interview situations; and at other times he observes informally--when attending parties, for example. "Roles in Sociological Field Observation" Social Forces 36 (1958): 221.

the church. I established relationship with the pastors and members of each church based on earlier encounters. For example, Elder Bush of Liberty Church has been my personal friend and co-worker for ten years and has taken several of my classes at Moody Bible Institute including The History of the Black Church. Similarly, as a Bible professor, I taught a class at St. Luke Church seven years ago and have had intermittent contact with Pastor Austin and the congregation since that time. My relationship with Steve, one of the pastors from Fellowship of Friends, began in 1987 when he served as a special lecturer in a class that I was teaching on urban church ministry. In preparing to conduct this study, I simply contacted the leaders with whom I was already acquainted and received permission from them to research at their assemblies.  

In sum, I employed theoretically driven purposive sampling. I used Gramscian theory and replication logic to select the three churches as units of analysis and applied the same criteria in choosing interviewees and activities for observation.

---

27I have been active in the Black church all of my life, having attended Sunday School as a pre-schooler and having served in positions of leadership throughout my adulthood. Moreover, I have a B.A., Th.M., and Ph.D. in various areas of biblical studies which, together with my activities as a minister, provides a broad range of experience and technical expertise that has been extremely useful in interpreting the cultural and theological issues that are central to the present study.
Triangulation and Field and Library Research

Triangulation, a cross validation procedure employing two or more methods or sources, is a foundational aspect of multiple-case research. Broadly conceived, triangulation strategies divide into two general categories: within-method triangulation, which employs multiple techniques within a given method to collect and interpret data, and between-method triangulation, which uses a combinations of strategies to test external validity. In this study I

28Here I abbreviate Thomas J. Bouchard's definition of "multiple operationism":

They argue that more than one method should be used in the validation process to ensure that the variance reflected is that of the trait and not of the method. Thus, the convergence or agreement between two methods . . . "enhances our belief that the results are valid and not a methodological artifact." "Unobtrusive Measures: An Inventory of Uses," Sociological Methods and Research 4 (1976): 268.

29Orum, Feagin, and Sjoberg argue that case studies are frequently said by quantitative analysts to be suspect in terms of reliability, making triangulation essential. "Introduction: The Nature of the Case Study," in A Case for the Case Study, 17-19. Similarly, Snow and Anderson hold that social reality is far too complex and multi-faceted to be accurately represented by any single method, so that triangulation is imperative for all social analysis. "Researching the Homeless: The Characteristic Features and Virtues of the Case Study," in A Case for the Case Study, 157-60.

30Miles and Huberman expand these strategies beyond the scope of this study writing:

. . . we think of triangulation by data source (which can include persons, times, places, etc.) by method (observation, interview, documents), by researcher (investigator A, B, etc) and by theory. Qualitative Data Analysis, 267.
employed within-method triangulation, specifically making use of in-depth interviewing and participant observation,\textsuperscript{31} as discussed above, and also library research.

The contextualization of social life encompasses more than simply giving an overview of the immediate situation; it demands that the field worker couch the phenomenon of interest in its broad historical context. So, through the use of historical data, I tested the validity of my findings to insure that they harmonize with social developments over time.\textsuperscript{32} As mentioned in the introduction, I devoted


\textsuperscript{31}As a complement to triangulation in case studies, Kenneth Stoddart cites six procedures that will insure ethnographers "that their presence does not invalidate the material under study." "The Presentation of Everyday Life: Some Textual Strategies for 'Adequate Ethnography,'" \textit{Urban Life} 15 (April 1986): 109-112. Offering a different take on the same issue, Howard S. Becker argues "that it is not possible ['to do research that is uncontaminated by personal and political sympathies'] and, therefore, that the question is not whether we should take sides, since we inevitably will, but rather whose side are we on." "Whose Side Are We On?" \textit{Social Problems} 14 (1966-1967): 239-47. Finally, Howard S. Becker gives specific guides to insure the reliability of inferences made as a participant observer. "Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation," \textit{American Sociological Review} 23 (1958): 652-60.

\textsuperscript{32}Orum and Feagin's "A Tale of Two Cases" illustrates this approach to triangulation by using historical material to validate their findings in case studies of urban growth in Austin and Houston, Texas. In \textit{A Case for the Case Study}, 121
an entire chapter to the ideological history of the Southern Black migration to Chicago's Near North Side and other such neighborhoods. This helped to verify my observations from the three churches as producers of ideology.  

I also reviewed published studies, seeking data to support or contradict my results. Conflicting views helped to refine my conclusions, compelling me to modify them or to explain why they differ. On the other hand, similar findings tended to support my results, increasing their validity and generalizability. As a further step in triangulation, I used material such as manuals, information flyers, and denominational newspapers to test my conclusions from observations and interviews.

In sum, I employed within-method triangulation to substantiate my findings and thereby contribute to their

---


validity and inference. The combination of in-depth interviewing, participant observation, and literature validation is particularly important in this project because my conclusions rest on just three cases.\(^{35}\)

The Data Analysis

The quintessential feature of case studies is their ability to produce a profoundly holistic understanding of cultural systems; however, this fosters an almost unmanageable number of approaches to analysis.\(^{36}\) However, the pattern-matching approach is best suited to my study because of its compatibility with replication logic.\(^{37}\) In using this method, I compare patterns from the various cases with points from Gramscian theoretical framework.\(^{38}\)

\(^{35}\)Jarrett supplies an excellent illustration of within-method triangulation employing focus group interviews, individual interviews, participant observation, and other information sources to insure reliability and validity in her single case study of the Moore family. "A Family Case Study," in Qualitative Methods in Family Research, 172-97.

\(^{36}\)Miles and Huberman present three different schools of qualitative data analysis including "interpretivism," "collaborative social work," and "social anthropology," to which my method belongs. Qualitative Data Analysis, 8-9.


\(^{38}\)Sullivan's study of male criminality in three urban neighborhoods demonstrates the pattern-matching approach. The author defines a pattern among his subjects relative to "legal and social barriers to . . . employment." He then goes on to use replication logic in applying this pattern to labor market theory. Getting Paid, 100-02.
Data Reduction

Data reduction is the constant process of condensing, comparing, prioritizing, and developing information from field notes and interviews. It is reductive in that it involves sorting through often vast amounts of material to distinguish what is important and contributive from that which is mundane and irrelevant. Data reduction is constant: it begins, technically speaking, with the formation of the research design, when, for example, the analyst decides to study one subject as opposed to another, and continues after the field work until the final report is competed.\(^3^9\) In this project, I used three steps in data reduction: coding, memoing, and mapping.\(^4^0\)

Coding, an astringent process for condensing large volumes of information and thereby facilitating analysis, has two steps as I applied it. In first-level coding, I summarized large blocks of material, and then used pattern coding to organize these summaries into smaller groups of themes and ideas.

\(^3^9\) Glaser and Strauss offer a full discussion of the specifics of data reduction and the importance of its application continuously throughout the study in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, 101-15.

Glaser describes memoing and its contribution to data reduction, stating:

[A memo is] the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding . . . it can be a sentence, a paragraph, or a few pages . . . it exhausts the analyst's momentary ideation based on data with perhaps a little conceptual elaboration. 41

Thus, I composed a series of memos for each church based on ideas stimulated during the data collection and reduction process. This exercise progressively refined my ideas about the culture of the churches and served as the basis for reaching my final conclusions for each case study.

Finally, mapping contextualizes group activity by identifying the community relationships that make for social order and exploring their interdependence. It presupposes a concern not only for the experience of the actors under study but also for their group relations and involvement in the broader community. Therefore, I developed a descriptive picture of the churches as organizations, integrating both their histories and their social structures. I emphasized the repeated patterns of conduct

41 Barney G. Glaser, Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory (Mill Valley, California: Sociology Press, 1978) 83-84. Although Howard S. Becker's article on memoing tends to rehearse familiar techniques, it offers one remarkable point: recording a "natural history." That is, the researchers chronicle "the natural history of [their] conclusions, presenting the evidence as it came to the attention of the observer during the successive stages of his conceptualization of the problem." This would facilitate idea analysis and the final write-up of the research history. "Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation," American Sociological Review 23 (1958): 660.
fostering relationships among individual congregation members. In sum, I used three methods of data reduction to analyze raw information from observations and interviews. I employed coding, memoing, and mapping as steps of analysis in progressing from the field notes to a final report with credible results.

The Data Display

A data display is a logically organized, systematically condensed, visual presentation of qualitative information that facilitates drawing conclusions and planning future research. The extended text, which often includes page after page of dense minutia, is the most popular form of data display--but not the most effective. It tends to be sequential and bulky, rather than spontaneous and manageable, and makes analysis difficult. Therefore, in this study, I employed matrices, which present data succinctly in rows and columns on a single page, as a salient feature of within-case and cross-case analysis.

42Snow and Anderson illustrate this technique well as they discuss the organizations and agencies, campsites, daily rounds, life-style, and responses of adaptation within the subculture of homeless people in Austin, Texas. "Researching the Homeless: The Characteristic Features and Virtues of the Case Study," in A Case for the Case Study, 154-55.

43The major source for this discussion is Miles and Huberman who divide data display into two categories: "matrices" and "networks." Because this study examines the interdependent influence of variables and not their sequential and causal relations, I use matrices instead of networks, which depict the data in a series of nodes with links between them. Qualitative Data Analysis, 90-238. Jarrett
The Within-case Display

Of the various types of within-case displays, I used the conceptually oriented matrix because it complements the research design, involving the study of four prescribed variables. That is, this matrix assisted with the comparative analysis of responses concerning religion, education, politics, and State authority by clustering these items in a row and column arrangement, facilitating within-case interpretation.

More specifically, I charted the critical responses of interviewees and the variables in question by condensing segments from the field notes and entering them into the matrix cells. I set up the cells with interviewees forming the rows and the variables forming the columns. Thus, reading across the rows gave a profile of each informant illustrates the use of networks in her diagrams depicting the genealogy of the Moore family's extended household. "A Family Case Study," 182-83.

Miles and Huberman offer eighteen methods of display dividing them into four categories based on a study's research design. The categories include: (1) the "partially ordered display," which is most suitable for exploratory research, (2) the "time-oriented display," which best serves projects in which time and sequence are integral, (3) the "role-ordered display," which is advantageous in studying the interaction of people in their roles, and (4) the "conceptually clustered display," which I use here for the reason stated above. Qualitative Data Analysis, 101.

I follow Edward R. Tufte's discussion about data entry, especially noting his principle that more information is better than less and that the display is most valuable when data density is great. Envisioning Information (Chesire, Connecticut: Graphics Press, 1990).
and a sense of that person's responses to the various questions. Similarly, reading down the columns showed the similarities and differences between the respondents relative to the four variables. Finally, I recorded observations from the display in an analytic text calling attention to and interpreting various points from the matrix. This emphasized patterns, themes, and logical relationships.

The Cross-case Display

The conceptually oriented matrix is also useful for cross-case analysis when applied with a strategy which Miles and Huberman call "stacking comparable cases." To stack cases, I first analyzed them individually using the matrices described above and then simply juxtaposed the displays one atop the other, insuring that all the columns align. From there, I summarized and refined the information from all the cases to form an ordered, summary matrix useful in identifying the cross-case patterns, themes, and relationships as before. Then, this became the basis for writing a cross-case report of findings.

---

46 For a fully illustrated and more detailed account of this procedure than I offer here, see Miles and Huberman, Qualitative Data Analysis, 172-244.

47 Miles and Huberman offer extensive discussion on building matrices, entering data, and drawing conclusions from displays. Qualitative Data Analysis, 239-44. Similarly, in discussing cross-case analysis, Eisenhardt gives several reasons why "people are notoriously poor processors of information" and then details three very sophisticated
In sum, I used conceptually oriented matrices as displays for explaining both within-case and cross-case data. According to Bernard, to explain means "making complicated things understandable by showing how their component parts fit together." Thus, by condensing data and placing them in tabular displays, I was able to explain masses of information demonstrating how its parts fit together according to Gramscian theory.

The Data Presentation

The final write up of qualitative research, like all research, is determined by the field worker's intended effect on his readers. However, regardless of the analyst's aim in this regard, case studies especially require painstaking and consistent record keeping to overcome challenges to validity and generalizability. Therefore, researchers must log and explain their procedures clearly and methodically, so that others can comprehend them, reproduce them, and scrutinize them.

In this study, I used the "Qualitative Analysis Documentation Form" suggested by Miles and Huberman to document my research. This form is impressive because of its thoroughness. For example, it requires the field strategies for overcoming this tendency. "Building Theories from Case Study Research," Academy of Management Review (14) 4 (1989): 540-41.

worker to explain the objective of each analysis and to relate it to other analyses. It also asks for a description of the research methods for each outing, specifically mentioning the data sets, procedural steps, decisions in managing information, analysis operations, conclusions, and relevant comments. By using this form, I compiled an audit of the study which proved invaluable in controlling the research process and in planning the methods of data collection and analysis. ⁴⁹

The Conclusion

Feagin discusses the exceptional benefits of case study research:

The qualitative research exemplified in the case study usually brings us closer to real human beings and everyday life. . . . It is the richness and subtle nuances of the social world that matter and that the qualitative researcher wishes to uncover. ⁵⁰

However, most sociologists reject this assessment. Like

⁴⁹ Of course, there are a multitude of approaches to fulfilling these same objectives, some of which I might incorporate into the study later on. They include, for instance, the methodological diary of Robert Walker in "The Conduct of Educational Case Studies: Ethics, Theory, and Procedures" in Rethinking Educational Research, ed. William Dockrell and Darold Hamilton (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981), the "reflexivity journal" of Thomas Carney in Collaborative Inquiry Methodology (Ontario, Canada: University of Windsor, Davidson for Instructional Development, 1990), and the "data analysis chronologies" of Robert McPhee in "Alternative Approaches to Integrating Longitudinal Case Studies," Organization Science 1 (4) (1990): 393-405.

Lundberg, who prefers quantitative research, they argue that single case studies "are for all larger scientific purposes, quite useless." To support this criticism, they typically cite two lines of argument: first, one cannot generalize from a single case to larger groups, and second, case study results are unreliable because their research methods are haphazard and subjective.

In defense of the case study, I argue that the approach is supremely useful in generalizing from the case or cases to theory, rather than to large populations. This is the substance of my argument regarding multiple-case designs and analytic generalization: the cases are treated as individual subjects of examination which the researcher compares to an existing theory, making inferences from them to a theoretical proposition. Using statistical formulas to generalize to large populations is just not the point. The use of purposive sampling, which selects the subjects of study based on theoretical considerations, rather than on techniques of random sampling, bears this out.

Further, in defense of the case study, I hold that the research methods are not necessarily disorganized and unobjective. This is my point in using disciplined and well-documented techniques of data collection and analysis throughout the study. These include, for example, memoing

---

and coding, which consistently integrate the material for socially meaningful insight; documentation, which meticulously chronicles the process for replication; triangulation, which rigorously protects the data from impressionistic error; and matrices, which methodically organizes the information for precise analysis.

Finally, I argue that case study research is methodologically sound and scientifically credible. It is uniquely contributive to social research as the in-depth, multifaceted investigation of people in their natural settings because it captures the complexity of human interaction within the context of day-to-day reality.
CHAPTER THREE
THE PRODUCTION OF IDEOLOGIES IN
BLACK CHICAGO 1840-1996

African-American intellectuals have espoused primarily hegemonic ideologies in Black Chicago from the 1840s, when southern Blacks began migrating to the city, to the present. As leaders, articulating the ideas and shaping the thoughts of the African-American masses, they have shared one salient goal—Black liberation—and have developed three strategies for its accomplishment: reformation, accommodation, and separation. At the same time, however, African-American intellectuals have also produced counter-hegemonic ideas and revolutionary strategies to win the freedom of Black Chicagoans.

The following discussion provides a context for interpreting the ideas of the churches under study. The dominant and liberatory ideology that the churches espouse is largely explained by the influence of African-American intellectuals during and after the massive Black migrations. Thus, from the 1840s, when Blacks first came to Chicago in significant numbers, through the population shifts of the twentieth century, hegemonic ideas were a paramount feature of African-American culture.
The history of the development of this ideology falls into three specific periods with the first extending from the 1840s until 1916 and covering the pre-World War I growth of Chicago’s South Side. In addition to the influence of the church, as a hegemonic institution, such traditional intellectuals as Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and W. E. B. Du Bois, all of whom allied with the ruling class in leading organizations for the common people, were preeminent in the idea production of the era.

The second period covers the Great Migration of 1916 to 1930, a time when the Chicago Defender forcefully exhorted Blacks to resettle in the "Promised Land" and to take full advantage of the labor shortage of the World War I economy. Moreover, during this time, ideologues such as A. Philip Randolph and Marcus Garvey made singular contributions to the development of Black Chicago culture.

The population shift between 1930 and the present constitutes the third migratory period, as Blacks moved to Chicago to work in the city’s industry during World War II. The preeminent intellectuals of the era included Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, Fred Hampton, Malcolm X, and Louis Farrakhan, ideologues who fashioned the most recent cultural perspectives of African-American Chicago. This history of urbanization provides a context for interpreting the cultural development of the churches under
study. During the 1940s, the increasing flow of migrants made it impossible for Blacks to remain confined to the overcrowded South Side. Gradually, they moved to the Near North Side (the location of St. Luke Church and Fellowship of Friends), replacing whites, who suburbanized in the 1950s, and making the community virtually all African-American by the 1960s. They also took up residence on Chicago’s West Side (the site of Liberty of Liberty Church) which became a Black enclave during the 1800s.

The Migration and Ideology of the 1840s-1916

The production of Black ideology takes place within the historical context of Chicago’s population growth and cultural development as an urban industrial center. Native Americans occupied the site that is now Chicago from the 1600s until 1770 when Du Sable, a Black frontiersman, established the first permanent settlement. In 1837, Chicago was incorporated as a city which included today’s Lower North Side, an area just north of the Chicago River and containing Cabrini-Green.¹

Civil War (1861-1865), the city underwent a transition from pioneer town to business center. With the building of a major railroad junction, it became the epicenter of European immigration. Between 1840 and 1880, thousands of the more than eight million settlers seeking work in the nation's industries found residence in Chicago. Later, between 1880 and 1930, twenty-three million others from all over Europe crossed the Atlantic to find jobs in America with vast numbers also settling in the city.²

However, the opportunity for economic advancement was not the only force driving the mass immigration; ideological factors were equally influential. For example, in presenting the story of Italian immigrants, Mangano writes:

America may think that it is her riches, her industry, and her material prosperity that draw millions to her shores. The foreigner sees these and something more. America is the symbol of justice, brotherly kindness, equal opportunity, personal liberty, free education, and square dealing.³


³Antonio Mangano, Sons of Italy: A Social and Religious Study of the Italians in America (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1917), 220. Oscar Handlin describes the mentality of the immigrants in general, stating:

Here [in America] man cast off the chains of tyranny and embraced liberty. Unrestrained by the bonds of the feudal past, he sought to shape his own destiny, form his own society, and create a government to uphold his natural rights. Statue of Liberty (New York: Newsweek, 1971), 36.
Thus, the European new-comers were motivated not only by the prospect of making great fortunes—the streets of New York were said to be paved with gold—but they also sought the democratic ideals of liberty, self-determination, and the opportunity for individual success. Within this context, driven by these same ambitions and dreams, Blacks also came to Chicago.

The African-American Urbanization of the 1840s-1916

The beginning of the Black Chicago community dates back to the late 1840s, when runaway slaves from the South and free African-Americans from the East established a small residential enclave. As this settlement developed, its members founded an African Methodist Episcopal church and other social and civic organizations. From this starting point, the Black population increased to a thousand by 1860 and to four thousand within the next three decades, forming a community with a well defined class structure and both secular and sacred institutions:

[the enclave was] a small, compact, but rapidly growing community divided into three broad social groups. The "respectables"—church-going, poor or

"Offering complementary data from a different viewpoint, Carole Marks supplies tables depicting the outmigration of Blacks from the South from 1870 to 1930 and from 1890 to 1920 grouping them by age, sex, and literacy. "Black Workers and the Great Migration North," Phylon 46 (1985): 148-61. In addition, Drake and Cayton supplement Marks with a chart and discussion on the proportion of Blacks to the foreign-born and native-White Chicago population of 1890-1944. Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 10.
moderately prosperous, and often unrestrained in their worship—were looked down upon somewhat by the 'refined' people, who, because of their education and breeding, could not sanction the less decorous behavior of their racial brother. Both of these groups were censorious of the "rifflafl," the "sinners"—unchurched and undisciplined.5

Although Blacks lived in integrated neighborhoods and enjoyed some privileges as citizens, including the right to vote and to attend integrated schools and public places, they were nonetheless discriminated against in day-to-day life. They were compelled to live in designated areas and restricted to "Negro Jobs," that is, low-paying domestic and service employment with no opportunity for advancement. Thus, white Chicago marginalized Blacks ensuring their political impotence and social invisibility.

However, as African-Americans urbanized—increasing from less than fifteen thousand in 1890 to over fifty thousand in 1915—European indifference changed to hostility. To whites, Blacks became competitors, seeking better housing and higher paying jobs and threatening labor unions as strikebreakers.6 Such a climate precipitated racial discrimination, adding further restrictions to employment7

5Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 48.


7As job competition increased, jobs like barbering, bootblackling, and janitoring, which were earlier "Negro Work," were taken over by Greeks, Italians, Swedes, and other
and confining housing to the South and West Sides. This early history of Black Chicago provides a context for interpreting the community’s ideological development.

The African-American Ideology of the 1840s-1916

Four intellectuals, Douglass, Washington, Wells-Barnett, and Du Bois, in addition to several A.M.E. and Baptist churches, as ruling class institutions, shaped the thinking of Chicago Blacks during the first migration. The fear of lynching, the humiliation of Jim Crow segregation, the exploitation of sharecropping, and the lack of justice in the courts, motivated Southern African-Americans to move to Chicago and other northern cities. Douglass’ culture production, through his writings and speeches, contributed

foreigners, so that by 1930 Blacks had a monopoly only as Pullman porters and Red Caps. For a full discussion of this transition, see Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 242-62.

8The history of the West Side is very parallel to that of the South Side relative to African-American population growth from the 1800s to the present. However, because the South Side is so much larger than the West Side and had an earlier beginning, the West Side has been understudied. This fact notwithstanding, Marvin E. Goodwin specifically studies the development of the West Side in Black Migration in America from 1915 to 1960 (United Kingdom: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 79-100.

power and direction to this urban shift.

The Ideas of Frederick Douglass (1817?-1895)

Douglass, unequivocally the foremost African-American leader of the nineteenth century,\textsuperscript{10} was highly influential as a public speaker\textsuperscript{11} and newspaper publisher in his cru-

\textsuperscript{10}In terms of Douglass' statue as a leader, in 1847, he founded the North Star, an anti-slavery weekly which he published for sixteen years. In the following year, Douglass was one of the leaders of the Seneca Falls convention in New York which formally initiated America's women's movement. Later during the Civil War, he recruited freemen for the Union military and advised Lincoln on social and political policy. At the war's end, in the midst of Reconstruction, Douglass worked for legislation that would guarantee Blacks the right to vote. Finally, during his last years as a race man, Douglass was awarded appointments from three successive presidents including Marshal of the District of Columbia (President Garfield, 1877), Recorder of Deeds for the District (President Cleveland, 1881) and United States Minister to the Haiti (President Harrison, 1889). For a full coverage of Douglass' life, see The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (New York: Collier Books, 1962), his autobiography, and The Mind of Frederick Douglass (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984) by Waldo Martin, Jr. which analyzes his political and social influence.

\textsuperscript{11}Although I have not been able to find any material from Douglass' presentations in Chicago, a review of his partial speaking itinerary for 1855-1880 indicates that he spoke in the city twelve times, not including engagements at nearby locations like Rockford and Waukeegan, Illinois. Significantly, on February 1, 1859, he gave the address at a formal reception given in his honor by the Black abolitionists of Chicago at the A.M.E. Church, Jackson Street and followed this with presentations on three successive days at the city's Metropolitan Hall. Newspapers reporting the attendance at Douglass' meetings refer to "hundreds of Blacks from miles around" and to "large assemblage[s] of Blacks." Frederick Douglass, The Frederick Douglass Papers, ed. John W. Blassingame and John R. McKivigan, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985-91), vols 3-4 passim.
sade for human rights.\textsuperscript{12} He both articulated the ideas and fashioned the culture of the impoverished, unskilled, recently-freed Blacks of Chicago and the nation at large who mainly constituted a proletariat class. As a traditional intellectual, he espoused ideas relative to militant opposition, assisted self-reliance and full integration.

One of the most remarkable examples of Douglass' militant opposition to discrimination against African-Americans both by the U.S. government and society at large appeared in his Fourth of July speech delivered in Rochester, New York, July 5, 1852:

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity . . . [a] thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages.\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{12}For an overview of Douglass' biography and political influence, see Benjamin Quarles, "Douglass, Frederick," in Encyclopedia of Black America. Martin's The Mind of Frederick Douglass offers insightful historical commentary on Douglass' writings and speeches including a vast number of references and quotes from original sources. Similarly, Frederick M. Holland gives extensive quotes from Douglass' works with sparse historical non-interpretive commentary. Frederick Douglass: The Colored Orator (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891).
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{13}Lerone Bennett, Jr., Pioneers in Protest (Chicago, Johnson Publishing Company Incorporated, 1968), 209-10. Similarly, in a speech given on August 4, 1857, entitled "West India Emancipation," Douglass stated, "power concedes nothing without a struggle. It never did, and it never will." Martin, The Mind of Frederick Douglass, 124-25. Finally, in his autobiography, Douglass observes:

The slave who had the courage to stand up for him-
Douglass eloquently expressed his notion of Black self-reliance with assistance from whites in responding to co-abolitionists, who opposed his publication of the *North Star*, an anti-slavery newspaper:

... the man struck is the man to cry out ... he who has endured the cruel pangs of Slavery is the man to advocate Liberty ... not distinct from, but in connection with our white friends.  

Moreover, in the first edition of the paper, Douglass further developed this theme, assuring his Black readership: "While advocating your rights, the *North Star* will strive to throw light on your duties":

No People that has solely depended upon foreign aid, or rather, upon the efforts of those, in any way identified with the oppressor, to undo the heavy burdens ever stood forth in the attitude of Freedom (emphasis mine).  

Of course, Douglass' belief in self-reliance did not preclude his acceptance of white philanthropy, for example, in the *North Star*, he acknowledged:

Through the kindness of our friends in England, we

self against the overseer, although he might have many hard stripes at first, became while legally a slave virtually a freeman. Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, 143.

14 Benjamin Quarles, "Douglass, Frederick," in *Encyclopedia of Black America*.


16 Martin cites one of Frederick Douglass' papers of April 13, 1855. *The Mind of Frederick Douglass*, 94-95. Similarly Douglass often reminded his fellow Blacks that "God helps those who help themselves." Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, 91-92.
are in possession of an excellent printing press, types, and all other materials necessary for printing a paper. With your aid, cooperation and assistance, our enterprise will be entirely successful.\textsuperscript{17}

Further, although committed to self-sufficiency, Douglass collaborated with politically and socially influential whites. For instance, he toured with William Lloyd Garrison, the famous abolitionist, strategized with John Brown, the violent revolutionary, and commended Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of \textit{Uncle Tom's Cabin}.\textsuperscript{18}

Finally, Douglass' commitment to full integration was most evident in his view of southern Black migration. At first, in 1870, he vehemently opposed the exodus advising African-Americans to remain in the South, for their mistreatment was "exceptional and transient." This, of course, was during Reconstruction, when the future of Black people seemed so promising, given the Republican commitment

\textsuperscript{17}The Negro Almanac: A Reference Work on the Afro-American, 4th ed., s.v. "Douglass, Frederick."

\textsuperscript{18}During the Civil War, Douglass assisted President Lincoln to recruit the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Negro regiments. At the President's funeral, he eulogized him, stating:

It was only a few weeks ago that I shook his brave, honest hand, and looked into his gentle eye and heard his kindly voice uttering those memorable words . . . . Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that his mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Douglass, \textit{The Frederick Douglass Papers}, 4:77.

In 1866, Douglass spoke with President Johnson attempting to persuade him to grant Blacks the franchise.
to protect them militarily and empower them politically.

Douglass argued that leaving the South constituted an admission by Blacks that they were unable to live in harmony and prosperity with their white neighbors. In opposing a mass exit, Douglass encouraged Blacks to patiently maintain the goodwill and respect of whites, stating that if they leave the South:

The country will be told of the hundreds who go to Kansas, but not of the thousands who stay in Mississippi . . . . Why should a people who have made such progress . . . now be humiliated and scandalized by [an] exodus . . . at a time when every indication favors the position that the wrongs and hardships which they suffer are soon to be redressed?19

However, after touring Georgia and South Carolina, in 1888, Douglass reversed himself, having observed first-hand the wretched condition of sharecroppers, he encouraged out-migration while continuing his struggle for integration:

While I shall continue to labor for increased justice to those who stay in the South, I give you my hearty 'God-speed' in your emigration scheme. I believe you are doing a good work.20

In sum, Douglass produced ideas among his Black contemporaries preaching militant opposition, assisted

---

19 Douglass, The Frederick Douglass Papers, 4:525. This statement is parallel to Douglass' insistence, in opposition to colonization, that Blacks are Americans, not Africans. Martin, The Mind of Douglass, 74. It is also consistent with his resistance to all-Black organizations which, in his view, would polarize the races and magnify disharmony. Quarles, "Douglass, Frederick," in Encyclopedia of Black America.

20 Holland, Frederick Douglass: the Colored Orator, 368.
self-reliance, and full integration. He demonstrated this, for example, in his combative attitude toward racial injustice by advocating resistance to the point of death:

If we ever get free from the oppression and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice, and if needs be, by our lives and the lives of others.²¹

At the same time, as indicated by his language in the above quote, Douglass was pertinacious regarding Black self-reliance—a self-reliance inextricably bound to collaboration with powerful whites. Finally, he was a wholehearted integrationist, believing that Euro- and Afro-Americans should build and share a common society. In this respect, he was strikingly akin to Washington.

The Ideas of Booker T. Washington (1856?-1915)

When Douglass died in February 1895, the Black press eulogized him as the unrivaled spokesman for Black America who had faithfully served his community for more than half a century. However, only seven months later, Washington delivered his Atlanta Exposition Address, which catapulted him into the leadership role formerly held by Douglass.²²

²¹Bennett, Pioneers in Protest, 198.

²²Du Bois, Washington’s most rigorous critic, made the following comment to honor the Tuskegeeian at his death:

He was the greatest negro leader since Frederick Douglass, and the most distinguished man, white or black, who has come out of the South since the Civil War. His fame was international and his influence far-reaching. "Booker T. Washington," The Crisis,
For the next two decades, Washington, as the white-appointed "Negro leader," functioned as the most politically and socially influential Black man in America. In this role, he voiced the aspirations and shaped the culture of African-Americans, who, in the main, as disfranchised, uneducated, and exploited people, viewed him as the fountainhead of ethnic pride and community uplift.  

Washington was an accommodationist, who tolerated December, 1915, quoted by Moon, The Emerging Thought of W. E. B. Du Bois, 312.

Washington's power came primarily through his support by White philanthropists and association with influential politicians. For example, through him, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Jacob Schiff, Julius Rosenwald, and other wealthy donors contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to Tuskegee, the school that Washington founded, and to other schools, organizations, and churches—if they had Washington's approval. This gave him indisputable authority in every area of the Black community. Moreover, politically, he became a trusted consultant to both Presidents Roosevelt and Taft and an intimate associate of Queen Victoria of England. Thus, Washington became the head of an invincible political empire and the advisor to White leaders on issues of race. For a full coverage of Washington's life, see his autobiography "Up From Slavery," in Three Negro Classics (New York: Avon Books, 1965), 29-205, and "Booker T. Washington and the Politics of Accommodation" in Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century, ed. John Hope Franklin and August Meier (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 1-18, by Louis R. Harlan, which focuses on his political influence. Finally, for material on Washington's private thoughts and political dealings unknown until after his death, see The Booker T. Washington Papers, ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972).

"Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church," in-house publication distributed by the Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church Chicago, 25, mentions Washington as a "notable" guest speaker around the turn of the century. Moreover, the Chicago Defender, the most popular Black weekly of the day, frequently reports his social and political activities as prime news. For example, the front page of the paper of August 20, 1910, devotes two
racism, sought white benevolence, encouraged white paternalism, and promoted self-sufficiency. Further, as an accommodationist, he opposed Black leaders and organizations who forcefully confronted discrimination.\textsuperscript{25}

He tolerated racism in the form of exploitative farming, physical violence, Jim Crow schools, and segregated public facilities. He expressed this position in the Atlanta Speech:

\begin{quote}
The wisest of my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{25}Washington justified his accommodationism with the proverb, "When your head is in the lion's mouth, you must pet the lion." Drake and Cayton describe his ideology as "the holy scripture of southern leaders, white and black" and summarize it succinctly:

\begin{quote}
Do not ask for the right to vote. Do not fight for civil liberties or against segregation. Go to school. Work hard. Save money. Buy property. Some day the other things may come. Drake and Cayton, \textit{Black Metropolis}, 52.
\end{quote}
result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing.  

Washington's powerful leadership and ability to finance Tuskegee, a school he founded in 1881, and other projects throughout the South was largely owing to his influence with white philanthropists. He toured the North persuading benevolent organizations and individuals, like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, who alone financed buildings at twenty-nine Black schools, to contribute thousands of dollars to African-American institutions. In commenting on his fund-raising strategies, he wrote:

I have personally proceeded on the principle that persons who possess sense enough to earn money have sense enough to know how to give it away, and that the mere making known of the facts regarding Tuskegee . . . has been more effective than outright begging. I think that the presentation of facts on a high, dignified plane, is all the begging that most rich people care for.  

26Washington, "Up From Freedom," 149. In the same publication, he promotes the toleration of racism with the words:

To-day there are no such organizations [as the Klu Klux Klan] in the South, and the fact that such ever exited is almost forgotten by both races. There are few places in the South now where public sentiment would permit such organizations to exist. 71.

Of course, the Klan was very active throughout the South at the time that he wrote.

27Washington, "Up from Slavery," 127. This quote comes from Chapter XII, "Raising Money," of Washington's autobiography, a section in which he mentions touring "New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, and other large cities" and successfully making appeals to "Collis P. Huntington, the great railroad man," "Rev. E. Winchester Donald, rector of the Trinity, Church, Boston," "Hon. J. L. M. Curry," agent of the Slater and Peabody Funds, Andrew Carnegie, the renowned
A central feature of Washington's ideology included catering to white paternalism. For instance, he argued that, although Blacks had the franchise, they were incapable of voting responsibility and should therefore trust whites to assist them in casting their ballots:

I do not believe that the Negro should cease voting . . . but I do believe that in his voting he should be more and more influenced by those of intelligence and character who are his next-door neighbors ["Southern white people"].

Moreover, he denied that African-Americans have irrevocable rights and contended that, when they were qualified, whites would grant them civil liberties and guard their interests as citizens:

... the time will come when the Negro in the South will be accorded all the political rights which his ability, character, and material possessions entitle him to. I think . . . that the opportunity to freely exercise such political rights . . . will be accorded to the Negro by the Southern white people themselves, and that they will protect him in the exercise of those rights.

philanthropist, and a number of anonymous donors.

28Washington, "Up from Slavery," 156. Further, in the Atlanta speech, Washington encouraged Whites to trust African-Americans stating:

As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sickbed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you . . . ready to lay down our lives if need be in defense of yours . . . 148.

29Washington, "Up from Slavery," 155. Similarly, in the Atlanta Address, he stated:
Finally, self-sufficiency, especially in the areas of education and trade, was a salient feature of Washington's accommodationism. For example, at Tuskegee, in the name of practical education, he led the students to erect the school's buildings to teach them self-reliance. Washington believed that if they understood how "to do a common thing in an uncommon manner," they would become indispensable to the white community at large:

No man who continues to add something to the material, intellectual, and moral well-being of the place in which he lives is long left without proper reward. This is a great human law which cannot be permanently nullified. 30

Thus, a paramount feature of Washington's strategy was to assist Blacks to create their own place in American society through industrial schooling.

In sum, Washington attempted to defuse Southern racism through a tactic of deference on the one hand and self-improvement on the other. He ignored the overt abuse, such as physical violence, economic exploitation, and social degradation, and attempted to endear African-Ameri-

It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house. 149.

30 Washington, "Up from Slavery," 182. Washington goes on to state that thirty-six of Tuskegee's forty buildings were built by students and that "hundreds of men are now scattered throughout the South who received their knowledge of mechanics while being taught how to erect these buildings." 109.
cans to conservative paternalistic whites. At the same time, largely through Tuskegee, he implemented a strategy of self-improvement, designed to accomplish both independence from white philanthropy and economic stability in the Black community. In all of this, Washington, the "Wizard of Tuskegee," was supremely effective despite the opposition of detractors like Wells-Barnett.

