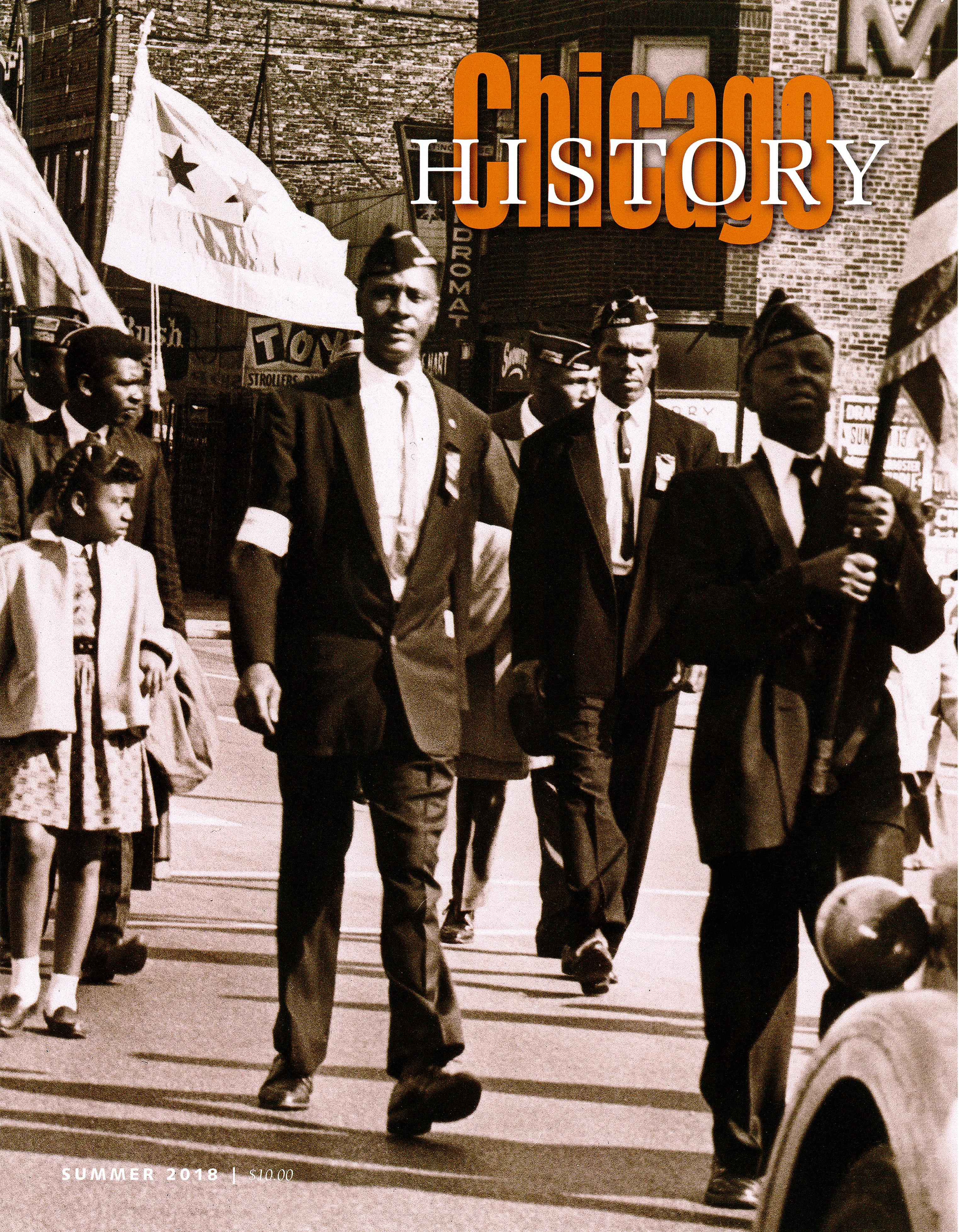

SUMMER 2018 | $10.00

Chicago HISTORY

CHICAGO HISTORY

On the cover: Lawndale community memorial march following the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, 1963. Photograph by James H. Hall, ICHi-040016.

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Clark Street at North Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614-6038
312.642.4600
chicagohistory.org

ISSN 0272-8540

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life.*

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Chicago HISTORY

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CHICAGO HISTORY MUSEUM

Summer 2018

VOLUME XLII, NUMBER 2

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Black Catholic Revolution

In the late 1960s, the social unrest that swept the nation transformed Chicago's Catholic community.

MATTHEW J. CRESSLER

Editor's note: Great social, cultural, and political change swept across the country during the 1960s, including within the Catholic Church. In an excerpt from his book, Authentically Black and Truly Catholic, *Matthew J. Cressler explores how a group of Black Catholic activists sparked a revolution in US Catholicism. Inspired by both Black Power and Vatican II, they fought for the self-determination of Black parishes and the right to identify as both Black and Catholic. The author integrates scholarship in religious studies, African American studies, Catholic studies, and history. Black Catholics tend to be hidden in the blind spots of each discipline, and this book attempts to reveal their roles in this great change.*

When did you first think of yourself as Black and Catholic?" I asked Father George H. Clements.[1] "I can pinpoint the exact moment that the change took place," he replied. "April the 4th, 1968, a bullet whizzed through the head of Martin Luther King and it was then that I went into the bathroom at the rectory, looked in the mirror, and the face staring back at me was a clergy prostitute." Clements recalled the commitment he made to himself that day: "From now on, I'm gonna be a *Black* man."

This moment, which Clements described as a conversion experience, brought to light a painful recognition: he had prioritized advancement up the "proverbial clergy ladder" over the needs of the Black community. He laughed, ruefully remembering how he "was no threat to anybody," how he "went through the whole buffoonery of pretending that whatever they were saying made sense, especially when it comes to Black people . . . I definitely wanted to become a monsignor and I wanted to eventually become an auxiliary bishop."[2] This is what he meant when he called himself a "clergy prostitute." Clements had experienced an awakening to Black racial consciousness, an experience soon shared by Black Catholics across the country.

By December 1968 Father Clements was embroiled in controversy, one that proved to be just the first of a controversial career.[3] Chicago's archbishop, Cardinal

Father George H. Clements was an active member of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, which sought to promote racial justice within the Archdiocese of Chicago, the Roman Catholic Church, and society in general. He is pictured at a council banquet, standing at the head table, third from left.

As an ambitious young priest, Clements (seated, left) dreamed of climbing to the position of auxiliary bishop. After Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination, however, he experienced an awakening and decided "from now on, I'm gonna be a Black *man." Undated photograph from the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago collection.*

John P. Cody, refused to promote Father George Clements to the pastorate of his South Side parish despite the backing of parishioners and clergy alike. Supporters took to the streets in protest and forged a coalition that included Concerned Black Catholics, white Catholic allies, and members of the local Black Panther Party, among others. What began as a local church controversy quickly gained national notoriety and as it did, its ramifications extended well beyond one Black priest in one parish. At stake was nothing short of Black Catholic self-determination.[4]

The late 1960s begins what I call the rise of *Black Catholicism* in Chicago. By the 1960s, Chicago had already become one of the most important Black Catholic communities in the country. Thousands of African Americans became Catholic over the better part of a half-century as migrants met missionaries in schools on the South and West Sides. Chicago's Black Catholic population would soon eclipse New Orleans and Baltimore, the historic capitals of Black Catholic America. The Black Metropolis laid claim to the largest Black Catholic church in the country, Corpus Christi, which was famous nationwide for the Living Stations of the Cross. What changed in the late 1960s was not *that* there were Black Catholics but *how* they were Black and Catholic. Converts in the first half of the twentieth century joined the "One True Church," making that choice amidst an ever-increasing plurality of Black churches and temples. They embraced devotionalism brought by European immigrants and celebrated the "quiet dignity" that defined their worship. In a matter of years, though, the rituals once taken to be signs of a universal faith would be criticized as "white." A growing number of Black Catholic activists began to argue that they were not Catholics who happened to be Black but Black people who deserved and demanded a distinctively *Black* Catholicism.[5]

The story of Father Clements and the St. Dorothy Church controversy from December 1968 to June 1969 illuminates the origins of this revolution in Black Catholic life across the country. Black Power fundamentally shaped the ways in which Black Catholics experienced the changes ushered in by the Second Vatican Council. The Council (Vatican II for short) met from 1962 until 1965 and propelled profound transformations in Catholic life. In the years that followed, Black activists initiated a broad shift in the philosophical principles, political tactics, and cultural aesthetics of Black freedom struggles. A growing group of Black Catholic activists, Father Clements prominent among them, took up Black Power and

confronted the US Catholic Church as a "white racist institution." They called for Black control of Catholic institutions in Black communities as well as for the integration of what they understood to be "authentic Black" practices into worship. These demands met with stiff resistance, however. Foremost among the critics of these activists were many Black Catholics themselves. The debates sparked by the convergence of Black Power and Vatican II changed the course of Black Catholic history. . . .

Father George H. Clements and Black Power in Chicago

The connection between Black Catholics and Black Power in Chicago was neither abstract nor ephemeral. And one man embodied it in an enduring way. Father George Clements played an instrumental role in the early years of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party as well as the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, two of Chicago's most significant Black Power organizations. Who was this Black priest?

Born in Chicago in 1932, the Catholic roots in George Harold Clements's family ran deep. His father hailed from Lebanon, Kentucky, in the region known as the "Holy Land," named for the Catholic communities founded by Maryland migrants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Along with New Orleans and Baltimore, the Kentucky Holy Land was one of the earliest Black Catholic communities in the United States,

Clements was raised in Chicago's Corpus Christi parish. The church's Renaissance Revival–style building (above) was designed by Joseph W. McCarthy and completed in 1916. Below: The church's altar boys in 1956. Photograph by Burke and Dean.

where white Catholics had settled with their baptized slaves. Clements's father was not especially devout. His grandmother, though, devoted herself to maintaining their family faith. The matriarch traveled frequently back and forth between Kentucky and Chicago, growing close with Clements's mother in the process. She convinced George Clements's mother to receive religious instructions, baptize her children, and become active in their local parish, Corpus Christi.

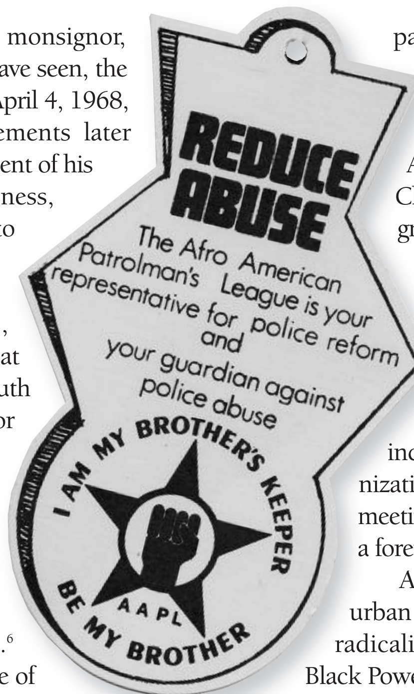
Clements came of age in the golden years of Corpus Christi parish. At his grandmother's insistence, George attended Corpus Christi grammar school where the Sisters of St. Francis educated him. He roamed the streets of Bronzeville with the Franciscan friars. Since he grew up in the heyday of the Living Stations, Clements surely was transported to the passion of Christ on Calvary along with the rest of the parish each Lent. It was in this environment that Clements became interested in the Catholic priesthood at a young age. When it was time to enter high school, he left Corpus Christi for Quigley Preparatory Seminary. He advanced to St. Mary

From the start, Father Clements took an active role in the St. Dorothy community, such as meeting with students in 1959 (above) and participating in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom with parishioners in 1963 (below).

Father Clements served as a spiritual advisor for the Afro-American Patrolmen's League (AAPL), founded in 1968 in response to growing concern over the treatment of African Americans by and within law enforcement. Clements is pictured here in 1975 with AAPL leaders Renault Robinson (left) and Howard Saffold (right). Below: A badge from the AAPL.

of the Lake Seminary in 1945 and became only the second Black priest ordained by the Archdiocese of Chicago in 1957.

Clements dreamed of becoming a monsignor, perhaps one day even a bishop. As we have seen, the assassination of Martin Luther King on April 4, 1968, altered those dreams. Yet, while Clements later marked King's assassination as the moment of his conversion to Black racial consciousness, there were a number of events prior to this watershed moment that established his activist credentials within the Black Catholic community. In 1962, Clements was made an assistant priest at the Black parish of St. Dorothy in the South Side Chatham neighborhood. The pastor at the time, a white priest named Father Gerald Scanlan, was beloved by the St. Dorothy community and encouraged Clements to embrace his Black identity. Clements fondly recalled this older white man as "Blacker" than many of his own African American parishioners.[6] Scanlan mentored Clements into the role of activist-priest, famously renting a train car to transport Clements and parishioners to the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.[7]



Clements continued to follow in his pastor's footsteps over the next few years. He heeded Martin Luther King's nationwide call for religious leaders to march for voting rights in Selma, Alabama, in March 1965.[8] Once back in Chicago, his commitment to protest politics grew. In June that same year he was arrested (along with other priests and sisters) in a demonstration organized by the local civil rights group Co-Ordinating Council on Community Organization.