The Ideas of Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862-1930)

Wells, an anti-lynching activist years before Washington's Speech of 1895, was one of the Tuskegeeans' most fervent critics during his tenure as the "official" Black leader. Although Wells earned both national and international reputation as a political agitator,\(^{31}\) she was especially influential in Chicago from 1893, when she

---

\(^{31}\)In 1892 and again in 1894, Wells toured England generating support for anti-lynching legislation in the U.S. and organizing the British Anti-Lynching Society. In commenting on the effect of her speeches, she stated in the Red Record:


protested against the exclusion of African-Americans from the Columbian Exposition.\textsuperscript{32} Wells was in every sense a warrior\textsuperscript{33} committed to militant protest, economic boycott, violent self-defense, community self-help, and women's suffrage.\textsuperscript{34} Although her supporters were often middle-

\textsuperscript{32}As co-author with Frederick Douglass, and F. Barnett, a militant Chicago politician and journalist whom she married in 1895, Wells circulated in Chicago "The Reason Why The Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition." Two years later, she assumed the editorship of the \textit{Conservator}, a Chicago protest newspaper in which she agitated against white racism in the city and the nation at large. Of course, Wells' primary focus was her crusade against lynching which she advanced with the publication in Chicago of the \textit{Red Record} in 1895 and \textit{Mob Rule in New Orleans} in 1900, two pamphlets documenting the lawless murder of Blacks by white vigilantes. To raise public consciousness on this subject, she founded Chicago's "Central Anti-Lynching League" during the same period. Further, Wells demonstrated her social concern and commitment to self-help through the founding of two Chicago organizations: the Negro Fellowship League, which established a settlement house for migrants in 1910, and the Alpha Suffrage Club, which she organized in 1913 to secure the franchise for women and encourage their political activity. For detailed discussion of Wells' biography giving emphasis to her Chicago years, see Thompson's \textit{Ida B. Wells-Barnett:An Exploratory Study of an American Black Woman, 1893-1930}, 41-50, 85-106. For a condensed coverage of the major events of her life with extensive political commentary, see Thomas C. Holt's "The Lonely Warrior: Ida B. Wells-Barnett and the Struggle for Black Leadership," in \textit{Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century}, 39-61.


class church folk, she articulated the ideas of all classes of African-Americans who were politically, socially, and economically marginalized at the time. Wells published militant protest pamphlets and lectured extensively to both African-American and white audiences to galvanize anti-lynching sentiment. She viewed the Black press as necessary, but the white press as essential, identifying it as the means "through which [she] hoped to reach the white people of the country, who alone could mold public sentiment."35 Her three most popular anti-lynching pamphlets, Southern Horrors, A Red Record, and Mob Rule in New Orleans,36 which featured statistical data and lynching reports from white newspapers, illustrated her confrontive approach to influencing popular opinion.

In Southern Horrors, she denied the argument that Black men were insensible brutes obsessed with raping white women, a circumstance making lynch law both necessary and

35Holt, "The Lonely Warrior," 47. In A Red Record published in Chicago in 1895, Wells writes:

During the year 1894, there were 132 persons executed in the United States by due form of law, while in the same year, 197 persons were put to death by mobs who gave the victims no opportunity to make a lawful defense. No comment need be made upon a condition of public sentiment responsible for such alarming results. Wells, On Lynchings: Southern Horrors, A Red Record, Mob Rule in New Orleans, 15.

the truth remains that Afro-American men do not always rape (?) white women without their consent. . . . white men lynch the offending Afro-American, not because he is a despoiler of virtue, but because he succumbs to the smiles of white women.\footnote{Wells, On Lynchings 6. She continues to develop this accusation stating:}

Moreover, as part of her crusade, she boldly criticized governmental racism. For example, in \textit{A Red Record} (with its title page reading: "Respectfully submitted to the Nineteenth Century civilization in 'the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave'") Wells condemned the state for failing to defend the rights of Black citizens:

The government which had made the Negro a citizen found itself unable to protect him. It gave him the right to vote, but denied him the protection which should have maintained that right.\footnote{Wells, On Lynchings, 9. Similarly, in "Lynching: Our National Crime," Wells accused U.S. society of moral self-contradiction:}

However, in her fight for equality, Wells did not

\footnote{Wells, On Lynchings 6. She continues to develop this accusation stating:}

Nobody . . . believes the old thread bare lie that Negro men rape white women. If Southern white men are not careful, they will over-reach themselves . . . a conclusion will then be reached which will be very damaging to the moral reputation of the women.

Later in the pamphlet, Wells cited an article from the white "Cleveland Gazette" describing the sentencing of a Black man to fourteen years in the penitentiary for raping a white woman who later confessed that the man was innocent and that she had encouraged the relationship. Wells, \textit{On Lynchings}, 7.


Why is the mob murder permitted by a Christian nation? What is the cause of this awful slaughter? cited by Thompson, \textit{Ida B. Wells}, 262.
confine herself to militant agitation; she also advocated economic boycotts. In 1892, when a Memphis mob lynched three of her friends, she led retaliation through the Free Speech, a weekly paper. She encouraged Blacks to stay off the local streetcar and forced the company to the verge of bankruptcy. She also challenged all African-Americans, who could, to migrate from the city arguing:

To Northern capital and Afro-American labor the South owes its rehabilitation. If labor is withdrawn capital will not remain. . . . A through knowledge and judicious exercise of this power in lynching localities could many times effect a bloodless revolution.39

In response, 2,000 Blacks left Memphis.40

Wells advocated violent self-defense in reaction to lynchings and other mistreatment. In Southern Horrors, for instance, she advised,

... a Winchester rifle should have a place of honor in every black home, and it should be used for that protection which the law refuses to give.41


40In the conclusion of Southern Horrors, Wells explained the goal of mass retaliation:

I have shown how he [the Black citizen] may employ the boycott, emigration and the press, and I feel that by a combination of all these agencies can be effectually stamped out lynch law, that last relic of barbarism and slavery. Wells, On Lynchings, 24.

41Wells, On Lynchings, 23. Similarly, in Mob Rule in New Orleans, a Chicago publication of 1900, Wells applauded the courageous last stand of Charles, an innocent Black man attacked by a murderous hord, noting that he "still defying his pursuers, fought a mob of twenty thousand people, single-handed and alone, killing three more men, mortally wounding
Similarly, in a Free Speech of 1891, she commended the Blacks of Georgetown, Kentucky, who requited for a lynching by setting the town on fire:

Not until the Negro rises in his might and takes a hand in resenting such cold-blooded murders, if he has to burn up the whole town, will a halt be called in wholesale lynching.\(^{42}\)

Further, Wells espoused self-help with white assistance as demonstrated by her founding of the Negro Fellowship League which provided lodging and recreation for Southern migrants. She took this action, which was largely inspired by Jane Addams' Hull House, in response to the racism which she condemned in Chicago's Record-Herald in 1912:

While every other class is welcome in the Y.M.C.A. dormitories, Y.W.C.A. homes, the Salvation Army and the Mills hotels, not one of these will give a negro a bed to sleep in or permit him to use their reading rooms and gymnasiums.\(^{43}\)

With a spirit of self-sufficiency, she operated the Negro two more and seriously wounding nine others." Wells, On Lynchings, 18. Notably, Du Bois' position on self-defense was identical to Wells':

Hereafter, we humbly pray that every man, black or white, who is anxious to defend women, will be willing to be lynched for his faith. Let black men especially kill lecherous white invaders of their homes and then take their lynching gladly like men. "Divine Right," The Crisis, March 1912, 197, quoted in The Thoughts and Writings of W. E. B. Du Bois: The Seventh Son (New York: Random House, 1971), 2:7.

\(^{42}\)Holt, "The Lonely Warrior," 42.

Fellowship League "to reach a helping hand to the young men and women farthest down on the ladder of life." Wells accomplished this with the financial assistance of Victor Lawson, a wealthy white supporter, who underwrote the facility's cost for three years.

Finally, Wells stood at the forefront of Chicago’s women’s movement helping to establish the Alpha Suffrage Club in 1913. Convinced that Black women were politically apathetic and intentionally ignored by the white suffrage movement, she started the organization after several

44 Ida B. Wells-Barnett, "Duster, manuscript on the life of Ida Wells-Barnett, chap. 9, p. 1, cited by Spear, Black Chicago, 106. Chicago’s Ida Wells Club, a women’s organization of the 1890s operating a kindergarten, sewing school, and other such activities, is another example of Black self-help in the midst of racism. Spear, Black Chicago, 91-110.

45 Another situation, involving the Chicago Tribune, illustrated Wells’ use of powerful whites to advance African-American interests. In 1900, when the Tribune initiated a demand to segregate Chicago public schools, Wells requested her friend, Jane Addams, to convene a meeting of the city’s leading whites to block the proposal. After a number from the group, who disfavored segregation, spoke to the editor, the paper dropped the issue. Holt, "The Lonely Warrior," 46-47.

46 August Meier discusses the historical development and social contribution of the Black women’s clubs around the turn of the century mentioning such projects as day-care centers, kindergartens, sewing and cooking classes, and services to orphans, homeless girls, and seniors. He highlights their focus on self-help and racial unity. Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), 134-35. For a complementary discussion, see Karolyn Kohrs Campbell’s material on the self-help strategies of Black women leaders including Wells, Sojourner Truth, and Mary Church Terrell. "Style and Content in the Rhetoric of Early Afro-American Feminist," Quarterly Journal of Speech 72 (1986): 434-45.
years of consciousness raising, and led it to change Chicago politics. The city council, composed of seventy aldermen, had no Black representatives, but exercised monumental authority in the African-American community. Finding this intolerable, Wells organized women voters and forced politicians to address the needs of their South and West Side constituents.47

In sum, through her political and social activism, Wells exerted a profound ideological influence on Black Chicago. She unreservedly committed herself to militant protest, especially in her campaign against lynching, and advocated economic boycott and armed self-defense in response to white racism. She further exercised ideological leadership by preaching a gospel of self-reliance and political activism. Wells was in every since an outspoken champion of Black political and social freedom and a powerful architect of African-American culture. In this respect, she was very similar to Du Bois, the premier Black intellectual of the twentieth century.48

47 Katherine E. Williams describes the Club’s first major project of sending Wells, as founder and president, to Washington, D.C. to march in a suffragists’ parade in 1913, the day before President Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration. “The Alpha Suffrage Club,” Half Century (September, 1916): 12.

48 Thompson discusses Wells’ relations with Du Bois, the N.A.A.C.P., and their views of Booker T. Washington. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, 79-84. Her comments are very parallel to those of Du Bois himself who mentions his relations with Wells and her opposition to the N.A.A.C.P. because of its white leadership. The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its
The Ideas of W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963)


In *The Crisis* of September, 1919, 231, Du Bois actually borrows the language and imagery of the Old Testament prophet in exhorting his readers to confront southern lawlessness. He closes an article entitled "Let Us Reason Together" (words borrowed from Isaiah, the prophet, Isaiah 1:18) with the following poem:

And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his father
And the temples of his gods?

Quoted in *The Thoughts and Writings*, ed. Lester, 2:15.

Born in 1868 in Massachusetts of African, French, and Dutch ancestry, Du Bois became a preeminent academic earning a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1895 and later studying at the University of Berlin for two years. While a professor of history and economics at Atlanta University between 1897 and 1910, he led the founding of the Niagara Movement in 1905, an organization which confronted white racism and ultimately evolved into the N.A.A.C.P. During his tenure with the N.A.A.C.P. from 1909 to 1948, Du Bois organized the Pan African Congress in 1919 believing that all people of African descent have common interests and should unite in the struggle against European domination and exploitation. Du Bois became increasingly interested in socialism during the late 1940s and the 1950s, and in 1961 joined the Communist party and went into self-imposed exile in Ghana at the invitation of Kwame Nkrumah, the country's first prime minister. Finally, he died in Ghana in 1963 on the very day of the March on Washington conducted by Rustin and A. Philip Randolph. For an overview of Du Bois' life and political activism, see Elliott Rudwick's *W. E. B. Du Bois: Protagonist of the Afro-American Protest* in *Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century*, 63-84. This might serve to preface Du Bois' *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois* and the collections of his writings by Nathan Huggins, W. E. B. Du Bois (New York: The Library of America, 1986), Henry Lee Moon, *The Emerging Thought of W. E. B. Du Bois: Essays and Editorials*
as a political agitator and champion for the cause of Blacks:

... may God forget me and mine if in time or eternity I ever weakly admit to myself or the world that wrong is not wrong, that insult is not insult, or that color discrimination is anything but an inhuman and damnable shame.51

Du Bois exerted his most substantial influence as editor of The Crisis, the propaganda instrument of the N.A.A.C.P., which he published from 1910 to 1934.52


51 Du Bois, The Crisis, January, 1913, quoted in The Selected Writings, ed. Walter Wilson, 104.

52 As coordinator of Publicity and Research, Du Bois founded The Crisis in 1910 and developed it into the most well-read publication in Black America. In commenting on its effect, he wrote:

My leadership was a leadership solely of ideas. ... I think I may say without boasting that in the period from 1910 to 1930 I was a main factor in revolutionizing the attitude of the American Negro toward caste. My stinging hammer blows made Negroes aware of themselves, confident of their possibilities and determined in self-assertion. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1940) 303.

Du Bois' annual report to the N.A.A.C.P. in 1913 stated that The Crisis began in 1910 publishing 1,000 copies with an income of $250 per month and that "the edition of December, 1913, was 32,000 copies, and the income for the month was over $2,100." He went on to report that of the 37,500 copies printed in April, 1915, 6,903 were circulated in the Middle States (an area including Chicago) and that the Chicago chapter of the N.A.A.C.P, one of the "twenty largest branches," had 275 members who had "taken cognizance of grievances in connection with Post Office employees and residential segregation at Oak Park." (The membership of other Illinois branches includes Cairo 20 members, Carbondale 31 members,
Through his writings and oratory, he voiced the attitudes of the Black masses who were politically disfranchised and socially ignored, but increasingly aggressive in demanding equality.

As an intellectual, his writings, as well as his speeches, were quite varied, reflecting shifts in philosophy and strategy as his perception of the political and social situation changed with the times. Du Bois did not hesitate to reverse himself on one position in favor of another. For instance, at various points in his career he championed assimilation as well as segregation and espoused communism as well as capitalism. However, generally speaking, his ideas reflect four foundational positions, including anti-Washingtonism, full integration, Black nationalism, and moderate socialism.

Although during the early years of his career Du Bois

Decatur 50 members, Peoria 25 members, Springfield 100 members, Champaign and Urbana 27 members, Danville 25 members, Galesburg 23 members, and Mounds 15 members.) Finally, Du Bois stated that The Crisis had a monthly circulation of 68,000 in 1928 and that at the end of World War I this number had increased to 100,000. The data from this paragraph comes from Herbert Aptheker's Pamphlets and Leaflets by W.E.B. Du Bois (New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited, 1986).

Du Bois' public speaking career, which was additional to his writing for The Crisis and a host of other publications, was remarkably extensive. For example, in 1913, he "traveled about 8,000 miles and delivered seventy-two lectures and talks to audiences aggregating 41,000 persons, of whom 19,800 were white and 21,200 were colored people." Aptheker, Pamphlets, 137. During the same period, according to Aptheker, he also spoke to one of the "largest audiences" of the year at Orchestral Hall, Chicago.
applauded Washington, later he castigated him severely for his view of education and accommodationism. Du Bois began his assault on Washington with the publication of The Souls of Black Folk in 1903 in which he criticized Washington's political deference and passivity:

... the distinct impression left by Mr. Washington's propaganda is, first, that the South

54Before the turn of the century, Du Bois praised Washington's strategies for Black community uplift; however, over time he reversed this assessment, concluding that the Tuskegeean was an accommodationist and that militant protest was a more effective strategy. In expressing his early approval of Washington, Du Bois wrote in his autobiography:

... I had much admiration for Mr. Washington and Tuskegee, and I had in 1894 applied at both Tuskegee and Hampton for work. If Mr. Washington's telegram had reached me before the Wilberforce bid, I should have doubtless gone to Tuskegee. The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, 236.

55Remarkably, during World War I, Du Bois published "Close Ranks" in The Crisis, July 1918, and exhorted his Black readership:

Let us, while the war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens ... that are fighting for democracy. Quoted in The Emerging Thought, ed. Moon, 254.

This position and others like it prompted such leaders as A. Philip Randolph to accuse Du Bois of cowering before White society and becoming accommodationistic. However, this situation not withstanding, at the end of the War, Du Bois published "Returning Soldiers," The Crisis, May 1919, and resumed his signature attitude of militant agitation:

We return.
We return from fighting.
We return fighting.
Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why. Quoted in Emerging Thought, ed. Moon, 259-60.
is justified in its present attitude toward the Negro because of the Negro's degradation; secondly, that the prime cause of the Negro's failure to raise more quickly is his wrong education primarily in the past; and thereby, that his future rise depends primarily on his own efforts. Each of these propositions is a dangerous half-truth.\textsuperscript{56}

Du Bois also disagreed with Washington regarding the type of education that would contribute most to African-American advancement. Washington advocated an industrial model for all, while Du Bois supported "the higher education of a Talented Tenth" who would assist the less gifted.\textsuperscript{57} According to Du Bois, this intellectual cadre would "guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of


... in stern justice, we must lay on the soul of this man a heavy responsibility for the consummation of Negro disfranchisement, the decline of the Negro college and public school and the firmer establishment of color caste in this land. Quoted in \textit{The Emerging Thought}, ed. Moon, 312.

Moreover, in a three-page leaflet "To The People of Great Britain and Europe," Du Bois criticized Washington for stating while touring England that the "Negro Problem" was passe. He explained that his accommodationism compromised his integrity:

But we are compelled to point out that Mr. Washington's large financial responsibilities have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reason, he has for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of it which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth. Aptheker, \textit{Pamphlets}, 96.

\textsuperscript{57}Du Bois, \textit{Autobiography}, 236.
the Worst, in their own and other races."\textsuperscript{58} He categorically opposed Washington's philosophy of teaching trade and industrial skills to all Blacks, while ignoring the education of a select few in liberal arts.

Further, in addition to his anti-Washington sentiments, Du Bois demonstrated a single-minded commitment to full integration. For example, in \textit{The Crisis} of April, 1915, he demanded equity with whites and a fair and just society:

\begin{quote}
The American Negro demands equality--political equality, industrial equality and social equality; and he is never going to rest satisfied with anything less. . . . Only in a demand and a persistent demand for essential equality in the modern realm of human culture can any people show a real pride of race and a decent self-respect.\textsuperscript{59}
\end{quote}

However, in addition to fighting for an integrated society, Du Bois also espoused Pan-Africanism, the conviction that everyone of African descent should unite against

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{58} Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," quoted in \textit{Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century}, ed, August Meier, Elliott Rudwick, Francis L. Broderick, 2d ed. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1971), 64. Du Bois frequently discussed his philosophy of education in \textit{The Crisis}, stating, for example, in August, 1927, that Blacks should give "their best minds higher college training" as the "object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, but to make carpenters men . . . ." Quoted in \textit{The Selected Writings}, ed. Wilson, 142.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}
white exploitation in a unified struggle for freedom.\textsuperscript{60}

He broadcasted this notion in \textit{The Crisis} emphasizing political self-determination:

\begin{quote}
Firmly and unalteringly let the Negro race in America, in bleeding Haiti and throughout the world close ranks and march steadily on, determined as never before to work and save and endure, but never to swerve from their great goal: the right to vote, the right to know, and the right to stand as men among men throughout the world. . . . \textsuperscript{61}
\end{quote}

Du Bois' concept of nationalism also had a specific cultural dimension, in that, he stated as a Pan-Africanist,

\begin{quote}
there is nothing in white Europe or America that can measure up to the wonderful colorings of flesh, grace of movement and rhythm of music such as Black America can furnish.\textsuperscript{62}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Finally, long before joining the Communist Party in
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{60}In "Race Pride," an editorial in \textit{The Crisis} of January, 1920, Du Bois was unequivocal in his segregationist, Black nationalist attitudes. To whites he exhorted:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{61}Du Bois, "Booker T. Washington, \textit{The Crisis}, December 1915, quoted in Moon, 312. Moreover, Du Bois argued that the rigid segregation which whites practiced against African-Americans contributed indirectly to Black nationalism:

\begin{quote}
When the American people in their carelessness and impudence have finally succeeded in welding 10,000,000 American Negroes into one great self-conscious and self-acting mass they will realize their mistake. \textit{The Crisis}, December 1913, quoted in Moon, 73.
\end{quote}

1961, Du Bois became a vigorous advocate of a moderate socialism, stating: ⁶³

I am a Socialist-of-the-Path. I do not believe in the complete socialization of the means of production—the entire abolition of private property in capital—but the Path of Progress and common sense certainly leads to a far greater ownership of the public wealth for the public good than is now the case. ⁶⁴

He went on to identify his "natural friends" as "not the rich but the poor, not the great but the masses, not the employers but the employees."

In sum, Du Bois, unlike Washington, the accommodationist, but certainly akin to Douglass and Wells, assumed the vanguard of militant protest against America's discrimination. He unequivocally opposed Washington's "palm-branch" approach to race relations, calling it a barrier to community advancement, and aggressively preached integration on the one hand and self-segregation on the other. This disjunction illustrates the complexity and sophistication of Du Bois, the ideologist, who finally became so

⁶³ In his autobiography, Du Bois described his conversion to socialism while studying in Germany:

Abruptly, I had a beam of new light. Karl Marx was scarcely mentioned at Harvard and entirely unknown at Fisk. At Berlin, he was a living influence, but chiefly in the modification of his theories then dominant in the Social Democratic party. I was attracted by the rise of this party and attended its meetings. Autobiography, 289.

⁶⁴ Du Bois, "Socialist of the Path" and "Negro and Socialism" Horizon 1, 2 (February 1907): 7-8, quoted in Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, ed. Rudwick and Broderick, 65.
disillusioned with the contradictions of American democracy that he embraced communism and self-imposed exile in West Africa.

The Ideas of the Chicago Black Church (1840s-1916)

The Black church of Chicago was a distinctly urban phenomenon. In the rural South prior to migration, African-Americans lived interspersed among whites as a strictly dependent economic community and had little opportunity for independent development. However, the relative freedom of the metropolis favored ecclesiastical growth, so that from the beginning of the migration until 1916 Black Chicago founded over twenty-five churches.  

The congregations were stratified according to socioeconomic class, forming distinct middle- and working-class assemblies which differed in terms of political involvement, worship style, and community service. For instance, Quinn Chapel A.M.E., Bethel A.M.E., and Olivet


66"Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church," a publication produced by Quinn Chapel Church Chicago, the first Black Church in Chicago, records the history of the ministry from its
Baptist, prosperous middle-class churches, exerted a significant political influence in the community. These ministries provided leadership training, so that many politicians developed as church officials before becoming public servants. Adelbert Roberts is a case in point: after serving as an officer at Quinn Chapel, in 1924 he became the first Black elected to the upper house of the Illinois Legislature. Of course, the large churches were also influential because their members voted in high numbers. On the other hand, by contrast, the smaller working-class assemblies tended to be politically uninvolved.

The two groups also differed regarding worship style. The middle-class congregations were self-conscious and ritualistic in comparison to their emotionally uninhibited

---

beginning in 1844 until the present. This data is useful for contextualizing the present discussion.

67Bethel was founded in 1862 as a mission church by members from Quinn Chapel. "Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church," 34.

68A 1917 edition of the Defender attested to the affluence of Olivet Baptist reporting that it "raised $6,077.79, which is the largest amount ever raised by a Baptist church in America." "Olivet Church Raises $6,077," Chicago Defender, 2 June 1917.

69Drake gives extensive discussion on the culture production and influence of the "the church-centered middle-class group" and its influence on secular institutions during the period in question. Metropolis, 669-715.

70"Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church," 30. The section, entitled "Quinn Chapel in Civic Life," goes on to discuss the church's history of extensive involvement in state and municipal politics. 30-31.
For example, Rev. Elijah Fisher, pastor of Olivet Baptist from 1903 to 1915, criticized what he considered to be disorder in the working-class services, stating that he "believed in enthusiastic religion but did not countenance a church in demoniac pandemonium." He castigated the working class church-goers who practiced a "down south" style of worship, characterized by family-like relations and emotional freedom.

Although Vattel Elbert Daniel’s study deals with Black Chicago churches during the 1930s, his discussion on the social stratification within them relating to types of church services and emotional expression complements the present discussion. "Ritual and Stratification in Chicago Negro Churches," *American Sociological Review* 7 (June 1942): 352-61.

Mark Miles Fisher, *The Master’s Slave* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1922), 87-88. In fact, a prejudice existed in the Black community at large, so that its long time, well-established members, the group from which the middle-class understandably came, viewed the less prosperous, recently arriving migrants with condescension. The Defender reveals this situation:

It is evident that some of the people coming to this city have seriously erred in their conduct in public places, much to the humiliation of all respectable classes of our citizens, and by so doing, on account of their ignorance of laws and customs necessary for the maintenance of health, sobriety and morality among the people in general, have given our enemies [whites] ground for complaint. May 17 1919.

In examining the difference between the middle- and working-class churches, Drake interviewed a woman who preferred the latter and stated:

... you have to be dressed in style or you feel out of place, and there is not as much friendship in a large church as in one of these store-fronts.

... With my church it is different. We are more
Finally, the two classes of churches differed in their involvement in community service. The middle-class bodies sponsored self-help programs, while their lower-earning brethren tended to focus on spiritual rather than day-to-day concerns. The obituary of Rev. Joshua B. Massiah, the pastor of a middle-class church from 1906 to 1916, made this clear:

A patient, tireless worker was Father Massiah: his helpful hand went far beyond the confines of his church--the Home of Aged and Infirm Colored People, the Y.M.C.A. and Provident Hospital were among the uplift institutions he was actively connected with.  

Relative to Quinn Chapel's contribution to community self-help, the church historian recorded:

At the beginning of the century, the Quinn area was sadly lacking in provision for the care and training of children . . . . In the absence of any established public school kindergarten in the area . . . the women of Quinn . . . organized into a group to . . . support a day nursery and a kindergarten. Thus, Quinn was one of the first of the city's churches to establish such a program on the like churches in the South--everybody is recognized. Black Metropolis, 633-34.

74 "Rev. Joshua Bowden Massiah," Defender, 15 January 1916. Similarly, according to a later Defender, the Western Baptist Convention, with "more than 150 ministers and missionary workers," . . . is the only organization of its kind primarily taking care of the present exodus of our people who are moving Northwest and directly West, thus alleviating some of the migration problems facing many of the industrial urbans of the North and Midwest. "Western Baptist Convention in 28th Session at Pilgrim," 16 May 1931.
community level.  

Further, Quinn Chapel sponsored "one of the most inspiring and educational meetings that had been held in this city for a number of years" to raise support for Hampton Institute, a Black trade school. Simmons delivered the key note address and "gave reasons why every citizen should support the school." 

On the other hand, the lower-class congregations tended to preach moral rectitude and salvation from hell with less emphasis on social issues. Thus, the middle-class churches were not only larger and more affluent, but were deeply rooted in a self-help philosophy demonstrating 

75 "Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church," 32. The history goes on to chronicle the congregation's financial support of Provident Hospital (Chicago’s first Black hospital established in 1891) and founding of The Home for Aged and Infirm Colored People in 1892, the Elam House for Working Girls in 1919, the Wabash Avenue Y.M.C.A. in 1913 and later the South Parkway Y.W.C.A. (34-36). Finally, the report mentions the Daughters of Zion, a group of men and women from Quinn, who "organized their efforts in order to administer aid to the distressed people of the area" after the Chicago fire of 1871. 41.

76 "Simmons Thrills Big Audience," Defender, 5 May 1917, 1. Further, Hon. B. F. Moseley, speaking at the Bethel Church on Sunday afternoon "took the stand that the influx [of Black migrants coming to Chicago] was of great help to the Race, and urged the citizens to aid the newcomers in every way possible." "Speaks at Bethel Literary," Defender, 2 June 1917.

77 This is not to say that the working-class churches did not sponsor any self-help programs, they did, for example, Joe William Trotter mentions them functioning as "hiring agents for employers." However, such community services received less attention in the lower-class churches than in those of the middle-class. The Great Migration in Historical Perspective: New Dimensions of Race, Class, and Gender (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1991), 90.
a concern for the community that the other churches did not possess.\(^7^8\)

In sum, African-American churches, beginning in the 1840s and growing rapidly throughout the early 1900s, became one of the community's primary sites of idea production. The large well-financed congregations preferred a measured worship style and an active involvement in politics and community service. By contrast, the smaller, less prosperous churches enjoyed an emotionally free worship service and paid less attention to local politics and community uplift.

A Comparison of the Culture Production of Douglass, Washington, Wells, Du Bois, and the Black Church

Douglass, Washington, and Wells, as traditional intellectuals, shared three common goals: racial elevation, assisted self-reliance, and ultimate integration. These goals and the strategies for accomplishing them determined the ideological production of the three. In terms of racial elevation, Douglass, Washington, and Wells exerted a remarkably strong influence on the African-American culture of their day. For example, although Washington was certainly not a "race man," he dedicated himself to community

\(^7^8\)To illustrate the racism which fostered self-help strategies, Drake discusses white Christians and Jews leaving their neighborhoods as the Black community expanded and selling their churches and synagogues at exorbitant prices. Black Metropolis, 414-16.
uplift through education at both Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Normal School. In this respect, his efforts were analogous to those of Douglass and Wells.

Pursuant to self-help, both Wells and Washington shared the mind of Douglass when he stated, "No people can make more desirable progress or have permanent welfare outside of their own independent and earnest efforts." Furthermore, the three also agreed that the wealth and political power of influential whites were essential to building Black self-reliance.

Similarly, Washington, Douglass, and Wells shared a common view pursuant to integration. Wells made this clear—in full accord with Douglass—in voicing her opposition to African-American colonization:

The blood he ["the Afro-American"] has shed for liberty's sake, the toil he has given for improvement's sake, and the sacrifices he has made for the cause of progress, give him the supreme right of American citizenship.  

---


He ["the Negro"] must embrace every avenue open to him for the acquisition of wealth. He must educate his children and build up a character for industry, economy, intelligence and virtue. Next to victory is the glory and happiness of manfully contending for it. Therefore, contend! contend!

80Wells, "Afro-Americans and Africa," quoted in Thompson, Ida B. Wells, 165. In the earlier part of the article, she stated:

We would not be true to the race if we conceded for a moment that any other race, the Anglo-Saxon not
With the same mind, Washington held that Blacks should depend "upon the slow but sure influences that proceed from the possession of property, intelligence, and high character for the full recognition of [their] political rights."\(^{81}\)

However, regarding collaboration with whites, the parties differed: Washington aligned with conservatives, who believed in perpetual Black subordination and abridged independence. On the contrary, Wells and Douglass cooperated with liberal whites, who argued--at least in principle--that the races were equal and should share the same political and social freedoms. Thus, there existed two distinct positions among the three leaders: Washington was an accommodationist, while Douglass and Wells were agitators.

These two positions reflected profoundly different ways of thinking and interpreting the world. For example, Washington patiently tolerated segregation stating:

> In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all excepted, had more right to claim this country as home than the Afro-American race.

Remarkably, Spear describes a situation in Chicago in which Wells attempted to establish an all-Black kindergarten, as the existing ones were for Whites only. However, local African-American leaders opposed the initiative considering it a form of self-segregation. Spear, Black Chicago, 52.

\(^{81}\)Washington, "Up from Slavery," 156.
things essential to mutual progress.\textsuperscript{82}

By contrasts, Wells and Douglass were aggressively opposed to segregation; for example, in 1884, Wells refused to leave the "ladies car" of a Jim Crow train, and, after being physically thrown off, she sued the railroad for damages.\textsuperscript{83} Moreover, as an accommodationist, Washington tacitly endured physical violence against Blacks, stating in 1901 that the Klu Klux Klan was defunct and forgotten. However, by contrast, Douglass and Wells committed their lives to protecting African-Americans from assault and especially lynching.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{82}Washington, "Up from Slavery," 148.

\textsuperscript{83}Holt describes this incident in his "The Lonely Warrior," 41-42. In a debate with Charles Lenox Remond, Douglass mentions a remarkably similar experience in which, when the driver of a public conveyance shouted, "Nigger . . . . Get out of this omnibus!," he refused to disembark. The Frederick Douglass Papers, 1:161.

\textsuperscript{84}As mentioned earlier, Wells spoke extensively against lynching and published three pamphlets against the crime, Southern Horrors, A Red Record, and Mob Rule in New Orleans. The first two include an introduction by Douglass stating:

Let me give you thanks for your faithful paper on the lynching abomination now generally practiced against colored people in the South. There has been no word equal to it in convincing power. Wells, On Lynchings, 55.

In "B. T. Washington and His Critics," published in 1904, Wells castigated the "Wizard of Tuskegee," writing:

Mr. Washington says in substance: Give me money to educate the Negro and when he is taught how to work, he will not commit the crime for which lynching is done. Mr. Washington knows when he says this that lynching is not invoked to punish crime but color, and not even industrial education will change that.
Finally, Washington's view of education differed remarkably from that of Douglass and Wells. He patiently accepted the limitations of industrial schooling:

[Preparing the student to do] the thing which the world wants done . . . to make a living for himself . . . to make [him] love labour instead of trying to escape it. 85

On the other hand, Wells, like Douglass, believed that Washington's philosophy of education was too narrow and that it did not prepare Blacks for the privileges and responsibilities of freedom. For instance, Wells explained:

. . . ["the Negro"] knows by sad experience that industrial education will not stand him in place of political . . . and intellectual liberty, and he objects to being deprived of fundamental rights of American citizenship . . . . 86

However, in relation to these three leaders, Du Bois was indisputably his own man--an exemplar of disjunction.

As the discussion above demonstrates, at some point in his career, Du Bois stood for both Black nationalism and integration, both socialism and the American way, and both agitation and toleration. Perhaps, Du Bois himself explained these self-contradictions best in the following statement, which in a sense crystallized his political

Thompson, 258.


86 Thompson, 259. Similarly, Douglass argued that "the colored child [should] have the same common school right that any other child has" with the purpose of preparing him for citizenship. The Frederick Douglass Papers, 4:302.
activity and idea production:

One ever feels his twoness--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.  

Finally, the Black church produced its own discrete brand of culture, composed of two classes of people: the sophisticated and the simple, the cosmopolitan and the common folk. The middle-class churches infused the community with notions of self-help, political involvement, and emotional constraint, while their working-class counterparts produced ideas of trust in God, righteous living, and freedom of expression.

The Migration and Ideology of 1916-1930

The migration of thousands of southern Blacks to northern cities during the World War I era was one of the most dramatic population shifts in the nation's history. Claude Brown captured the central idea driving this mass relocation:

To them [children of southern sharecroppers] this [the northern cities] was the ‘promised land’ that Mammy had been singing about in the cotton fields for many years.  

This section examines the cultural significance of the "promised land" to Black Chicago and its relation to ruling

---


class ideas and hegemony.

The African-American Urbanization of 1916-1930

The years of World War I and following witnessed a major turning point in African-American history; during this era, hundreds of thousands of Blacks abandoned the South for Northern metropolises, and there they developed new understandings of themselves and their relationship with white America. The gradual pre-war urbanization discussed above gave way to a mass migration of poorly educated, unskilled Blacks, bravely and naively pursuing dreams of equality and prosperity in northern cities.

According to the Negro Almanac:

Between 1880 and 1910 only 79,000 southern blacks had moved north. Between 1910 and 1920 the number was 227,000 and between 1920 and 1930 it reached 440,000.89

Chicago, the terminus of the Illinois Central Railroad and the most accessible northern metropolis from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, was a popular destination. The city’s jobs in the stockyards, steel mills,

89The Negro Almanac: A Reference Work on the Afro-American, 4th ed., ed. Harry A. Ploski and James Williams (New York: John Wilen and Sons, 1983), 557. Of the many sources giving statistical data on the migration, Drake’s Metropolis is one of the most comprehensive offering material on the African-American population shift relative to Chicago and other locations with extensive comparisons to the movement of foreign Whites. 4-29. Carole Marks’ study, focusing on the history of Black workers during the era, provides numerical data and commentary which is important to this discussion, but absent from Drake. "Black Workers and the Great Migration North," Phylon 46 (1985): 148-61.
and foundries for which European immigrants were unavai-
able made it especially attractive to desperate African-
Americans. From 1916 through the 1920s, Blacks came by
the tens of thousands burgeoning the crowded South Side, and although the layoffs of the Great Depression diminished
their incentive and reduced their numbers, they still came
to Chicago pursuing their ambitions.

James R. Grossman discusses how the nonavailability of
European labor negatively affected the economic boom of World
War I and created a need for Black workers in northern
industry. Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the
Great Migration (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,
1989), 13-14. The following excerpt from an article appear­
ing in the Defender, "More Positions Open Than Men For Them,"
demonstrates how this situation translated into African-
American employment opportunity:

The report by some southern white papers . . . that
there are no jobs to be had, is untrue, for during
the past week we have learned that it has been
impossible to fill positions open to our people.
. . . So short are the employers that they will give
men a chance to learn the trade at $2.25 a day. 28
April 1917.

In Chicago, the migration did not create the African-
American enclave, it was already existing as a well-developed
alternative to White neighborhoods which excluded Blacks. In
some cities, the African-American community antedated the War
as discussed in Glibert Osofsky’s study, Harlem: The Making

In discussing the reasons for the southern exodus,
Spear emphasizes economic factors such as the exploitation of
the sharecropping system, the boll weevil problem, the low
price of cotton, and the persuasive influence of northern
recruiters. Chicago, 130-33. On the other hand, E. Marvin
Goodwin discusses what he calls the "sentimental causation"
of Black migration, arguing that the primary forces driving
the movement were social and personal, not economic. As
social factors he mentions the "fears and feelings of the
evils of lynching, Jim Crow facilities, unsatisfactory crop
settlements, and the lack of legal redress in the courts."
Among the personal influences he includes "friends and
The African-American Ideology of 1916-1930

The ideological influences that existed prior to 1916 continued throughout the post-war era. For example, Washington’s accommodationism and Tuskegee machine continued to strongly impact Black Chicago long after his death in 1915.\(^9^3\) Similarly, Wells and Du Bois, two of Washington’s most virulent adversaries, continued to influence the city’s African-Americans with their own ideologies during the Great Migration.\(^9^4\) Finally, the large influential middle-class churches of the South Side emphasized self-help from a Christian standpoint after 1916 as they

\(^9^3\) For example, "Dr. Jones at Tuskegee," Defender 25 April 1931, glorifies Washington and commends Tuskegee, stating:

[George] Washington, father of our country, could not possibly see this day, neither could another Washington, father of our economic freedom, see this hour. But they followed the gleam.

Tuskegee is bringing readjustment where was maladjustment, bringing hope where was despair, bringing light where was darkness, bringing understanding where was misunderstanding.

\(^9^4\) For example, after visiting East St. Louis in the wake of racial violence in May, 1917, Wells personally gave a report to her supporters in Chicago at Bethel A.M.E. Church and Quinn Chapel. Thompson, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett*, 119-21. Similarly, Du Bois did not resign as editor of *The Crisis* until 1934.
had done earlier. However, the Defender, the most popular paper in Black Chicago, assumed a preeminent role in idea production, especially regarding the Great Migration of World War I.