Much like other Black activists in the urban North, he seems to have been increasingly attracted to more militant organizations and was reported to have attended a meeting of the Revolutionary Action Movement, a forerunner of the Black Panther Party.[9]

As King's assassination and subsequent urban uprisings accelerated Father Clements's radicalization, they also accelerated the rise of Black Power in Chicago. Five young Black members of the Chicago Police Department joined together in

outrage over Mayor Richard Daley's order that police officers should shoot-to-kill looters during the April uprising. One of those officers, Renault "Reggie" Robinson, was a parishioner at St. Dorothy who knew Clements well. Fearing reprisal from fellow officers, most of whom were Irish Catholics, Father Clements arranged for them to meet in secret in a parish basement.[10] There, they founded the Afro-American Patrolmen's League (AAPL). Over the next ten years the AAPL confronted discrimination within the force and fought to transform the image of the Black police officer in African American communities. Their objective was to establish Black control of policing in Black neighborhoods. To further their goal, the AAPL adopted the motto "Black Power through the Law" and pledged support for any efforts that established "respect for Black manhood, Black womanhood and Black pride within the law." They dedicated themselves to fostering a community "where those of us who are Black will be able to live lives of beautiful fulfillment."[11]

Clements also played a surprising role in an even more controversial Black Power organization, the Black Panther Party. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, then students at San Francisco State University, first organized the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in 1966 to combat police harassment and brutality in Black Bay Area communities. They began by policing the police. Armed with pocket US Constitutions and prepared to defend themselves if necessary, the Panthers shadowed police officers to ensure the protection of Black civil rights. Newton and Seale's Black Panther Party Platform, first published in 1967, combined a nationalist call for Black solidarity and a Marxist critique of American capitalism with an extended repurposing of the US Declaration of Independence. Sometimes referred to by its subtitles "What We Want, What We Believe," the Platform demanded Black social, political, and economic self-determination and exemplified the radical anti-imperialist end of the broader Black Power spectrum.

Rev. Clements Denies Being 'Black Militant Separatist'

A group of parishioners at St. Dorothy Church have sent a petition to that institution protesting the "black militant separatist" tag that was slapped on Father George H. Clements by a disgruntled nun.

It reads: "We as concerned parishioners of St. Dorothy resent and refute the statement from Sister Mary Agnella (BBM) calling Father Clements a militant separatist. We also regret the undocumented statement made by the four nuns who resigned with her and concurred with a statement by Father McGrath that the sister received harsh and unethical treatment while principal at St. Dorothy School.

"We deem these statements as derogatory and unjustified, being based on opinion rather than fact."

By BOB HUNTER
(Daily Defender Staff Writer)

The Rev. George H. Clements has denied the charge that he is a "black militant separatist." At the same time he stated that to his knowledge he does not have that reputation in the Chicago Roman Catholic Archdiocese.

The allegation was made early this week by Sister Mary Agnella, who resigned as principal of St. Dorothy Elementary School, 7740 S. Eberhart st.

Four other Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary and a priest walked out in sympathy with her.

Those who quit the St. Dorothy Parish in support of Sister Agnella were the Rev. Francis John McGrath, and Sisters Mary Michaelitta, Mary Virgineace, Mary Shawn, and Mary Bride. They said they split from the parish because Father Clements "mistreated" Sister Agnella. Father McGrath was associate pastor of the parish.

It had been reported that Sister Agnella resigned from the school at the suggestion of Father Clements. However, he said this is not the gospel truth.

"I never asked Sister Agnella to resign," Father Clements told the Daily Defender. "As a matter of fact, I believe some black principals would be worse than some white principals. But the position of the black priests is that black priests should be in control of own institutions whenever possible."

Father Clements said he did not see any connection between the belated announcement that Rev. Francis X Lawlor had been suspended

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In the August 15, 1968, issue of the Chicago Daily Defender, *Father Clements asserted that "black priests should be in control of their own institutions whenever possible."*

The Black Panthers came out in force during the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Photograph by Stephen Deutch.

The radical politics and revolutionary swagger of the Black Panthers in Oakland attracted increasingly militant Black activists across the urban North and West.[12] Young Black Chicagoans on the West and South Sides founded the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1968. Led by charismatic leaders like Fred Hampton and Bobby Rush, Chicago's Black Panthers quickly became famous throughout the city for combating police harassment and brutality, providing free meals and social services for those who needed them, and forging an interracial coalition of Black, white, and Latino radicals known as the "Rainbow Coalition."[13] According to Clements, the Panthers called on him to mediate an internal dispute in 1968. When the priest successfully resolved the issue, he came to be known affectionately as their "chaplain" and became friends with Fred Hampton.[14] The connections Clements forged between Black Catholics and Black Power activists would play a critical role in the fight for Black Catholic self-determination in Chicago.

Self-Determination on the South Side of Chicago

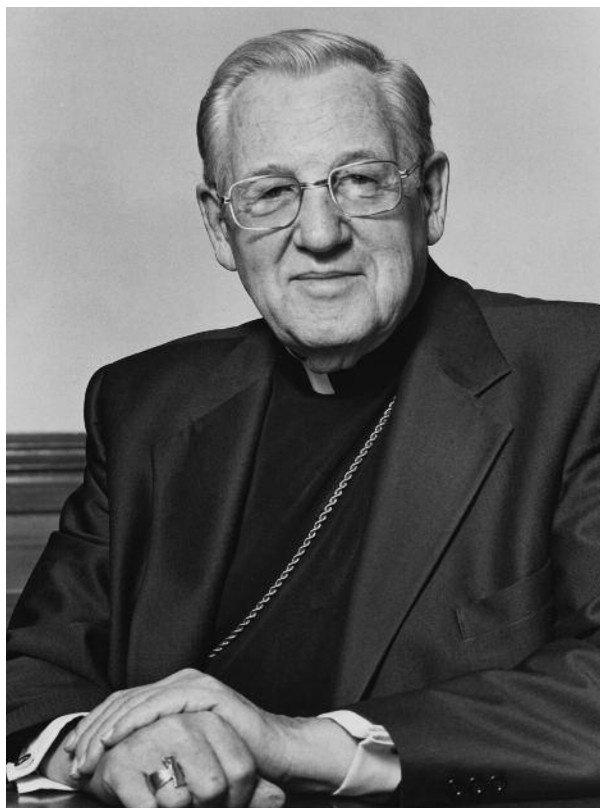
On August 1, 1968, the white principal of St. Dorothy Elementary School resigned. Four of her fellow Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary as well as the associate pastor of St. Dorothy, all of them white, resigned in support. (Six other white nuns refused to follow them.) They claimed that Father George Clements had mistreated them because of their race. Clements was a "Black militant separatist," they charged, whose insistence on

installing a Black principal at the elementary school had forced the principal, Sister Mary Agnella, to leave.[15]

This was a troubling accusation. A group of "concerned parishioners of St. Dorothy" rallied to support Clements and resented the false accusation that their assistant pastor was a "militant separatist." The accusation was troubling not least of all for Clements himself. He denied being a "Black militant separatist" and sought to clarify his position on school leadership. "Some Black principals would be worse than some white principals," he noted. The larger issue at stake for him was that "Black priests should be in control of [their] own institutions whenever possible."[16] In other words, Clements was trying to make a subtle distinction between crude identity politics and Black self-determination. He was not arguing that Black educators should replace all white ones, regardless of qualification. He was arguing, however, that Black people should be in the position to control predominantly Black institutions, such as St. Dorothy church and school.

This skirmish anticipated the coming crisis that would pit the white Archdiocesan establishment and its allies, both white and Black, against a small but vocal group of activists. It also illuminated growing divisions among Black Catholics themselves that became clearer over the course of the next year. Many Black Catholics remained unsure about the compatibility of Black Power and Catholic life. For some, Black Power's insistence on institutional self-determination and cultural self-definition presented a solution to the problem of racism plaguing the American Church. For others, the increasing entanglement of politics (and the politics of identity) with religious practice threatened much of what they held dear about being Catholic.

Four months after Sister Mary Agnella retired, St. Dorothy's beloved pastor Father Scanlan retired. By the time the retirement letter reached Cardinal Cody on December 18, the archbishop already had received "advice" regarding Scanlan's potential successor from a number of constituencies. Much of this counsel was unsolicited. Lay representatives of St. Dorothy presented Cody with what was effectively an ultimatum days before Scanlan retired. Seven hundred and fifty-eight parishioners signed a statement that demanded "Father George Clements be appointed pastor of St. Dorothy church." They proclaimed that "this Black man has worked diligently, self-sacrificingly, and laboriously in our parish for the past five and one-half years, so we fully realize he is well qualified and that he has a sympathetic understanding of all the intricacies and ramifications of our Black community."[17] (Over two-thirds of the three thousand–member parish either abstained or refused to sign, however. This division foreshadowed the debates to come.)



Previously the archbishop of New Orleans, John Cardinal Cody arrived in Chicago in 1965 with a reputation as an effective fiscal manager and ardent defender of racial integration.

Father Clements's involvement in Black Chicago was a priority for the signatories. The ultimatum pressed Cody to either make good on his purported racial liberalism or admit the Church's hypocrisy on racial issues. "If Father Clements is not named as pastor or administrator," the letter read, "this will be considered as an affront and a slap in the face to all Black people—and show, in the eyes of the nation that the Catholic religion does not really care about civil rights, but has been just going along so that the name 'Catholicism' was included." The petitioners realized that assistants do not usually become full pastors until they have fifteen to twenty years of experience (a point the archdiocese confirmed). Nevertheless, they insisted that "we need Father Clements now." If Cody refused, nearly eight hundred parishioners threatened to boycott their church and school. Twenty-one priests of "inner-city parishes" joined them in petitioning their archbishop for Clements's promotion.[18] Soon even prominent outsiders such as the Reverend Jesse Jackson—the Baptist minister and director of Operation Breadbasket, an organization dedicated to economic justice for African Americans that grew out of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference—entered the fray.

The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago photograph collection documents the activities and members of the council from the 1940s to the 1960s, including banquets, church services (above), and demonstrations for civil rights.

This situation must have rankled the archbishop. Cardinal John Patrick Cody in many ways embodied the tensions of a Church in transition. He was considered a racial liberal when he was appointed to succeed Cardinal Albert Meyer. But Cody ruled his archdiocese with a strong hand. Historians have come to mixed judgments about the archbishop. Judged against his predecessors who were more open in the administration of their priests, Cody has been described as "dictatorial" and accused of working to dismantle the city's liberal Catholic traditions. According to one journalist at the time, the best way to understand the conflict between Cody and the supporters of Clements was to situate it in the broader struggles over church power and authority. "The church has been in turmoil for several years, most often over precisely the question of the authority of its hierarchy," the author noted, "and Cardinal Cody has a reputation for being a strict authoritarian who seldom communicates his decisions publicly until they are made. In this situation the struggle over his authority has coalesced with Black determinism to become an explosion."[19] In hindsight, Cody seems to have resisted the egalitarian spirit many of Chicago's younger priests and nuns interpreted as the spirit of Vatican II. Cody was neither accustomed to parishes petitioning for their pastors, nor would he abide threats or ultimatums made by parishioners and *his* priests.[20]

So, on the same day he received Father Scanlan's resignation, Cardinal Cody reassigned another Black priest, Father Rollins Lambert, from his pastorate at St. James church to St. Dorothy. Cody may have thought this the perfect solution. Though he refused to be pressured into promoting Clements, he saw merit in assigning the only Black priest with nearly twenty years' experience to lead the South Side parish.[21] Father Lambert was the first Black priest ordained by the archdiocese. But if Cody viewed this as an olive branch, this was not how the concerned parishioners received it. Father Clements's advocates had called on Cody to move beyond tokenism and promote a rising Black Catholic activist to a position of power. The St. Dorothy ultimatum had delivered a pointed threat. "If you [Cardinal Cody] fail to heed our demands," they argued, "you will leave us no other choice than to boycott the church, withdraw our children from St. Dorothy school, and then, use whatever other means we deem necessary to dramatize to the whole world that you did not want to promote Father George Clements because he is Black."[22] Cody's decision

THREE STAR FINAL EDITION

CHICAGO Daily Defender

The Big Weekend Edition

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VOL. LXIV — No. 33 ~~DECEMBER 28, 1968~~ — JANUARY 4, 1969 — JAN. 10-1969 (20c — 25c Outside of Chicago) This paper consists of Two parts — part 1

CATHOLIC ISSUE STILL HOT

Suspend 13 Chicago Cops For Misconduct

Thirteen Chicago policemen were suspended from duty as a result of misconduct. Three of the group received 30-day suspensions.

Ptl. Thomas Dolan, assigned to the 15th district, was suspended for 30 days because he allegedly failed to register a weapon, was intoxicated while off duty, failed to inform a superior of information regarding an investigation, associated with persons convicted of a crime, and engaged in conduct which resulted in discredit to the department.

Sgt. Kenneth McCann, assigned to the 6th district, was suspended for 30 days for allegedly entering a tavern on Aug. 12, while in uniform and not engaged in police business and that his conduct in the tavern indicated collusion relative to a solicitation incident.

Ptl. Edmund Ruby, of the Task Force, was suspended for 30 days. Ruby is charged with bringing discredit upon the department during a criminal investigation and engaging in unauthorized secondary employment.

Ptl. Paul Nealis is suspended for two days because he failed to display a current vehicle license on his personal automobile.

Ptl. Vincent Cullotta was suspended for one day because on Oct. 20 he failed to follow department regulations relative to the issuance of multiple traffic citations.

Probationary Ptl. William Mason, 10th district, was suspended for five days. Mason failed to display a current vehicle license on his auto and submitted false information concerning the auto's ownership.

Ptl. Ellis Worley of the third district is suspended for seven days because he failed to have a current city vehicle license displayed on his personal auto.

Ptl. Gene Anderson, of the Task Force, was suspended for two days because in Aug. 1968 Anderson failed to comply with regulations governing use of free CTA riding privileges.

Ptl. Edward Burks, fifth district, suspended for one day because he failed to pay a just debt within a reasonable length of time.