The Ideas of The Chicago Defender

Robert S. Abbott founded the Chicago Defender in 1905 and quickly turned the newspaper into one of the most well-read weeklies and successful businesses in Black America. During the World War I period, the paper was said to have sold between 150,000 and 300,000 copies per issue, and given that people often read it to their illiterate associates, each edition reached perhaps 1,500,000 African-Americans. The Defender was indisputably the most in-

---


96 This is the estimate of Roi Ottley given in The Lonely Warrior, a study of Abbott and the history of the paper. (Chicago, 1955), 138-39. In support of this argument, in the Defender of August 26, 1916, a reader mentions "reading the Defender to some members of the Race." Quoted in Up South: Stories, Studies, and Letters of This Century's Black Migrants, ed. Malaika Adero (New York: The New Press, 1993), 52. Additionally, Emmett J. Scott states that the weekly was so popular in Mississippi that its large circulation was usually sold out on the first day of sale and that "copies were passed around until they were worn out." He adds that "in Laurel, Mississippi, old men who did not know how to read would buy it because it was regarded as precious." Negro Migration During the War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), 30. Moreover, in the "Editor's Mail" of January 19, 1918, a reader of the Defender declared, "a copy of your
Although the paper first went on sale a decade before the Great Migration, it profoundly influenced Blacks between 1916 and 1930 by encouraging them to relocate from the South to Chicago. The following article represented the weekly's position on migration:

The Defender invites all to come north. Plenty of room for the good, sober, industrious man. Plenty of work. . . . Anywhere in God's country is far better than the Southland. . . . Don't let the crackers fool you. Come join the ranks of the free. . . . When you have crossed the Ohio River, breathe the fresh air and say, "Why didn't I come before?"97

The paper published numerous letters to the editor that splendid paper found its way to me in the far away South America." Finally, the Defender of June 2, 1917, published the following open letter "TO THE CHIEF OF POLICE" of Memphis, Tennessee:

THIS IS TO NOTIFY BRAVE CHIEF OF POLICE PERRY THAT THE CHICAGO DEFENDER HAS MORE THAN 10,000 SUBSCRIBERS IN THE CITY OF MEMPHIS WHO GET THEIR PAPERS DIRECT THROUGH THE UNITED STATES MAIL, AND TO ACCOMPLISH HIS PURPOSE OF PREVENTING RACE MEN AND WOMEN FROM READING THE DEFENDER, WE SHOULD SUGGEST THAT HE HAVE HIS ENTIRE POLICE FORCE ARREST EVERY ONE OF THE 170 MAIL CARRIERS LEAVING THE MEMPHIS POST OFFICE ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 1.

97Defender, February 10, 1917. Similarly, an article of August 21, 1915, carried the headline, "PLENTY OF WORK FOR ABLE BODIED MEN: List of Available Positions Posted by the Civil Service Commission - Many Industrious Men Have Applied and Are at Work - Room for More." The classified section of the January 28, 1918, issue ran innumerable ads of which the following are representative: "WANTED 10 WOMEN For Hair Straightening experimentation, 50 cents per hour;" "WANTED - COMPETENT GIRL FOR OFFICE work;" "HOUSES FOR RENT; Eight Room Modern House for Rent;" "WIFE WANTED - AN INTELLIGENT LADY of some means to assist a young man in business." "Help Wanted - Female."
indicated, like the following, how it had influenced many to travel North:

I am a subscriber for the Chicago Defender and have read of the good work you are doing in employing help for our large factories . . . my cousin and I have decided to go north for the summer . . . I am writing you to secure for us a position that we could fit, if there be any that is vacant. 

The Defender constructed the identity of the migrants in terms of the dominant ideology. They were not solely people searching for better jobs, but they were "the Race" journeying to the land of liberty in quest of social freedom as well as economic opportunity. Without using the words, it perpetuated the notion of the North as the "Promised Land," that is, biblical Canaan, the "land flowing with milk and honey" and destination of Israel’s exodus from Egyptian slavery. Similarly, travelers employed scriptural word pictures in describing the migration as:

The Flight of Egypt; Bound for the Promise Land;

---

98 The unidentified author mailed the letter from Atlanta, Georgia on April 11, 1917. Up South, ed. Adero, 113. In "Thousands Leave Memphis," the Defender, 2 June 1917, a correspondent in that city stated:

. . . he saw gathered there between 1,500 and 2,000 Race men and women. Number 4 [a train] due to leave for Chicago at 8:00 o'clock, was held up twenty minutes so that those people who hadn't purchased tickets might be taken aboard.

According to the same issue, because the out-migration of so many laborers damaged the local economy, Memphis police "didn’t want the Chicago Defender sold to the members of our Race . . . [and] made many stop reading the paper and put them in their pockets." For further discussion on the impact of the exodus on the South’s political and social stability, see Goodwin, Black Migration, 1-14.
Going into Canaan; Beulah Land. A party of migrants on their way from Mississippi to Chicago held solemn ceremonies when their train crossed the Ohio River; they stopped their watches, knelt down to pray, and sang the gospel hymn, "I Done Come Out of the Land of Egypt with the Good News."  

Of course, many found the "Promised Land" flawed by crime, violence, unfair wages, and white bigotry, but this never diminish the intensity of the ideas created by the Defender.

In advancing hegemonic values, through the "Promised Land" motif, the paper frequently published testimonies of individuals who had abandoned the South and found success in the North. For example, in 1918 it printed "From Slavery to Success, or What the Defender Has Done," the personal story of Marks:

Following the Defender's heralded advocation to residents of the south to come north, where wages fit the quality of the man, where the standard of living may not always remain an eternal scum, where there is no prejudice, but free industrial environment; where poverty may not always remain a wasting disease, where thrift and economy are the maxims of progress, L. D. Marks, formerly of Alexandria, La., made his advent into the north, the trail of his quest leading to Flint, Mich.  

As an instrument of ruling class culture, the

---

99 Goodwin, Black Migration in America, 14, quotes Spear, Black Chicago, 38.

100 Defender, 5 January 1918. In a similar article entitled "Why The Race People Leave The South," the Defender of February 2, 1918, published a story by William Crawford, emphasizing the humiliating experiences of everyday southern life that drove out-migration. To illustrate, he cited a situation in which a white "man whipped me all over my head and eyes with his buggy whip because I did not pull out and give him the road."
Defender pictured Chicago specifically and northern cities generally as havens of rest and prosperity, as alternatives to "sleeping in Dixie." It did this by fearlessly broadcasting the atrocities of the racist South with articles bearing such titles as "TEXAS MOB BURNS HUMAN BEING IN PUBLIC SQUARE,"101 "ANOTHER RACE MAN IS KILLED BY A 'CRACKER,'"102 "REPORT OF LYNCHINGS PAST YEAR SUBMITTED,"103 and "325 NEGRO MEN AND WOMEN LYNCHED AND SHOT FOR FUN:"

Jan. 1, 1910, may look over into the record of 1909 and it will count the bleached bones of 325 Negro men and women killed and burned at the stake for fun, and not a man to stay the fiendish hand of the mob, nor the rapist, who has victimized 28,000 colored girls between the ages of 12 and 18 years. . . .104

The weekly's boldness in printing such stories, which Southern Black papers did not publish fearing white retaliation, earned Abbott the reputation of being a courageous and trustworthy spokesperson for African-American interests. He was the prophet of the exodus to the "Promised Land."105 Thus, in all probability, when newcomers ar-

101Defender, 7 August 1915.
102Defender, 19 January 1918.
103Defender, 5 January 1918.
104Defender, 1 January 1910.
105A reader's testimony in "From Slavery to Success, or What the Defender Has Done," 5 January 1918, closes with a eulogy to the editor:

    . . . I ask God's ever blessing upon Mr. Abbott and his staff, and I hope that these words that I have been inspired to write may find their way to the
rived in Chicago, they continued to read the Defender, or have it read to them, and to accept its ideas as credible.

In sum, the newspaper manufactured the notion of Chicago as the epicenter of Black opportunity, and the wellspring of equality and prosperity for the ambitious migrant. It promised a fair wage for hard work and relief from racial oppression, engendering a mentality that was both utopic and compelling—a mindset absorbed in the imagery of the "Promised Land."

The Ideas of Marcus Garvey (1887-1940)

Garvey's ideology represented the thinking of poor, working-class African-Americans from the nation's rural areas as well as its cities. It gained ascendance during a period when Blacks had been robbed of their self-esteem and collective power by the racial discrimination of white America.106

Garvey explains this situation writing:

As far as Negroes are concerned, in America we have the problem of lynching, peonage and disfranchise-
ment. . . . You may argue that he [the Negro] can use his industrial wealth and his ballot to force the government to recognize him, but he must under-
stand that the government is the people. That the majority of the people dictate the policy of govern-

---

106 Garvey's ideology represented the thinking of poor, working-class African-Americans from the nation's rural areas as well as its cities.
Garvey, a West Indian Black nationalist, arrived in New York City in 1916 at the beginning of the Great Migration, and he built the most influential mass movement in African-American history by the early 1920s. Although he established his headquarters in Harlem and was known throughout the world, he exercised an immense political influence, and if the majority are against a measure, a thing, or a race, then the government is impotent to protect that measure, thing or race. Amy Jacques Garvey, ed. Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, 2 vols. (New York: Atheneum, 1974), 1:52, quotes Marcus Garvey, "The True Solution Of The Negro Problem--1922."

The records of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.), a group founded by Garvey in 1917 to advance worldwide African nationalism, indicate that by the mid-1920s the organization had 700 branches in thirty-eight states throughout the nation including the Deep South. In addition, U.N.I.A. had dues-paying members in locations as far flung as England and Cuba, South America and West Africa. The Negro World, a weekly which Garvey published from 1918 to 1933, became the world's most popular Black newspaper with a circulation of two hundred thousand in the early 1920s. Further, the Black Star Line, a shipping and transportation venture which Garvey started in 1919, achieved worldwide reputation and financial support, while his Liberty Hall, which was founded in Harlem in the same year, was filled to its 6,000 seat capacity during the nightly meetings at which Garvey spoke during the 1920s. Moreover, in 1920, Garvey conducted the first All-Negro Convention in Harlem with representatives from throughout the Black world. At this juncture, he defined a high point in his career by launching the Black Star Line and the Negro Factories Corporation, a venture to help employ African-Americans. For discussion of these developments in the context of Garvey's biography, see E. David Cronon's Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). Similarly, Levine offers an interpretive biographical sketch of Garvey in his "Marcus Garvey and the Politics of Revitalization" in Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century, 105-38. Finally, the Carter G. Woodson Library of Chicago has Negro World on microfilm from 1923 to 1933.
In terms of idea production, Garvey impressed African-Americans with his daring commitment to mass participation, religious appeal, ethnic pride and solidarity, Black self-help, and African nationalism. Before Garvey, community uplift organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. and National Urban League had ignored the power of the masses as a resource for confronting discrimination. They had depended instead on the upper classes, both white and African-American, for intellectual and financial support and had distanced themselves from the people they were

After the establishment of the Liberty Hall in Harlem in 1919, other such meeting places appeared in the Black urban centers of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, and Chicago. An article entitled "The Chicago, Ill., U.N.I.A. Is Going Over The Top," *Negro World*, 31 March 1923, 8, reported the high impact of Garvey on the Black community:

The greatest meeting ever held and the largest gathering since the institution of Division 313, was held last Sunday, February 23, at Rev. Allen's Church from 3 to far past the regular adjourning hour, because of the manifested interest of the members and visitors.

The journalist continued, "There seems to be a growing desire on the part of all to know the true facts bout the Universal Negro Improvement Association . . . " Similarly, the February 24, 1923, issue of the same publication broadcasted Garvey's success with the title U.N.I.A. "Makes Hit In Chicago," and Garvey himself mentioned visiting the city personally in 1919 to sell stocks in the Black Star Line. *Philosophy and Opinions*, ed. A. Garvey, 2:321. Finally, Drake differs somewhat with the position presented here writing, "Garveyism was never very popular in Chicago, but the UNIA did recruit several thousand fanatical members from the lower class and lower middle class, who spread its influence far beyond the small circle of its membership." *Black Metropolis*, 752.
serving. However, Garvey employed a different strategy: he tailored his message to reach the Black masses and his programs to maximize their direct involvement. In short, he galvanized the common folk by making them a part of the struggle.

For example, believing that Blacks should form their own businesses rather than rely on white capital, he financed the Black Star Line, enabling the poor to become stockholders. He wrote to explain this strategy:

The Black Star Line Corporation presents to every Black Man, Woman, and Child the opportunity to climb the great ladder of industrial and commercial progress. If you have ten dollars, one hundred dollars, or one or five thousands dollars to invest for profit, then take out shares in the Black Star Line, Incorporated.¹⁰⁹

Similarly, Garvey organized grand public displays

¹⁰⁹ Cronon, Black Moses, 52, cites Case A, 2474-75, from the records of one of Garvey's trials. According to Cronon, a supporter in Panama wrote:

I have sent twice to buy shares amounting to $125. . . . Now I am sending $35 for seven more shares. . . . I'm determined to do all that's in my power to better the conditions of my race. Black Moses, 56.

Similarly, to defray Garvey's legal expenses, on March 10, 1923, page 8, the Negro World published the following article, entitled "Marcus Garvey's Defense Fund":

Everyone Will Subscribe to This Fund to Offset the Plotters Against Negro Rights and Liberty . . . Send in Your Subscription Now.

The piece goes on to list individual contributors:

C. Walker, Matina, Costa Rica . . $ .50
Lotty Mosely, New Haven, Conn. . $1.00
Alex Bowie, New Haven, Conn. . $1.00
showcasing the participation and contributions of his rank- and-file supporters. At the opening of the All-Negro Convention of 1920, for instance, hundreds of Garveyites paraded down the streets of Harlem in bright colored, military-like uniforms as onlookers cheered by the thousands. 110

Garvey argued that religion should be a spiritual resource giving energy to the movement and should build self-esteem and cohesion among its participants. 111 To this end, he formed the African Orthodox Church with a Black Holy Trinity, a Black Christ, and a Black Madonna. 112 He theorized that African-Americans had to redefine the traditional notion of God in order to serve the interests of Black nationalism. To Garvey, European theology was incompatible with and destructive of Black liberation, so that, although God is without race or ethnicity, He should be viewed as having the identity of


111 The motto of U.N.I.A. was "One God, One Aim, One Destiny."

112 The New York World of August 3, 1924 reported that "by 1924, the African Orthodox church had twenty-one congregations, with two thousand five hundred communicants, spread throughout the United States and into Canada, Trinidad, Cuba, and Haiti." Quoted by Theodore G. Vincent, Black Power and the Garvey Movement (San Francisco, California: Ramparts Press, 1972), 135.
African-Americans.\textsuperscript{113}

The notion of ethnic solidarity and pride is another area in which Garvey profoundly influenced African-American culture. He argued that—if Blacks truly intended to abolish discrimination and to assume their rightful place in the world—racial oneness and dignity were imperative.\textsuperscript{114} He used African history to instill a spirit of unity and self-esteem stating:

When the great white race of today had no civilization of its own, when white men lived in caves and were counted as savages, this race of ours boasted of a wonderful civilization on the Banks of the

\textsuperscript{113}To Garvey, Blacks must "see our God through our own spectacles." Philosophy and Opinions, ed. A. Garvey, 1:44. Moreover, Garvey explained:

If the white man has the idea of a white God, let him worship his God as he desires. If the yellow man’s God is of his race let him worship his God as he sees fit. We, as Negroes, have found a new ideal. Philosophy and Opinions, ed. Amy Garvey, 1:33-34.

Furthermore, in an argument appearing in the New York World of August 7, 1920, Bishop McGuire, Garvey’s high priest, reasoned that as Jews left Palestine and later returned, so Blacks have left African and should likewise return. Vincent, Black Power, 134.

\textsuperscript{114}Garvey made this idea patently clear in Negro World, 24 February 1923, 1:

As the social relations between black and white are impossible, and as the whites are too prejudiced against the black man to treat him as an equal either socially, politically, or industrially, therefore the black man’s only hope of redemption is the creation of a distinct type of civilization in his mother land.
Nile.\textsuperscript{115}

Garvey opposed social equality in an integrated America, preferring a segregated Black nation instead:

Some Negro leaders have advanced the belief that in another few years the white people will make up their minds to assimilate their black populations; thereby sinking all racial prejudice in the welcoming of the black race into the social companionship of the white. . . . This belief is preposterous. I believe that white men should be white . . . and black men should be black . . . .\textsuperscript{116}

In addition to ethnic solidarity and pride, Garvey also preached a gospel of Black self-help, absolutely refusing to appeal to white philanthropy. He stated that "leaders of the past" made the Black man appear as "a sycophant, a parasite, a beggar," perceptions which Garvey found disgraceful.\textsuperscript{117} He held that all races should be self-reliant and thereby earn the respect of others:

I believe that white men should be white, yellow men should be yellow, and black men should be black in the great panorama of races, until each and every race by its own initiative lifts itself up to the common standard of humanity, as to compel the

\textsuperscript{115}Philosophy and Opinions, ed. A. Garvey, 1:19. Similarly, Garvey uses African history to unify Blacks worldwide in "My Reasons For Being A Member of the U.N.I.A.," Negro World, 17 March 1923, 4:

Because it is an organization that seeks to unite the people of African birth and descent . . . into one great fraternity toward our uplift and advancement through organized and individual efforts all over the world . . . .

\textsuperscript{116}Philosophy and Opinions, ed. A. Garvey, 1:21.

\textsuperscript{117}Garvey fully developed this position in "Fellow Men of the Negro Race, Greetings," Negro World, 24 February 1923, 7.
According to Garvey, African-Americans "do not desire what belongs to someone else;" they rather "desire and demand" an opportunity to give the world a Black civilization. Although Black self-help was a salient feature of Garvey's philosophy, his concept of African nationalism was the ideological foundation of the entire movement. He employed the slogan "Africa for the Africans" to express the notion "that the Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation in Africa." He used this idea to stimulate a universal commitment to self-improvement and ethnic solidarity:

It is hoped that when the time comes for American and West Indian Negroes to settle in Africa, they will realize their responsibility and their duty. . . . we shall enter into a common partnership to build up Africa in the interests of our race.

At the same time, because Garvey realized that all Blacks

---

118 Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, ed. A. Garvey, 1:26.


120 Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, ed. A. Garvey, 1:68-72. He went on to envision the colonization of Africa by Blacks:

It is only a question of a few more years when Africa will be completely colonized by Negroes, as Europe is by the white race. What we want is an independent African nationality, and if America is to help the Negro peoples of the world establish such a nationality, then we welcome the assistance.

121 Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, ed. A. Garvey, 1:70.
could not immigrate to Africa, he advised those remaining in America to unite and build their own enterprises.

In conclusion, during the years immediately following World War I, when Blacks were profoundly disillusioned with U.S. democracy, Garvey provided a political and social alternative, emphasizing cultural revitalization and self-reliance. Through U.N.I.A., he infused Blacks worldwide with a spirit of confidence and unity and a commitment to self-improvement declaring, "no man will do as much for you as you will do for yourself." He accomplished this asserting that "the Negro should without compromise or any apology ... raise the cry of a Black Africa." However, this notion of self-separation was patently antithetical to the thinking of A. Philip Randolph, Garvey's fiery, articulate, and sometime acrimonious opponent.

The Ideas of A. Philip Randolph (1889 - 1979)

As a "race man" bent on destroying the color line, Randolph dedicated his life to fighting for integration by organizing mass protests on an unprecedented scale. He first came to prominence as a national labor leader in 1937 when he compelled the multi-million dollar Pullman Company

---


to grant concessions to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), the union that he founded in 1925.\textsuperscript{124}

Later in 1963, Randolph proved himself a major force in the civil rights movement by orchestrating the March on Washington, a demonstration in which a quarter of a million people protested discrimination against African-Americans.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{124} In 1925, Randolph assumed the leadership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a Black labor union which forced the Pullman Company to grant $2 million in wage increases after a twelve-year struggle. Randolph went on to become a dominant force in unionism, so that in 1955, when the American Federation of Labor (AFL) merged with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), he was appointed to the AFL-CIO executive council. In 1957 he became the first vice president of the union, and three years later he founded the Negro American Labor Council, which played an active role in the civil rights movement of the sixties. During this period, Randolph often confronted George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, over the racist policies of many membership organizations. For a biographical sketch of Randolph emphasizing his union activity, see Benjamin Quarles, "A. Philip Randolph: Labor Leader at Large," in Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century, 139-65; however, for the a full length study on the same subject, see Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering's A Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait (New York: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich, 1973). William H. Harris' Keeping the Faith: A Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925 - 37 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977) offers a through discussion of Randolph's struggle with the Pullman Company. Finally, African American Political Thought 1890-1930: Washington, Du Bois, Garvey, and Randolph, edited by Cary D. Wintz, offers twenty-two of Randolph's articles and essays.

\textsuperscript{125} In fact, the March of 1963 represented the climax of several such protests led by Randolph including the threatened march on Washington of 1941 to challenge job discrimination in the defense industry. In this case, Randolph compelled President Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802 abolishing the industry's racist hiring practices. Similarly, in 1948 Randolph formed the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation, an organization
Randolph represented the views of Black workers between 1917 and 1950, the early years of his career as a unionist. However, during the last two decades of his life, he expanded his ideological influence to include a broad spectrum of issues relative to African-American human and civil rights. Within the full context of his career, Randolph made an extraordinary ideological shift: while remaining committed to integration and mass protest, he changed from socialism to capitalism, violent self-defense to non-violent diplomacy, and unionism to general political activism. However, despite these philosophical

threatening to encourage and assist young Black and White men to disobey the draft if Congress did not legislate against Jim Crow in the military. In response, President Truman issued Executive Order 9981 ending segregation in the armed forces. Finally, during the civil rights era, Randolph conducted three mass demonstrations in Washington in opposition to Southern resistance to public school integration: the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom of 1957, the First Youth March for Integrated Schools of 1958, and the Second Youth March for Integrated Schools of 1959. For a full discussion of these activities emphasizing the last three and the March of 1963, see Paula F. Pfeffer, A. Philip Randolph: Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

During his early years, between 1914 and perhaps 1922, Randolph was a radical socialist writing for example:

I maintain that . . . the Negro should no longer look upon voting the Republican ticket . . . but that it is politically, economically, historically, and socially logical and sound for him to reject both evils, the Republican and Democratic parties and select a positive good--Socialism. The Messenger, 2 July 1918, 8.

However, from the early twenties through the balance of his career, he was less doctrinaire becoming more concerned with "the achievement of freedom from poverty, freedom from
changes, Randolph exerted a pervasive influence on the ideas of Blacks nationwide\textsuperscript{127} and especially in Chicago.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{127}Randolph achieved national reputation as an ideologue beginning in 1918 when he toured the country with other American socialists speaking out against U.S. involvement in World War I. In this, he generated such public support that he was investigated and later arrested by federal agents. Randolph continued this line of thought production with the publication of The Messenger, a monthly newspaper published between 1917 and 1928 and voicing his political radicalism and views regarding the BSCP. Because of The Messenger's forthright criticism of capitalism and U.S. racism, Hoover of the F.B.I. investigated Randolph and his organization and attempted unsuccessfully to destroy them both. Hoover reported that the newspaper was "the exponent of open defiance and sedition" and "the most able and most dangerous of all the Negro publications." Quarles, "A. Philip Randolph," 144. William H. Harris, Keeping the Faith: A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925-37 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 30, n. 14, cites the formal and informal documents relating to the investigation. Similarly, because of Randolph's antiwar speeches and editorials in The Messenger, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer called him the "most dangerous Negro in America" and assisted Hoover's investigation. This was in addition to Randolph's national reputation which stemmed from his conflicts with Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy and was heightened by the three mass marches mentioned in note 126.

\textsuperscript{128}Randolph's ideas were remarkably influential in Chicago, the seat of Pullman Company operations and the district from which the largest number and most militant members of the BSCP came. Chicago was also the context of public dispute between Randolph and the Chicago Defender and Bee, two city newspapers opposing unionism. Moreover, WCFL Radio, a Chicago station sympathetic to the BSCP, allowed Randolph to broadcast messages designed to generate support for the union and sustain the morale of its members. Further the Colored Women's Economic Council to the Brotherhood, an organization composed of the wives, sisters, mothers, aunts, and cousins of the men of the Chicago BSCP and established in 1926, extended Randolph's influence in the city by walking
Once again, the two indisputable hallmarks of Randolph's activism were his unwavering belief in integration and singular commitment to mass protest. For instance, in outlining the objectives of the 1941 March on Washington, involving 10,000 demonstrators, he stated:

We demand . . . the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation, and in every other social economic, and political privilege . . .

However, as mentioned above, Randolph's ideas shifted picket lines, conducting street meetings, and generating moral and material support for the union. The *Negro Pioneers in the Chicago Labor Movement* (New York: A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, n.d.) reports:

These Evangelists of the Brotherhood would hold all kinds of fund-raising events, dances, dinners, raffles, teas, and some women even permitted their homes to be mortgaged in order to insure that the rent, light, telephone, and other basic necessities of the union were paid. 3.

Finally, Randolph stated that twenty thousand people attended his pre-march campaign in the Chicago Coliseum as he traveled nationwide to garner support for the March on Washington of 1941. "Why Should We March?," *Survey Graphic* 31 (1942): 488-89.

129 Randolph, "Why Should We March?" *Survey Graphic* 31 (November 1942): 489. The slogan of the protest further demonstrated Randolph's commitment to integration: "We Loyal Negro American Citizens Demand the Right to Work and Fight for Our Country." Quarles, "A. Philip Randolph," 155. Moreover, the thousands of participants in his later demonstrations reflect his belief in mass agitation: the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom of 1957 had 27,000 protestors, the First Youth March for Integrated Schools of 1958 had 9,500, the Second Youth March for Integrated Schools of 1959 had 22,500, and the March on Washington of 1963 had 250,000. These figures come from Peffer's *A. Philip Randolph*, 169-205, 240-280.
during the early years of his career; his commitment to socialism between 1914 and the early 1920s changed to favor capitalism some years later. In 1919, for example, in "Lynching: Capitalism Its Cause; Socialism Its Cure," Randolph praised the relative merits of socialism:

Socialism would deprive individuals of the power to make fortunes out of the labor of other individuals by virtue of their ownership of the machinery which the worker must use in order to live.\textsuperscript{130}

However, several years later, he applauded capitalism and even recommended that workers cooperate with their capitalist employers:

He ["the new porter"] realizes that his service is a representative form of salesmanship for the Company to the public, and for himself to the Company and the public. . . . A just wage stimulates the employees to give their best to their employer; it develops a larger interest in the job and a joy in performing a high type of workmanship.\textsuperscript{131}

Similarly, Randolph's perspectives regarding violence shifted from the advocacy of armed self-defense in 1919 to the support of peaceful negotiation in 1969. In "How to Stop Lynching," Randolph advised the millions of southern Blacks to organize themselves into armed militia headed by retired soldiers and to shoot would-be lynchers.\textsuperscript{132} This was patently contrary to his comments years later when he discussed the use of violence to gain civil rights:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{130} The Messenger, March 1919, 9.
\item \textsuperscript{131} The Messenger, April 1926, 109.
\item \textsuperscript{132} The Messenger, August 1919, 9.
\end{itemize}
We must reject confrontationalism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest, we must reject violence, and together affirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence.\textsuperscript{133}

Finally, Randolph shifted from organizing labor to fight exploitation to organizing the masses to protest discrimination.\textsuperscript{134} During his early years, he fought for the rights of workers by leading the BSCP against the Pullman Company and by heading the 1941 March on Washington against job discrimination in the military establishment. In stating the grievances of the March On Washington Movement, he argued:

When the defense program began and billions of the taxpayers’ money were appropriated for guns, ships, tanks, and bombs . . . despite their qualification, Negroes were denied skilled employment.\textsuperscript{135}

However, later in his career, Randolph developed more comprehensive goals, expanding the aims of his mass demonstrations to include integrating the military, ending police brutality, desegregating public schools, and striving for basic human dignity. Thus, in 1965, defining the


\textsuperscript{134}For a discussion of this change by Randolph’s biographers, see Quarles, "A. Philip Randolph," 146-48, and Pfeffer, \textit{A Philip Randolph}. The shift was clear in Randolph’s own words in "The State of the Race," \textit{The Messenger}, April 1923, 660, where he became less doctrinaire and radical than before and tended to be more moderate as a race and labor leader.

\textsuperscript{135}Randolph, "Why Should We March?," \textit{Survey Graphic} 31 (1942): 488.
aims of the protest movement, Randolph stated that Blacks "must make a major objective the enlargement and broadening of the base of civil rights to involve the basic freedoms" which included:

... freedom from poverty, freedom from ignorance, freedom from disease, freedom from fear and war, freedom from racial bias and religious bigotry

... [such freedom] is a fundamental challenge to the American Establishment.\(^{136}\)

In conclusion, Randolph's ideas centered around his foremost goal of effecting social change through mass protest. While maintaining fidelity to this ambition, he progressed from radicalism to moderation creating a rich mix of ideological perspectives within the Black community. He summarized this career-long influence while commenting on "young black militants" during the late sixties:

As a Socialist, an advocate of trade unionism and the editor of a radical magazine ... I, too, didn't agree with anything that was supposed to be ... a part of the American ideal and the American system. ... the old political, economic and social order had to be changed and changed immediately! ... But as time went on, I ... began to be cognizant of the fact that social change is inevitable. There is nothing that can hold it back and progress of the Negro is part of it.\(^{137}\)

Thus, as an advocate of social equality and organizer of the disadvantaged masses, Randolph shaped the thinking of Black America.

\(^{136}\)Randolph, foreword to Confrontation by Bennett, i.

A Comparison of the Culture Production of the Defender, Garvey, and Randolph

The Defender, Garvey, and Randolph held one salient goal—to utilize the masses in the struggle for liberation—however, in pursuing this goal each employed a different strategy. This, in combination with the historical influences of the period, fostered three diverse ideologies.

The migration of World War I fostered a new spirit in the African-American community. It signaled the psychological liberation from the chronic stress of Southern racism and economic freedom from the interminable exploitation of sharecropping. Moreover, Black soldiers, whose mettle had been tested in combat abroad, returned to the U.S. intolerant of the existing racism and intent upon forging their own place in American society.¹³⁸

In terms of galvanizing the masses within this historical framework, the Defender, Garvey, and Randolph set forth three discrete strategies. The Defender encouraged the southern masses to improve their lives by migrating to

¹³⁸Black Chicagoans in the main wholeheartedly supported the War. For instance, the Defender of March 31, 1917, mentioned a "Patriotic Rally At Bethel Church" in support of the Eighth Illinois Regiment, which was commanded entirely by African-Americans and manned primarily by Chicagoans. However, Blacks were disillusioned by the fact that even before the War was over they were as much the objects of racism as before it began. For example, the Defender of January 5, 1918, "Report of Lynchings Past Year Submitted," stated that, according to Tuskegee, 36 Blacks were lynched in 1917. For a full discussion of the political and social circumstances producing the New Negro mentality in Black Chicago, see William M. Tuttle, Jr. Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919 (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 208-41.
Chicago and earning higher wages. For instance, it reported that during the wartime economy "it [was] possible for men and women of the race to find much more profitable employment than ever before in the history of the city". Thus, the centerpiece of the Defender's ideology was economic advancement through mass migration.

Garvey, also, emphasized the participation of the masses; however, he employed a distinctive approach. He appealed to Blacks universally to unify and become self-governing through the U.N.I.A., so his program was more comprehensive than that of the Defender:

MY REASONS FOR BEING A MEMBER OF THE U.N.I.A.

Because it is an organization that seeks to unite the people of African birth and descent (commonly called Negroes) into one great fraternity toward our uplift and advancement . . . all over the world . . . with a Government in Africa as our goal. In this manner, Garvey attempted to maximize the collective power of Blacks worldwide.

Finally, Randolph also capitalized on mass participation by organizing trade unions and protest demonstrations. In explaining, for example, his 1941 March on Washington,

---

139 "Plenty Of Work For Able Bodied Men," 21 August 1915. Further, the paper commonly printed such ads as the following:

DO YOU WANT WORK IN THE NORTH? If So, Write George Wells Parker - Omaha, Nebraska Enclose 3-cent stamp for reply. 5 January 1918.

140 *Negro World*, 17 March 1923, 4.
which he called "a movement of the people," he stated that "its major weapon [was] the nonviolent demonstration of Negro mass power."\textsuperscript{141} Thus, Randolph contributed still another ideological perspective to the era: like the Defender and Garvey, he championed liberation through collective action; however, his ideas were unique. He did not advocate mass migration for economic gain nor mass cooperation for self-governance, but mass protest for human rights.

The Migration and Ideology of 1930-Present

The Depression, beginning in 1929 and continuing through the 1930s, brought a near standstill to the southern Black migration to Chicago. Moreover, thousands of African-Americans, who were already in the city, were laid off. However, during the World War II era, the migratory flow resumed precipitated by the expansion of the military industry and its insatiable demand for workers. The following section examines the ideas of the period which reached their zenith during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

The African-American Urbanization of 1930-Present

The demands of World War II dramatically increased Chicago’s Black population and industrial output, initiat-

\textsuperscript{141}Randolph, "Why Should We March?," Survey Graphic 31 (1942): 489.
ing profound changes in the city's social and political development. The 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor and the depression of foreign immigration during the Second World War created a fortuitous opportunity for Blacks who migrated North seeking industrial employment. In this situation, the production of tanks, electrical equipment, airplane engines, and so on during the war-time economy reintegrated African-Americans into Chicago's workplace after layoffs during the Depression.\footnote{For discussion on mechanization as a "push" factor for Blacks exiting the South, see Goodwin, \textit{Black Migration in America from 1915 to 1960}, 41-77. William J. Wilson examines the same topic observing that through the 1940s and early 1950s some areas of the South experienced a 100 percent per annum increase in new technology. \textit{The Declining Significance of Race:Blacks and Changing American Institutions} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 69.} Thus, by D-Day some 60,000 had relocated to the city.\footnote{This figure comes from Drake's \textit{Metropolis} which also reports that "in 1944, there were 337,000 Negroes--almost one person in every ten--living in Midwest Metropolis." 9, 27.}

The Fair Employment Practices Committee, President Roosevelt's executive order banning discrimination in defense plants and government agencies, and the War Manpower Commission helped secure for thousands of Blacks semi-skilled and skilled jobs which were earlier reserved for whites. Thus, Blacks gained employment in both the public and private sectors as never before.\footnote{In describing the impact of this increase on Chicago specifically, Drake states, "Colored girls, for instance, became salespeople in a few Loop stores, and colored Western Union messengers appeared on the streets of Midwest Metropo-}
Although some African-Americans lost their jobs after World War II because of cutbacks in defense spending, the return of white veterans to the labor force, and the replacement of manual labor by advanced technology, the post-war economic expansion favored Black employment in the main. For this reason, the southern out-migration, which actually started around 1916, continued well into the second half of the century. The total number of Blacks living in the South declined from 70 percent in 1900 to 53 percent in 1970.\textsuperscript{145} This great migration fueled a precipitous change in the culture of Black Chicago that eventually found its most urgent expression in the protest era of the sixties.

The African-American Ideology of 1930-Present

The city's African-Americans from 1930 through the post-war years possessed an unprecedented ideological maturity. They were no longer semi-literate migrants from the cotton-fields, but rather cosmopolitan residents of Bronzeville; they were no longer country folk suited for lis for the first time." Metropolis, 296.

"Negro work," but were rather well-informed urbanites having surveyed the Depression and been exposed to radical politics.

With this new identity and its related ideas, they became more aggressive in challenging the city's racism. For instance, during the Depression, they picketed the South Side Woolworth chain, forcing management to hire Black clerks.¹⁴⁶ Later, during the war, while purchasing large numbers of Savings Bonds,¹⁴⁷ they rigorously protested the military's discrimination against Black soldiers. Further, between 1930 and the present, they fearlessly and aggressively confronted Chicago's Jim Crow through mass demonstrations, especially during the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁴⁸ Thus, during the middle years of the twenti-

¹⁴⁶ For a discussion of this incident in the context of African-American protest during the war years, see Hughes and Meltzer, A Pictorial History of the Negro in America, 290-92.

¹⁴⁷ Drake, Metropolis, 749-50, quotes a Defender of 1944 which published the following editorial revealing the patriotism of Black Chicago:

... we must admit that it is our war too. ... It [purchasing bonds] offers a splendid opportunity for wage-earners to save some of the money they now earn as a result of high salaries in war industries.

... The quicker the war is over, the sooner this danger will be passed, and our strong virile youths can return to help buttress the fight for our full rights.

¹⁴⁸ For a general discussion on the events of the Civil Rights Movement within the context of Black Chicago Politics, see Dempsey J. Travis, "The Daley Years," in An Autobiography of Black Politics (Chicago: Urban Research Press, Incorporated, 1987), 217-458. Of course, Garrow's Bearing the Cross (431-526) is much more comprehensive giving specific details
eth century, Black Chicagoans became more ideologically mature and politically militant than ever before.

The Ideas of Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968)

The use of mass demonstrations to confront injustice climbed during the protest era of the mid-1900s under the leadership of Martin Luther King and others who shared his philosophy. King's notion of non-violent agitation against injustice expressed the feelings and solicited the support of Blacks across America and especially in Chicago. As one of the premier voices of the era, King about the key players from original sources and personal interviews.

Although King was the foremost spokesperson of non-violent direct action from 1955 to his assassination in 1968, there were many leaders before and during this period that espoused the same strategy. For example, A. Philip Randolph employed this approach in the 1940s, and during the early years of the civil rights movement, such leaders as Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P., James Farmer of C.O.R.E., Ella Baker of S.N.C.C., and Al Raby of Chicago's C.C.C.O. also held to non-violence. For discussion on the ideological agreement and strategic cooperation of the main civil rights organizations, see Dough McAdam, Political Process and Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982) and for complementary material using the protests in Montgomery, Alabama and Tallahassee, Florida as models, see Lewis M. Killian, "Organization, Rationality, and Spontaneity in the Civil Rights Movement," American Sociological Review 49 (1984): 770-83.

In July 1965, King came to Chicago to lead demonstrations against inadequate housing, insufficient jobs, and segregated schools. After spending two days speaking to thousands of clergymen, organizational leaders and the general population in churches, housing projects, and vacant lots, King led thirty thousand people to City Hall in the largest demonstration ever held in the history of the city. He returned in March 1966 to prepare for the Chicago Freedom Movement and spoke at the Freedom Festival galvanizing the
espoused the ideas of full integration, non-violent protest, and Christian morality.