Ptl. Edward Carter of the second district, is suspended for five days because he was absent from duty without proper authorization.

Ptl. William Kelly, 14th district, suspended for five days, for willfully maltreating a prisoner and conducting himself in an abusive manner.

Sgt. Vincent Pkac, 15th district, five days for causing injury to a citizen by using police baton improperly.

Radio dispatcher Russell Carroll, suspended for five days because from March through August 1968 Carroll engaged in secondary employment without proper authorization.

Media Fellows Named

CONSTANCE D. HARPER

Two journalists have been named associates of The University of Chicago Center for Policy Study, a new program created to involve members of the media and scholars in a closer working relationship.

Charles U. Daly, director of the Center for Policy Study and University vice-president, announced the winners of the national competition. They are Constance D. Harper, city editor of the Call and Post, Cleveland, Ohio, and Daniel M. Sheridan, assistant to the

(See Page 25)

Breadbasket Sets Meeting Saturday

The regular weekly meeting of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket will be held at Mt. Pisgah Baptist Church, 46th and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. dr., Saturday, Jan. 4, it was announced.

The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national head of Operation Breadbasket said that Saturday's meeting will be conducted as usual, beginning at 8:30 a.m., with the Operation Breadbasket Band and Choir performing.

No permanent change in the meeting place has been made, he said. The community meetings, usually attended by about 3,500 persons, have been held at Tabernacle Baptist Church at 4130 S. Indiana ave.

All persons are urged to arrive on time to get first choice of seating.

Attacker Who Shot Cop Was 'Sick:' Kin

By DONALD MOSBY
(Daily Defender Staff Writer)

The niece of a Southside man who was killed during a gun battle with police in the Prairie Avenue station, charged her uncle was in dire need of "psychiatric help" which he never received.

Miss Darlene Marshal, 25, of 2920 S. State st., told the Daily Defender she had sought help for her uncle through the police department and a mental health clinic, which she did not name.

Miss Marshal charged she was refused aid and told, "her uncle would have to do something to get himself committed."

The uncle, Fred Williams, entered the Prairie ave. station, 300 E. 29th st., shortly after noon Thursday.

Once in the station, without any apparent reason, Williams began shooting at the desk sergeant, Lewis Jones, 44.

Jones was rushed to Michael Reese Hospital where he underwent surgery for two hours. He is listed in critical condition.

Williams was taken to Mercy Hospital where he was pronounced dead on arrival. His body was taken to the morgue. He had been shot five times.

Miss Marshal told the Daily Defender that she felt her uncle had a mental problem because about a year and a half ago he went into seclusion.

Williams lived with his 74-year-old mother and his niece.

Miss Marshal said her uncle stopped having anything to do with people. He spent most of his time alone in his room. She said he would come out only three times a day for meals. The only time he left the house was to buy the newspaper.

Williams was separated from his wife, Yvonne, for the past five years. The family feels that the separation was the beginning of his mental problem.

In the end, Williams was not seeing his wife nor his daughter, Rochelle. He even stopped talking to his closest friends, she said.

His niece, Miss Marshal, said "he even stopped talking to me."

Police said Williams used a .32 caliber semi-automatic pistol and more than ten shots were fired during the brief battle.

Miss Marshal said her uncle had stopped working in 1967 and living on money he had saved. She said, "he had a good education and could get decent jobs when he did work."

NAACP Report At Annual Meet

NEW YORK — UPI) — Executive Director Roy Wilkins will report to the NAACP's annual meeting on the "state of the NAACP" at the Park Sheraton Hotel Monday morning, Jan. 13.

Wilkins will report on the association's activities during 1968. He will discuss programs carried out by the several NAACP departments, significant achievements, membership and income figures, and highlights of branch actions.

He will also indicate major programs and activities for 1969.

Mrs. Lectoria Moss, of 3939 S. Lake Park, Apt. 1509, drains water from her bedroom window sill. "I do this dozens of times each winter," she says. "My son Michael has floated toy boats in the window sills." Mrs. Moss says she does not sleep in her bedroom. "Who wants water dripping down on him while he's sleeping?" she asked. (Daily Defender photo by John Gunn)

It's Cold, Rainy INSIDE Southside Project Flats

By LLOYD HOGAN
(Daily Defender Staff Writer)

The 10 apartments are cold and damp; at least one, apartment 1509, where Mrs. Lectoria Moss and her 10-year-old son Michael reside, have "wading pools" in the sills of their ice-caked windows.

The 10 apartments are on the top floor of the Chicago Housing Authority's high rise building at 3939 S. Lake Park ave.

"As you can see," Mrs. Moss told the Daily Defender, as she pointed to the ceiling, "the floor and furniture are wet from the water dropping from the ceiling. This has been happening every winter since I've been living here."

Mrs. Moss has lived at her present address for three years.

"The housing authority has known about this condition since I've been here," said Mrs. Moss. "They've promised to do something about it, but they haven't done it yet.

Mrs. Moss told the Daily Defender that during the past three years there has been very little heat in her four-room apartment and she has to keep the oven of the kitchen stove going night and day.

The same problem of the ceiling "raining" is happening in 1506, where the family of Amos Williams lives.

"We've lived here six years," said Mrs. Lula Williams, "and it's always been damp and cold, with no storm windows at all. . . I had pneumonia last year. We always have colds during this time of year," she continued, pointing in the direction of her 17-year-old daughter, Digna. "She has a cold now."

Mrs. Susie Arthur, a mother of three small children, ages 5, 7, and 9, said that her apartment (1508) is almost as cold, wet, and damp as her friend Mrs. Moss's.

"My children are always full of colds this time of year," Mrs. Arthur said. "There's no question but that it's the water in the window sills and on the ceilings that drips down on our heads. And there's no storm windows," she added indignantly.

Mrs. Arthur also declared

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Cody Stand Center Of Big Furor

By FAITH C. CHRISTMAS
(Special to the Daily Defender)

A smouldering controversy in the Catholic archdiocese threatens to erupt again over the refusal of John Cardinal Cody to appoint a second black pastor to one of Chicago's 450 parishes.

In a mass meeting Friday at 7:30 p.m. in the Martin Luther King Hall at 5836 S. Princeton ave., the controversial issue will be aired by black and white parishoners from 18 churches and Catholic priests representing 30 parishes.

The Rev. William Hogan, spokesman of the White Priests' Caucus said that a number of questions about recent developments in the dispute will be answered in the meeting.

The controversy came to light several weeks ago when parishoners of St. Dorothy's Catholic Church at 450 E. 78th st. demanded that Cardinal Cody appoint the Rev. George Clements to the pastorate upon the retirement of the church's white pastor. Rev. Clements had served as assistant pastor for several years.

Supporting their demand were some 30 white priests from 21 Catholic parishes, the Rev. Gerald P. Scanlan, St. Dorothy's out-going pastor, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national head of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket and scores of community organizations.

The issue was first made public by Rev. Jackson, who assailed the archdiocese for bypassing nine black priests for top positions.

Ignoring their pleas, Cardinal Cody instead transferred the only black pastor in the archdiocese to head St. Dorothy's parish.

He is the Rev. Rollins Lambert, 46, who was the pastor of St. James Church, 2942 S. Wabash ave. since last March. Rev. Clements will continue to serve as St. Dorothy's assistant pastor.

In a flyer announcing the meeting, some of the questions asked are:

"Why—is Fr. Lambert pushed out of St. James after only nine months as pastor? Why is he the only black pastor among nine black priests in Chicago? Why is he being replaced by a white pastor? Why does a school 95 per cent black get a white pastor so fast?

"Why—didn't Cardinal Cody consult the parishoners at St. James? Why didn't he pay attention to the people at St. Dorothy? Why is this happening so fast?"

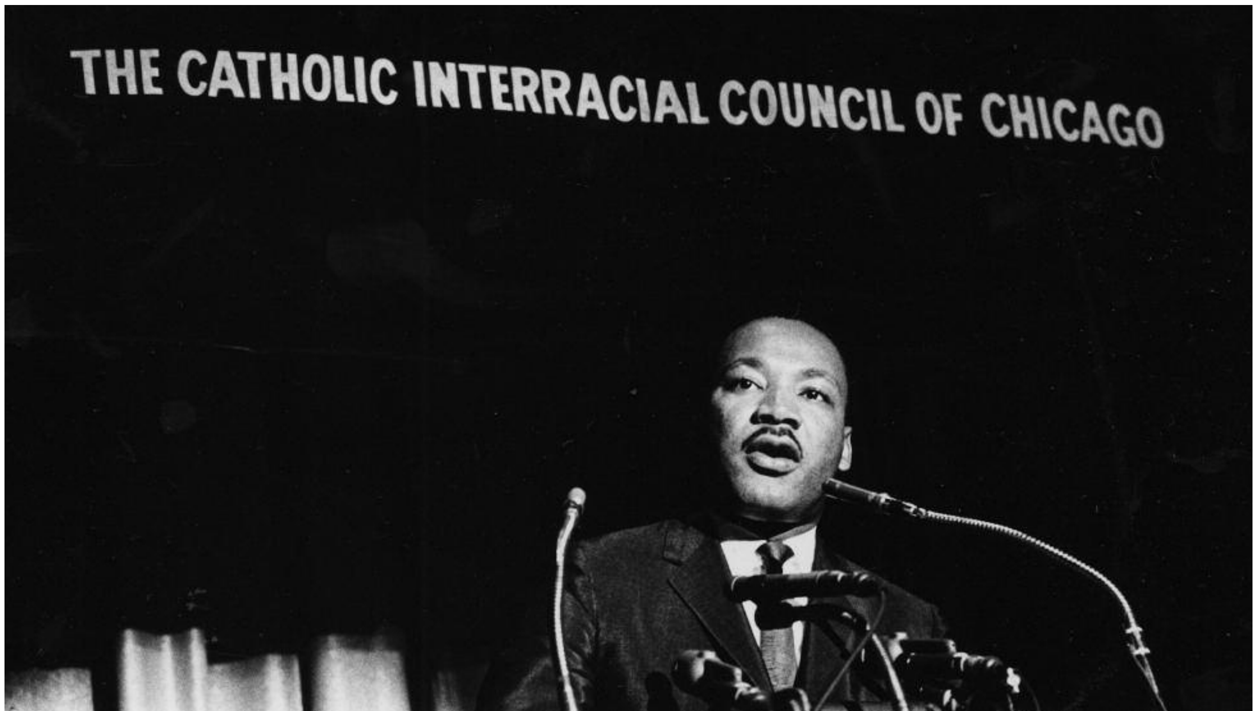
Parishoners at St. Dorothy's have reportedly withdrawal threats to boycott the church and pull their children from

(See Page 21)

In January 1969, the controversy of Father Lambert's appointment to St. Dorothy over Father Clements made the front page of the Chicago Daily Defender.

to reassign Lambert effectively meant placing one Black priest in supervision over another. It confirmed the suspicions Clements's supporters had about the paternalism of the white Church. While Cody seemed to think the parishioners simply wanted a Black pastor, the petitioners made it clear that Father Clements's activism was at least as important (if not more so) than his identity as a Black man.

In this light, the decision to transfer Lambert appeared to be a political stratagem. Cardinal Cody rebuffed attempts by laypeople to dictate pastorates with one hand and denied charges of discrimination with the



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speaks at a gathering of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, 1964.

other. The archbishop could argue that he had not denied Clements a pastorate because he was Black, because the new pastor was Black as well. In a carefully reasoned and conciliatory letter, Cody acknowledged that "over the past few weeks, a number of the parishioners of St. Dorothy's parish have written and telephoned about the assignment of a new pastor for their parish." After much prayer, Cody said, he had decided to reassign Reverend Rollins Lambert based on the latter's "experience as a pastor" and his service on "many commissions which will assist the Cardinal in the administration of the Archdiocese." Lambert was "more experienced" than Clements, the archbishop said, and had displayed obedience to archdiocesan authority. It should be noted, though, that while Lambert had been a priest eight years longer than Clements, he had spent most of his career in archdiocesan administrative roles. Clements was just as experienced as Lambert in parish leadership, if not more so. Cody acknowledged the parishioners' affection for their assistant pastor, but concluded that "the choosing of pastors is one of the most serious duties of any bishop" and that he was "persuaded that a parish such as St. Dorothy's needs a pastor of longer experience in the priesthood."[23] The archbishop thereby reinforced his own authority over those he took to be *his* priests. Ecclesial authority, meaning who had the power to determine church leadership and control religious institutions, would be thoroughly entangled with issues of race in the coming controversy.[24]

Father Rollins Lambert now found himself in an uncomfortable position. Though he had once served briefly as assistant priest at St. Dorothy, he was reluctant to return. He had been the pastor of St. James church for less than ten months. What is more, it seems he anticipated the role he was being made to play in the dispute. Cardinal Cody insisted, however. The archbishop invoked the vow of obedience all priests take to their bishop, effectively forcing Lambert to choose between his obligations as a Catholic priest and his obligations to the Black community.[25] Lambert took neither lightly and relented only under pressure.[26] (It should be noted that the difficulty of this decision would be later lost on many of Lambert's Black Power detractors.)