In terms of integration, King relentlessly attempted to develop a "beloved community" in which all people, regardless of class or ethnicity, would participate equally. In Chicago after the campaign in Marquette Park, in 1966, King publicly affirmed this position:

... let me say once again that it is our purpose, our single purpose to create the beloved community. We seek only to make possible a city were men can live together as brothers.¹⁵¹

Again, expounding the sense of the "beloved community," he described the Chicago Freedom Movement as "a movement that

support of thirteen thousand eight hundred people and grossing one hundred thousand dollars. King revisited the city in July 1966 to launch the Chicago Freedom Movement addressing a crowd of 45,000 at Soldier Field, inspiring 100s to march on Marquette Park on two occasions, and finally negotiating improvements in race relations at a "Summit Meeting" with Mayor Daley and city officials. For a survey of these events, see Travis, An Autobiography, 259-458. However, for a more detailed account of the same developments, see Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering's Confronting the Color Line: The Broken Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago (London: The University of Georgia Press, 1986).

¹⁵¹Garrow, Bearing The Cross, 523. The familiar closing words of King's "I Have A Dream" speech delivered at the 1963 March on Washington, before 250,000 people express the essence of the "beloved community:"

When we let freedom ring ... we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last." "I Have A Dream" (Chicago: The Dusable Museum of African American History, n.d.).
[worked] for brotherhood, for true intergroup, interpersonal living, and black and white togetherness."\textsuperscript{152}

Further, King believed that in order to integrate Chicago he had to lead the masses, including Blacks, whites, Jews, and Hispanics, in non-violent direct action and force the city to obey its own laws.\textsuperscript{153} In his speech at the 1966 Freedom Festival, which was attended by over thirteen thousand people of Chicago and raised one hundred thousand dollars, King declared:

The Chicago Freedom Movement will continue to encourage sit-ins, stand-ins, rent strikes, boycotts, picket lines, marches, civil disobedience and any forms of protests and demonstrations that are non-violently conceived and executed.\textsuperscript{154}

\textsuperscript{152}Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 488. King explained the relation between the "beloved community" and non-violence stating:

The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness. "Martin Luther King, Jr.," in Three Perspectives on Ethnicity in America: Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans. ed. C. E. Cortes (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), 390.

\textsuperscript{153}King explained this strategy in a July 1966 speech before forty thousand in Chicago:

We will be sadly mistaken if we think freedom is some lavish dish that the federal government and the white man will pass out on a silver platter while the Negro merely furnishes the appetite. Freedom is never voluntarily granted by the oppressor. It must be demanded by the oppressed. Travis, An Autobiography, 365.

\textsuperscript{154}Travis, An Autobiography, 357-58. The essence of non-violent direct action, according to King, was not "passive resistance." Although "the nonviolent resister is . . . not physically aggressive toward his opponent," he is "constantly seeking to persuade his opponent that he is wrong." Further,
Finally, King's approach to integration through non-violence was remarkable in that he invested it with Christian moral authority. In offering an apologetic for this approach, King argued that fundamentally "unearned suffering is redemptive" and that "the universe is on the side of justice."\(^{155}\) He often employed biblical imagery and doctrine in justifying the struggle for equality as in "Letter from Birmingham Jail:"

We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

He continued:

One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage . . . \(^{156}\)

To King there was a sovereign God Who rewarded the suffering of the disfranchised, and Who had ordained that ultimately justice would prevail—even though at times it

\(^{155}\) King, "Martin Luther King, Jr." in Three Perspectives, 391. In this context, King went on to quote Gandhi:

Things of fundamental importance to people are not secured by reason alone, but have to be purchased with their suffering. Suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears which are otherwise shut to the voice of reason. 391.

\(^{156}\) King, Why We Can't Wait (New York: Signet Book, 1963), 94.
appeared to be defeated.

In summary, King, more than any other civil rights leader, produced the idea that morally motivated non-vio- lent protest would fully integrate America. Pursuant to the impact of this ideology on Chicago, Travis reports that when King stood to speak at Soldier Field in July 1966:

... the crowd jumped spontaneously to its feet and gave him a roaring ovation that must have lasted at least six minutes. Efforts to stop the adulation were fruitless because the crowd was determined to show King how much they loved him and his nonviolent philosophy. 157

Thus, King's thinking had a profound influence on Black Chicago during the 1950s and 1960s--however, it was not without its challenges, for even as he spoke at Soldier Field in 1966, some people carried banners reading "Black Power" and ridiculed his notion of nonviolent direct action. 158

The Ideas of Stokely Carmichael (1941 - )

Stokely Carmichael developed as one of the most

---


158 Of course, King's biographers consistently mention his idea production as having two phases. For example, David L. Lewis identifies the "lunch-counter" phase, extending from 1955 to late 1966, and then goes on to describe a second phase "exposing socioeconomic imbalances in the national structure itself." "Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Promise of Nonviolent Populism" in Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century, 293. Although I agree that King's emphasis changed during the last two years of his life, I have not developed this observation here for two reasons: 1) the shift was so subtle that it escaped the popular culture and 2) King never communicated the second phase to Black Chicago directly.
powerful and influential leaders of the civil rights movement and the popularizer of "black power"--a militant strategy involving offensive and defensive violence and Black nationalism. As a first year student at Howard University in 1960, Carmichael joined the Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.) in its effort to integrate public accommodations in the South. After graduation in 1964, he became a member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) and was elected its chairman two years later. From this position, he assumed the vanguard of the Black Power movement by introducing the slogan "black power" in 1966 during the Meredith March through Mississippi.\(^{159}\)

The slogan immediately caused ideological division within the movement. While galvanizing many young African-Americans, who were disillusioned with King's idea of passive resistance, it disturbed other, more conservative, activists who found the philosophy too violent. In ex-

plaining "black power," Carmichael wrote:

The adoption of the concept of Black Power is one of the most legitimate and healthy developments in American politics and race relations in our time. . . . It is a call for black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call for black people to begin to define their own goals, to lead their own organizations and to support those organizations. It is a call to reject the racists institutions and values of this society. 160

However, in terms of popular interpretation, "black power" involved a violent aspect which Carmichael did not mention in print. For example, when he introduced the phrase in 1966 at a public rally, he stated that Blacks had to take charge and that "every courthouse in Mississippi should be burnt down tomorrow so we can get rid of the dirt." 161 As "black power" became popular, it also became


We must stop fighting a "fair game." We must do whatever is necessary to win BLACK POWER. We have to hate and disrupt and destroy and blackmail and lie and steal and become blood-brothers like the Mau-Mau.
divisive: radicals in organizations like S.N.C.C. and C.O.R.E. tended to emphasize its violent and nationalistic aspects, while conservatives from groups like S.C.L.C. and N.A.A.C.P. criticized the concept. At the same time white liberals began to withdraw from the movement in apprehension and confusion.\textsuperscript{162}

In African-American Chicago, "black power" precipitated ideological tensions with the philosophy of non-violence on at least three occasions. During the Freedom Sunday of July, 1966, when King addressed forty thousand people at Soldier Field, before the program, two hundred youth demonstrated with banners reading "Black Power" and placards stating "We Shall Overcome" and "Freedom Now" with a picture of a machine gun. Although no one interrupted the presentation, in the keynote address, King stated:

I understand our legitimate discontent. But I must reaffirm that I do not see the answer to our problems in violence. ... we must avoid the error of building a distrust for all white people ... Negroes will need the continued support of the

\textsuperscript{162} Whites tended to view "black power" as inverted racism, that is, black racism. McAdam in his chapter "The Decline of Black Insurgency, 1966-1970" traces the four-year destruction of the movement arguing that this ideological tension caused its demise. \textit{Political Process}, 181-229.
white majority.\textsuperscript{163}

Similarly, at a rally shortly after the Chicago Summit Meeting of 1966, some members of the audience demonstrated against King and preached "black power." They distributed broadsides exhorting:

\textit{WAKE UP, BROTHER! DECIDE FOR YOURSELF--WHO SPEAKS FOR YOU?}

King was marching in white neighborhoods for an "open city" to solve the problems of the ghetto. Even if we got an "open city" without money for Black people to build and buy homes an "open city" is meaningless.

\ldots

\textit{WE GOT TO GET US SOME BLACK POWER--SO THE BLACK MAN CAN SPEAK FOR HIMSELF!}

S.N.C.C.\textsuperscript{164}

Finally, during the 1966 march on Cicero, when 3,000 officers protected 250 demonstrators walking in the midst of 3,000 whites, throwing rocks, bottles, and other such debris, the protestors chanted "black power."\textsuperscript{165}

In conclusion, the notion of "black power" had its genesis in the frustration of the powerless African-American masses whose daily lives were characterized by humiliation. However, it represented a more militant response to

\textsuperscript{163}Travis, \textit{An Autobiography}, 366-67.


\textsuperscript{165}Anderson and Pickering, \textit{Confronting the Colorline}, 277.
this situation than some could countenance. Many agreed with King, who in 1966 in Chicago explained his views on power:

When I talk about power and the need for power. I'm talking in terms of the need for power to bring about the political and economic change necessary to make the good life a reality . . . a truly brotherly society, the creation of the beloved community.\textsuperscript{166}

Thus, in the culture of African-American Chicago, "black power" contributed an element of militancy and nationalism to King's ideas of "beloved community" and non-violent protest.

The Ideas of Fred Hampton (1948-1969)

Fred Hampton evolved into a radical leader in the African-American struggle, beginning during his teenage years with the Chicago N.A.A.C.P. and continuing until his assassination in 1969.\textsuperscript{167} As the co-founder and spokes-

\textsuperscript{166}Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 488. On the other hand, in stating his disenchantment with the position of the earlier civil rights movement, Carmichael wrote:

The advocates of Black Power reject the old slogans and meaningless rhetoric of previous years in the civil rights struggle. The language of yesterday is indeed irrelevant: progress, non-violent, integration, fear of 'white backlash,' coalition. Let us look at the rhetoric and see why these terms must be set aside or redefined. Black Power, 50.

\textsuperscript{167}For a concise overview of the circumstances of Fred Hampton's murder by Chicago police, see "You Can Murder a Liberator, but You Can't Murder Liberation," in The Black Panthers Speak, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970), 137. For a much more thorough account of this event with photographs of the murder site, see Travis' An Autobiography, 427-58.
person of the Illinois branch of the Black Panther Party, Hampton voiced the anger of lower-class, urban Blacks, especially young men, who were totally disillusioned with American society. To the Panthers, the nation’s capitalist system could not be reformed; it had to be destroyed and replaced with socialism. Propagating this ideology, Hampton profoundly influenced local Black culture with ideas of violent revolution:

We are advocates of the abolition of war; but war can only be abolished through war; and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun.168

As a militant charismatic leader, Hampton directed the Party’s growth in Illinois from thirty-three in 1968 to over a thousand one year later and popularized three salient features of its ideology: self-defense, self-determination, and self-help.169

---

168 This is the Party motto taken from Encyclopedia of Black America, s.v. "Black Panther Party." For a full discussion of Panther ideology stated by Huey P. Newton, one of the organization’s founders, see Kai T. Erikson, In Search of Common Ground: Conversations with Erik H. Erikson and Huey P. Newton (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Incorporated, 1973), 23-43.

In terms of self-defense, the Party opposed the ongoing murder of African-Americans, defining murder as inadequate health care, malnutrition, police brutality, aggravated shoot-outs, and slum-related disease and lead poisoning. Further, the organization argued that Blacks were the objects of white colonialism, a situation justifying violent self-defense:

We start with the basic [assumption] that black people in America are a colonized people . . . and that white America [is] an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage. . . . [Violence] against the police and other agents . . . of authority is not crime, but heroism, not merely an unlawful act but a revolutionary gesture against an illegitimate goat.170


170Encyclopedia of Black America, s.v. "Black Panther Party." The seventh point of the "Black Panther Program" stated, "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people." The document went on to declare, "We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense. "The Black Panther Party: 'We Must Destroy Both Racism and Capitalism,'" in Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, 492-93.

The following comment by Fred Hampton written in October, 1968, four months after his founding the Illinois Panthers, revealed the impact of Party rhetoric on his personal ideology:

We . . . believe that anyone who sees for themselves the evils that the black race has been subjected to, and listens to the atrocities that still exist today, must admit that the only way to think is with the thought of total and immediate liberation of oppressed people by any means necessary. Travis, Autobiography, 419.
leadership, adopted the National Black Panthers Ten Point Platform and Program which dramatically emphasized self-determination. The first point, which established the ideological orientation of the entire document, stated:

We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community. . . . We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.171

The program continued to demand:

"full employment," "an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our black community," "decent housing," the exemption of "black men . . . from military service," "an end to POLICE BRUTALITY and the MURDER of black people," the "freedom of all black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails," the trial of black people by black juries, and "a United Nations supervised plebiscite . . . [to determine] the will of black people as to their national destiny."172

Hampton and the Party immeasurably influenced the community through two remarkably effective self-help enterprises: the Free Breakfast for Children Program and the People's Medical Care Center. The Panthers initiated the breakfast program in April 1969 at the Better Boys

171 "The Black Panther Party: 'We Must Destroy Both Racism and Capitalism,'" in Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, 491-92. Hampton interpreted this point in relation to the U.S. government stating:

The trend as we have predicted before is towards total fascism. Anyone whose political aspirations differ from those in authority are in danger and could at any time become the victims of indiscriminate arrest and innumerable forms of harassment. Travis, An Autobiography, 427.

Foundation on Chicago’s West Side. By the end of May 1969, the Party had expanded its services to feed children at churches and neighborhood organizations across the city. This made the program widely popular and greatly respected within the community at large as was its sister project—the free medical clinic.

Located in Lawndale, a poor community on Chicago’s West Side, the People’s Medical Care Center was staffed by qualified doctors, nurses, and technicians and affiliated with Mount Sinai Hospital. To keep operational costs low and to provide free services to neighborhood residents, the staff recruited volunteers to perform basic procedures like taking blood pressure and medical histories. Moreover, in addition to providing health care, the Panthers offered counseling and assistance for day-to-day living. So, after seeing a doctor, a client might receive clothing, rent money, or family counseling from a Party representative.

According to the March 26, August 16, and October 4, 1969, issues of The Black Panther, the group’s newspaper, the organization designed the program to provide poor children with daily nourishment, so that, without the distraction of hunger, they might learn better in school. The Panthers viewed the program as a revolutionary, socialist act liberating Blacks from poverty and ignorance, conditions facilitating their exploitation. Private donors, local merchants, and community residents funded the enterprise, while Party members and neighborhood people volunteered their services. The Black Panthers Speak, 167-70.

For material on the Lawndale Center discussing its staffing, medical capability, and daily operations, see Lincoln Webster Sheffield, "People’s Medical Care Center" in...
In sum, the racial conflict that swept America generally and Chicago specifically in the mid-1960s revolutionized the ideology of many of the city's Blacks. Convinced of the need for collective violence, Fred Hampton founded Chicago's Black Panther Party in 1968, based on ideas of self-defense, self-determination, and self-help. From this group, the community developed an understanding of what the Panthers called "revolutionary nationalism." This was a strategy of liberation carried out in the form of violent confrontation with the colonizing forces of America, seeking to win control of Black communities and to implement principles of socialism. This socialism was expressed in the form of Children's Free Breakfast Programs, People's Medical Care Centers, People's Housing, People's Banks, and the like. Remarkably, the Panthers referred to themselves as "the children of Malcolm" acknowledging their ideological indebtedness to the brilliant revolutionary of the Nation of Islam.

The Ideas of Malcolm X (1925-1965) and Louis Farrakhan (1933 - )

During the late 1960s, the Chicago African-American community began to challenge the wisdom of attempting to integrate with white society. In this milieu, many from the Black working class embraced the ideas to the Nation of Islam.

The Black Panthers Speak, 173-75.
Islam (NOI),\textsuperscript{175} a strong-willed, self-possessed religious group under the leadership of two fiery charismatics: first Malcolm X,\textsuperscript{176} and later Louis Farrakhan.\textsuperscript{177} With Chicago

\textsuperscript{175}The Nation of Islam began in 1913 as a religious sect under the leadership of Timothy Drew and emphasizing Black consciousness; over time it expanded to become a nationwide organization headed by Elijah Muhammad who assumed leadership in 1933. Malcolm X, the group's most vibrant and popular spokesperson during its early years, joined the Nation in 1952 and broadcasted Muhammad's message of Black supremacy and nationalism both nationally and internationally for twelve years. For material on the history of the NOI, see C. Eric Lincoln's \textit{The Black Muslims in America} (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961) which traces the Nation's history from its inception to 1960 examining its religious teachings and political and social influence. Similarly, Allison Samuels' "The Man, The Movement," \textit{Newsweek Magazine}, 30 October 1995, 35, surveys the Nation's development from 1930 to 1995 emphasizing the career of Louis Farrakhan. Finally, Ellen K. Coughlin in "X," \textit{The Chronicle of Higher Education} 39 no. 7 October 1992, 8, 14, reviews the same general time period giving specific emphasis to the influence of Malcolm X.


\textsuperscript{177}Farrakhan joined the Nation in 1955 and studied its doctrines under the tutelage of Malcolm X until 1957 when he became head of the Boston temple. When Malcolm X conflicted with Elijah Muhammad, the founder, and left the organization in 1964, Farrakhan remained with the group, maintaining his
as its headquarters, the Nation, popularly called the "Black Muslims," expanded from a single mosque on the South Side in 1932 to real estate holdings valued at $500,000 in 1960, to a housing and religious complex worth tens of millions today.  


178 At one high point in the early seventies, the Muslims had more than 50 mosques scattered throughout 24 states and the District of Columbia, where they had a television program. In addition to nearly 50 different radio stations, they owned bakeries, dry cleaners, restaurants, farm land, livestock, jewelry shops, barber shops, supermarkets, and a printing plant and school system in Chicago. For discussion on these holdings and their acquisition and management, see Lincoln's The Black Muslims in America.
spread Islam throughout the world. On the other hand, whites were "devils," an "artificial mutation" created by a wicked scientist named Yacob. By nature, they were evil and collectively wicked, and destined to be defeated by African-Americans.\footnote{Malcolm X discussed the biblical teachings of Elijah Muhammad dealing with the identity and liberation of African-Americans in "Separation or Integration," 394-95.}

According to Malcolm X, these religious beliefs fostered moral rectitude and self-discipline among the Muslims:

Any fornication was absolutely forbidden in the Nation of Islam. Any eating of the filthy pork, or other injurious or unhealthful foods; any use of tobacco, alcohol, or narcotics. No Muslim who followed Elijah Muhammad could dance, gamble, date, attend movies, or sports, or take long vacations from work.\footnote{Haley, The Autobiography of Malcolm X, 221. Because the Muslims did not look forward to an afterlife, their strict moral code did not relate to a doctrine of salvation as in the Christian faith. However, according to the fifth point of "What The Muslims Believe," published in every issue of The Final Call, the organization's newspaper, they believed "in a mental resurrection" which was possible through the teachings of the Koran and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.}

With regard to Afro-centric education, Malcolm X declared that the Black man in America had been "colonized mentally," making him "ashamed of what he is" and causing him "to hate his black skin," "the texture of his hair," and the "features that God gave him." To counter this miseducation, according to Malcolm X, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad enjoined African-Americans to love themselves and
"to undo the white supremacy" that made a mental resurrection necessary. To this end, the Muslims established independent, exclusive schools in Chicago and Detroit to educate their children in the faith.\textsuperscript{181}

Pursuant to community self-help, Malcolm X strictly forbade Muslims to accept aid from government programs like welfare and free lunches. He preached instead:

The black man in the ghettos, for instance, has to start self-correcting his own material, moral, and spiritual defects and evils. The black man needs to start his own program to get rid of drunkenness, drug addiction, prostitution.\textsuperscript{182}

According to Malcolm X, African-American-owned businesses "demonstrate[d] to black people what black people could do for themselves" and that Blacks "must accept the responsibility for regaining [their own] people who have lost their

\textsuperscript{181} Malcolm X, "Separation or Integration," 391. Malcolm commented on the learning experience of children attending primary and secondary Muslim schools:

\begin{quote}
We teach them the same things that they would be taught ordinarily in school, minus the Little Black Sambo story and the things . . . [that] develop an inferiority complex in us. Lomax, \textit{Negro Revolt}, 186.
\end{quote}

Lincoln viewed these ideas of reeducation as foundational to the notions of "black power," "black pride," and "black consciousness" which became so popular in African-American culture during the later years of the civil rights movement. \textit{The Black Church in the African-American Experience}, 389.

\textsuperscript{182} Haley, \textit{The Autobiography of Malcolm X}, 276. Further, point seven from "What the Muslims Want," a permanent feature of the \textit{Final Call} reads:

As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own, we demand . . . equal employment opportunities--NOW!
Further, ethnic separation, that is, an absolute division between Black and whites, was foundational to the ideology of Malcolm X:

... because we don't have any hope ... in the American white man's ability to bring about a change in the injustices that exist, instead of asking or seeking to integrate into the American society we want to face the facts of the problem the way they are, and separate ourselves.¹⁸⁴

According to the Muslim leader, insofar as Black people have "a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common enemy--the white man," they should all either return to Africa, the motherland, or build a sovereign nation within the boarders of America.¹⁸⁵

Finally, one of Malcolm X's most radical ideas was his notion of violent self-defense which he justified on both religious and political grounds. In an appeal to biblical authority, he observed:

There is nothing in our book, the Koran, that


¹⁸⁴Malcolm X, "Separation or Integration," 393. In this context he continues:

We feel, that if integration all these years hasn't solved the problem yet, then we want to try something new, something different and something that is in accord with the conditions as they actually exist.

¹⁸⁵For elaboration on this idea, see Malcolm X Speaks, 5 and "What The Muslims Want," point four, all editions of The Final Call.
teaches us to suffer peacefully. . . . Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. 186

At the same time, he argued that, if the government deemed him wrong for advocating violent self-defense, "then the government [should] start doing its job" of protecting its citizens. 187 In sum, these five points including religion, education, self-reliance, separation, and self-protection constituted the most salient ideas of Malcolm X.

After Malcolm's assassination in 1965 and the death of Elijah Muhammad ten years later, Louis Farrakhan in 1978 became the Nation's leader and holds that position today. During this eighteen year history, he has moderated the ideas of Malcolm X rather than deliberately contradicted them. 188 For instance, concerning religion, the idea of

186 Malcolm X, Malcolm X Speaks, 12. With reference to the non-violent demonstration, Malcolm X stated:

We should be peaceful, law-abiding--but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked. Malcolm X Speaks, 22.

187 Malcolm X, Malcolm X Speaks, 22.

188 Three factors influenced Farrakhan away from the radicalism of Malcolm X. First, when Farrakhan split from the more conservative Wallace Muhammad in 1978 and espoused a radicalism akin to that of Malcolm X, the vast majority of the Nation repudiated him and remained loyal to Muhammad. Thus, radicalism cost him support within the Nation. Second, in 1984, when Farrakhan embarrassed Jesse Jackson with his threats of violence and anti-Jewish remarks, Jackson distanced himself from Farrakhan, reducing his popularity in the Black community. Again, his radicalism was costly. Similarly, in 1987, when the Muslim leader attempted to stimulate entrepreneurship among African-Americans by launching a
Allah destroying racist America and white people as devils to liberate Blacks is part of Farrakhan's message. However, it is less prominent than it had been in the preaching of Malcolm X. Instead, Farrakhan seeks "a cooperative effort" to overcome urban problems joining "government and corporate America" with "black organizational, religious, political, civic and fraternal leaders." This is a far cry from the violent holy war of his mentor.

With regard to education, again Farrakhan tempers the radicalism of Malcolm X. Although like his predecessor, he believes that "African-centered independent schools" are superior to public institutions, he nonetheless encourages

scheme to sell health-and-beauty products, his financial backers withdrew from the project shortly after its inception, voicing an unwillingness to be identified with his anti-semitism. For discussion regarding Farrakhan's separation from Wallace Muhammad and tension with Jackson, see "We Are Going to Shake the World," Insight The Washington Times (11 November 1985): 7-24; for material on his attempt to stimulate Black businesses, see Sylvester Monroe and John Schwartz, "Islam's New Entrepreneur," Newsweek Magazine (13 July 1987): 38-39.

189 Allison Samuels, Vern E. Smith, Karen Springer, and Patricia King, "An Angry Charmer," Newsweek Magazine (30 October 1995): 33. In an earlier interview with Monroe and Schwartz, Farrakhan stated that he was "seeking accord with the Christian community and, God willing, with the leaders of the Jewish community." Monroe and Schwartz, "Islam's New Entrepreneur" Newsweek (17 July 1987): 39. Similarly, in stating the purpose of the Million Man March, an activity which the Muslim leader organized with Ben Chavis, a Baptist preacher, Farrakhan used theologically moderate language, unlike that of Malcolm X:

We call then for a Holy Day of Atonement . . . a day to meditate on and seek right relationships with the Creator, with each other and with nature. The Million Man March, 3.
Blacks to "struggle for quality public education through heightened parental concern" and other forms of "social activism."  

Farrakhan further agrees unequivocally with Malcolm X: that African-Americans are responsible to help themselves, however; unlike Malcolm, he invites whites to assist Blacks in becoming self-reliant. For instance, in 1987, in initiating Black entrepreneurship by selling products door-to-door, he stated, "We must build a company that is not just a Negro business." And he went on to include nonblacks among the sales force and clientele.  

Farrakhan has also moderated the ideas of his former teacher regarding ethnic separation. Malcolm X taught that Blacks should ignore white politics and not register or vote under any circumstances. However, although Farrakhan states that "separation will ultimately solve the problem  

---


191 Monroe and Schwartz, "Islam's New Entrepreneur," Newsweek (13 July 1987): 39. Moreover, Farrakhan originally sought the help of such white capitalist businessmen as George Johnson, CEO of Johnson Products, to help sponsor the venture. At the same time, he balanced this approach with the following statement from the Million Man March:

It [the March] is a reaffirmation of our self-understanding as a people that we are our own liberators, that no matter how numerous or sincere our allies are, the greatest burdens to be borne and the most severe sacrifices to be made for liberation are essentially our own. Mission Statement, 3.
between the races," he publicly supported the presidential campaign of Jesse Jackson in 1984, and he encouraged African-American participation in the 1992 presidential election. Later in 1995, Farrakhan advocated forming a third political party as an alternative to the existing two which would be more sensitive to Black concerns.

Violent self-defense was a signature element of Malcolm's rhetoric; however, Farrakhan has refrained from advocating physical confrontation, preferring rather to work within the existing order to accomplish structural change. The Million Man March Mission Statement, for example, reads:

We, the Black men and women . . . concerned about the increasing racism and the continuing commitment to white supremacy in this country . . . declare our commitment to assume a new and expanded responsibility in the struggle to build and sustain a free and empowered community, a just society, and better world.

---


194 "'My Duty Is to Point Out the Wrong and the Evil,'" Newsweek Magazine (30 October 1995): 36. Moreover, in the Mission Statement of the Million Man March, Farrakhan exhorted "the government of the U.S. . . . to honor the treaties signed with Native Peoples," extending his war on injustice beyond the Black community--an approach which Malcolm X would probably have opposed. 22.

195 The Million Man March - Day of Absence, Mission Statement, 1-2. Throughout the 22-page document, there is no mention of violent confrontation, nor did Farrakhan himself make any such reference during his 2-hour speech at the March itself.
In conclusion, Malcolm X and Farrakhan have led Black Chicago in a gradual ideological shift with Farrakhan moderating the nationalistic radicalism of his mentor. He has softened Malcolm's message from "liberation by any means necessary" to Black capitalism by any means possible. Pursuant to religion, education, self-help, separation, and self-protection, the Nation has influenced Black Chicago from revolution to diplomacy, from confrontation to cooperation.

A Comparison of the Ideas of King, Carmichael, Hampton, Malcolm X, and Farrakhan

During the mid-twentieth century, Black ideology in Chicago progressed from the liberalism of King to the radicalism of Carmichael, Hampton, and Malcolm X to the moderation of Farrakhan. Early in the period, King's dream of creating a "beloved community" through non-violent direct action dominated the community's thinking. His introduction by Archbishop Cody at a rally in Chicago in 1966, reflected his liberal bent:

You've come this afternoon to hear a man who has become a symbol of all this (civil rights, racial, human freedom) to America and to the world. ... This man has taught us that wherever there is segregation, no man can be truly free. This man has ... [never] betrayed the idea of nonviolence and love.196

However, during this time, when King's popularity was

196 Travis, An Autobiography, 364.
at its peak in Chicago, radicals began voicing ideas of
violence and Black nationalism. Carmichael, for example,
introduced black power, an ideology which repudiated non-
violence and, in his words, "reject[ed] the old slogans and
meaningless rhetoric of previous years in the civil rights
struggle." 197

Similarly, Hampton, founder of Chicago's Black
Panthers, advocated teaching the people techniques of war
and preparing them for armed revolution:

We have to educate the people. We have to arm the
people. . . . And when they understand all that, we
won't be killing no few ["pigs" (police officers)]
and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be kill­
ing 'em all and getting complete satisfaction. 198

Moreover, Malcolm X contributed profoundly to the
radical ideology of the era. Although he believed in the
liberatory power of Allah, it was his message of violent
self-defense that made his ideas so popular and provoca-
tive. In disparaging King's non-violent strategy of the
early sixties, Malcolm declared:

197 Carmichael and Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of
Liberation in America, 50.

198 Hampton, "You Can Murder a Liberator, but You Can't
Murder Liberation" in The Black Panthers Speak, 142. David
Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, explains
the revolutionary ideology of the Party:

. . . we recognize that Marxism-Leninism is not a
philosophy for Russians, it is not a philosophy for
Chinese but it's a philosophy for any people that's
moving against an oppressive power structure such as
the capitalistic fascist system of the American
society. "If You Want Peace You Got to Fight for
It," in The Black Panthers Speak, 129.
In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham. . . . When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs.\textsuperscript{199}

Finally, with the teachings of Farrakhan, the ideology of Black Chicago has shifted still again: compared to the radicalism of Carmichael, Hampton, and Malcolm X, it has become more moderate. Since the mid-1980s, Farrakhan has gradually distanced himself from the nationalistic rhetoric historically associated with the Nation of Islam. In place of violent revolution, he has made gestures of reconciliation; in place of the separatistic oratory, he has embraced America's social and political institutions. Although Farrakhan publicly castigates "the white man" for his racism, in most other respects he has moderated not only the message of his predecessor, but also that of such radicals as Carmichael and Hampton.

The Conclusion

This survey has demonstrated that Black intellectuals have for the most part produced ruling class ideologies in African-American Chicago from the 1840s to the present. They have espoused hegemonic ideas that at once stabilize the existing capitalist order and contribute to the ongoing exploitation of Blacks. Further, they have dedicated

\textsuperscript{199}Malcolm X Speaks, 22.
themselves to a common purpose--the liberation of Black Americans. However, with one remarkable exception discussed below, they have nonetheless produced a culture that has sustained Black political and social subordination.

Black Traditional Intellectuals and Gramscian Thought

Gramsci's theory regarding the nature and effect of cultural leadership through traditional intellectuals explains this phenomenon in Black Chicago. According to Gramsci, the hegemonic apparatus of the ruling class effectively dictates the popular consciousness of the masses. As part of this apparatus, traditional intellectuals disseminate dominant ideas throughout society, leading the masses to consent to their own exploitation.

In terms of the present study, the majority of leaders under discussion, from Frederick Douglass to Louis Farrakhan, are traditional intellectuals and part of this hegemonic apparatus. They are at once the products and perpetuators of dominant ideology: they absorb its ideas, contextualize its message, and espouse its values in the Black community at large. Indeed, they are liberators who enhance subjugation--a supreme contradiction.

Black Traditional Intellectuals and the Capitalist System

The essence of this contradiction resides in the way in which these intellectuals view Black liberation and its
relation to capitalism. They define liberation in terms of the dominant culture, and this creates ideological disjunction: their passion as liberators militates against their role as hegemonic ideologues. For them, liberty is a social arrangement within the capitalist order in which Blacks have the same opportunity as whites to earn the system's political and social rewards. Therefore, the fundamental objective of these leaders is to manipulate capitalist America into treating Blacks and whites equally. They do not take issue with the system's intrinsic character; they take issue with its distribution of rewards. They do not intend to fundamentally change capitalism; they simply intend to alter the allocation of its rights and privileges. As hegemonic intellectuals, they are insensitive to the fact that--by its very nature--the system is unfair and that its survival demands the exploitation of a vulnerable class of people--a class which will invariably include Blacks in racist white America.

Black Traditional Intellectuals and Strategies of Liberation

These ruling class thinkers have developed three discrete strategies of liberation--reformation, accommodation, and self-segregation--which, in fact, stabilize the existing order. For example, Frederick Douglass, a reformer, writes regarding Blacks:

We are Americans--native Americans--and we ask only to be treated as well as you treat aliens. We have
fought and shed our blood for your country... We love our country... Is there anything presumptuous in this? No. We ask only for our rights.200

Douglass does not challenge capitalism as a viable economic system; instead, as a reformer, he attempts to remedy what he believes are its problems. Overlooking the exploitative nature of capitalism, he argues that, if corrected, the system will serve all people justly. In this respect, he is analogous to Booker T. Washington, his successor as the spokesperson for "Negro" America.

Of the leaders surveyed, Washington is the only accommodationist, and, as such, he advises Blacks to work hard, establish themselves in America, and quietly earn the respect of whites, who will certainly grant them privilege when they sense the time is right:

It ["the possession of the evidence of civilization"] can be done by the Negro beginning right now any where he finds himself. What I am anxious for is for the Negro to be in actual possession of all the elements of the highest civilization, and when he is so possessed, the burden of his future treatment by the white man must rest upon the white man.201

200 Douglass, "We Ask Only For Our Rights: An Address Delivered in Troy, New York, on 4 September 1855," in The Frederick Douglass Papers, 3:93. I consider Wells-Barnett, Du Bois, Randolph (at least from 1922 until his death), King, Carmichael, and Farrakhan as reformers. Moreover, I view the churches under discussion as reformist institutions, and the Defender as a reformist publication. Douglass is simply a representative of this particular ideology and strategy.

Like Douglass, Washington, also a traditional intellectual, overlooks the fundamental inequities of capitalism and believes that it will ultimately serve Blacks well—if they endure its inconsistencies for the moment.

Finally, Garvey and Malcolm X are the only two traditional intellectuals who employ self-segregation as a strategy of liberation. They advocate separating the races, for, according to them both, history proves that living together harmoniously is impossible. In this respect, they differ from the reformers and Washington, who, as ruling class ideologues, are understandably integrationists.

However, the self-segregationists perpetuate the existing order because they unreservedly support Black capitalism either in Africa or in African-American communities. Like Douglass and Washington, they endorse the capitalist system, and, while criticizing its disadvantages, they do not challenge its right to exist. In this respect, the reformers, accommodationist, and self-segregationists distinguish themselves from the true revolutionaries.

Black Organic Intellectuals and Counter-hegemonic Ideology

Gramscian theory offers valuable insight into the identity and function of Black organic intellectuals who, in this study, specifically include Fred Hampton and the
Black Panther Party. According to Gramsci, organic intellectuals produce a counter-hegemonic ideological force by which they, as revolutionaries, displace both the dominant ideology and the ruling political system. Therefore, organic intellectuals must have both an oppositional ideology and the capacity to popularize that ideology so as to accomplish political change.

Obviously, a contravening ideology is the sine qua non of the organic intellectual. The traditional intellectuals discussed above zealously and effectively challenge the existing order, but without a contravening ideology; this differentiates them from Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party--socialist revolutionaries with an apparatus for indoctrinating the masses.

In an article entitled "You Can Murder A Liberator, But You Can’t Murder Liberation: ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE," Hampton declares his ideological commitment and revolutionary intent, stating: "we’re going to fight capitalism with socialism." Hilliard, the Party's Chief of Staff, in "The Ideology of the Black Panther Party," amplifies Hampton's declaration:

202 Hampton, The Black Panthers Speak, 141. Similarly, in the October 25, 1969, issue of The Black Panther, the Party newspaper, Matthews states:

What we are trying to say is that we want a United Front of all ethnic oppressed groups, regardless of race, color, creed or what have you, because the ultimate aim is to overthrow this establishment. The Black Panthers Speak, 156.
The ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experiences of Black people in America translated through Marxism-Leninism. Through these statements, the Party voices its commitment to socialism, an ideology that it further espouses in the Black Panthers Ten Point Platform and the writings of Huey P. Newton, its founder.

For instance, the Program demands employment for "every man" and goes on to state that "if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the business men and placed in the community." Further, the Program charges landlords to provide decent housing in the Black community, and suggests that, if this is not done, "the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives." Newton goes on to clarify the organization's commitment to socialism in his interpretation of the writings of Mao:

You see, Chairman Mao's quote that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is misunderstood time and time again. The verb in the sentence is "grows": political power grows from the barrel of a gun; it culminates in the people's ownership and control of the land and the institutions there-on.

Pursuant to socialistic culture production, the Panthers employ the following: The Black Panther, a regul-

---


204 Travis, An Autobiography, 421-22.

205 Erikson, In Search of Common Ground, 64.
larly published and popularly circulated newspaper/propaganda instrument, "Liberation Schools," a community-based educational network for popular indoctrination, and revolutionary art, posters for public display and sale depicting revolutionary themes. Specifically, according to the Party, The Black Panther newspaper "is a living contemporary history of our people's struggle for liberation," and because of its contribution to the revolution "it's something to be studied . . . and saved for future generations to read, learn and understand."206

Further, in order to teach the masses, especially the youth, the principles of socialism and guerrilla warfare, the Panthers establish "Liberation Schools" in some urban locations. The Black Panther of July 5, 1969, states that in these schools "the curriculum is designed to meet the needs of the youth, to guide them in their search for revolutionary truths and principles." It goes on to mention that "while involving themselves in the program,"

206 Landon Williams, "The Black Panther, January 17, 1970," in The Black Panthers Speak, 8. In a complementary vein, Newton, the Party's founder states:

The newspaper is the Voice of the Party and the Voice of the Panther must be heard throughout the land. Because the Newspaper is one of the main tools for educating the masses of Black People. "The Black Panther: Voice of the Party," in The Black Panthers Speak, 7.
Finally, as part of their counter-hegemonic culture production, the Party publishes "Revolutionary Art" in the form of posters, paintings, and sketchings. The Black Panther of May 18, 1968, refers to this work as "propaganda among the masses" and explains its contribution to the struggle:

... this kind of art enlightens the party to continue its vigorous attack against the enemy, as well as educate the masses of black people--we do this by showing them through pictures--"The Correct Handling of the Revolution." 208

The article goes on to describe one of the pictures as depicting assassinated policemen:

... pigs lying in alley ways of the colony dead with their eyes gouged out--autopsy showing cause of death: "They fail to see that majority rules." 209

According to the foregoing discussion, Fred Hampton and the Black Panthers are counter-hegemonic revolutionar-

---

207 "Liberation Schools," in The Black Panthers Speak, 170-71. This discussion is consistent with that of Hampton who describes the educational function of the Party writing:

After the social revolution, the vanguard party [the Panthers], through our educational programs--and that program is overwhelming--the people are educated to the point that they can run things themselves. That's what you call educating the people ... bringing them revolutionary political power. "You Can Murder a Liberator, But You Can't Murder Liberation," in The Black Panthers Speak, 143.