One week later the parish council publicly commended Cody for Lambert's assignment. Prominently publicized by the Archdiocesan newspaper the *New World*, they expressed gratitude for the appointment of Rollins Lambert, even going so far as to name Lambert a "beautiful Black Christmas present." Cody may have imagined the issue settled when the council pledged to "meet the Cardinal's generosity by giving ourselves an additional Black Christmas present—a parish firmly and faithfully united behind Father Lambert . . . Father Scanlan . . . and Father Clements."[27] This letter did not note that "half the congregation" stood up and walked out of Father Lambert's inaugural Mass in a show of support for Clements and in defiance of their archbishop. The depth of the divisions that wracked Black Catholic

communities in the sixties and seventies become clearer when the original ultimatum made by supporters of Clements is read alongside this show of support for the archbishop. Neither this parish nor the wider Black Catholic community was univocal. In fact, by January 1969 this "beautiful Black Christmas present" devolved into a church controversy that engulfed the entire archdiocese and made national news.[28]

Beginnings of a Black Catholic Revolution

The claim that Black priests should control Black Catholic institutions stemmed directly from Black Power. Black Catholics had begun to draw on the rhetoric and tactics of Black Power by the late 1960s. In doing so, they attempted to effect a revolution in the Church. We are not accustomed to hearing the word "revolution" in the same sentence as "Catholics," certainly not Black Catholics and especially not in regard to the Black Power revolution. A few words of clarification are in order. By "revolution" I do not mean that Black Catholics advocated a radical restructuring of the political and economic order in the sense that the Black Panther Party was at times "revolutionary"—though it is worth noting that some Black Catholics did. Instead, what was latent in the protests over Father Clements's potential pastorate and emergent over the next decade was a comprehensive transformation of the ways Black Catholics understood what it meant to be both Black and Catholic. This transformation operated on an intellectual level, yes, but it also involved changing the ways Black Catholics lived their lives, how they sang and dressed and prayed. By the early 1980s, Black Catholics worshipped and told their history and imagined themselves in ways inconceivable before the onset of the Black Power era. And since Black Catholics often self-consciously juxtaposed this new Black Catholicism with their religious lives prior to Black Power, "revolution" captures the drama of these changes.

This revolution is largely absent in the annals of Catholic history. This absence is due to the conceptualization, chronology, and characters that have defined histories of Catholics and race. The most significant works on the subject focus on the ways the civil rights movement influenced Catholics, while admitting that most Catholics did not themselves contribute much to the movement. The scarcity of Catholics in the civil rights movement seems even starker where Black Catholics are concerned. Historian John T. McGreevy, for instance, points out how "for the most part . . . African American Catholics remained culturally conservative." He even quotes a lament from a liberal white priest who "publicly wished for a 'Catholic version of Martin Luther King.'"[29] Black Catholics do come into view, however, if we think more expansively about the characters and chronology constitutive of Black freedom struggles.

Most historians of US Catholicism have relied on the classic conceptualization of the "civil rights movement" in their assessment of its influence on Catholics and vice versa. The classic concept characterizes civil rights as, more than anything else, a liberal interracial struggle for integration in the postwar period that began with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and ended with the assassination of Martin Luther King—beginning in 1954 and ending in 1968. With liberal inter-racialists as the principal characters and 1954 to 1968 as the primary chronology, Catholics are only present as notable exceptions, such as the Catholic Interracial Councils or women religious committed to the "racial apostolate."[30] Recent works by Timothy Neary and Karen Johnson have expanded the bounds of this chronology, illuminating the pioneering work of Catholic inter-racialists in the decades preceding *Brown v. Board of Education*. Even here, though, the underlying concept remains unchallenged. Racial justice is presumed to be more or less equivalent to interracial liberalism.[31] African American studies scholars in recent years have not only expanded the chronological scope of Black freedom struggles but also shifted the focus away from liberalism and inter-racialism. Historian Martha Biondi, for example, argues

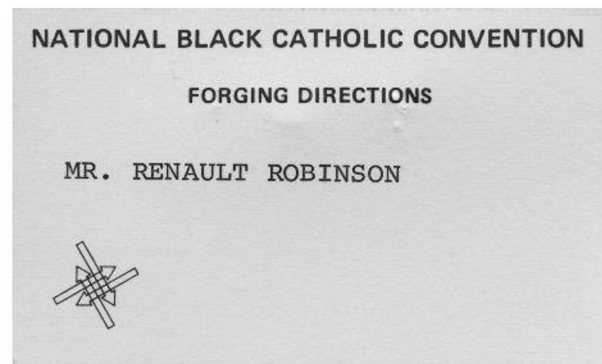
A political activist, academic, and author, Angela Davis worked with the Black Panther Party during the civil rights movement. She is pictured here at a rally in Chicago's International Amphitheatre, June 29, 1975.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (center) and Malcolm X (right) meet briefly while waiting for a US Senate press conference, March 26, 1964. Photograph by Marion S. Trikosko.

that Black activism did not collapse in the years after Martin Luther King's death; it peaked. Black student activists, to take Biondi's work as an example, not only flourished in the 1970s, they also criticized the limits of racial liberalism as a governing philosophy and forwarded substantial challenges to the status quo in American higher education.[32] If we turn our attention to the late 1960s and early 1970s and if we shift our focus away from liberal inter-racialists and toward the fight for Black self-determination, it becomes clear that 1968 marked the beginning of Black Catholic engagement in Black freedom struggles, not the end. The rise of Black Power galvanized Black Catholics and provided a new generation with the tools to transform the Church. There may have been no equivalent of Martin Luther King, but by 1970 there were Black Catholic Malcolm Xs, Stokely Carmichaels, and Angela Davises.

Sister Martin de Porres Grey, then a Black Sister of Mercy, pinpointed April 1968 as the onset of the revolution, the commencement of "Black consciousness for black Catholics."[33] Father Herman Porter, who hailed from the diocese of Rockford, Illinois, convened over sixty Black Catholic priests and brothers on April 16 in Detroit. Grey also attended. This was the inaugural meeting of the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus (BCCC). Clements and Lambert were among its founding members. The BCCC had deep connections to Black Catholic Chicago, born in part of the shock and rage in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination and Mayor Daley's inflammatory response to the subsequent urban uprising.[34] This meeting produced a statement that exploded across the Catholic press and awoke the nation to the presence of Black Catholics. It began: "[T]he Catholic Church in the United States, primarily a white racist institution, has addressed itself primarily to white society and is definitely a part of that society."[35] According to the BCCC, the Catholic Church "is not cognizant of changing attitudes in the Black community and is not making the necessary, realistic adjustments. The present attitude of the Black community demands that Black people control their own affairs and make decisions for themselves."[36] The BCCC pronounced "nonviolence in the sense of Black nonviolence hoping for concessions after white brutality is dead." Continuing, the priests stated "that the same principles on which we justify legitimate self-defense and just warfare must be applied to violence when it represents Black response to white violence."[37] The BCCC ultimately demanded that Black priests be put in positions of real religious power.