208 "Revolutionary Art/Black Liberation," in The Black Panthers Speak, 16.

209 "Revolutionary Art/Black Liberation," in The Black Panthers Speak, 16.
ies bent on replacing capitalism with socialism. In this attempt, they have an effective apparatus for popularizing their ideas including The Black Panther, "Liberation Schools," and revolutionary art.

In sum, this study examines the idea production of Black leaders influencing Chicago between the mid-nineteenth century and the present. In examining their social impact, through the lens of Gramscian theory, it concludes that the majority of them were traditional intellectuals who reproduced dominant ideology and hegemonic political relations. However, it also finds a single instance of counter-hegemonic idea production that attempted to revolutionize ruling class culture and domination.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE IDEA PRODUCTION OF ST. LUKE CHURCH, CHICAGO FELLOWSHIP OF FRIENDS, AND LIGHT OF LIBERTY CHURCH

The historical survey of chapter three provides the background for appreciating the following examination of three urban churches. As that material demonstrates, as long as Blacks have been in Chicago, their churches have produced and reproduced cultural understandings which engender willing assent to the dominant order. St. Luke Church and Fellowship of Friends, two of the assemblies under investigation, represent institutions that perpetuate this trend. The following examination of the ideas that they disseminate gives insight into the colonization of Black thought in relation to religion, education, politics, and State authority. The church, as the most influential institution in the African-American community, has generally acted to secure consent to the ruling order.

At the same time as was shown, historically there has been a liberatory voice in Chicago’s Black community which opposed the existing order and generated ideas of confrontation rather than consent and of resistance rather than capitulation. Light of Liberty Church, the counter-hegemonic ministry under study, is the present day representa-
tive of this ideological persuasion. The following presentation of its culture production contributes insight into Black anti-ruling class ideas also relative to religion, education, politics, and State authority.

The Ideology of St. Luke Church

A study of St. Luke Church indicates that it is a hegemonic institution espousing dominant ideas that secure mass consent. To support this finding, this section discusses four salient points. First, with regard to history, the study presents the church’s ministerial development and idea production, placing them in the historical and ideological context presented in chapter three. Second, pursuant to social order, the discussion reviews the interpersonal relationships and patterns of authority in the congregation to establish the background for understanding the creation of its worldview. Third, regarding culture production, the study sets forth St. Luke’s notion of religion, education, politics, and State authority, based on field research. Finally, with respect to Gramscian theory, the section examines the church as a hegemonic institution creating mass consent to the existing political order.

The History of St. Luke Church

The history of St. Luke Church began in 1907 with the founding of its parent denomination, the Church Of God In Christ (COGIC), by C. H. Mason and has extended through two
generations of leaders: Elder Luke Austin, who started the church in 1942, and his son, Elder James Austin, who succeeded him in 1978 and is the present pastor. COGIC's phenomenal growth from twelve small churches in 1907 to 10,000 in 1989, which average 400 members each, was directly attributable to Mason's ingenious leadership. ¹ As thousands of Blacks migrated North during World Wars I and II, Mason commissioned evangelists to accompany them and establish churches in their communities in cities like New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago. ² Thus, as innumerable African-Americans accepted the Defender's invitation to relocate in Chicago and other points North--the "Promised Land flowing with milk and honey"--aggressive COGIC ministers also relocated and challenged migrants to embrace the Christian gospel. In this historical context,


²Bishop Louis Henry Ford, who rose to the headship of the 8.5 million-member denomination and died in 1995 at the age of 81, came to Chicago as a street preacher in 1933 as part of this great population shift. "Clergy Want Expressway Renamed for Bishop Ford," Chicago Sun-Times, 11 May 1996, 6.
the denomination, which had its genesis in the rural South, reached its zenith in northern urban centers.

Ideologically, throughout the Black community, COGIC churches preached the claims of Christ from a politically conservative perspective that confronted a host of competing philosophies. Mason, the head of the denomination from its inception in 1907 until his death in 1961, committed himself to Black community uplift, as did such leaders as Washington, Wells, Garvey, and Randolph. However, as a conservative Christian he had distinctive ideas. He made this clear in describing his encounter with Jesus in 1907, an experience which changed his life:

Oh, I was filled with the glory of my Lord. My soul was then satisfied. I rejoiced in Jesus my Savior, whom I love so dearly. And from that day until now there has been an overflowing joy of the glory of the Lord in my heart.\(^3\)

Thus, Mason did not patronize white philanthropists as did Washington, nor galvanize public opinion as did Wells, nor advocate self-separation as did Garvey, nor organize mass protests as did Randolph; instead he preached the gospel of Christ.

This brief discussion of COGIC's historical and ideological development provides a context for understanding the inception and growth of St. Luke Church. Luke

Austin, its founder, was born in Shelby, Mississippi in 1908 and migrated to Chicago in 1923 among the masses seeking their freedom and fortune in northern cities.\textsuperscript{4} After becoming a Christian in 1931 and developing an intense zeal for God, according to the church historian, "he came to the North Side of Chicago in 1942 and opened a little mission" to help Blacks suffering the ravages of the Great Depression.\textsuperscript{5} With his wife, Addie, Austin developed this ministry into St. Luke Church, preaching the gospel for thirty-six years as pastor of the assembly and caretaker of the community. The church historian eulogized him writing:

\begin{quote}
Elder Luke Austin believed in prayer and preached the Word of God as plainly as possible. In the ministry, he was a giant who pastored a progressive church to the glory of God until his death - May 10, 1978.\textsuperscript{6}
\end{quote}

Shortly, after Luke Austin's death, James Austin, his son, assumed headship of the congregation, and, serving in that capacity today, he has developed the church into a

\textsuperscript{4}Contributing a bit of historical insight into Austin's purpose and challenges, Lincoln quotes a letter by the Johnsons, COGIC missionaries traveling from Memphis to Detroit in 1914 to plant a church "among the Colored people," as Austin did some ten years later. The couple describes bravely confronting financial difficulties and being "glad and happy that the Lord had counted [them] worthy to suffer for His Name, that other souls might be saved." \textit{The Black Church}, 82.


\textsuperscript{6}Ibid., 7.
thriving, Christian community with 1,200 active members.
The church historian describes his vision and dedication writing:

Elder Austin has a vision of building a Monument of holiness. This monument will be an enduring work, and energetic organization, a spiritual body which will attract masses of people for the purpose of praising and promoting the beauty of holiness. This vision is coming to fruition.7

St. Luke's growth and ideological position contextualizes the church within the broad framework of Black ideas and historical development. Thus, as part of the COGIC denomination, which had its beginning in 1907, St. Luke developed from a struggling ministry in 1942, under the direction of Luke Austin, into a prosperous church in the 1990s with over a thousand members, under the headship of James Austin. Like his father before him, James has developed a politically conservative ministry, pledging fidelity to the existing order and the political relations that it fosters.

The Social Order of the St. Luke Community

The Social Structure

The social structure of St. Luke, that is, the recur-

7"Welcome," 5. This is consistent with the denomination's Official Manual which reads:

THE CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST IS A CHURCH OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST IN WHICH THE word of god is preached, ordinances are administered and the doctrine of sanctification or holiness is emphasized as being essential to the salvation of mankind. XXIII.
ring patterns of behavior creating relationships among individuals within the congregation, is unquestionably family-like. The group is composed of people who subscribe to a Christian model of thinking, feeling, and behaving and who, acting interdependently, share the single goal of leading lives that glorify God. As a family, the people of St. Luke consider themselves related through Christ and united by way of their common recreation, socialization, reproduction, economic production, and emotional gratification. Although they respect non-family members, that is, people outside the church, and invited them "to experience new life through Jesus," they distinguish themselves from "unbelievers" and withhold from them the intimacy reserved exclusively for the "brethren."

The basis for this family-like structure is the personal experience of being "born again" (professing belief in the teaching of Jesus) into "the family of God by faith in Christ" and becoming a brother or a sister to others in the church.\(^8\) Carol, a member of the assembly for twenty-four years, explains this relationship:

All of us are born into one family experience, and that is why we call ourselves family. Plus the Scripture lets us know that we are sisters and

\(^8\)Members unfailingly use family-related titles with last names when addressing each other, for example, "Brother Matthews" and "Sister Levell." These designations are only applied to people within the faith, never to those outside, so that they constantly reinforce group solidarity based on a distinction between family and non-family members.
brothers in Christ. \(^9\)

This structure develops over the life span of the long-time members who are active in the church from early youth to senior adulthood. For instance, Sandra, a woman in her early thirties, states that she has been a member of St. Luke "all [her] life," for when she was born, all her family were members, and they took her to worship as soon as she was of age. While "growing up in the church," Sandra recalls that the adults were like her "aunts and uncles" and her contemporaries were like her "brothers and sisters." \(^{10}\)

These family-like relations are established and reinforced primarily through expressions of love during the Sunday and mid-week services. Pastor Blake describes the binding influence of these gatherings:

> People spend time together, and that's what makes it like family. When all the folks come together for the services on Sunday and during the week, it's almost like we live together. That's how tight we get. Very seldom do people in the church

\(^{9}\)Mrs. Carol Anderson, interviewed by author, Tape recording, CYCLE, Cabrini-Green, Chicago, 22 March 1995.

\(^{10}\)Miss Sandra Bailey, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 21 May 1996. Rev. Blake, a COGIC minister and my key informant, describes the same kind of experience:

> . . . when I got saved in 1968, June 23, the people that I was friends with when I first got saved, they are still my friends today. . . . Not friends like, "this is my friend," but more like family, more like family. In COGIC it is very much like that. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 15 March 1995.
marry each other; we’re so much like family that it wouldn’t seem right.\textsuperscript{11}

This structure informs the nature of relationships within the congregation, which are, of course, also family-like. The pastor and church mother occupy the status and perform the role of parents, while the clergy and laity are like family members with varying degrees of authority and responsibility within a patriarchal framework.

The Interpersonal Relations

The congregation respects and defers to Rev. Austin as their God-appointed leader and as a father figure. He inherited the position from his father, Luke Austin, and exercises an authoritarian style of governance which his members accept without serious challenged. In their minds, he is the Lord’s spokesperson who faithfully transmits His message to the group and supervises their response to it. Carol relates this idea to Pastor Austin explaining:

It [the Scripture] lets you know that God will send a minister [Pastor Austin] and that he will preach the word of God to you. . . . It says in the Scripture, "I will give you pastors after my own heart, which will feed you with wisdom and knowledge and understanding." It says that you need wisdom, knowledge, and understanding.\textsuperscript{12}

Given this God-ordained position and function, the congregation cooperates with the pastor without challenging his

\textsuperscript{11} Pastor Blake, interviewed by author, 12 June 1996.

\textsuperscript{12} Mrs. Carol Anderson, interviewed by author, 22 March 1995.
authority. For instance, Minister Jacobs explains:

My pastor is one of the most Christ-like men that I have ever run in to, so I am willing to follow His leadership because I see the Christ-likeness in him.  

Rev. Austin is the ultimate authority for all church decisions including those which are theological, social, financial, and ministerial, reserving for himself the final word in all St. Luke affairs.  

Mother Ruth Collins, "the church mother," has a status and role that complements that of the pastor. Although she is elderly and limited by her age, Mother Collins serves as a close advisor to Rev. Austin, teacher and counselor of women, and supervisor of auxiliary ministries. The entire congregation honors her with respect and deference, while she contributes a maternal dimension to the "family."

In terms of the body at large, Pastor Austin has appointed eleven elders, who, while remaining under his

---

13 Minister Jacobs, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 1 July 1995.

14 Pastor Austin's legitimacy is founded on his "call" to the ministry, that is, the belief that God has supernaturally destined and prepared him to fill the office of pastor.

15 Mr. Leo Dillard describes this relationship stating: . . . there is a church mother who works along with the pastor; she deals more with the small auxiliaries, over the mothers department . . . and the young people. Then you have the pastor who is more or less over everything. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 15 May 1996.
authority, exercise leadership over the congregation.\textsuperscript{16} These men--only men can hold this office--have proven to the pastor over a period of years that they have been "called by God to the ministry"\textsuperscript{17} and qualify to function as leaders for several reasons: They are morally upright in their relations both inside and outside the church; they are faithfully committed to advancing the interests of the assembly; they are well-versed in the Scriptures, and they are respected by the congregation.

The laity, who comprise the major part of the church family, divide into two groups, the adults and the "young people." The adults, that is, all members above 17 years of age, further divide into the "faithful" and the "members."

\textsuperscript{16}According to Miss Sandra Bailey, this approach to governance engenders a well-organized and effective accountability structure:

... in Church Of God In Christ someone is always over you. So, you don't just jump up and do what you want to do. Interviewed by author, 22 March 1995.

\textsuperscript{17}When a person believes that God has called him or her to a ministry, they typically advise the pastor who then informs the congregation. For a period of time thereafter, the members observe the life and ministry of the individual and finally verify or disavow the call based on his or her performance. Miss. Sandra Bailey describes this process:

When you are called into a ministry ... I believe that it is preceded by how the Lord deals with you. You become empowered to go forth and bring forth fruit in that area. If your are called to preach, the Lord will place an anointing upon you to understand the word and then be able to explain it, so that someone else can understand it and begin to grow. Interviewed by author, 22 March 1995.
In terms of status and role, the "faithful" generally distinguish themselves from the members by attending church more regularly and conforming to the principles of the faith more passionately.\textsuperscript{18} Pastor Austin describes a "faithful" individual from a biblical perspective:

A person who is consistently at his or her post of duty, who when given an assignment carries out that assignment to the best of their ability, a person who--the Bible says whatever your hands find to do, do it with all of your might--who really energetically strives for excellence in what they do.\textsuperscript{19}

On the other hand, the "members" are people who might very well be in good standing in the church; however, they do not match the frequency of attendance nor the level of dedication of the "faithful." Within the family, they are accorded less respect and entrusted with less responsibility than the elders and the "faithful."

The "young people" form still another group within the family, a group viewed as a source of renewal to the church and a blessing from God to their parents. Sandra, a teacher of Young People Willing Workers (YPWW), a teen group, explains the importance of the youth to the future

\textsuperscript{18}Miss Sandra Bailey, a "faithful" member, reports her attendance record stating:

On a weekly basis, I am there normally every Friday, well every Wednesday, well let me stop because Tuesday is choir rehearsal . . . every Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. That's ever week! Without fail! Interviewed by author, 22 March 1995.

\textsuperscript{19}Pastor Austin, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 20 March 1995.
The young people are to be trained in the things of God. . . . In the church, we desire that our young people learn to the point where they will do well as the ones who come after us. When it is their turn, and the Lord sees fit that they are the next ministers or the next choir director, they would have learned the basics.  

The "YPWW Youth Revival," a series of four evening meetings, giving the youth opportunity to develop leadership skills, demonstrates the status and role of young people in the church. Clearance Wilson, a 17-year-old, was one of the two keynote speakers for the service. Copying the emotionally charged, animated delivery style of the seasoned Black preacher, Clearance exhorted the young people:

"Young people, you must think of our Creator. Young people, you’ve got to stop and think of what the Lord can do for you. You must do the work of the Lord. You must do what the Lord tells you to do."  

Clearance preached in this manner for about twenty minutes, with the audience shouting "Amen" and "Glory be to God," and he demonstrated that as a youth he was learning the general skills of leadership and the specific techniques of preaching. The adult congregation applauded him rigorously and encouraged him to continue this course of development.

Children are seen as a blessing to their parents. At

---

\(^{20}\) Miss. Sandra Bailey, interviewed by author, 21 May 1996.

\(^{21}\) Field observation by author, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 13 May 1996.
the end of the service, the regional president stood to
give remarks as a visiting dignitary. He explained at
length how impressed he was with the "wonderful" service
conducted by the youth and concluded:

It makes you feel good when your children succeed.
It makes you feel good when your kids graduate from
college or do something like that.\textsuperscript{22}

As he praised the young people as gifts from the Lord, the
congregation expressed their approval with hearty "Amens"
as before. In sum, the program demonstrated that the
church prepares its youth to continue its traditions and
cherishes them as "blessings from God." This survey of St.
Luke's history and social order serves as background for a
discussion of the church's role in producing ideas that
secure assent to the dominant order.

The Culture of St. Luke Church

The Community's Sense of Religion

The term "religion" in this context refers to the
notions, morals, and practices which express in a religious
manner the worldview of the congregation, that is, its
institutionalized belief system.\textsuperscript{23} The religious ideas of
St. Luke Church are based on the Judeo/Christian Bible, and
its central message of salvation: that all people are

\textsuperscript{22}Field observation by author, St. Luke Church, Chicago,
13 May 1996.

\textsuperscript{23}This significance is consistent with Gramsci's notion
of religion as a philosophical conception of political life
as mentioned earlier.
sinners and must believe in Christ in order to obtain the forgiveness of their sin and as "believers" must live righteously. Pastor Austin, under denominational authority, interprets this message and the Scriptures for his people and directs their Christian experience.  

The centrality of the Scriptures to this ideology stems from the notion that the Bible is "the Word of God," that is, it is God's revelation of Himself given to His people as a guide for faith and practice. The Church of God In Christ Official Manual and conversation with Pastor Austin support this observation. The Manual reads:

We believe that the . . . Scriptures in all matters of controversy between Christians must be accepted as the supreme court of appeal. . . . We believe in the full inspiration of the Word of God . . . that God is the Primary Author . . . [We] assert that no doctrine can be true, or essential, if it does not find a place in this word. 

Pastor Austin concurs with the Manual by citing the Bible as his primary authority and "guide" in leading the church:

---

24 Citing biblical authority, Mrs. Carol Anderson explains Pastor Austin's legitimacy as the undisputed leader of the church:

The Scriptures let us know: "How can you hear without a preacher, and how can he preach except he be sent." The preacher that we have, we know that he was sent from God. He speaks the word of God from the Bible. He prays and gets his message on how to deliver the message to the people. Interviewed by author, CYCLE, Cabrini-Green, Chicago, 22 March 1995.

It [the Bible] is really my road map. I use it as my guide; it determines principles, my fundamental beliefs. . . . When I first stated the pastoral ministry, the first series that I did was on the Bible, the infallible word of God, to let the congregation know what I would use as my guide, as a shepherd to guide them as sheep.  

The Manual goes on to explain "salvation," that all people are guilty of sin before God and that, if they repent and become Christians, God will forgive their sin and assist them to live righteously. Pastor Blake's "testimony" of how he was "born again" illustrates the experiential dimension of "salvation." He recalls that, when he was a boy, Elder Thomas, a teacher in the church, taught him:

We must believe in God and the One Whom He has sent, Jesus Christ, and we must know that we are sinners. We must ask God's forgiveness for our sin and believe in Christ, and God will save us.

He states that he believed this, asked for and received

26 Pastor Austin, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 20 March 1995. The denomination supervises the selection of the pastor for a local church and requires that he conduct the affairs of that group according to "The Constitution of the Church Of God In Christ" as set forth in the Official Manual, 1-39.

27 On this central point, the Manual specifically states:

Sin, then, can be defined as a volitional transgression against God and a lack of conformity to the will of God. . . . Man . . . must be restored to his state of holiness from which he has fallen by being born again. 56.

28 This is the substance of "The Articles of Faith" in the Church Of God In Christ Official Manual, 40-58, especially 41-47, 52-58.

29 Pastor Blake, interviewed by author, 2 June 1996.
"God's forgiveness," and was "saved" or "born again."

Although the people of St. Luke believe that God will supernaturally help them to live morally upright lives as Christians, they also believe that they are still inclined to sin. However, as Christians they must resist this tendency--an effort which becomes an all-consuming, lifelong struggle. Carol explains this resistance as "spiritual warfare:"

We [as Christians] will always be tempted. OK? Because the Scriptures say, "Every man is tempted by his own lust and enticed." But, whatever it is that a person used to do when they were out there [before becoming a Christian], they shouldn't do anymore.30

She goes on to state that God will help Christians to overcome temptation, but in order to benefit from His assistance they must yield to His influence and deny their inclination to sin.

In sum, the religion of St. Luke Church has as its dominant idea that all people are sinners and in need of God's forgiveness, which is available through Christ. Moreover, they hold that God will assist them as Christians to live righteously. In essence, it emphasizes the holiness of God, the sinfulness of humankind, the provision of Christ, and the authority of the Bible. This religious worldview influences the church's overall culture production, especially that relating to education, politics, and

State authority.

The Community’s Sense of Education

Education at St. Luke Church falls into two distinct categories. The first and most important, to which the group is totally committed, is sacred education. Secondarily and less important is secular education of which it is strongly supportive. Sacred education trains the congregation in the beliefs and practices of the faith, from the basics of prayer to the fine points of theology. Its objective is to totally indoctrinate each member from youth to adulthood producing what Leo calls "spiritual mindedness," that is, keeping "focused on the ideal that God has for you day in and day out." Leo goes on to describe this mentality in terms of a God-centered worldview:

... when I say spiritual minded, I mean thinking of the things that God has for us, thinking of the good things, the happiness ... that He gives to us on a daily basis. ... Whenever we are able to focus on those types of things, it kind of counter balances the bumps and the bruises that we face outside of the church. 31

In addition to the Sunday Worship Service, when everyone convenes for Pastor Austin’s message, the church employs four different ministries to educate its members. They include "Sunshine Band," for youngsters from 2 to 13, "Young People Willing Workers," for youth from 13 to 20, "Bible Institute," for adults usually over 20, and "Sunday

31Mr. Leo Dillard, interviewed by author, 15 May 1996.
School," for all ages.\textsuperscript{32}

The Bible is the focus of this program as Rev. Blake illustrates through his description of his Sunday School experience as a child:

Well, when I was a little boy, I went to Sunday School, and of course in Sunday School they taught us passages from the Bible, memory verses. . . . From the Gospels, from the Proverbs . . . many of the things we committed to memory . . . . Of course, Sunday School reinforced what you heard in the morning service from your pastor . . . .\textsuperscript{33}

In this way, the Scriptures are the subject of study in all of the four ministries.

Moreover, the scope of sacred education includes both formal and informal training. For example, Pastor Austin, himself a university graduate with a son in college, unequivocally endorses seminary education, but at the same time acknowledges:

Some would say that you have to be super-educated

\textsuperscript{32}There are additional supplemental teaching ministries like the Young Women's Christian Council which trains a small group of women in the Scriptures as Mrs. Carol Anderson describes:

Our teacher, sister Mary Landsfair, teaches us Bible lessons and tells us about how to be decent young women, and how to raise our children, and how to be good whatever we are. Interviewed by author, 22 March 1995.

\textsuperscript{33}Rev. Blake, interviewed by author, 15 March 1996. The Manual totally supports this comment in its reference to the Sunday School Department of the national organization:

There shall be a Sunday School Department for training and enlightening children and adults in scriptural understanding and the doctrines of the Church Of God In Christ. 22.
to teach another. But there are some who have come through the ranks of experience and through that experience they are able to apply the word of God and teach.\textsuperscript{34}

Similarly, Rev. Blake describes how as a boy he developed in the faith by observing the behavior of the leaders and their families, and he concludes, "That's one way that you learn the Bible."\textsuperscript{35}

The church's idea of education also includes a secular dimension which it rigorously supports both individually and collectively. Many of its members are professional teachers like Sandra, an instructor at Jenner Elementary School, or students like Shelly, who attends Harold Washington College, both of whom highly applaud the rewards of a formal education. The church as a body actively endorses secular education by encouraging its members to attend college and assisting them with the costs as Leo describes:

\begin{quote}
The church is 100\% behind education. I know that here at St. Luke we have a scholarship program, so for the high school students and the college students, you can apply for it. \ldots We have a lot of our high school students now who are getting ready to graduate. We are trying to motivate them [to attend college and] to say, "Hey, look, it doesn't end here."\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

As informants praise formal education, they consistently

\textsuperscript{34}Pastor Austin, interviewed by author, 20 March 1995.

\textsuperscript{35}Rev. Blake, interviewed by author, 15 March 1995.

\textsuperscript{36}Mr. Leo Dillard, interviewed by author, 15 May 1996.
mention "getting a better job" as its primary benefit. 37 Janet, for instance, describes winning a scholarship to the Art Institute of Chicago upon completing high school, but attending Harold Washington College instead:

I didn't go to the Art Institute; I did not see how you could get a job like a 9-to-5 in art. I went to Harold Washington and was thinking about becoming a medical illustrator. 38

In sum, the notion of education at St. Luke Church includes training in both sacred and secular areas; biblical indoctrination is the emphasis of the first, while vocational preparation is the focus of the second. This discussion reveals that the congregation brings a religious orientation to its views of education as it does to other areas of church culture, including politics.

The Community's Sense of Politics

The church has a limited understanding of politics, it does not view politics as groups exercising power to control limited resources, such as prestige, income, and

37 Although, like the people of St. Luke, the Manual highly endorses formal education, its does so with spiritual, rather than material priorities:

We encourage educational pursuits which lead to the fullest development mentally and academically of the individual and the family. We believe the end goal of all knowledge is to know and to better serve God, our Father, and this is accomplished only in the humane and respectful services rendered to our fellowman. 131.

wealth—that is, who gets what, when, and how. Rather, it considers politics to be narrowly confined to the activities of government and elected officials. The people do not understand that Black community disadvantage, a prominent item on their ministerial agenda, results from the politics of race and that, for example, when they assist individuals to become vocationally successful through higher education, they are involved in politics. Therefore, the following discussion of politics necessarily includes both a comprehensive view of the term, as defined by sociologists, and a narrow view of the term, as defined by the church. Given this, the assembly attempts to overcome underprivilege, which it views as having a variety of causes, by employing both individual and collective strategies.

The assembly’s perceptions of the causes of disadvantage vary from racism to laziness, from demonic persecution to irresponsible politicians. For instance, Kathy, a member of the church for four years, states:

. . . a lot of [white] people have the idea that Black people are not as capable as everyone else . . . . They may think that we are just not smart enough for certain positions, and a lot of times that holds us back from getting ahead. 39

On the other hand, Joan, the Office Manager and a church manager, states:

39Miss Kathy Eaton, interviewed by the author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 26 July 1995. Kathy goes on to explain that some Blacks "don't want to work for a White person" and "a lot of times, it [the cause of disadvantage] is laziness."
member for fourteen years, believes that the causes are spiritual, that is, "the world systems that are dictated by the enemy of our souls [Satan]." However, Denise attributes disadvantage to the inefficiency of public officials, "the aldermen and others don’t do their jobs." Although people differ regarding the cause of this problem, they agree that its solution requires both individual and collective strategies.

In terms of individual strategies, informants suggested applied as well as spiritual methods. Kathy, a pre-law student, argues that "Black people have to work harder in the business world to get ahead." Similarly, Leo, a recent graduate of DePauw University, believes:

... if we want to better ourselves and make a change for our community ... we have to jump on education and learn as much as possible ...

At the same time, some like Sandra believe that the best way to foster change in society is through prayer, given that it is the most biblical approach.

Of course, in pursuing community uplift, the church also employs collective strategies designed to maximize

---

40 Miss Joan Fanon, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 28 July 1995.

41 Miss Denise George, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 26 July 1995.

42 Mr. Leo Dillard, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 15 May 1996.

43 Miss Sandra Bailes, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 21 May 1996.
aggregate resources. For instance, it offers college scholarships for high school graduates and tutoring programs for grade school students. In terms of material needs, Mother Baily, on behalf of the church, provides groceries, clothing, financial assistance, and food stamps to disadvantaged people and at times takes the homeless into her own home.

However, although over a thousand people attend St. Luke's three worship services every Sunday, Pastor Austin forbids politicians to address the congregation. He encourages candidates to attend church, participate in the service, and request personal prayer, but he disallows politicking. To Pastor Austin, a campaign speech and such political behavior would violate the sanctity of the worship service. Further, although he exhorts his people to vote in each election, he does not endorse a particular candidate or party.\(^{44}\) When asked about the rational for

\(^{44}\)Pastor Austin's policy is remarkable: most African-American pastors enthusiastically encourage politicians to speak to their congregations, and, after studying the positions of the various candidates, they consistently advise their people how to vote. Several years ago I was in a large African-American Baptist church when the pastor gave Congressman Gus Savage about ten minutes to politic before the close of the service. Savage explained that each Sunday he visited two churches, speaking at one at the beginning of the service, slipping out, travelling across town, and speaking at another at the end of the service. This is strikingly different from Pastor Austin's "endorsement" of a politician as described by Joan:

He'll [Pastor Austin] hint toward the candidate of his choice that he has probably researched and consulted this person's whatever . . . . Miss Joan
this policy, Denise responded:

You don't want your church open to politicians. People be coming to hear the politicians instead to hear the Word [the preaching of the Bible emphasizing moral rectitude]. The pastor says that the politicians need to hear the Word too. That is why he doesn't have them speak. . . . The pastor will tell the congregation, "Well, you know that it is voting time, and you should be your judge and ask the Lord to be your guide." He encourages the congregation to vote. But he does not attempt to guide them in their choice of candidates. 45

Similarly, the people believe that Christianity is more important than—and independent of—politics and that prayer produces change more effectively than political activism. For instance, Joan candidly explains, "I am not very politically active . . . I don't think that you should be consumed by causes outside of the cause of Christ." 46

Further, to Joan, prayer "is probably the biggest influence we can have on politics today;" it is much more efficacious "than calling senators and getting active." Like the membership in general, she advocates solving political problems by petitioning God:

Fanon, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 28 July 1995.

45 Miss Denise George, interviewed by the author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 26 July 1995.

46 Miss Joan Fanon, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 28 July 1995. Grant T. Marx argues that people who are "more religious," as indicated by church attendance, are less likely to take an aggressive stand on political issues. "Religion: Opiate or Inspiration of Civil Rights Militancy Among Negroes?" American Sociological Review 32 no. 1 (1967): 64-72. This is notable because Joan has a remarkably high record of attendance during her entire 14-year membership at St. Luke Church.
... if you tap into heaven, God can move on the very hearts of those who are in leadership positions, those who are in positions of political influence. "The king's heart is in his hand."47 So, if you really believe that, you are going to pray.

In sum, the congregation views politics as limited to the activities of government. Politics is distinct from and subordinate to religious practice and relatively ineffective in uplifting the community. This explains the church's greater confidence in individual effort, such as hard work, and collective strategies, like alms giving, than in political activism.

The Community's Sense of State Authority48

The church believes in strict obedience to State authority based on its understanding of the Bible. However, the expression of this obedience becomes controversial when the group views certain laws as patently unbiblical. Although all are committed to non-violence, their perspectives nonetheless differ in regards to what constitutes proper Christian behavior. Some believe in active non-violence, that is, aggressively but non-violently confront-

47 This is a verse from Proverbs 16 that Joan quotes from memory.

48 The term "authority" in this context refers to legitimate power, that is, power that people accept as right. By contrast, illegitimate power is coercion, and people do not hold it as just. This position is based on the writings of Weber, "Science and Politics" in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, ed. C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 75-128.
ing the policy in question, while others insist that prayer is the only true biblical response.

The Official Manual supports the first perspective, citing biblical authority for obedience to the State and then discussing peaceful opposition to the violation of "human rights:"

We believe that Governments are God-given institutions for the benefit of mankind. We admonish and exhort our members to honor magistrates and civil authorities and to respect and obey civil laws . . . .

The Church believes in, supports and encourages continued peaceful Christian persuasion in behalf of establishing in our creator's kingdom here on earth equality of rights, opportunity and justice for all mankind.

Minister Jacobs concurs with this position, using Scripture to argue that "violence . . . would be out of character for a Christian," and then explaining:

There comes a time when we need to make a stand that is not necessarily turn-the-other-cheek . . . . and still not stoop to the point of becoming violent in the sense of using guns and so on.

---

49 Official Manual, 1. The discussion goes on to read:

We hereby declare our loyalty to the President to the United States of America and to the Constitution of the United States of America. We pledge allegiance and fidelity to the flag, and to the Republic for which it stands.


Sandra differs with Minister Jacobs stating that, although she is categorically opposed to violence, she would not actively oppose an ungodly law, but "would protest in the spiritual realm on [her] knees." Emphatically patting her knees and emphasizing the position of prayer, she argues further that "the non-confrontational approach is biblical."

Remarkably, the Manual observes that criminal behavior might, indeed, have structural, rather than individual causes; however, it holds the church, not the State, responsible for correcting such situations:

While we do not believe a person who has committed a criminal act should be excused from his personal responsibility to society, we recognize that crime usually is an aftermath of . . . corrupt social conditions. Therefore, we feel that the Church has a special responsibility to promote programs designed to improve . . . social environments, thereby reducing crime, and offenders can be rehabilitated and saved by the power of Christ.

In conclusion, St. Luke Church single-mindedly believes in absolute obedience to State authority as dictated by its reading of the Scriptures. Yet the expression of this obedience is a point of debate when it comes to policies contradicting the faith. Some members argue that non-violent opposition is the Christ-like response, while others prefer to resolve such tensions through prayer.

---

52 Miss Sandra Bailey, interviewed by author, Tape recording, St. Luke Church, Chicago, 21 May 1996.

The Application of Gramscian Theory

St. Luke Church produces hegemonic ideas regarding religion, education, politics, and State authority and thereby fosters mass consent to exploitation according to Gramscian thought. Pursuant to religion, the church serves hegemonic functions in terms of its central message and systems of governance. Its idea of salvation from sin, according to Gramsci, lacks universality and focuses on individual morality to the detriment of a concern for large-scale social and political contradictions.\(^\text{54}\) Moreover, a sense of being "saved" is a myth that erroneously leads the congregation to believe that its faith protects it from violation by the vicissitudes of daily life. Thus, the group's religion mystifies reality and indirectly serves the dominant class by insuring that the subalterns believe that they are protected from exploitation and the conditions of material disadvantage by spiritual means.

The church's polity also supports the ruling culture when assessed from a Gramscian perspective. Pastor Austin, \(^\text{54}\) Robert Bocock, like Gramsci, relates this idea to the teachings of the Catholic Church:

as the God-ordained leader, supervises his peoples' idea production, determining with unopposed authority what is theologically, socially, and politically acceptable.\textsuperscript{55}

This stifles their capacity for critical thinking, destroying their freedom to develop counter-hegemonic ideas and hence fostering their cooperation with the political status quo.

In terms of encouraging education, St. Luke Church also reproduces the dominant worldview when examined from a Gramscian standpoint. Through its program of sacred education, the church attempts to indoctrinate its members to produce what Gramsci terms "total praxis," an ideology penetrating all aspects of each member's daily life. Because of the otherworldliness of this indoctrination, it, according to Gramsci, dulls a person's sensibilities to the human world and the political relations that stabilize dominant hegemony. It teaches that a God-centered worldview is preferable to one emphasizing sociopolitical realities and renders individuals indifferent to social injustice and thereby fosters cooperation with the existing political order.

\textsuperscript{55}Kiros comments on the role of the intellectual in defining religious doctrine according to Gramsci:

Religion . . . can obtain coherence and unity only through authoritarian means. In spite of what the community of believers wish and think, a particular religion--supposedly the "true" one--would be imposed on them through a Pope, or King, etc. 86.
The congregation also believes that everyone should get all the secular education possible in order to become vocationally successful. However, this mentality perpetuates the ruling order and stratification based on educational privilege. Gramsci's study of the Italian school system, which channeled the children of the wealthy into "classical schools" and the children of the poor into "vocational schools," supports this observation. He noted that the first group was educated to become "mental workers" while the second was trained to become "nervous-muscular workers." So, the children of the wealthy gained status and advantage in the ruling class system, while the children of the poor became dominated laborers.\textsuperscript{56} Thus, viewed from a Gramscian perspective, the church's position on secular education stabilizes the dominant order and teaches its people to view it as legitimate.

From the viewpoint of Gramscian theory, the church reproduces ruling class ideology and working class consent to existing political arrangements. By failing to appreciate the political basis of social disadvantage, the church reveals having internalized hegemonic ideology. Thus, according to Gramscian theory, it is unaware that the ruling class creates conditions of deprivation through its control of the State and culture that marginalize Blacks as

\textsuperscript{56}For a detailed discussion of these observations, see Gramsci, \textit{Selections from The Prison Notebooks}, 26.
an exploited class of people. This ignorance helps to conceal the politics of subjugation and creates a climate in which the status quo seems natural and reasonable. Further, when the church attempts to uplift the community through hard work and almsgiving, it wastes valuable resources that otherwise might be applied to contesting hegemonic ideas. This again contributes to ruling class stability, permanence, and hence legitimacy.

Still in terms of politics, when the pastor bars candidates from addressing the congregation and encourages his people to vote it every election, he preserves the dominant order. According to Gramsci, if marginalized people are politically ignorant, however extensive their voter participation, they will always be ineffectual in challenging the dominant system. The people need an organic intellectual who will instruct them in the politics of exploitation and the importance of class conscious voting. As it stands, the church creates the misconception that religion and politics are separate entities and that spiritual activities alone, such as prayer, are more effectual than political activism in solving community problems. These ideas are hegemonic.

Finally, concerning State authority, St. Luke Church, as a hegemonic institution, pledges strict obedience to the government as taught by the Bible. Its only question regarding submission deals with how to expression non-
violent opposition to unbiblical laws. This is significant because Gramscian theory views the State as a medium of hegemony, which creates a political climate favoring the needs of production and hence the interests of the ruling class. The State is the sole institution authorized to use violence to preserve the domination and legitimacy of the ruling class. Therefore, when the church teaches that the State is God-ordained and that disobedience to it is sin, it stabilizes the existing order, fostering respect for its authority and support for its right to rule.

It is significant that the assembly recognizes that criminal behavior might have structural, rather than individual causes. But nonetheless holds the church, not the State, accountable to solve such problems. According to Gramscian thought, the church in this instance has so thoroughly internalized hegemonic ideas that it refuses to hold the State responsible for structural problems that its own policies generate. In this way, it sustains the State and secures it legitimacy. In sum, St. Luke Church reproduces ruling class ideas and hence contributes to mass cooperation with exploitation.

The Ideology of the Chicago Fellowship of Friends

The Chicago Fellowship of Friends, like St. Luke Church, is an institution that reproduces dominant ideology pursuant to religion, education, politics, and State au-
authority. It is also similar to St. Luke Church in that it engenders conformity to and cooperation with the dominant order. To support this position, the study will first consider the group's ministerial development and history of its ideology in relation to the argument presented above. It will then consider the Fellowship's social order and its ideas of religion, education, politics, and State authority. Finally, the section will discuss the church as serving ruling class interests and fostering mass cooperation with the status quo according to Gramscian analysis.

The History of Chicago Fellowship of Friends

The history of Chicago Fellowship of Friends began with the development of the Religious Society of Friends in England in the 1600s under the leadership of George Fox.\footnote{The Rowntree Series is the most comprehensive of modern Quaker histories and includes The Beginnings of Quakerism (London: Macmillan and Company, 1912) and The Second Period of Quakerism (London: Macmillan and Company, 1919) by William C. Braithwaite and The Later Periods of Quakerism (London: Macmillan and Company, 1919) by Rufus M. Jones. Supplemental historical biographies include Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1949) by Isabel Ross, which details the life of the most influential Quaker woman of the seventeenth century, and Joseph John Gurney (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1936) by David E. Swift, a work devoted to the most influential Quaker of the nineteenth century.}

Between 1650 and 1690, a period of phenomenal expansion, the movement, which was popularly called "Quakerism,"\footnote{According to D. Elton Trueblood, the popular term "Quaker" originated in 1650 and was applied to members of the movement who trembled of "quaked" at the word of the Lord. Those People Called Quakers (Richmond, Indiana: Friends}
spread rapidly throughout the world. This growth was owing to the zeal and commitment of such missionaries as Mary Fisher and Ann Austin who travelled to Barbados 1655 and to Boston a year later, marking the genesis of Quakerism in America.\textsuperscript{59}

The Quakers preached conservative Protestantism, emphasizing what Fox called "the Light within," a spiritual gift divinely bestowed upon all humankind making possible a personal experience with God. Belief in this doctrine put Quakers decidedly at odds with their contemporaries because of its theological and social implications.

The Quakers were accused of violating one of the fundamental principles of Calvinism.\textsuperscript{60} Further, they were charged with breaching the constituent social norms of social order. Because of their commitment to "the Light within," they treated officials as peers rather than dignitaries, recognized women as equals rather than the subordinates of men, and opposed slavery on humanitarian grounds. Thus, historically, Quakers come from a non-conformist ideological tradition emphasizing social equality and

---

\textsuperscript{59}For a historical survey of the development of the movement, see Faith and Practice of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends Church (Plainfield, Indiana, 1986), 40-52.

\textsuperscript{60}The theological issues surrounding this controversy are far too complex to examine in this context. For a through treatment of this subject, see Trueblood's "The Heart of the Quaker Faith," in The People Called Quakers, 63-84.
benevolence--values typifying the Chicago assembly.

The Fellowship of Friends was founded in Cabrini-Green in 1976 by Steve and Marlene Pedigo, a white Quaker couple dedicated to Christianizing the neighborhood youth.⁶¹ When they came, the community had been completely African-American for over fifteen years, and St. Philip Benizi Church, formerly the religious center of Little Italy, had been destroyed almost ten years earlier. The youngsters among whom the Pedigos ministered were the children and grandchildren of Black southern migrants who had come to Chicago during the era of the Great Depression, seeking work and fleeing Jim Crow. Upon arriving in Cabrini, Steve and Marlene discovered that, because of the suburbanization of the 1950s, when white residents and urban businesses abandoned the city for the suburbs, the community became solidly African-American. Unemployment was higher than the city norm and crime and poverty were largely unchecked.⁶²

---


⁶² In 1974, two years before the Pedigo's arrival, the Chicago Defender reported the killing of 20-year-old Bessie Anderson, who was struck in the head by "a single stray bullet" and went on to state:

Police say it is not unusual for a Cabrini-Green killing to take place in broad daylight and be witnessed by dozens of people. Quoted by Marciniak,
Moreover, in 1976, the couple entered a community rich in African-American political history and ideological developments. Residents easily remembered the assassination of Fred Hampton in 1971 and the socialist doctrines and community services that he inspired as chairman of the local Black Panthers. A year after Steve and Marlene's arrival, Louis Farrakhan assumed leadership of the Nation Of Islam, preaching the ideas of Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X, his mentor, and popularizing Black self-help through his newspaper, The Final Call. Within this ideological context, the Pedigos introduced the "whole message of Quakerism," declaring:

The poor need to hear that Christ loves them regardless of their material possessions, and that simplicity of lifestyle frees them to follow Christ more completely. Victims of prejudice need to hear that the seed of God dwells in all, waiting to grow in the light of Christ Jesus and bring them into the true church . . . which sees beyond human divisions. The oppressed need to know that they, too, have gifts of ministry which should be developed so that they can confront the oppressor and their injustice. Those caught in substance abuse need to hear the message that the indwelling power of Christ can free them from the pain and insanity they have experienced.63

In 1984, Steve and Marlene renovated the building that now houses the Fellowship of Friends, a ministry which they developed from a youth work into a full-blown church. The group's activities include a Sunday morning worship

Reclaiming the Inner City, 62.

63Marlene Pedigo, New Church, 80.
service, a Wednesday night Bible study, a men's breakfast, and a host of programs designed to help young people become socially, academically, and spiritually responsible adults. The following description of the basketball ministry represents the church's investment in neighborhood youth:

In an effort to reach out to teenage young men who are at risk to join gangs, the Fellowship of Friends has established a basketball program for twenty young men from various parts of the Cabrini-Green community.  

In conclusion, this survey examines the Fellowship's history and ideology placing it in the context of early Quakerism and modern African-American ideological development. It reviews how the ministry began as a youth work in 1974 under the direction of the Pedigos and continues today as a small, but vibrant church with thirty attending its Sunday worship service, its primary meeting. In light of this history, the assembly identifies itself as unapologetically Christian and unashamedly dedicated "to bring[ing forth] faith, hope and love as alternatives to despair."  

The Social Order of the Chicago Fellowship of Friends

The social structure of the church, that is, the pattern of interdependent relations within the group, is by nature egalitarian. That is, the assembly observes certain

---


norms of interaction which respect the rights and perspectives of all its members equally and which exert a remarkably cohesive force within the group. This approach to community is founded upon the ideological traditions of Quakerism and is expressed in the group's interpersonal relationships.

The Ideological Traditions of Quakerism

The Fellowship's egalitarianism is an unquestionable expression of its belief in the doctrine of "the Light within:" namely, that God has placed in all individuals a spiritual element which is essential to their relationship with Him and which is to be revered and never deprecated. Faith and Practice, the denominational manual, clarifies this very subtle, but influential teaching, emphasizing its influence on the Quaker worldview:

... there is in the human soul a Light ... which is of divine origin ... It is this divine quality that enables a person to develop that awareness of moral distinctions and obligations known as conscience, and inspires him/her to live, struggle, and suffer for the achievement of what ought to be.66

Accordingly, "the Light," that is, God's self-expression in

66Faith and Practice, 55. The discussion goes on to quote Fox (London Yearly Meeting, 1920) stating:

It is "that something we cannot call less than divine and universal, for it links us with the eternal realities, and with our fellow men ... [it] makes us essentially men [and women], made in the divine image, and having within us bondless possibilities of life in God."
humankind, is the ground for valuing the ideas and rights of all people equally: to disrespect an individual is to disrespect God. Based on this teaching, the relations within the church are inescapably egalitarian—the sanctity of each person as a Light bearer demands it.67

The Relational Expression of Egalitarianism

The Fellowship expresses its egalitarianism in five specific areas, including race, gender, worship, pastoral authority, and group decision-making. Respecting race, Faith and Practice is unambiguously committed to equality based on the doctrine of "the Light:"

The views of Friends on justice in interracial relations are based on the belief that the personality of every individual should be given scope and encouragement for right exercise and development. Their conception of a Light Within as an endowment of persons makes it impossible for Friends to draw lines of distinction in capacity or privilege between different races . . . .68

67 In support of this idea, Faith and Practice expresses its objection to capital punishment because it "disregards" the "sacredness of human personality." 77. Moreover, in reviewing the denomination’s history, the manual goes on to read:

The choice by early Friends of the term Society [as in the "Society of Friends"] as a name for the group gives a clear indication of their attitude toward organization. The word meant to them a fellowship, a vitally spiritual body held together by spiritual forces freshly operating through each individual . . . . [It] was and is to be a democratic fellowship in which there is but one Master and no intermediary affecting any individual’s relationship to God. 94.

68 Faith and Practice, 77-78.
The congregation, which is 20 per cent white and 80 per cent African-American, reflects this notion of parity, esteeming each member equally regardless of race. For instance, Jesse, a 17-year-old Black youth, who has been attending the church all his life, views the congregation as a family unaffected by ethnic diversity:

. . . everybody cares for one another. You may have a couple of arguments or whatever, but that is the family. That is what family does. They argue back and forth. That is the way that people pull together. 69

Similarly, Steve, the pastor, after hosting a breakfast for several Black parishioners, explained:

I have done all in my power to overcome the fact that I am white and that the races are so polarized. They [Blacks in the church] understand now that I am for real, and I understand that they are for real. I just want to bring them to Christ and to a better quality of life.70

In sum, the church's theological commitment to racial harmony expresses itself in mutual respect despite ethnic differences and contributes significantly to community solidarity.

In terms of gender, the Fellowship is also non-discriminatory, based on the "the Light."71 This policy be-

---

69 Mr Jesse Adams, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 20 July 1996.

70 Field observation, by author, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 18 May 1996.

71 Regarding gender discrimination, *Faith and Practice* states:

Friends recognize no distinction in the rights,
comes most evident when considering the group’s leaders:
Steve and Marlene serve as equal co-pastors, a relationship which Sarah, a frequent attender, describes as evenly balanced:

Marlene is a pastor [with Steve], and together they make a full-time salary. There is one paid position as a pastor, but the two of them split the duties equally. 72

Thus, the group’s choice of pastors and the nature of their roles demonstrate its view of gender equality.

The church is egalitarian in its worship style. For instance, during each service, the pastor introduces a time of "open worship," which begins with quiet meditation and concludes with public prayers and such. At first, the participants silently commune with God, and then speak individually according to His leading. For instance, in a recent session, after a few minutes of silence, a woman publicly informed three teenagers of their potential, exhorting them to live Christian lives and "stay away from drugs." Taking this as a message from God, several people gathered around the three and prayed for their safety,

privileges, or responsibilities of members because of gender. 94.

72Mrs. Sarah Bills, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Chicago School of the Arts, Chicago, 23 July 1996. The denominational manual observes that "far in advance of his time, George Fox advised that schools be provided for 'girls and young maidens,' as well as boys . . . . Faith and Practice, 74.
spiritual growth, and general welfare.\textsuperscript{73} Such worship demonstrates the group's social balance. They believe that they all communicate with God individually,\textsuperscript{74} with each person accurately discerning His message which is accepted unanimously. This fosters a spirit of equity before God and within the assembly and engenders group solidarity.

In terms of pastoral authority, the church is also egalitarian. It believes that, although its clergy are special servants, they should exercise no more influence in group decision-making than the laity. As before, this position is based on the idea that the possession of "the Light" makes everyone equal, as \textit{Faith and Practice} explains:

\begin{quote}
All have equal rights and privileges in the consideration of the affairs of the body and in reaching conclusions as to courses of action. . . . No appointments made for a particular service confer upon the appointed person or group any degree of superior or final authority.\textsuperscript{75}
\end{quote}

Accordingly, Steve clarifies his role as pastor explaining

\textsuperscript{73}Field observation by author, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 2 June 1996.

\textsuperscript{74}In explaining the basis for an individual relationship with God based on "the Light," \textit{Faith and Practice} states:

Friends give special emphasis to the vital principle that one's salvation and higher life are personal matters between the individual soul and God. . . . A life led by the Holy Spirit is . . . based upon belief in a direct, personal approach to God. 54-55.

\textsuperscript{75}\textit{Faith and Practice}, 94. Moreover, the manual also reads, "Pastors are considered co-workers with the members of the Meeting [church]." 105.
that he "bring[s] issues to the group, but [does not] make any decisions for the group," an arrangement which he refers to as a "shared leadership style." In sum, respecting pastoral authority, the congregation practices a form of theologically-motivated social parity.

Finally, in terms of group decision-making, the church respects all its constituents equally. Its people believe that God is ultimately Sovereign and that He communicates His mind to them through the Bible and His Holy Spirit. They govern their affairs in obedience to His will which they determine through prayer and discussion at a monthly meeting. Because of their emphasis on parity, they value all proposals and opinions equally and refuse to settle issues by voting, which is unacceptable because it compromises a minority voice. When the group cannot reach consensus, it prays about the matter, trusting that through this process God will reveal His will to them supernatural-

---

76 Pastor Steve Pedigo, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Pedigo home, Austin, Chicago, 22 July 1996. Significantly, everyone in the church addresses Steve by his first name, never using titles of deference like "Pastor" or "Reverend Pedigo." Additionally, the men of the church and even the teenage boys openly and good-naturedly tease Steve about being such a "lousy basketball player, and so on," treating him as an equal and never a superior.

77 In support of this position, the denominational manual reads:

The Holy Scriptures were given by inspiration of God . . . to regulate their [the Christian's] lives and actions. In them, as interpreted . . . by the Holy Spirit, is a . . . source of spiritual truth for the proper guidance of life and practice. 9.
ly. Then they rediscuss the item, if unanimity is still impossible, they put the issue aside until they can repeat the process later. Even then, if they are not of a single mind, they table the issue.

Steve clarifies the theological dynamics and social rewards of this approach, stating:

Friends don’t believe in voting because . . . . God can speak to the smaller number of people . . . . So that is why we sit and we wait and try to find out all opinions and thoughts about the matter, and we don’t move forward unless we are all in agreement. So you can get stuck on it, but the nice thing is that there is unity. There is consensus. 78

This method of decision-making contributes remarkably to group solidarity, as Sarah observes:

I think that the sheer amount of time that it takes and the level of rapport that you have to have with other people to reach those decisions and really understand each other well enough so that you can come to consensus brings them very close together. I think that it makes the group more cohesive. 79

In conclusion, the ministry expresses its egalitarian

78 Pastor Steve Pedigo, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Pedigo home, Austin, Chicago, 22 July 1996.

79 Mrs Sarah Bills, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Chicago School of the Arts, Chicago, 23 July 1996. Similarly, Mrs Carol Carson, a 40-year old Afro-American who has been attending the church for eleven years, prefers the Quaker approach to decision-making to that of most Black churches in which the pastor exercises absolute authority:

Well, I don’t think that the pastor dictating everything is healthy. It is not healthy because he is imposing his ideas on the congregation and not letting them be able to share the decision-making or the burden or whatever. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, Carol’s home, Cabrini-Green, Chicago, 26 July 1996.
social structure in five distinct areas, including race, gender, worship, pastoral authority, and group decision-making. Its style of interaction, which consistently engenders cohesion, is based on a foundational point of Quaker theology: "the Light within" each member must never be abused or stifled; on the contrary, it must be venerated and given free expression. This survey of the Fellowship's history and social order serves as background for an examination of its role in reproducing ideology.

The Culture of Fellowship of Friends

The Community's Sense of Religion

The people base their religion on the idea that God reveals Himself and His will to them, as His people, through the Scriptures and personal experience. They hold that they enter into relationship with Him by believing the gospel: that all humankind are sinners who must obtain divine pardon by accepting Christ as Savior. Two salient points are critical to this idea of religion: the centrality of God and the message to the gospel.

Pursuant to the centrality of God, the parishioners uniformly agree with Faith and Practice which reads:

We believe in one holy, almighty, all wise, and everlasting God, the Father, the Creator and Preserver of all things . . . .

Of course, their awareness of God is generally more experi-

80Faith and Practice, 14. The statement contains ten supporting biblical references.
encially than doctrinally oriented, for example, James, a 16-year-old work-crew volunteer, views God as his ever-listening, all-knowing Caretaker Who directs his life:

I prayed to God because I didn’t really feel like I had a direction [in my life]. . . . Then within a week I had an answer. I had what I felt was a direction: that God wanted me to come back and work with the Spanish youth in Mexico and get a church going there. 81

Not only is the group in theological accord, but it also shares a common perception of the Christian message.

It views the gospel as its foundation for relationship with God, motivation for community programs, and ground for righteous living. For instance, concerning the gospel and relationship with God, Jesse describes the Lord as his father and then recalls the beginning of this bond:

. . . . I went to this Promise Keepers thing and everything sort of changed. I went up there, you know, and listened to what they were saying [gospel preaching]. . . . and I started to thinking that maybe this is true. And then I guess God just spoke to me while I was at the meeting, and right then and there I became a Christian. That was about a month ago. 82

---

81 Mr. James Dawson, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 11 July 1996.

82 Mr. Jesse Adams, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 20 July 1996. The interviewees consistently emphasize entering into a relationship with God through the gospel as illustrated by Mr. George Fight’s story:

Before I became a Christian, I was raised in a Christian home. It was at the point of a youth retreat, that the church that I grew up in sponsored, that I really heard the gospel in a way that made sense and I realized that I needed it.
Relative to the gospel driving the group's community programs, the Fellowship sponsors such activities as "Narcotics Anonymous."

In order to first build rapport and then present the claims of Christ, Anna explains:

It is only through building relationships that you can get a person's trust in you, so that you can share with them the gospel. . . . That is the way that this church was kind of developed, and how it does its ministry.

The church believes that the gospel is the ground for righteous living. Once a person accepts "the message of salvation," he or she must be exhorted to "live the Christian life." Thus, Steve constantly challenges his people to "quit sinning and be like Jesus;" for example, in a

When asked what did he mean by "I needed it," he responded:

I was in junior high school at the time and there was a lot of upheaval in my life, a lot common to what a teenager experiences. There was a lot of insecurity as well that was addressed by my coming into a relationship with Christ. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, Damen Hall, Loyola University, Chicago, 24 July 1996.

"The Chicago Fellowship of Friends" in-house flyer for 1993 - 1994 states that "Narcotics Anonymous" provides support for those who seek recovery from addiction. . . . [and] serves as a valuable outreach to the Cabrini-Green community."

Miss Anna Erickson, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 11 July and 1 August 1, 1996. Similarly, a flyer reporting church-sponsored activities for 1993 - 1994 highlights the Day Camp and explains:

Participants enjoyed swimming, 4-H projects, recreation, devotions, and outings. Activities were planned around the theme of God's creation.
recent sermon, he forcefully confronted the group:

I'm going to put a hurt on you. It is wrong to beat Public Aid, to put wrong figures on forms. It is wrong to beat the IRS at tax time. The important thing is your integrity before Jesus.85

In sum, the Fellowship perceives the gospel as fundamental to its relationship with God, essential to its community programs, and central to its Christian morality. Given these ideas, the gospel together with the church's sense of God's preeminence constitute its quintessential notion of religion.

The Community's Sense of Education

Education at Fellowship of Friends has two constituent parts: Christian education, focusing on Quakerism, and non-christian education, emphasizing the development of survival skills through formal schooling.86 The church sponsors these ministries employing a philosophy of empowerment, that is, it resolves to teach its people to apply their own resources in advancing their own individual and community interests.

Christian education is fostered by programs of indoctrination that include Sunday Worship, Sunday School, and

85Field observation by author, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 19 May 1996.

86Faith and Practice teaches that both areas are essential and complimentary, for Christian education is "a special phase in the development of all human faculties" (69) and non-christian education is "an aid to spiritual development and effective Christian service." 74.
Children's Church, the most well-attended meetings, and Men's Bible Class and Membership Class, small focus groups. George, the director of music and church member of nine years, explains the philosophy of Christian education and its theological emphasis:

I think that [Christian education] is an extremely important element in the church because of the need to help people put down roots more in the Scripture . . . . That is also the place where people will have the opportunity to understand who we are as a denomination as well.87

All the instruction presents biblical thought through application. As Sarah observed regarding Sunday School:

They tend to take the [Bible] verses apart and attempt to determine what God is trying to say . . . . They usually have questions that focus on . . . things like when have you ever been in a situation like this, or what does this make you think about in your personal life . . . ?88

In essence, the programs integrate biblical doctrine with the vicissitudes of daily life to produce a Quaker worldview. At the same time, the Fellowship balances this ministry with ideologically pragmatic school-related programs.

In terms of secular education, the church, while encouraging its people to attend college, makes its greatest investment in its public school students. This priority is owing to the large number of grammar and high school

87 Mr. George Fight, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Damen Hall, Loyola University, Chicago, 24 July 1996.

88 Mrs. Sarah Bills, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Chicago School of the Arts, Chicago, 23 July 1996.
youth and the socioeconomic disadvantage of most of its members who lack the finances and scholastic background requisite to higher education. For instance, Steve rehearses some of the challenges relating to poor reading skills:

We find that the young kids are behind in terms of their reading and education. Even some of the adults, some people have expressed their reluctance to be a part of what we do because, when we meet for Sunday School, we meet over books. . . . That makes some people feel uncomfortable because they are not good readers.89

He endorses higher education but emphasizes the indispensability of pre-college schooling:

You need at least enough education to read a lease and to sign one and to get a job. This kind of thing. That's a real important part of life.

Likewise, considerations of underprivilege lead Carol to believe that a person should obtain an education so as "to get a job, to be able to hold your head above water;"90 it also motivates the Fellowship to sponsor such tutorials as "Hooked On Phonics" as part of its "Youth Delinquency Prevention Program."91 In sum, with regard to secular education, the church assists people to at least complete high school and thereby gain the basic skills

89 Pastor Steve Pedigo, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Pedigo home, Austin, Chicago, 22 July 1996.

90 Mrs. Carol Carson, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Carson home, Cabrini-Green, Chicago, 26 July 1996.

essential to surviving the disadvantages of Cabrini.

Finally, the assembly employs a philosophy of empowerment in operating its education programs, that is, it equips people to uplift themselves and their own community. For instance, in its 1992-1993 information flyer, under the title of "Empower," the Fellowship describes its "Day Camp" stating:

. . . The Chicago Fellowship of Friends sponsors a day camp for grammar school aged children as an alternative to the violence and crime of the streets. High School youth are empowered to serve as leaders to the young children. 92

Keith, a 16-year-old "camp counselor" describes how he invests in young campers—as Steve invested in him earlier:

I take them on little trips, and I think that it is good for them. They need to see more than just the projects of Cabrini Green. They need to see different worlds . . . not all of the negative stuff that happens out here . . . They need something good to happen in their life—if it is just once. 93

Similarly, Jesse, who graduated from high school in May, 1996, and plans to attend college, recalls that when he "was getting suspended and kicked out, arrested and all the rest of that stuff," Steve "talked to [him], [and] helped


93 Mr. Keith George, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 13 July 1994. Mrs. Grace Hall, an African-American parishioner of seven years who grew up in Cabrini, is a Day Camp supervisor who views her job as an opportunity to invest in the future of Cabrini youth. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 20 July 1994.
to straighten [him] out."^{94}

In sum, the church views education as dual-faceted, having a sacred dimension that emphasizes Quakerism, and a secular dimension, focusing on elementary and secondary schooling. Its ideology in both areas is indubitably pragmatic: the scriptural instruction is applicational and the school-related programs are utilitarian. These are, in fact, expressions of its philosophy of empowerment emphasizing both individual and community self-help.

The Community's Sense of Politics

The church is politically active: it both sponsors community programs and encourages participation in electoral politics to combat white racism, the primary cause, in its view, of Black disadvantage. The majority of parishioners believe that Eurocentric politics is both endemic to America and offensive to Quakerism, as Steve explains:

"It [racism] is the sin in America. I used to say, "Well, you've got to get that together here because in heaven there are all kinds of people," but I changed that to say, "you aren't getting into heaven unless you get that together right here." . . . The problem is they are worshipping an idol, and the idol is race."^{95}

Although most interviewees agree with Steve—including

---

^{94} Mr. Jesse Adams, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 20 July 1996.

^{95} Pastor Steve Pedigo, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Pedigo home, Austin, Chicago, 22 July 1996. Faith and Practice is patently opposed to racial discrimination. 77-78.
Jesse, a Black teenager who has been "harassed" by "racist police," and Sarah, a white professional who views racism as an American institution--some perceive the issue differently. For instance, George believes that the principal cause of Black underprivileged is not racism, but ungodliness:

> [disadvantage] is one of the results of living in a sinful and broken world . . . . that may sound like I am over simplifying, but I really believe that that is at the root of those disadvantages . . . .

Concerning a response to this problem, George states that the church "needs to be careful" not to become too involved with politics; rather, it must "speak the truth of the gospel to the community," for the gospel is its "primary focus." According to George, "the church must be balanced." However, in the main, the assembly views African-American disadvantage as the product of racism, a problem it addresses through community uplift projects.

The "Leadership Development Program," which is designed to produce indigenous leaders for community service, is an example of the church's opposition to racist domination. To accomplish the objective of strengthening the

---

96 Interview with Jesse July 20, 1996, Fellowship of Friends.

97 Mrs. Sarah Bills, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Chicago School of the Arts, Chicago, 23 July 1996.

98 Mr. George Fight, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Damen Hall, Loyola University, Chicago, 24 July 1996.
community, the program emphasizes individual training and self-replication:

Weekly adult classes train leaders in self-awareness, listen skills, and spiritual growth. Periodic seminars are offered in teacher's training.99

Moreover, several years ago, Steve organized the "Near North Minister’s Alliance," a group of six pastors who strive to help Cabrini residents overcome the politics of race.100 Gail, a 12-year member of the church and former Cabrini tenant, describes how the Alliance ameliorated the housing situation which racist management had made intolerable:

They got permission from CHA to help clean up and to paint and to fix some of the apartments up, so that people could move in. . . . The project went on for about a month. People were able to move in that could not have moved in before.101

Finally, the Alliance and community programs are expressions of Quaker policy, directing its pastors to strive for community well-being through political activism:

In the development of a sense of responsibility on the part of the Meeting [church] toward the community, pastors should maintain an interest in public affairs and should cooperate with other churches and associations in fostering the welfare of the


100The churches include Holy Family Church, La Salle Street Church, Fourth Presbyterian Church, St. Luke Church of God in Christ, St. Joseph Catholic Church, and Fellowship of Friends which serves as the organizing body.

101Mrs. Gail Innings, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 6 August 1996.
However, the church's involvement in politics does not only include community service, it supports the electoral process as well.

The Fellowship encourages voter turnout and exposes its members to public servants, believing that politics strongly influence community affairs. In this connection, Steve explains that the assembly is politically involved, prompting its people to cast their ballots faithfully and to become acquainted with public officials:

In our small way, we should be trying to get people out to vote. I have had the alderman come and visit us, so that they could meet him. . . . We had the mayor come and do our opening dedication. ¹⁰³

Moreover, stressing the importance of collective voting, Carol believes that the church should back specific candi-

¹⁰² Faith and Practice, 106.

¹⁰³ Pastor Steve Pedigo, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Pedigo home, Austin, Chicago, 22 July 1996. Similarly, Mrs. Gail Innings believes that the church should be a political advocate for Cabrini residents because of the bleakness of their situation:

A lot of people [in Cabrini] feel like . . . everybody is always letting them down. . . . I believe that the church has to step in when it comes to Cabrini because they have no other say so. It is like the people have honestly given up. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 6 August 1996.
dates whose platforms favor community interests.\textsuperscript{104} On the other hand, George argues that the Fellowship should, indeed, register and educate voters, but that it should not "take a particular political stance."\textsuperscript{105} However, in spite of such individual differences, the church consistently believes that it must encourage its people to vote in each election.

Furthermore, in order to expose its members to politicians, the Fellowship invites them to meetings, encouraging them to present themselves as public servants without formally politicking. Marlene, a co-pastor, describes such visits:

Alderman Bernett has come to the Sunday service at times and has been acknowledged by the pastor. During the time of open prayer, he has prayed and later asked for the church's support and prayers that he will do a good job in his office. . . . The whole thing tends to be more personal than political in that he does not discuss specific issues like minimum wage or welfare.\textsuperscript{106}

In sum, to survive discrimination, the church supports community programs and encourages participation in electoral politics. Its programs champion self-help and community organizing to maximize the individual and collective

\textsuperscript{104}Mrs. Carol Carson, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Carson home, Cabrini-Green, Chicago, 26 July 1996.

\textsuperscript{105}Mr. George Fight, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Damen Hall, Loyola University, Chicago, 24 July 1996.

\textsuperscript{106}Pastor Marlene Pedigo, interviewed by author, phone conversation, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 7 August 1996.
strengths of their constituents. Moreover, the congregation is active in formal politics encouraging voter turnout and meaningful contact with officials.\textsuperscript{107}

The Community's Sense of State Authority

The interviewees invariably hold that they would disobey State authority if it required them to violate their moral standards. However, with regard to the nature of this disobedience, they differ. The majority subscribe only to non-violent disobedience. The others, while preferring non-violence, deem violent disobedience acceptable on occasion. The following discussion examines these ideas presenting first their ideological foundation and then their personal expression.

According to respondents, Quaker theology and tradition strongly influence their notions of State authority. For example, \textit{Faith and Practice} comments:

\begin{quote}
We have ever maintained that it is the duty of Christians to obey the enactments of civil government, except those which interfere with our allegiance to God. . . . Civil government is a divine ordinance, instituted to promote the best welfare of all, hence magistrates are to be regarded as God's ministers . . . . Therefore, it is with us a matter of conscience to render them respect and obedience in the exercise of their proper func-
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{107}Pastor Steve Pedigo mentions his interests in the Friends Committee on National Legislation, a lobbying group, established in 1942 with headquarters in Washington, D.C. on Capitol Hill, which attempts to encourage more peaceable and humane legislation according to the definitions of Quakerism. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Pedigo home, Austin, Chicago, 22 July 1996.
Thus, the State is an institution ordained by God for the good of society; if it acts irresponsibly, it violates God's purpose and is not to be obeyed. In discussing this point, Sarah cites Quaker tradition as an authority for conscientious law-breaking:

I think particularly about some cases like the Quakers in the Civil War who helped run slaves through the underground railroad. That is the big precedent that comes to my mind. There was a lot of law-breaking going on there for a specific cause.

Moreover, informants acknowledge that their commitment to non-violence is also based on Quaker doctrine. By way of illustration, the denominational manual offers a rationale for the peaceful settling of disputes:

The theory of violent coercion relies on the ability of one group to impose its will upon another by mere preponderance of physical strength. The yielding of the weak to the strong does not prove that the right has been vindicated or that opinions have altered.

As mentioned above, the group unreservedly justifies

---


109 This interpretation, with which George, my primary informant agrees, is based on an interview with Steve on July 22, 1996, and a complementary discussion in Faith and Practice, 77.

110 Mrs. Sarah Bills, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Chicago School of the Arts, Chicago, 23 July 1996. Remarkably, Trueblood also cites the Quaker involvement in the underground railroad as evidence of the group's civil disobedience. The People Called Quakers, 4.

111 Faith and Practice, 72.
conscientious civil disobedience; however, individuals differ regarding its expression. In terms of theologically-motivated law-breaking, James' comments represent the thinking of the group:

... if they [the government] came up with a law that said that we can't worship God, then I would definitely break that. So, it just depends on the circumstances... the Lord tells us to obey authority. But I think that serving Him is more important than obeying an unbiblical law.\(^{112}\)

Though all approve such actions, some believe that they must be non-violent, while others disagree. Carol, for example, responds to a hypothetical situation in which she could only save her daughter's life by shooting the child's attacker:

If it is going to happen, it is going to happen. I mean I don't think that I would shoot a gun. If my daughter's life was in jeopardy, I would reason and pray and let God guide me... I wouldn't shoot somebody.\(^{113}\)

\(^{112}\)Mr. James Dawson, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Fellowship of Friends, Chicago, 11 July 1996. The reasons that informants give for justifiable law-breaking are remarkably varied, for instance, Mrs. Carol Carson approves "pulling the plug" for a love one on a life-support system. She also justifies a mother, who has been abused as a child and therefore prone to child abuse, having an abortion rather than putting her child at risk. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Carson home, Cabrini-Green, Chicago, 26 July 1996.

\(^{113}\)Mrs. Carol Carson, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Carson home, Cabrini-Green, Chicago, 26 July 1996. Similarly, when Steve was requested to view himself in a similar situation in which he had to act violently to save his own life, he opposed violence on biblical grounds:

I would never take a violent alternative, you know. If it meant loosing my life, I would loose my life. The higher principle is that Jesus said that if you
Although she believes in non-violent law-breaking, Carol reasons that shooting another person is not only illegal, but violent, and therefore, unconscionable.

Similarly, when asked if she would shoot someone to preserve her son's life, Gail responded:

[If] it was a life and death thing, then yes, I would have to hurt him [an attacker]. I would have no reservations about shooting him. My child's life means a lot.\textsuperscript{114}

Remarkably, Gail, unlike Carol and others strictly oppose to violence, makes no reference to biblical authority or tradition in presenting her position.\textsuperscript{115}

In conclusion, the Fellowship believes in discretionary obedience to State authority, undergirding its position with Quaker theology and tradition. However, the expression of this obedience is a point of controversy: some members argue that violence is sub-christian, while others contend that it is an acceptable option.

\textsuperscript{114}Mrs. Gail Innings, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 6 August 1996.

\textsuperscript{115}To explain these conflicting views, George, my primary informant, suggests two possible explanations: those approving violence are either not very well versed in Quaker doctrine or have been so strongly socialized by violent communities that they "take a view that differs from the traditional Quaker stance." Mr. George Fight, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Damen Hall, Loyola University, Chicago, 8 August 1996.
The Application of Gramscian Theory

Fellowship of Friends, according to Gramscian thought, is an institution, serving hegemonic functions and reproducing ruling class ideas relative religion, education, politics, and State authority. It fosters willing consent to dominant ideology. Relative to religion, the assembly subscribes to two main points: the centrality of God and the message of the gospel. The first point, according to Gramsci, fosters "contradictory consciousness." That is, while a practical consciousness unites workers, preparing them to draw on their own resources to accomplish global liberation, a theological consciousness enfeebles workers, leading them to depend unrealistically on supernatural assistance. Therefore, the masses develop a "contradictory consciousness;" for the second form of consciousness contradicts the first, undermining class solidarity, mystifying political injustice, and stabilizing the ruling order.

Similarly, according to Gramsci, when the gospel defines sin as an individual act and righteousness as a personal responsibility, as does the church's message, its focus on the individual obscures the political structures by which the masses are exploited. So, then, the Fellowship's preaching engenders a preoccupation with an idiosyncratic morality that distracts its people from becoming politically critical and predisposes them to
accept the existing order.¹¹⁶

Relative to education, the Fellowship sponsors both sacred and secular training. In terms of Christian education, the assembly effectively socializes its parishioners in developing an operative worldview. However, Gramsci would suggest that this worldview is objectionable because it creates "contradictory consciousness" and political apathy as mentioned above.

Concerning sacred education, in addition to preserving class distinctions,¹¹⁷ the group's programs foster cooperation with the ruling order. According to Gramsci, the Fellowship is deceptive when it educates its people to advance economically without simultaneously educating them to develop politically. If they become economically successful without understanding the politics of exploitation, they will accept dominant values and the system that rewards them, and not challenge the structures producing inequality. Thus, the church ought include liberatory

¹¹⁶Gramsci criticized Catholicism on this count charging that it obfuscates the destructive effects of social structures:

From the 'philosophical’ point of view, what is unsatisfactory in Catholicism is the fact that, in spite of everything, it consists on putting the cause of evil in the individual man himself, or in other words that it conceives of man as a defined and limited individual. Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 352.

¹¹⁷This is the subject of pages 184-85 of the section on St. Luke Church.
instruction in its training programs, teaching that in modern capitalism the ruling class grants concessions to the masses—that is, goods and services—to coopt them and solicit their consent to exploitation. The church should teach moreover that when its people become successful within the elite framework, they must use their positions of advantage to espouse counter-hegemonic ideas and to stimulate resistance to the dominant order.

In terms of politics, the church sponsors community programs and voter participation; however, again, this reproduces hegemony. Employing Gramsci’s analysis of labor unions as a model, programs like the "Ministers’ Alliance" are in fact racially-specific interest groups that obstruct the global unification of the masses and attempt to force concessions from the mainstream rather than alter basic relations of power. 118

Relative to voter participation, the church also demonstrates hegemonic values. It does not realize that large numbers of politically ignorant people casting their ballots do not challenge the forces of injustice. 119 Moreover, when the Fellowship attempts to overcome voter apathy

---

118 In fact, Gramsci planned to educate the working class (unionized and ununionized) to socialism through factory councils rather than labor unions. He did this because the unions reached union workers only, fragmenting the masses, whereas the councils could reach the proletariat as a whole. For a full discussion on this point, see Kiros, 22.

119 This point is discussed above in the section dealing with politics and St. Luke Church, pages 185-86.
by introducing its people to public servants, it ignores the real problem: its members are disinterested in voting because they realize that voting cannot substantially change the quality of their lives. According to Gramscian theory, electoral politics is designed to pacify the frustrations of marginalized people by encouraging them to participate in an ostensibly democratic process; it is not designed to influence the distribution of such resources as power, wealth, and prestige.

The Fellowship serves a hegemonic function holding that Christians must follow State authority and obey civil government, except when it opposes the law of God—which in the group's mind is almost never. According to Gramsci, the State is the only institution authorized to employ violence in maintaining domination. He adds that law becomes hegemonic when it is taught by churches and other such groups and internalized by individuals as "common sense." Thus, when Quakers command obedience to the State, they reproduce dominant values and reveal the great extent to which they believe that government authority is "natural" and "right." They demonstrate this

120 Mr. George Fight explains that the group tends to agree with the law, almost never viewing it as ungodly, because in America there is hardly any conflict between the church and state as one finds in Cuba and North Korea. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, Damen Hall, Loyola University, Chicago, 8 August 1996.

121 For Quaker policy on obedience to the state, see the Faith and Practice, 31-32.
uncritical approval of the State, writing:

The source of its [the State’s] authority and the most reliable guide to its administration should be the inward conviction of right possessed by its citizens.¹²²

This is remarkable in view of the fact that even when members of the group determine to disobey the law, Quaker policy instructs them to do so non-violently. Consequently, this rule legitimates the State’s singular right to use force in preserving the ruling order.

In sum, according to Gramsci, the Fellowship reproduces dominant ideology through its religion, education, politics, and State authority and thereby influences its people to accept ruling class ideas as norms for everyday living. Further, its culture mystifies power relations and solicits consent to mass exploitation.

The Ideology of Light of Liberty Church

Light of Liberty Church is an incipient counter-hegemonic institution, progressively developing a critical philosophy and resistance to dominant culture. In supporting this observation, the following discussion examines four central points. First, it considers the growth of the church from a home Bible study to a full congregation and the ideological development of Elder Bush, its founder and pastor, as an organic intellectual. It goes on to relate this material to the historical basis of ideology discussed

¹²²Faith and Practice, 77.
above. Secondly, the study investigates the pastor’s relationship to the group as a charismatic leader and the influence of this association on the church’s ideological development. Third, the discussion deals with the culture of Liberty Church relative to religion, education, politics, and State authority. Finally, the study employs Gramscian theory in presenting evidence of the assembly’s development as a counter-hegemonic institution, engendering resistance to the existing order and creating ideas opposing the dominant culture.

The History of Light of Liberty Church

A full sense of the history and idea production of Light of Liberty demands an examination of the ministerial and philosophical development of Elder Bush, its leader. This is because the church’s ideological foundation extends far beyond its 4-year history to include Elder Bush’s two decades of Christian ministry before he founded the assembly in 1992.

At a point over twenty years ago, four years after becoming a Christian at Beverly Temple Church Of God In Christ (COGIT) on Chicago’s West Side, Pastor Bush received his "call to preach" at the age of 12. Developing as a "boy preacher" at the Temple, Rev. Bush was mentored by Reverend Lenox and "the senior fathers of the church," who had been southern pulpiteers and migrants to Chicago in search of work around the time of the Great Depression.
During these early years, Elder Bush learned the conservative theological and political orientation that typified the COGIC churches of the 1960s and 1970s. He recalls:

We were taught not to be [politically] active. We were taught to simply be disciplined people and to be moral and to pray. . . . We were not to party, not to smoke, not to cut up any fuss. We were taught to obey the law of the land and even to obey the white system, even though it was unjust. We were taught that when we go to school--obey. When we go to work--obey.\textsuperscript{123}

Rev. Bush remembers that a few years ago Bishop Ford, who headed the denomination during the Civil Rights Era, stated that he withheld support from Martin Luther King and ordered all COGIC pastors "not to participate in any demonstrations or marches:"

\ldots during his [King's] time in Chicago, Louis Ford was a very good friend of the mayor of the city. He was used by the mayor to keep the peace among the Black people, and the mayor did not endorse Martin Luther King. Ford took the same position as the mayor.\textsuperscript{124}

In 1974, at the age of 14, Elder Bush joined the Mount Carmel Holiness Church in Christ Jesus which, like Beverly Temple was ideologically conservative. According to Pastor Bush, Rev. Carter, who assumed the pastorate in 1975 and continues in that office today, "never took an active role in promoting Black political interests:"

\textsuperscript{123} Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 19 June 1996.

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
From 1975 on, he has had no knowledge of any activity that would be civil rights related or human rights related in his community. This is because of his sheer ignorance. 125

However, while ministering at Mount Carmel, Elder Bush was exposed to alternative political views, the genesis of the counter-hegemonic ideas that he now preaches at Liberty Church. He recalls that during the 1970s he started to listen to leaders with ideas differing from the denominational line:

... in non-COGIC churches, I would hear ministers cite facts and so on, that is, very articulate ministers talking about racism and that, and I would be impressed. I would be stimulated to think more critically about the issues. Of course, in COGIC churches they would preach about Jesus and sin, without talking about issues like racism. 126

He remembers that later his "life experience started to give [him] more insight about racism" and politics:

I could see that there were all kinds of problems between Black and white people, all kinds of stress and anxiety relating to race that the COGIC church did not address. I was about 22 and wondering about these things. 127

During this period, Elder Bush matured ideologically, reading books and listening to speakers who challenged his

125 Ibid. In this regard, according to Elder Bush, Rev. Carter is very much unlike his predecessor, Rev. Hamilton who was a preeminent leader in the Mississippi NAACP during the 1960s and had to be smuggled out of the South to protect him from white racists during the tensions following the assassination of Medgar Evers in 1963.

126 Ibid. He was also impressed with Rev. Blake who in 1972 violated denominational policy and openly supported the Black Power movement.

127 Ibid.
theological and political conservatism. He researched the history and culture of African-Americans discovering that such authors as Lerone Bennett and C. Eric Lincoln "started to open the issue up." Then, in 1992, he heard Rev. Kennedy, a speaker from Virginia Union, use "Scripture to address the issue of racism in today's society:"

As a preacher using the Bible, he endorsed revolution--this was really new to me--he advocated that the church participate in revolution. He taught that God will not chasten you for participating in revolution. He openly complimented Malcolm X and Marcus Garvey, quoting from the speeches of them both.128

In 1992, Rev. Bush founded Light of Liberty Church meeting with seven people in his living room and preaching against ruling class domination. Sister Cain, one of the charter members, recalls:

It [the first group] was meeting in the Bush home, but it was set up just like a church. We were fortunate enough that Pastor and the pastor's mother and wife, they took out the furniture in the living room. We brought in chairs.129

Through both the pastor's daily radio broadcasts and people inviting their friends, the church has grown to include 125 members,130 who support a worship service and class in-

---

128 Ibid.

129 Sister Roberta Cain, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 15 June 1996.

130 The radio ministry has exerted a remarkable influence on church growth as described by Sister Ywonne Bush, the pastor's wife:

... it [the radio broadcast] is very effective. We have people who have joined from the South Side
struction on Sundays, a Bible study on Wednesdays, and a preaching service on Fridays.

Elder Bush is moving the church from its theological and political conservatism, to biblical radicalism and counter-hegemonic liberation. The congregation generally tends to believe that as Christians they should support the existing political order and trust God to eliminate injustice. Most come from very conservative religious backgrounds, like those of Rev. Bush mentioned above, and agree with Sister Cain’s God-dependent politics:

I cast my vote for the best person that I think would be best in office. Even though, whoever gets into office, regardless of what they think, Christ is the answer. . . . if they are not led by the Spirit of God, by the word of God, it ain’t going to work. It just won’t work.¹³¹

However, as discussed below, Elder Bush preaches that the American political system is an instrument of exploitation used by white racists to subjugate Blacks and that the gospel must be proclaimed as a message of resistance and liberation.

In sum, the ministerial and philosophical development of Elder Bush informs the history and culture of Light of Liberty, the church that he founded and pastors. Data

¹³¹Sister Roberta Cain, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 15 June 1996.
relative to the group’s social order contributes insight regarding the church as an incipient counter-hegemonic body.

The Social Order of the Light of Liberty Community

The social order of Liberty Church becomes most clear when viewed from the perspective of Weber’s theory of charismatic leadership, for the church’s relations are based on the charisma of Elder Bush and the congregation’s acceptance of him as a prophet-like figure. Weber develops the notion of charisma in light of people’s perceptions of and responses to a leader who demonstrates a remarkably compelling personal magnetism. He relates this idea to authority and submission, writing:

"Charismatic authority," hence, shall refer to a rule over men, whether predominantly external or predominantly internal, to which the governed submit because of their belief in the extraordinary quality of the specific person.132

According to Weber, the charismatic leader is a profoundly gifted individual of heroic/prophetic character who wields power grounded in his personality and who commands an

132 Weber, From Max Weber, 195. It is remarkable, given the present discussion, that Weber developed his understanding of charisma in the context of an expansive study of world religions and Judaism and Christianity, which he presented in The Sociology of Religion, with an introduction by Talcott Parsons (London: Methuen and Company Limited, 1963). In that work, he discusses the nature of the charismatic gift, stating: "Where this appellation [charisma] is fully merited, charisma is a gift that inheres in . . . a person simply by virtue of natural endowment." 2.
obedient following that unequivocally supports him and his message. 133 His bold and sacrificial commitment to his people and their cause is driven by his God-ordained status as leader which cannot be counterfeited or stage produced. He, like his followers, is divinely "called" to the mission in question--it is the fate and destiny of both parties. In this Weberian sense, the social order of Light of Liberty is charismatic, that is, Elder Bush leads by divine appointment, and the congregation follows with supreme confidence in his headship as "the Lord's anointed." 134

Elder Bush's authority as a charismatic leader informs his call to preach, use of power, sacrificial commitment, and liberatory message. In describing his call to preach, Rev. Bush remembers God speaking to him over twenty years ago:

One day in 1972, when I was 12 years old, I was fasting and praying at home, and I saw a vision from God. I saw a hole in the wall, and when I looked through that hole, I saw people committing all kinds of sinful acts. And it was as though God spoke to me saying, "Go and preach the gospel. Do the work of an evangelist." At the same time, I

133 Ruth Ann Willner studies this style of leadership noting that followers respond to charismatics with "devotion, awe, reverence, and blind faith, in short, with emotions close to religious worship." The Spellbinders: Charismatic Political Leadership (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 7.

134 The congregation often applies this term to Elder Bush. They have in view I Samuel 24:6 of the Old Testament, in which David applies this title to King Saul and refuses to do him harm, for, as God's special representative or "God's anointed," he is due a level of respect and privilege beyond that accorded to ordinary men.
could see myself preaching God's word to the sinners and calling them to repentance.\textsuperscript{135}

That very day Elder Bush went out and preached the gospel on Chicago West Side street corners and continued evangelizing throughout his teenage years. Through this experience, he believes that God personally "called" him to the ministry and supernaturally gave him the ability to lead "the people of God" as the Lord's representative. His headship of Liberty Church is in obedience to this call, an irresistible summons to preach.

The pastor as a charismatic leader is unapologetically authoritarian. For instance, while interviewing Anthony, a 19-year-old perspective member, Elder Bush, in a manner assuming perfect cooperation, informed him that he, as pastor, was divinely appointed and expected full submission to his headship:

Anthony, I want you to respect the authority of the church. You should respect me as your pastor. . . . I believe that my authority is God-given. I believe that I have lived and continue to live a godly life according to the Bible. Thus, you should respect me.\textsuperscript{136}

Elder Stone, the pastor's assistant, explained this authoritarian style commenting, "Elder Bush has the final word on

\textsuperscript{135}Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 28 June 1996.

\textsuperscript{136}Field observation by author, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 25 June 1966.
all theological and non-theological decisions." He stated further that "it is hard to get people to voice their opinions because they are so rooted in cooperating with whatever the pastor says."

Another significant feature of the pastor's power concerns his leading the church with no real delegation of authority. With the exception of one assistant, who has decidedly menial responsibilities, and a six-member advisory board chosen by himself, Elder Bush is the singular leader.

This style of governance is principally responsible for the egalitarian relations among the parishioners. Because delegated responsibility is minimal and often assigned on an ad hoc basis according to the inclination of the pastor, there is simply no official hierarchy. Furthermore, because the church is newly established and

\[137\] Elder Stone, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 20 June 1996.

\[138\] The church has a "church mother," traditionally a woman who closely advises the pastor and heads auxiliary ministries; however, at Liberty Church she has no such function and, according to the pastor, "is a figurehead."

\[139\] Charles Lindholm explains how charismatic leadership engenders social equality, stating:

\[\ldots\] the followers submit to the imperious demands of a heroic figure, whose orders are legitimated not by logic, not by the hero's place in any ascribed hierarchy, but solely by the personal "power to command" of the charismatic individual. Charisma (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, Incorporated, 1990), 25.
composed of mostly young adults, there is no unofficial hierarchy based on long-term membership or age.

The pastor's sacrificial commitment to the church is a third feature of his ministry identifying him as a charismatic leader. As mentioned earlier, Light of Liberty has been in existence for four years with Rev. Bush as its pastor; however, it has never paid him a salary.\textsuperscript{140} On the contrary, until recently, the pastor, using income from his full-time job and rental property, paid the church's expenses including its utilities, maintenance, cleaning, and mortgage. Further, throughout the ministry's history, he has drawn from his personal funds to help his members in times of need, assisting them, for instance, to pay the college tuition of their children, the rent and mortgages on their homes, and the recovery cost of their repossessed property. He also personally counsels them on matters ranging from dating to transacting a mortgage. In addition, over a period of several years, Elder Bush travelled the country visiting other COGIC churches as a fund-raiser and collected money for the downpayment and renovation of

\textsuperscript{140}Traditionally, if a COGIC pastor founds the church, as Elder Bush founded Light of Liberty, he receives as a salary the morning offering from the first and third Sundays and every Friday evening offering. However, Pastor Bush has never accepted any of this payment. Moreover, the church held a special celebration of the pastor's birthday on June 21, 1996, giving him a gift of $2,000 which he returned to group to be applied to the mortgage. Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 1 July 1996.
the congregation's present building. He still travels on occasion with the same purpose, using the honorariums to defray the church's operational costs.

The pastor uses his charismatic authority in delivering his message of Black resistance to exploitation and defiance of the institutionalized order. In describing the nature of his gospel, Elder Bush states:

... the gospel that I preach is a gospel that says that there is liberation through Jesus Christ. But subjugation, disadvantage, unemployment, and so have a historical context, and my gospel is against this kind of treatment of my people. White conservatives want to remove all historical context and say ... that the people cause their own problems.141

He goes on to discuss African-American opposition to the existing political order, stating:

I would like for us to apply any means of resistance depending on the circumstances. I encourage all forms of resistance. ... you have to remember that the laws are unjust, and where the laws are unjust, you should break them.

In sum, Elder Bush is indisputably a charismatic leader, given his call to preach and use of personal qualities. The group views Pastor Bush as the leader whom God has specifically chosen to shepherd the congregation and who is due full obedience as the Lord's representative. Calvin, a young family man in his early 30s and member of the church for four months, expresses this attitude succinctly:

141Ibid.
From the standpoint of biblical leadership, he [Elder Bush] is the shepherd of the flock. He is responsible for the flock. In his responsibility he is responsible for us, but he has to answer to God for what goes on. So, by him having the final say so, me being a sheep in his fold, I trust the God in him to make the right decision.

Being under a leader, you have to trust him. If I didn't trust him, I wouldn't be with him. If I didn't believe that he hears from God, I couldn't stay. So, I have to trust the God in him and the God in me that he would make the right decision.142

At the same time, people on occasion challenge the pastor's authority; however, as a rule, they ultimately capitulate. For instance, Rev. Bush describes a situation in which a group, to whom he had delegated the management of the church finances, reported after a time that the congregation was $8,000 in debt.143 Upon investigation, he determined that the problem was due to mismanagement and that a special collection from the members would be necessary. Although the group categorically opposed this solution, Pastor Bush simply overruled them all, took up the

142Brother Calvin Spruell, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Spruell home, Austin, Chicago, 20 June 1996. This idea of viewing the pastor's decision-making ability as divinely inspired and superior to that of other individuals extends beyond church matters. One evening at the church, after a lengthy phone conservation with one of the members, the pastor explained to me that the person had requested his advice regarding whether or not she should sue a car dealer who, in her mind, had broken the terms of a contract. Rev. Bush went on to explain that he gets many such calls, asking questions about marriage and dating problems, purchasing homes, and the like.

143Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, 27 June 1996.
collection, and retired the debt. The group deferred, submitting to his final and ultimate authority as "the Lord's anointed."

The Culture of Light of Liberty Church

Elder Bush's Counter-hegemonic Ideology

Elder Bush produces counter-hegemonic ideology at Liberty Church by adding a liberatory element to the traditional Christian gospel and criticizing intellectuals who espouse ruling class ideas. As an organic intellectual pastoring a newly-formed and historically conservative congregation, the pastor leads the group in developing a critical philosophy and becoming a counter-hegemonic organization. Yet, Rev. Bush preaches a theologically conservative gospel, emphasizing the death and resurrection of Christ as the Savior of mankind; however, he adds a liberatory dynamic, which he explains stating:

. . . the gospel that I preach is a gospel that says that there is liberation through Jesus Christ. But subjugation, disadvantage, unemployment, and so have a historical context, and my gospel is against this kind of treatment of my people. 144

He preaches that, according to Christ, Christians should oppose all ungodliness, which includes the economic exploitation and racist dehumanization of Black Americans, and

should be politically active in confronting injustice—in this case, white injustice. In his mind the teachings of Jesus are inescapably political:

One can advance the gospel but at the same time exploit poor people, or one can advance the gospel in a way that assists poor people. The gospel always has political ramifications. \(^{145}\)

This justifies Christians becoming politically oppositional in order to create a "godly society:"

I would like for us [the church] to apply any means of resistance depending on the circumstances. I encourage all forms of resistance to the violation of the Black community. . . . you have to remember that the laws that exploit us are unjust, and where the laws are unjust, you should break them. \(^{146}\)

According to the pastor, such resistance, which might well be violent, denies the legitimacy of civil institutions that legalize racial discrimination and prejudice:

We need to burn the courthouse down, tear the jails up, riot in the streets, bust our peoples’ windows and stuff like that to get people to understand that we don’t want racist laws. Now that sounds very radical, but they won’t otherwise change laws. \(^{147}\)

Rev. Bush argues moreover that the ultimate end of this resistance is revolution, a morally motivated revolution:

Well, when you resist and you continue to resist, then you create agitation . . . . When the agitation reaches its climax, then it becomes revolution . . . . You begin to actually rise up against white society in some way which is generally violent. . . . In my opinion, revolution is morally right

\(^{145}\) Ibid.

\(^{146}\) Ibid.

\(^{147}\) Ibid.
and justifiable and therefore a moral act.\textsuperscript{148}

Furthermore, Elder Bush charges that the ruling class employs the media and traditional intellectuals to produce dominant culture, thereby contributing to the subjugation of African-Americans. He specifically cites the racially bigoted programming of channel 38 and its destructive ideological influence on Blacks:

For example Pat Robertson on CBN. He gives, again as a "Christian," about 35 to 40 minutes to political issues. He praises how the Republicans fight Affirmative Action, school lunches, bussing and desegregation. In the process he defends American history; he idealizes racist American history. He puts preachers on there like Ben Haggey who morally equate Americanism with Christianity. Blacks listen to this and believe that to be truly American is to be truly Christian, and this is part of the white lie.\textsuperscript{149}

In sum, Elder Bush influences the church in its early stage of counter-hegemonic development through his presentation of Christ as both Savior and Liberator and his critique of Christian traditional intellectuals. He teaches his people to develop a theoretical consciousness that contests against the existing racist order and attempts to shape their ideas regarding religion, education, politics, and State authority.

\textsuperscript{148}Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 11 July 1996.

\textsuperscript{149}Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 24 July 1995.
The Community’s Sense of Religion

The church’s notion of religion incorporates the critical philosophy of Elder Bush, as discussed above, and the conservative ideas of traditional Christianity. Aside from the pastor’s influence, the congregation’s religion is based on conservative theology, other-worldly values, and biblical morality. Pursuant to conservative theology, Elder Stone explains the significance of being Christian:

If you are a Christian, it means that you have come to faith in God’s messiah, Jesus Christ, and that has caused you to respond by faith to the message that He died for your sins and that God raised Him from the dead. It goes beyond the cognitive level. You must respond to it [the gospel] with your whole being.\textsuperscript{150}

Elder Stone goes on to add that God in His sovereignty and benevolence delivers sinful mankind from eternal destruction through Christ, the Savior.

Brother Lewis, a young single man who has been attending church for several months, articulates the other-worldly dimension of the group’s religious views:

Jesus died for our sins and that’s the only way that . . . you will be accepted in the heavens, you

\textsuperscript{150}Elder Stone, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 20 June 1996. Sister Owens, a middle-aged choir member who has been attending the church for four months, clarifies Elder Stone’s idea of responding “with your whole being”:

Christianity is just a way of life in my opinion. It is not something that you can take on and put off. . . . You decide on it as a lifestyle, and that it is a way of life . . . . Sister Owens, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Owens home, South Side, Chicago, 29 June 1996.
know, once you are deceased. Your body will be saved and cleansed of all your sins and stuff like that.\textsuperscript{151}

Finally, Christianity at Liberty Church is an all-encompassing way of life based on conservative biblical morality. Evangelist Bailey, for instance, defines her religion as a Bible-centered culture:

\ldots Christian means to me a culture, an attitude, an environment, a way of thinking, a philosophy. All of those things that roll into a lifestyle. That is what I think of being Christian. \ldots The Bible I see as an instructional road map to becoming that cultural person.\textsuperscript{152}

Moreover, interviewees consistently moralize as they describe their Christian lives. For example, in amplifying his statement, "the Bible has really changed my life," Brother Salles describes his motivation to be a good husband and "not a man that wants other women."\textsuperscript{153}

\begin{quote}
Being saved is accepting Christ into your heart and living by the rules and standards that He requires. \ldots and knowing that if He were to come right now, He would take you to heaven with Him. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Owens home, South Side, Chicago, 29 June 1996.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{151}Brother Lewis, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Lewis home, West Randolph, Chicago, 18 June 1996. Sister Latrice Owens, the 15-year-old daughter of Sister Owens quoted above, enriches Lewis' discussion of other-worldliness:

\begin{quote}
I know who God is, and the Bible is His word. As I
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{152}Evangelist Bailey, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 30 June 1996.

\textsuperscript{153}Brother Salles, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Salles home, Austin, Chicago, 20 June 1996. In this interview, Brother Salles further illustrated the interrelatedness of Christian living and Scripture:
ly, Brother Spruell mentions how applying the Bible’s teachings to his life helped him to recover from drug addiction and an overdose:

I’ve tried His [Christ’s] teachings in my own life, and they did work. I read His principles and even read what He said about how He talked to His own Father, and it was real to me. I tried it and applied it to my own life and situations, and it worked.\(^{154}\)

In conclusion, the congregation’s religion focuses on salvation from sin, the blessings of heaven, and scriptural morality, notions which Elder Bush endorses and perhaps more importantly expands. An a counter-hegemonic intellectual, he believes that being Christian is simply not enough—Blacks must be "liberated Christians" engaged in critical philosophy and liberatory resistance.

The Community’s Sense of Education

The church’s notion of education reflects both the radical viewpoint of Elder Bush and the conservative stance of the congregation at large. Both parties agree on the supreme importance of secular as well as sacred education; however, the pastor’s perspectives amplify those of the membership. Interviews with parishioners reveal that they read it, there are certain points that it says there about a husband and that is what I need to find our about, since I am a husband. How should I act as a husband? I see that it says, "Love your wife as Christ loved the church." So I try to do that.

\(^{154}\)Brother Spruell, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Spruell home, Austin, Chicago, 20 June 1996.
highly value secular education, especially higher education, because it prepares them for high-paying jobs. They also equally esteem Christian education, believing that it supplies a moral code essential to successful living. Sister Cain, a lady in her late 60s and one of the founding members of the church, typifies the congregation as she applauds secular education:

I am very much a person that loves education. I had gone to school and then went back after all my children had become adults. I have an associates degree in medical records. I have a certificate in business. I have another certificate in security. 155

Similarly, Brother Lewis praises higher education because "the more education you can get, the further you can go in life in terms of jobs." Like several other interviewees, he applauds advanced schooling because it earns prestige and role model status, distinguishing the college graduate from "the man on the corner, the drug dealer, who is out driving fancy cars." 156

The congregation likewise extols religious instruction stating that it promotes success in daily living. 157

155 Sister Cain, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 15 June 1966.

156 Brother Lewis, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Lewis home, West Randolph, Chicago, 18 June 1996.

157 Sunday School includes biblical training for all ages for 90 minutes every Sunday morning. Evangelist Bailey, the director of Sunday School, clarifies her view of Christian education, stating:

Christian education is another tool to get an indi-
This is the idea of Brother Salles, the father of four:

It [Christian education] teaches you about God. It teaches morals; it teaches character; it teaches integrity. . . . I pray that God will help me to bring my kids up in life as men and women of character and integrity and honesty.\textsuperscript{158}

In summary, the congregation holds conservative views of education holding that the major benefit of secular education is high wages and that the paramount reward of Christian education is moral refinement.

However, Elder Bush's ideas differ: he argues that, although high-paying jobs and Christian morality are supremely important, secular and sacred education should also foster critical philosophy and political resistance. He states that African-Americans must develop a sense of Black self-identity before entering into the hostile culture of the white educational framework. African-Americans must maintain this sense of identity throughout the course of their schooling. This is imperative to preserving a sense of loyalty to the Black community and its struggle for liberation.

Moreover, he appreciates the financial benefits of higher education and assists his people to succeed in

\textsuperscript{158}Brother Salles, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Salles home, Austin, Chicago, 20 June 1996.
school:

I do advocate secular education, and I push it hard in my church. I pay college tuition, and I help people go on to college . . . . If somebody's car breaks down, we try to get them a new car or try to get their car fixed, so that they can keep on going to school.¹⁵⁹

Yet, Rev. Bush's educational focus is the Black Men's Workshop, a class of thirty men which he conducts weekly to teach counter-hegemony. Through these sessions, he produces "liberated Christian Black men" who understand that the limitations that they confront, such as racial discrimination in employment, are due to the structural factors of racist America, not to individual deficiencies unique to Black men. He teaches the group to become politically critical and dedicated to resistance, arguing:

Resistance itself is revolutionary . . . . Resistance means that you don't accept the dominant culture's actions, you don't accept what they do, you resist them.¹⁶⁰

Concerning the influence of the class, the men make two salient observations: the male bonding is socially fulfilling and the instruction is culturally relevant and

¹⁵⁹Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 11 July 1996.

¹⁶⁰Ibid. In order to foster resistance and to clarify the politics of race, Elder Bush requested me to teach two sessions on the social construction of blackness. I did this during the month of June, tracing the history of the development of European racism from the 1440s, when Portuguese sailors traded with West African craftsmen, until the present. The group agreed that this contributed to their ability to self-identify and reject ruling class stereotypes that contribute to their subjugation.
personally useful. In terms of bonding, Brother Lewis mentions:

Men can love one another. It doesn’t have to be a sexual love. It can be a brotherly love. That is what a lot of men fear, loving each other without thinking crazy things.\textsuperscript{161}

Relative to the benefit of the Afrocentric content, Brother Spruell states:

I knew about Black history, but some of the things . . . about how we are being stereotyped and about how things are happening in our society were new. [The class emphasized] the identity that has been taken away [from us] and reconstructed by someone that doesn’t really love us. I think that that has really helped me emotionally, and it has strengthened me as well.\textsuperscript{162}

In conclusion, the church’s idea of education is, in fact, a combination of two viewpoints: the pastor’s, which is liberatory, and the congregation’s, which is conservative. Although both parties agree on the inescapable importance of education in general, Elder Bush attempts to move the church toward counter-hegemony, encouraging them to confront, rather than to consent to the racial politic of the dominant class.

The Community’s Sense of Politics

The assembly’s view of politics reflects the combined influences of Rev. Bush and the members at large. As in

\textsuperscript{161}Brother Lewis, interviewed by author, Tape recording, West Randolph, Chicago, 18 June 1966.

\textsuperscript{162}Brother Spruell, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Spruell home, Austin, Chicago, 20 June 1996.
the case of religion and education, the pastor adds a radical dimension to the congregation’s otherwise conservative ideas. The congregation believes that it can advance community interests by being politically involved, although it distrusts the political system, and it argues further that racism is its most formidable political problem.

Brother Spuell’s comments support this observation:

> Politics are important in a community because that is how we get things done. I don’t really trust it. It is a lot of what I consider to be underhanded things in politics, but politics are important. . . . It controls our living environment . . . I do want to learn more so that I can become more involved in any way that I can to make a difference in my own home and community. ¹⁶³

In addition, informants like Brother Lewis frequently cite politicians as untrustworthy:

> Our people sometimes don’t appreciate politicians because the politicians promise so much, and then they don’t back up what they say. ¹⁶⁴

Despite the unproductiveness of politicians, the group identifies racism as its most grave problem. This is the attitude of Brother Murden, who reports being "red

¹⁶³Ibid.

¹⁶⁴Brother Lewis, interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Lewis home, West Randolph, Chicago, 18 June 1996. Brother Salles also questions the integrity of politicians:

Most of them [politicians visiting the church] say, "I am working to help the community." But to me, I never see anything better. . . . maybe they are doing something, but I just can’t see it. To me, I don’t think that they should speak a lie to the church. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, the Salles home, Austin, Chicago, 18 June 1996.
lined" by realtors in Maywood,\textsuperscript{165} and also Sister Nancy, who criticizes the welfare system for disrupting Black families.\textsuperscript{166} Finally, given the experience of living in Austin, the church's community, Brother James describes his experience with racism:

White people don't give Black people a chance to show themselves and to prove themselves. Racist people think that Blacks are murders and robbers and all of that, and we aren't just robbers, and all Black people aren't thieves and murders.\textsuperscript{167}

Moreover, the group believes that the church should inform its people regarding political issues, but without violating anyone's freedom of choice. This is the essence of Sister Bailey's comment:

I think that the church should be a light house in the community. That means that it should be an integral part of every aspect of life, including politics. . . . I believe that we [as a church] should teach knowledge and that every person within the church should have the liberty to select the candidate of their choice.\textsuperscript{168}

In sum, Light of Liberty believes that it must be involved in politics to overcome the disadvantages of racism. This is an idea with which Elder Bush unequivocally agrees; however, he differs with his members regarding

\textsuperscript{165}Brother Murden, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 3 July 1996.

\textsuperscript{166}Sister Nancy, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 3 July 1996.

\textsuperscript{167}Brother James, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 3 July 1996.

\textsuperscript{168}Sister Bailey, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 30 June 1996.
the exercise of individual freedom. He believes that the church should form a unified Afrocentric voting block, insisting that everyone support a single political agenda, reflecting Black interests as defined by Black leaders. Moreover, in order to actualize the community's full potential, he advocates the use of coercion against nonconformists, reasoning that, because racism is sinful and dehumanizing, Black Christians must dedicate themselves to its eradication, even at the cost of individual freedom. In this respect, Elder Bush adds a radical dimension to his counter-hegemonic agenda as well as to the congregation's conservative politics.

The Community's Sense of State Authority

In terms of State authority, Liberty Church denies the legitimacy of laws that discriminate against African-Americans and in the main cites biblical authority for

169 To illustrate his meaning regarding the use of coercion, Pastor Bush recalls the following story:

Like during the Civil Rights Movement, my grandfather was in Selma, and he told me that like when they had a store in Selma that would not employ Blacks, they would tell the people in the churches not to shop at that store. . . . He said that if they saw a Black person come into that store, they would physically pick him up and remove him. . . . He said, "We would pick them up and take them out." Interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 11 July 1996.

This coincides with Gramsci's teaching about the liberatory party using force against uncooperative members on occasion. For discussion on this, see Kiros, 156.
violently disobeying them. In this matter, the ideas of the pastor and the membership coincide with one exception: Elder Bush argues that violent disobedience is imperative, while the congregation believes that it is discretionary.

Sister Bailey illustrates the congregational viewpoint concerning biblical justification for disrespecting anti-Black legislation:

If it is the law of God, I don't believe that there is any justification for breaking it. . . . [But] there are laws [''the laws of man''] on the books that have served as handcuffs and ropes on my spirit and on my physical liberty. Those laws are unjust laws. Not only do we have to change them, but . . . they must be broken.\textsuperscript{170}

She continues to explain that, although a violent response to these laws is justifiable, a non-violent response is preferable:

Certainly I should start out with a non-violent attitude and looking for a non-violent avenue. But I also know that if I am really standing on truth I need to be willing to die . . . for truth.

Although, Sister Bailey's ideas are representative of the group, some nonetheless have differing views. For instance, Sister Nancy believes that, in terms of discriminatory laws, only non-violent disobedience is justifiable and that lawbreakers must be willing "to pay the consequences," she elaborates:

. . . . I am not into violence . . . . But verbally standing for your rights and quietly protesting or

\textsuperscript{170}Sister Bailey, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 30 June 1996.
whatever--I'll go for that, you know.\textsuperscript{171}

This view notwithstanding, in the main, the people believe that as Christians they have the prerogative to deny State authority by violently breaking racist laws.

However, Elder Bush takes exception to this position, arguing that in the struggle for liberation, violent resistance is not optional--it is obligatory. He presents three points in support of this idea, including the seriousness of racism, the influence of the media, and the necessity of Blacks controlling their community. Pursuant to the seriousness of racism, he argues that whites so effectively threaten Black survival that politically motivated violent lawlessness is essential to their existence:

Many people in this country, even Black people, don't understand the disparity that exists in the U.S. It is war-like. It is terrible. . . . is there ever a time to break the law? Yes, in a situation like this, to get radical change, you're got to break the law. You have to show the general public that the law is wrong. There is no law-abiding way to do that. . . .\textsuperscript{172}

According to Elder Bush, his congregation does not understand the necessity of violence because it fails to comprehend the ruinous effects of white racism.

Moreover, the pastor argues that the contribution of the media to the struggle for liberation justifies his

\textsuperscript{171}Sister Nancy, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, 3 July 1996.

\textsuperscript{172}Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 24 July 1995.
position of civil disobedience. He states that violent lawlessness attracts media attention, sensitizing white society to the seriousness of the problem and to the cost of ignoring it. To illustrate his point, he cites the media’s contribution to the struggle in Los Angeles in 1992:

We don't have the media, but how do we get it? We get it like we did in L.A. If we burn everything down, we'll get all of the news coverage that we want. Had we not burned L.A. down, there would have been no justice for Rodney King.¹⁷³

Elder Bush explains that his congregation is reserved about violence because it does not understand how it attracts media attention which benefits the struggle.

Finally, the pastor believes that the necessity of African-Americans controlling their own communities justifies violent law-breaking. To illustrate, he states that white developers often bribe public officials to pass laws allowing them to construct housing in Black neighborhoods for which they charge exorbitant prices. In this manner, according to the pastor, corrupt politicians use their authority for personal gain, violate the trust of their constituents, and open the community to white control and exploitation. To end such practices, Elder Bush recommends exposing the situation to residents and encouraging them to violently take control of their neighborhoods by destroying property and injuring those responsible for the problem.

¹⁷³Ibid.
He adds that his congregation would be more open to aggressive lawlessness if they understood these kinds of issues.

In conclusion, Liberty Church opposes State authority in the form of racist laws and cites biblical justification for its position. Although both the pastor and the members agree with this, Elder Bush argues that, given the struggle, violence is mandatory, while the group holds that, in spite of the struggle, violence is optional.

The Application of Gramscian Theory

This research demonstrates that Elder Bush, as a organic intellectual, is leading his people from a commitment to ruling class ideology to a position of liberatory resistance. Several elements from the foregoing discussion identify the pastor as a counter-hegemonic leader, including his message of liberation, criticism of traditional intellectuals, commitment to cultural resistance, and dedication to politically motivated violent law-breaking. However, three remarkable situations define the church's ideological progress from dominant values to liberatory politics and authenticate it as an incipient counter-hegemonic organization.

First, the congregation's response to the pastor's teaching on the Million Man March of 1995 indicates philosophical movement from ruling class ideology to theoretical consciousness. Elder Bush endorsed the social and political significance of the March, while, as a Christian,
repudiating the theology of Farrakhan, a Muslim cleric. He advised his people to think critically through the issues of racial politics:

America has kept us as Blacks from the economic mainstream where we might benefit. The March is going to help us politically. You must think critically and not let conservative Black preachers like Rev. Meeks mislead you into rejecting the March because you disagree with the theology of Louis Farrakhan.\(^\text{174}\)

Rev. Bush recalls that, with few exceptions, his congregation supported the March not only with men attending, but also with children absenting themselves from school and women refusing to shop as the organizers requested. This was done by people who had formerly criticized Farrakhan and denounced his activities on theological grounds. Furthermore, these same people defended the March against its detractors by repeating the pastor's teachings on critical thinking and political resistance.

In another situation, demonstrating similar ideological change, Brother Murden, an insurance underwriter, reported to the pastor that his company was discriminating against African-Americans. He stated that it was refusing mortgages to Blacks who had financial standings and credit histories far superior to those of whites who were receiving mortgages. Moreover, he noted similar racism in the company's promotion policies, as less qualified whites were

\(^{174}\)Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 17 July 1996.
being advanced ahead of better qualified African-Americans.

In describing these situations, Brother Murden commended Elder Bush's preaching:

You are right. You are absolutely right. White racists are out to destroy the Black man. This happens everyday. We need to do something about this. I never recognized it so clearly before. 175

In a third situation, Sister Maywood advised Rev. Bush that she was acting on his teachings in suing a car dealer who had treated her fraudulently. She explained that she had purchased a car that was later recalled to repair a factory defect. The dealer withheld this information from her, and when she discovered the problem herself and requested him to fix it, he refused, and she litigated. Sister Maywood went on to advise Rev. Bush that she was acting on his teaching that "God supports retaliation," a feature of his view of Christ as Liberator. She mentioned that before hearing Elder Bush, she was prone to "turn the other cheek" in situations like these, thinking that it was the Christian thing to do.

175 Rev. Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 17 July 1996. Remarkably, concerning the importance of violence to the struggle, Brother Murden's position is more like Rev. Bush's, and thus more radical, than any other informant. He states:

They are going to have to do something about burning churches all over. They might have to burn a white church to get their attention. . . . It sounds dramatic, but sometimes they don't hear you at first, and it takes you doing something dramatic to get the attention of other people. Interviewed by author, Tape recording, Light of Liberty, Church, 3 July 1996.
In conclusion, the pastor is leading the church in developing beyond a ruling class ideology and progressing toward a philosophically critical and liberatory worldview. He challenges the group to abandon a traditional Christianity that engenders consent to subjugation and legitimates the existing racist order. Elder Bush ministers with the conviction: "I have to teach my people to become resisters to the dominant culture."\textsuperscript{176}

The Cross-case Analysis and Results

The results of cross-case analysis both replicate and expand Gramscian theory regarding the church as a political institution and the ecclesiastical notions of religion, education, politics, and State authority. Gramsci argues that churches serve political functions as organizations in which pastors as intellectuals espouse ideologies that reflect their political views. Thus, in their respective assemblies, traditional intellectuals reproduce hegemony, and organic intellectuals espouse counter-hegemony. In terms of the ministries under investigation, Pastor Austin of St. Luke Church and Pastors Steve and Marlene of Fellowship of Friends act as traditional intellectuals who reproduce dominant values among their people. On the other hand, Elder Bush of Liberty Church is an organic intellectual preaching counter-ruling class ideology and political

\textsuperscript{176}Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 11 July 1996.
liberation. Therefore, these leaders replicate Gramscian theory, producing ideologies according to their political views, both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic.

The Notion of Religion

The churches' religious culture replicates and expands Gramscian theory. In terms of replication, the hegemonic assemblies share the same basic theology, highlighting the centrality of the Bible, the salvation of Christ, and the importance of righteous living. These teachings encourage believers to trust in God as their Deliver and to repent for individual sin.

Such doctrines confirm Gramscian theory which states that Catholicism, as a hegemonic religion, misleads the masses to trust in the supernatural and to devalue themselves as individuals. In terms of trusting in the supernatural, he writes:

Religion is a need of the spirit. People feel so lost in the vastness of the world, so thrown about by forces they do not understand; and the complex of historical forces . . . so escapes the common sense that in the moments that matter only the person who has substituted religion with some other moral force succeeds in saving the self from disaster.\textsuperscript{177}

Furthermore, Gramsci argues that Catholicism influences

\textsuperscript{177}John Fulton, "Religion and Politics in Gramsci," \textit{Sociological Analysis} 48 (1987): 202, quotes Gramsci, \textit{Sotto La Mole 1916-20} (Turin: Einaudi), 71. Gramsci, of course, is a Marxist who argues that the only truly worthwhile ideas are those that will improve the living conditions of humankind in a this-worldly sense.
people to devalue themselves as individuals by teaching that "man is a limited, finite being with evil propensi-
ties."\textsuperscript{178} According to Gramsci, these ideas prevent the masses from struggling with self-confidence and single-
mindedness toward socialism,\textsuperscript{179} and mystify the structural causes of exploitation. So then, the doctrines of St. Luke Church and Fellowship of Friends instructing Christians to trust in God and to repent for personal sin replicate Gramscian theory pursuant to ruling class religion.

However, in terms of expanding the theory, research at Light of Liberty indicates that Elder Bush, an organic intellectual, integrates hegemonic religion and liberatory politics, producing an ideological mix that Gramsci over-
looks. Citing the Protestant Reformation as a cultural revolution, Gramsci states that the overthrow of the Catholic-dominated political and social order did not come as a catastrophic event; it evolved gradually in response to the theologically subversive influence of Protestantism. In fact, in portraying Luther as a "democratic philosopher"

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Gramsci, \textit{Selections From the Prison Notebooks}, 352.
\item Gramsci argues that Marxist socialism will supply the deficiencies of traditional religion:
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}

\begin{footnotesize}
It could be said of all hitherto existing philoso-
phies that they reproduce this position of Catholi-
cism, that they conceive of man as an individual limited to his individuality and of the spirit as being this individuality. It is at this point that it is necessary to reform the concept of man. \textit{Selection From Prison Notebooks}, 345.
\end{footnotesize}
Gramsci writes:

... from the primitive intellectual coarseness of the man of the Reformation there nevertheless gushed forth classical German philosophy and the vast cultural movement from which the modern world was born.\textsuperscript{180}

However, Gramsci does not examine the specific nature of Luther's theology but simply describes it as "a philosophy which is also politics, and a politics which is also philosophy."\textsuperscript{181} Moreover, in general discussion, when Gramsci examines hegemonic religion and counter-hegemonic politics, he concludes that the two are incompatible.\textsuperscript{182} For instance, citing Catholicism as the nemesis of cultural revolution, Gramsci criticizes the Church for producing "the imbecile illusion of immortality," and he predicts the success of socialism which will precipitate the "suicide" of Catholicism and "the execution of God."\textsuperscript{183}

However, the ideas of Elder Bush expand Gramscian

\textsuperscript{180}Benedetto Fontana, Hegemony and Power: On the Relation between Gramsci and Machiaveli (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) 42, quotes Gramsci, QC 2:10, 1293.

\textsuperscript{181}Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 395.

\textsuperscript{182}Gramsci argues that because all people are capable of "spontaneous philosophy," which includes popular religion, they have the potential to become true critical philosophers. They accomplish this through the influence of organic intellectuals who prepared them to participate in the cultural revolution. Hence, Gramsci views spontaneous philosophy and critical philosophy as mutually exclusive. For discussion on this subject, see Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 323, and Kiros, 79-80.

analysis, for they present the integration of hegemonic religion and liberatory politics in forming a counter-ruling class ideology. Elder Bush maintains integrity to both the supernatural dynamics of his religion and the radical nature of his politics, preaching that God is offended by racist exploitation and will sovereignly enable His people to overcome this form of "evil" injustice. Furthermore, "a liberated Black Christian," according to the pastor, must aggressively--and prayerfully--resist the "satanic" forces of oppression even to the point of using violence. For example, in a recent message, Elder Bush taught:

If you have to confront the racist system. Do not simply pray and ask God to change your situation. It is more to it than that. Pray and ask God to protect you from getting hurt after you throw a brick at a racist cop. God is sovereign and can do it, and He's on your side because you're righteous. 184

In this manner, Elder Bush amplifies Gramscian theory by demonstrating the nature of a counter-hegemonic ideology which incorporates conservative Christianity and liberatory politics.

In sum, cross-case analysis of the churches under study indicates that they both replicate and inform Gramscian theory. Replication takes place in the sense that they recreate ruling class ideology in their central

184 Field observation by author, Light of Liberty Church, Chicago, Sunday morning service, 21 July 1996.
doctrines of God as Savior and men and women as sinners. These ideas teach the masses, according to Gramsci, to foolishly trust in the supernatural, rather than in their collective abilities, and to deface themselves as individuals, rather than recognize their true potential. Furthermore, research demonstrates that the ideology produced by Elder Bush expands Gramscian theory, for it reveals a counter-hegemonic worldview, amalgamating traditional religion and radical politics, which Gramsci does not treat.

The Notion of Education

The churches also both confirm and amplify Gramscian theory in their views of education. They produce well-structured programs of religious indoctrination which effectively develop comprehensive worldviews among their people. In this respect, they duplicate the systems of catechism of the Roman Catholic Church of Gramsci's day which he approved to the extent of using as a model in developing his own Marxist praxis. Indeed, because the Catholic church was so capable of producing a total life perspective, Gramsci viewed it as a rival to socialism and a challenge to the development of the counter-hegemony necessary to cultural revolution. For this reason, he stressed that organic intellectuals had to teach their constituents to internalize a political life concept—like the religious leaders taught their followers—or they would
be unable to produce the "historic bloc" imperative to cultural revolution. In this respect, the three churches replicate Gramscian thought through their programs of indoctrination.

However, the case studies also inform Gramsci: indeed, Gramsci does not mention ecclesiastical involvement in secular education, a prominent ministry in the churches under study, nor its social influence. In the hegemonic assemblies, secular education reproduces exploitation according to class. So that, St. Luke Church, a predominantly middle-class congregation, educates its people for middle-class status, while Fellowship of Friends, a largely working- and under-class congregation, prepares its members to join the ranks of the working-class. As

185Kiros expounds this aspect of Gramscian philosophy, writing:

... Gramsci deductively argued, a concept of the world which is not firmly internalized vanishes quickly. A given concept becomes materially real only when it penetrates reality, and gradually but firmly imposes a rational form on it. When this happens, reality itself becomes rational. 201.

186Based on field observations and an interview with Edna Smith, the accounting assistant of St. Luke Church, conducted by author, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 14 August 1996, the assembly is 70 per cent middle-class, 15 per cent working-class, and 15% under-class. In addition, the leadership is exclusively middle-class.

187At Fellowship of Friends the congregation is 20 per cent middle-class, 30 per cent working-class, and 50 per cent under-class. The leadership is exclusively middle-class. These data are based on a phone interview with Pastor Marlene Pedigo, conducted by author, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 12 August 1996 and general field observations.
mentioned earlier, in connection with St. Luke Church, Gramsci observes that formal education perpetuates exploitation according to class; however, the point here is that he does not discuss secular religious education at all, so that his sociology of religion is without the observations made here relating churches as political organizations. Thus, this research expands Gramscian theory.

In addition, the secular education of Light of Liberty, a counter-hegemonic church, likewise expands Gramsci. The pastor supports higher education and encourages his parishioners to upward mobility; however, as an organic intellectual, he teaches his people to use their schooling and economic success as instruments of resistance. For example, he cites Thurgood Marshall as an illustration of a Black man who effectively turned educational opportunity and its accompanying rewards into acts of resistance that benefitted his community and challenged the structures of exploitation. Consequently, because Gramsci does not examine secular religious education, this research informs his theory as it relates to counter-hegemony produced by churches as political institutions.

In sum, the assemblies under investigation both

188 Based on the context of discussion, it seems that Elder Bush had in view Marshall's leading of the team of lawyers that argued Brown v. The Board of Education before the Supreme Court in 1954, the case that integrated the public schools. Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 11 July 1996.
confirm and amplify Gramscian theory with regard to educa-
tion. They confirm Gramsci in terms of developing a total
ideological praxis, as did the Catholic church of his day,
a praxis which he intended to replicate as a cultural
revolutionary. At the same time, the churches amplify
Gramsci, for, as hegemonic and counter-hegemonic institu-
tions, they produce religious secular education, a subject
which he does not explore.

The Notion of Politics

The churches further confirm Gramsci's analysis in
their notions of politics. Pursuant to replication, the
traditional intellectuals of St. Luke Church and Fellowship
of Friends teach that the causes of African-American disad-
vantage are personal rather than structural and that Blacks
should individually commitment themselves to Christ to
improve their economic situation. Thus, as Gramsci argued
ruling class intellectuals reproduce an individualistic
worldview, mystifying the structural causes of inequality
and thereby foster consent to domination. This ideology
conceals the social, economic, and political systems, which
violate the masses, and it convinces them that they can
only improve their circumstances through individual effort.

However, St. Luke Church and Fellowship of Friends
differ remarkably regarding their perception of the specif-
ic causes of underprivileged. Interviewees from St. Luke
Church offer a host of causes ranging from racism to lazi-
ness and from satanic persecution to dishonest politicians. On the other hand, respondents from Fellowship of Friends cite racism as the preeminent cause of African-American disadvantage.

This difference is owing to specific social and economic factors. St. Luke Church is predominantly middle-class with 15 per cent of its congregation living in Cabrini, and the balance commuting from either the suburbs or communities other than public housing. As middle-class people living comfortably and experiencing subtle discrimination, they do not view racism as the paramount cause of Black underprivileged. At the same time, because the people of Fellowship of Friends are largely under-class Cabrini residents struggling to survive, they are violently abused by racial discrimination and therefore cite racism as the bane of their community.

These findings inform Gramscian theory, for they demonstrate that, although people holding a hegemonic worldview believe that individuals cause disadvantage, factors of class nonetheless influence their position. This refines Gramsci: he argues that people adhering to ruling class ideology do not appreciate the systemic causes of economic underprivileged. However, he does not state that class influences their perceptions nor does he relate this observation to his sociology of religion.

Moreover, Elder Bush, as an organic intellectual,
also informs Gramscian analysis. While he is strongly committed to individual morality and relationship with God, like traditional intellectuals, he nonetheless believes that the causes of African-American underprivileged are primarily structural. He informs his people "that some of the ills and limitations that [they] incur are systemic" and that they must oppose them collectively. In doing this, he combines politics with Christianity, teaching his people that God will empower them to overcome the structures of exploitation if they cooperate with Him by organizing politically. As cited earlier, Elder Bush expands Gramscian theory by forming a counter-hegemonic ideology consisting of ruling class religion and liberatory politics, a combination of ideas that Gramsci does not explore.

In sum, a comparison of the case studies indicates that the research both confirms and expands Gramscian thought. Data from St. Luke Church and Fellowship of Friends on the one hand are confirmatory, indicating that these organizations believe that the causes of deprivation are individual, rather than structural. However, on the other hand, the same data also demonstrate that class

---

189 Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 11 July 1996.

190 In an interview on July 11, 1996, conducted by the author, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, Elder Bush described having taken a Christian approach to organizing his people to demonstrate at City Hall against an unjust law.
influences people when they determine the specific individual causes of community underprivileged. Finally, the ideas of Elder Bush, the counter-hegemonic intellectual, also expand the theory under study, for as a pastor he combines traditional Christianity and critical philosophy to produce an ideological synthesis that Gramsci does not discuss.

The Notion of State Authority

Cross-case analysis replicates Gramscian theory regarding State authority. The hegemonic churches are strongly committed to obeying the State, and, although they reserve the right to disobey laws conflicting with the Bible, they hardly ever exercise this alternative.

This position replicates Gramsci, for he argues that the "State" and "civil society," which includes the church, comprise the "integral state" and work collaboratively to maintain hegemony. Furthermore, he views the State as having the exclusive right to employ violence in preserving elite domination when hegemony is jeopardized. Therefore, when the churches teach obedience to the government, they confirm Gramsci's view that they serve hegemonic functions which support the State as an enforcer of ruling class domination.

Elder Bush, a counter-hegemonic pastor, believes in a gradual ideological revolution eventuating in politically-motivated acts of violence. He describes this progression,
stating:

... when you resist ideologically and you continue to resist, then you create agitation .... When the agitation reaches its climax, then it becomes revolution. You begin to actually rise up against them in some way that is generally violent. 191

Similarly, Gramsci, although committed to a cultural, rather than a violent revolution, argues that the latter stages of insurrection will probably involve bloodshed. Of course, the central thesis of his work envisions intellectuals politically educating the masses and gradually undermining the capitalist hegemony of the State and its ideas. However, the final transition to socialism will involve mass hostility expressed toward the government and reactionary violence by the State. In this respect, Gramsci's ideas coincide with those of Elder Bush, for they both anticipate an ideological revolution with elements of political violence. 192 So then, in terms of State authority both the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ministries confirm Gramsci.

---

191 Elder Bush, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 11 July 1996.

192 In describing the violence of this transition, Boggs writes:

... the first stages of crisis [the crisis involving the collapse of capitalism] would typically involve mass expressions of apathy, cynicism, and confusion as well as outbursts of primitive revolt. ... On the elite level, this erosion of consensus would be met with increasing state dependence upon force and repression. The Two Revolutions, 164.
In conclusion the findings from cross-case analysis both replicate and expand Gramscian theory. Pursuant to religion, education, politics, and State authority, St. Luke Church and Fellowship of Friends, hegemonic institutions, consistently replicate Gramsci, while Light of Liberty, the counter-hegemonic assembly, expands him, with the exception of the last subject area, State authority, in which it also replicates the theory in question.
Researchers typically view the African-American church as an institution forged in the crucible of racial discrimination and solidified by a spirit of common destiny—a spirit of "we-ness." Because the ruling class denied Blacks the institutional access essential to normal social life, African-Americans formed the church, an organization to fill the void. However, the church, while serving as an institution of hope and sustenance, has been historically obliged to conform to the dominant order, a political system designed, in part, to exploit Black people. Horton describes this phenomenon writing:

For many years the black church in the United States was an accommodating institution. It helped to perpetuate the racial system by fostering the belief that hardship and suffering were good for the character. It also helped perpetuate the racial system through its accommodating "mores." The mores "helped" alleviate suffering; blacks could "escape" or "avoid" their deplorable social condition in the other-worldly preachings of the black church.¹

Although this assessment is indisputable, I argue nonetheless that the church, as the most ideologically influential Black institution, is capable of exercising counter-hegemonic leadership.\textsuperscript{2} I believe that rather than dismiss the church as an embarrassing, anachronistic residue of slavery, as many scholars do, the church should be transformed into a theologically conservative counter-ruling class institution.\textsuperscript{3} In presenting this position, I first discuss the church as an organization serving hegemonic purposes, attempting to vindicate its reputation by defending its conservatism. Then I propose an ideology of liberation, viewing the church as a political force assuming the vanguard of a cultural revolution according to Gramscian thought.

\textsuperscript{2}Although their final conclusion is a variance with my thesis, Wilcox and Gomez offer insightful discussion relative to the influence that religion exerts on Black "identification, satisfaction with the status quo, and orientation toward collective action." "Religion, Group Identification, and Politics among American Blacks," Sociological Analysis 51 (1990) :271-85.

\textsuperscript{3}This is the position of such scholars as Maulana Karenga and Jacob Carruthers of the Kemetic Institute as well as James H. Cone who writes:

The black church, though spatially located in the community of the oppressed, has not responded to the needs of its people. It has, rather, drained the community, seeking to be more and more like the white church. Black Theology and Black Power (New York: Seabury, 1969), 114.
The Black Church: A Historically Hegemonic Institution

As chapter three indicates, intellectuals from Frederick Douglass to Louis Farrakhan espoused various forms of dominant ideology from the days of slavery to the present, ideology that both solidified the existing order and perpetuated exploitation. The traditional ideologues leading this development genuinely committed themselves to African-American liberation. However, lamentably, they theorized that liberation was an arrangement in which Blacks and whites had equal access to capitalist rewards. They did not taken issue with the system’s exploitative nature; they simply objected to its inequitable distribution of resources. Thus, the Black community in the main historically produced traditional intellectuals who sustained white hegemony.

However, this observation does not only apply to the community at large, it also applies, as this study demonstrates, to the present-day church. For instance, Sister

4 These traditional intellectuals did not appreciate Franz Fanon’s insight regarding wealth, privilege, and the capitalist class:

... their [the masses’] salvation lies in their own cohesion, in the true understanding of their interests, and in knowing who their enemies are. The people come to understand that wealth is not the fruit of labor but the result of organized, protected robbery. Rich people are no longer respectable people; they are nothing more than flesh-eating animals, jackals, and vultures which wallow in the people’s blood. *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, Incorporated, 1963), 191.
Carol, a "faithful" member of St. Luke Church, recalls how Elder Luke Austin tirelessly exhorted his people to become well-educated and qualify for "good jobs:"

You would just sit there under his teaching, and he would tell us that not having a good education was for someone that came up in the South the hard way, for example, picking cotton. They were not fortunate enough to go to school and get the education that they required to get a certain job.  

In doing this, Elder Austin taught his people to consent to the capitalist order and to strive for its rewards. These hegemonic views represent those expressed throughout the study and the Black church at large.

However, the reproduction of these values is nonetheless defensible. Indeed, dominant ideology is not simply a fictitious prevarication nor a disingenuous pipedream; it is in fact a rewarding belief system that genuinely compensates its supporters.  

A study of the empowering dimen-

---

5Sister Carol, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Community Youth Learning Experience (CYCLE), Chicago, 30 March 1994. She goes on to explain that Pastor Jimmy Austin also shares these values:

He is down on that education. Almost every Sunday when he preaches, you are going to hear him talk about getting your education, about getting your schooling as much as possible and getting a job.

6Similarly, Lauren Langman argues that the remuneration of hegemonic ideology is both authentic and motivational:

Thus hegemony does not depend on an unconscious need to "submit to authority." Nor does it assume that people are cultural dopes lacking class consciousness. ... Rather, ideologies and cultural understandings provide very real social and personal rewards. The enactments of typical routines provide genuine gratification and meaning. "Identity, Hegemony, and
sion of community solidarity and idea production in the churches under study supports this observation.

Relative to community solidarity, the Sunday morning worship of St. Luke Church and Fellowship of Friends is the preeminent ritual for producing collective conscience and social power. Because of the large number of participants and emotionally intense preaching, the service creates a supra-individual force that strengthens its participants as explained by Durkheimian thought:

"... we can say that the believer is not deceived when he believes in the existence of a moral power upon which he depends and from which he receives all that is best in himself: this power exists, it is society." 7

Sister Carol interprets this experience, stating: "you come to church on Sunday; you fellowship with the saints, who believe the same thing that you believe, and it makes you


7Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (New York: The Free Press, 1915), 257. He comments further on this social/spiritual power engendered by religious rituals, stating:

For the collective force is not entirely outside of us; it does not act upon us wholly from without; but rather, since society cannot exist except in and through individual consciousness, this force must also penetrate us and organize itself within us; it thus becomes an integral part of our being and by that very fact it is elevated and magnified. 240.
Thus, the church is a fountainhead of community oneness and social fortitude; it is a wellspring of such resources as ethnic pride, psychological stability, and individual success—resources critical to Black survival in White America.

In terms of ethnic pride, intellectual elites reproduce a worldview defining African-Americans as an intrinsically inferior minority, inherently unequal to whites. This, of course, is the basis for institutional discrimination and the stabilization of Blacks as an exploitable working-class. Moreover, it teaches all Americans, both Black and white, that people of African descent are naturally and unquestionably a social liability.  

However, the church supplies an alternative view which on the one hand fosters ethnic pride, but on the other consent to domination. Ecclesiastical intellectuals teach their parishioners that they are the righteous children of God: they are righteous because "they have been cleansed by the blood of Christ," and they are the children of God because they have been "born again into the family

---

8Sister Carol, interviewed by author, Tape recording, Community Youth Learning Experience (CYCLE), Chicago, 30 March 1994.

of the Almighty." These are tremendously liberating ideas: indeed, as righteous Christians, African-American are morally superior to the system which demeans them, and as sons and daughters of God, they possess inestimable value despite the assessment of the ruling class.

Yet, at the same time, these ideas foster acquiescence to the dominant culture. Rather than becoming politically active and committed to change, such Christians tend to be spiritually absorbed with "the things of God." They become confident that the Lord will sovereignly deliver them from injustice--"when He sees fit." Paradoxically, the very ideas that so effectively engender ethnic pride, at the same time preserve Black subalternation.

The dominant ideology legitimates the State, as the only institution authorized to use force, or the threat of force, as the ultimate sanction for maintaining domination. This leads African-Americans to believe that the government is absolutely invincible, so that resisting the State is not only futile, but patently self-destructive. In this situation, Blacks must find peace of mind, that is, a tranquility of spirit that will enable them to survive the humiliation of having to quietly endure legalized degradation. In response to this need, the church provides solace.

It offers mental composure with such thoughts as the following:
The Lord is for me; I will not fear; 
What can man do to me?  

This idea has enabled African-Americans to survive mistreatment from slavery to the present by trusting God to some day improve the quality of their lives—if not in this world, then certainly in the next. Thus, the church has empowered its people to endure, teaching them to patiently suffer in the present, while hoping for immortality in the future.

However, this message produces consent as well as success: it dissuades Blacks from confronting the State as revolutionaries and encourages them to tolerate the status quo. Thus, once again, the church makes a remarkable contribution to the wellbeing of its people; however, at the same time, it solicits compliance with their subordination. For, while Black Christians trust the Lord as Deliverer, the ruling class continues to oppress them with impunity.

Pursuant to individual success, hegemonic intellectuals reproduce ideas that justify economic violence against the Black masses. They mystify the structural causes of inequality arguing that American society is meritocratic and that individual deficiencies explain disadvantage. Thus, they influence society to believe that such factors as individual laziness and criminality precipitate African-

---

American disadvantage. Although Blacks are prone to accept this view of themselves, the church offers them a radically different perspective.

It teaches that each believer has immense value to the community, and it provides a context for encouraging individual achievement. For instance, it motivates its people to develop as leaders and to earn the respect of their peers by excelling in the faith. Moreover, it teaches an alternative value system: individuals are applauded for their contributions to the group and their families and not for their possession of wealth and power according to dominant values. In these ways, the church produces a culture, militating against the view that Blacks as individuals are deficient and cause their own disadvantage.

Yet, although these ideas facilitate individual success, they also foster cooperation with the existing order. Members becoming successful in the church often proceed to adopt ruling class values, seeking material prosperity and ignoring their own community. For example, youth frequently develop in the church and progress to college and professional careers without employing their advantages to assist Black people. Thus, the church makes an inestimable contribution to the community by promoting individual success; however, in doing so, it also preserves the dominant order.

In sum, Black church ideology makes an indisputable
contribution to the community, fostering ethnic pride, psychological stability, and individual success. However, it also perpetuates class exploitation: it teaches African-Americans to voluntarily embrace ruling class values which concertize their subalternation. Therefore, while Black Christianity has historically contributed to community survival, it has also solicited consent to exploitation.

The Black Church: A Potentially Counter-hegemonic Institution

The church, as the cultural epicenter of the community, is capable of exercising counter-hegemonic leadership and assuming the forefront of an ideological revolution. To actualize this potential, the church must become the primary source of political education in today's Black community, as Gramsci planned that the factory councils would become in the Italian society of the 1930s. In supporting this position, I first examine the specific function of the councils, arguing that as they were the most suitable organization for radicalizing the Italian

---

11I argue that Gramsci's use of the councils was culturally-specific. That is, he would have used any organization well-suited to his purpose; however, he selected the councils because they were the most fitting given the circumstances of his day. Indeed, the idea of employing the councils was not original to Gramsci (Lenin had already developed councils in Russia). Gramsci simply tailored the concept to serve his own interests. Therefore, it is reasonable to select the organization from the Black community that would best serve the purpose among African-Americans that Gramsci assigned to the Italian councils. In my mind, this is unquestionably the church.
masses, so too the church is the most suitable organization for radicalizing the Black masses. I then propose a theology of liberation based on my research at Liberty Church, a counter-hegemonic assembly, and its ideas regarding religion, education, politics, and State authority.

The Purpose of Factory Councils
In Gramscian Theory

The purpose of the councils was to politically educate the masses, so too that they might become a counter-hegemonic group and participate in forging first the revolution and later the socialist State. According to Gramsci, because revolutions do not generally emerge spontaneously, the councils were critical to developing class consciousness and preparing the proletariat to gradually takeover the State through an ideological coup. In describing the role of the councils in this process, Kiros writes:

... for Gramsci, the function of the councils is not to make instantaneous revolution by smashing the state... Rather, the revolutionary class must educate itself to the requirements of political life by developing new habits, attitudes, world views, systems of morality; in short, new culture.

---

12Gramsci argued that the masses were apathetic to politics because they were politically uneducated. Therefore, he purposed to train and motivate them through organic intellectuals producing counter-ruling class ideas. For a detailed discussion on this subject, see Kiros, Toward the Construction, 52-53.
Within this framework, Gramsci set forth three specific objectives for the councils: to make philosophy accessible, indoctrination comprehensive, and political theory relevant, objectives which the Black church is remarkably well-suited to accomplish.

In terms of the accessibility of philosophy, Gramsci argued that, in order to prepare the masses for a socialist revolution, the councils had to instruct them in counter-hegemony. Thus, because the workers were capable of spontaneous, but not critical philosophy, the councils had to educate them in revolutionary thought, preparing them to contribute rationally to the overthrow of capitalism.

As the councils were ideal for educating Italian workers, so too churches are ideal for educating the Black masses. This is true because the church has provided African-Americans with political leadership throughout their history in the U.S. And as the premier community leader, it has transcended barriers that are often divisive, for its followers include the churched and the non-

---

13Kiros, *Toward the Construction*, 187. For further commentary on this same subject, see Karl Korsch: *Revolutionary Theory*, ed. Doug Kellner (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1977) which states that "the earlier socialist teaching" of "seize the political power" was being substituted by "the notion of a broadly conceived 'industrial democracy.'" 22-23.
churched from both the working- and middle-classes.  
Furthermore, many congregations belong to denominations with international memberships, so that collectively these bodies are capable of global counter-hegemony. Thus, the church is exemplary for educating the Black masses in political theory.

Pursuant to comprehensive indoctrination, Gramsci believed that in training the proletariat, the councils had to penetrate every facet of a worker's life, including the organizations to which he belonged and the publications to

---

14 This is not to deny the divisions within the Black church based on theological, political, professional, and other such differences; however, as a broad organization it is capable of submerging these tensions in the name of community uplift as it did during the Civil Rights Movement. Aldon D. Morris supports this observation stating:

The black church functioned as the institutional center of the modern civil rights movement. Churches provided the movement with an organized mass base; a leadership of clergymen largely economically independent of the larger white society and skilled in the art of managing people and resources; an institutionalized financial base through which protest was financed; and meeting places where the masses planned tactics and strategies and collectively committed themselves to the struggle. The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement (New York: The Free Press, 1984), 4.

15 As an example of the size and international influence of the church, the Church Of God In Christ (of which St. Luke and Light of Liberty are members) is the most rapid growing Black denomination in America, increasing since 1950 from about 800 assemblies to over 10,000 and having a present membership of more than three million. Its missionaries have established works in Germany, Africa, and the Caribbean, and its overseas membership is estimated at more than a half million. For detailed discussion on the size and growth of the major Black denominations, see Lincoln and Mamiya, The Black Church in the African American Experience.
which he subscribed. Indeed, the councils were to produce an all-encompassing worldview which the masses would internalize and employ in interpreting their reality.

The Black church is especially well-equipped to manage this type of education. As the dominant institution of the African-American community, it has had to furnish channels of expression the larger society would not supply. Thus, it has provided facilities for education, forums for discussion, and platforms for community leaders. All of which are essential to penetrating the lives of its members with counter-hegemonic ideas.

Furthermore, the spiritual dynamic of the church's culture facilitates thorough indoctrination. For its methods of instruction include hymns, testimonies, prayers, and biblical sermons which provide still another approach to propagandizing its people. Thus, the church has remarkable potential for comprehensively educating the Black masses.

Finally, in terms of making theory relevant, Gramsci determined that in the councils the workers would translate socialistic concepts into practice. By participating directly in the committees, they would develop the social and political skills necessary to the revolution and the emerging communal State.

The church is capable of the same function. It is a
community organization, structured, financed, and designed by common people and experienced in managing its own affairs. This is principally owing to white society’s exclusion of Blacks from mainstream institutions, as Morris explains:

The church was a place to observe, participate in, and experience the reality of owning and directing an institution free from the control of whites.¹⁶

Thus, the church’s supporters are necessary involved with the political ideas that it generates and activities that it sponsors. Because of this, the church, like the councils, is well-prepared to make theory relevant. In conclusion, the church is capable of leading a counter-ruling class cultural revolution according to Gramscian theory. In order to accomplish this, it must politically educating the community at large and maximize its capacity to make philosophy accessible, indoctrination comprehensive, and political theory relevant.

A Theologically Conservative, Politically Radical Ideology of Black Liberation

The ideas of Elder Bush are the genesis for developing an African-American ideology of liberation, an ideology that is at once theologically conservative and politically radical.¹⁷ The following discussion reviews the perspec-


¹⁷The proposal of a Black theology of liberation is certainly nothing new; it goes back at least to the writings of James Cone in the late 1960s. However, Cone’s work, and
tives of Elder Bush as they relate to religion, education, politics, and State authority, the emphasis of the study.

The discussion employs the phrase "theologically conservative" to refer to the elemental doctrines of the traditional Black church, emphasizing the notion of Jesus as the Savior of sinful humankind. Moreover, it uses the words "politically radical" to denote the position that Gramscian democratic socialism is superior to and should be substituted for capitalism through a cultural revolution.

In terms of religion, a conservative theology reflecting the teachings of Pastor Bush focuses on salvation from sin through the death of Christ. A statement of faith from this tradition reads:

We believe the Bible to be the inspired and only infallible, written Word of God. . . . We believe that the only means of being cleansed from sin is through repentance and faith in the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which is expressed publicly through baptism in water.18

At the same time, a radical political agenda, according to Elder Bush, includes denouncing ruling class oppression as sinful and preaching that God blesses confrontation, even violent confrontation, directed against that of his colleagues, demands that the church repudiate its commitment to conservative Protestant dogma, and this, in my view, is why his ideas have never really "caught on" among the Black clergy--the traditional church simply will not change its theology. For an introduction to Cone's ideas, see For My People: Black Theology and the Black Church (New York: Orbis Books, 1984).

exploitation. Furthermore, such an agenda argues that a revolution is the ultimate end of confrontation, a revolution precipitating democratic socialism.

Regarding education, an ideology of liberation weds both conservative and radical ideas. Drawing again on the views of Elder Bush, it espouses a traditional approach to Christian education teaching orthodox theology and conventional morality without equivocation.

At the same time it is politically liberatory. Indeed, it sets forth critical philosophy, stating, for example, that such structural factors as racist capitalism cause Black disadvantage. Furthermore, it teaches resistance—both violent and non-violent—to ruling class cultural and political domination. And, while supporting higher education, it exhorts Black students to maintain a sense of ethnic identity and purpose as they study in white institutions. And it urges them to invest the social

19 Although this strategy follows Gramsci's notion of a gradual, cultural takeover, in giving place to violence, it agrees with the words of Fanon:

The native who decides to put the program [of liberation] into practice, and to become its moving force, is ready for violence at all times. From birth it is clear to him that this narrow world, strewn with prohibitions, can only be called in question by absolute violence. The Wretched, 37.

20 Luke S. Tripp draws the following conclusion based on his study of African-American students at University of Michigan:

They shifted dramatically from a tendency to blame the system for the plight of Blacks toward a tendency to
and material rewards of their schooling in the Black struggle for freedom.

An ideology of African-American liberation, reflecting the ideas of Elder Bush, is politically dual-faceted, for it integrates both conservative and radical ideas. It is conservative in that, using biblical support, it encourages its people to vote in all elections and to believe that they can influence public policy by participating in the democratic process. However, the ideology in question is also politically radical. It advocates employing organic intellectuals to form class conscious voting blocks with an Afrocentric agenda. This is to maximize the political strength of the masses by having them focus on issues of race and class. The ideology also argues that, because capitalist exploitation is community-wide, the Black majority is justified in forcing uncooperative individuals to follow its political decisions.

Concerning State authority, once again an African-American scheme of liberation is conservative as well as revolutionary. As in the case of Elder Bush, it preserves traditional religion by respecting the State as God-ordained as the COGIC manual states:

blame Black individuals for their own misfortune. And they became more critical of Blacks, as individuals, for not assuming more responsibility for their own well being. Black Student Activities: Transition to Middle Class Professionals (New York: University Press of America, 1987), 115.
We believe that governments are God given institutions for the benefit of mankind. We admonish and exhort our members to honor magistrates and the powers that be, and to respect and obey the civil laws.²¹

However, it is revolutionary in that it stipulates that citizens have the right to disobey the State when it requires them to transgress the teachings of God. Because racism violates divine law, resistance to anti-Black legislation is not only defensible, but applaudable on moral grounds. Furthermore, this resistance, according to the mind of Elder Bush, might involve violence, although non-violence is preferable.

In summary, I propose that the church, the most culturally influential Black institution, has the power and right to produce counter-hegemony to liberate its people. In order to accomplish this, the traditional church must be transformed: it must shift from theological irrelevance to ideological resistance and from political impotence to revolutionary consciousness.

²¹Church Of God In Christ Official Manual, 130.
APPENDIX

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHURCH LEADERS AND MEMBERS
APPENDIX

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHURCH LEADERS AND MEMBERS

General Background Information

1. How long have you been attending (name of church)?
2. Are you a member of the church?
3. Do you hold an office in the church? (if affirmative)
4. Talk to me about what you do.

Church

1. Why do you attend this church as opposed to another?
2. Tell me about decision-making in your church?
3. Talk to me about how the church views its youth?
4. Tell me about the role of young adults in the church.
   of middle-aged adults. of senior adults.
5. Talk to me about the leaders in the church.
6. Tell me about the relationship between the leaders and the members.

Religion

1. How long have you been a Christian?
2. What does it mean to you to be a Christian?
3. Tell me about the place of the Bible in your Christianity.
4. Talk to me about the gospel.
5. Talk to me about the relationship between the church and the community.

Education

1. Talk to me about Christian education.
2. Tell me about secular education.
4. Talk to me about your schooling.
5. Tell me about how your education influences the way that you live.
6. Talk to me about how your education influences the way that you think.

Politics

1. Tell me about your involvement in politics. (local, state, national)
2. Talk to me about the causes of problems in the Black community.
3. Does advancing the gospel carry with it political responsibility?
4. Talk to me about voting in elections.
4. Talk to me about voting in elections.
5. Do politicians ever come and speak in your church?
6. Talk to me about the congregation’s involvement in politics as individuals.
7. Tell me about the congregation’s involvement in politics as a group.
8. Describe for me the attitudes of the church leaders toward politics.

State Authority

1. What does the Bible say about obeying the law?
2. Is there ever any situation in which you believe that it is right to break the law?
3. Tell me what you think about law-breaking.
4. Talk to me about violent law-breaking?
5. What do you think about non-violent lawbreaking?
6. How do you feel about the policing in your community?
7. Tell me what you think about the criminal justice system in general?
WORKS CITED

Books


Erikson, Kai T. *In Search of Common Ground: Conversations*


Faith and Practice of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends Church. Plainfield, Indiana, 1986.


Swift, David E. *Joseph John Gurney.* Boston: Little, Brown and


Articles


Hilliard, David. "If You Want Peace, You Got to Fight for It." In The Black Panthers Speak, ed. Philip S. Foner,


———. "Why Should We March?" *Survey Graphic* 31 (1942): 488-89.


Sheffield, Lincoln Webster. "People's Medical Care Center." In *The Black Panthers Speak*, ed. Philip S. Foner, 173-
305


**Unpublished Works**


"Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church." Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church, Chicago, n.d.
VITA

I have been teaching Bible Exposition full-time for eleven years on the BA level at Moody Bible Institute and hold a Ph.D. in Bible Exposition from Dallas Theological Seminary. I have also as taught undergraduate courses in Sociology at Loyola University 1994 - 1996.

The dissertation submitted by Rupe Simms has been read and approved by the following committee:

Lauren Langman, Ph.D., Director
Professor, Sociology
Loyola University Chicago

Phil Nyden, Ph. D.
Director of Center for Urban Research and Learning
Loyola University Chicago

Tal Wright, Ph.D.
Professor, Sociology
Loyola University Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date: 27-11-96

Director's Signature