While Sister Grey was present at the founding of the BCCC, the priests prohibited her from fully participating. In response to her exclusion, she spearheaded the founding of the National Black Sisters' Conference (NBSC) that same year.[38] Black women religious pledged themselves "to work unceasingly for the liberation of Black people." They denounced "expressions of individual and institutional racism found in our society and within our Church" and declared them "to be categorically evil and inimical to the freedom of all men everywhere, and particularly destructive of Black people in America."[39] NBSC objectives included the eradication of "the powerlessness, the poverty, and this distorted self image of victimized Black people" and the promotion of a "positive self image among ourselves in our Black folk, especially in our Black youth," as well as the stimulation of "community action aimed at the achievement of social, political, and economic Black power."[40]



The rise of Black Power provided Black Catholics with the tools to transform the Church. Above: As a Black Catholic and a police officer, Renault Robinson led the charge for social justice within the Church and the Chicago Police Department.

These two statements demonstrated the depth to which Black priests and sisters, what could be called the religious elite of the national Black Catholic community, increasingly were influenced by Black Power. In calling for control of Catholic institutions in Black communities, Black priests shared in arguments for self-determination and community control gaining popularity at the time, in large part due to Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton's eloquent defense in *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (1967). The BCCC's endorsement of armed self-defense, another key principle for many Black Power activists, is perhaps more surprising. Black priests provided a matter-of-fact critique of principled nonviolence and rather than turn to Martin Luther King, they seemed to paraphrase Malcolm X's famous aphorism, that "I don't call it violence when it's in self-defense; I call it intelligence." Black sisters expanded on many of the points made by Black priests and what is more, directly addressed the psychological wages of institutional racism in the Church. Their attention to improving the Black "self image" bore the influence of Black cultural nationalism, which insisted that social and political liberation were impossible without emancipation from what Elijah Muhammad and Marcus Garvey before him, termed "mental slavery." The BCCC and NBSC were just the first of a number of organizations that initiated a decade of advocacy and activism that came to be known as "the Black Catholic Movement."

Carefully composed for the press—the result of long hours of debate and compromise among priests and sisters—the BCCC and NBSC statements exuded a clarity and unity that did not exist at the local level. Unity did not last on the South Side of Chicago more than a fortnight. St. Dorothy parishioners calling themselves the Concerned Black Catholics (CBC) scheduled a meeting in the gymnasium of St. Martin on January 3, 1969. Flyers circulated beforehand made the night's agenda abundantly clear. "Why—is Fr. Lambert pushed out of St. James after only nine months as pastor? Why is he the only Black pastor among nine Black priests in Chicago? Why is he being replaced by a white pastor? Why does a school 95 per cent Black get a white pastor so fast? Why—didn't Cardinal Cody consult the parishioners at St. James? Why didn't he pay attention to the people at St. Dorothy? Why is this happening so fast?"[41] There, a hundred people listened to Joshua Alvez, a representative of the CBC, defend the cause of Father Clements. He argued that Clements's outspoken Black militancy and "public stance on many controversial racial issues" lay behind Cody's decision.[42] According to Alvez, Cody's decision was calculated to thwart Father Clements's activism by moving Lambert around "like a chess piece," rendering Lambert nothing more than a "pawn" of the white establishment.

Father Kenneth Brigham (the third Black priest ordained by the Chicago archdiocese) spoke next. He thought that Cody had "pitted the big white power structure against Black people." Brigham was especially attentive to the ways in which Cody's political expediency threatened to tear Black Catholics apart:

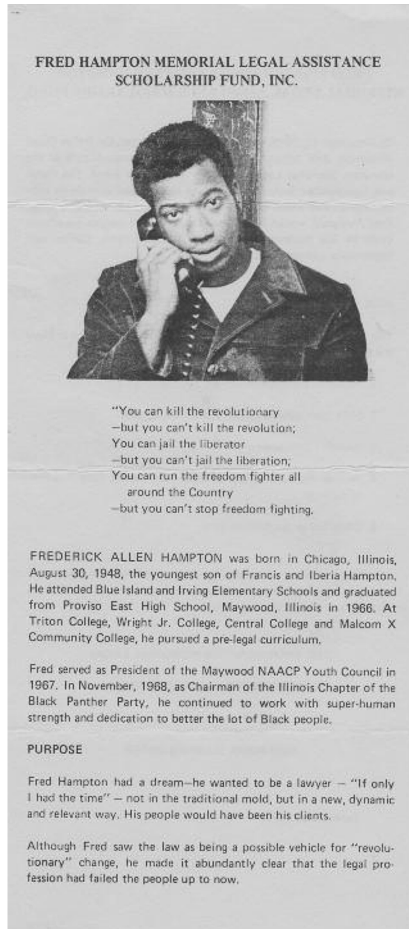
> I hear people say that something has been gained, but I don't see it. I think we've been nearly torn apart. I don't appreciate the fact that Father Lambert was taken out of St. James. . . . I don't appreciate the fact that he is at St. Dorothy's now. . . . Father Clements has been running the parish for the past three years and it has been progressing all along while other inner city parishes were having great trouble operating. When it came to a point where he could have been made pastor very easily, what did they do? [43]

Another St. Dorothy parishioner and CBC co-chairman, Dr. Pedro Walls, resituated the controversy in the context of Black self-determination. "Our position is that wherever there is a Black priest available, that priest should be made pastor where he is assigned," Walls said.

The meeting took a turn, however, when some began to question Father Lambert's "authenticity" as a Black man. Thomas Mitchell, another member of the Concerned Black Catholics, grabbed the microphone and shouted, "[T]he meeting is far from over!" Mitchell, also a civilian member of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, pushed the conversation in a more divisive direction. Disagreements among those present became starker and frustrations began to boil over. "The real issue here," Mitchell argued, "is Father Rollins Lambert, the classic example of an Uncle Tom . . . [He is] the only guy who can spoil our whole campaign (for Father Clements)." Though Mitchell insisted he spoke for eighteen different organizations, including the St. Dorothy parish council, he met vociferous opposition from others present.[44] Mitchell pushed on. He described Father Lambert as a "suave, polished, sophisticated and urbane [Negro], but he's not specifically associated or relevant to the problems of the Black community."[45]

Criticisms of Lambert echoed Black Power discourse on "authentic Blackness" emergent at the time. Mitchell and other critics of Lambert lampooned him not only because of his presumed collaboration with the white archdiocese, but also on the grounds of his background and comportment. A convert educated at the University of Chicago who had worked in the predominantly white archdiocesan establishment since the 1940s, Lambert was characterized as a "polished" and "urbane Negro" whose commitment to the archbishop rendered him aloof and irrelevant to the "real" Black community. In other words, to Mitchell and others Lambert was an Uncle Tom not just

Fred Hampton was a charismatic leader of the Black Panther Party and a forceful supporter of Father Clements. Following Hampton's assassination, Clements organized his memorial mass at Holy Angels (right). Below: This pamphlet provides details of a scholarship that was established in Hampton's memory.



FRED HAMPTON MEMORIAL LEGAL ASSISTANCE SCHOLARSHIP FUND, INC.

"You can kill the revolutionary
—but you can't kill the revolution;
You can jail the liberator
—but you can't jail the liberation;
You can run the freedom fighter all
around the Country
—but you can't stop freedom fighting.

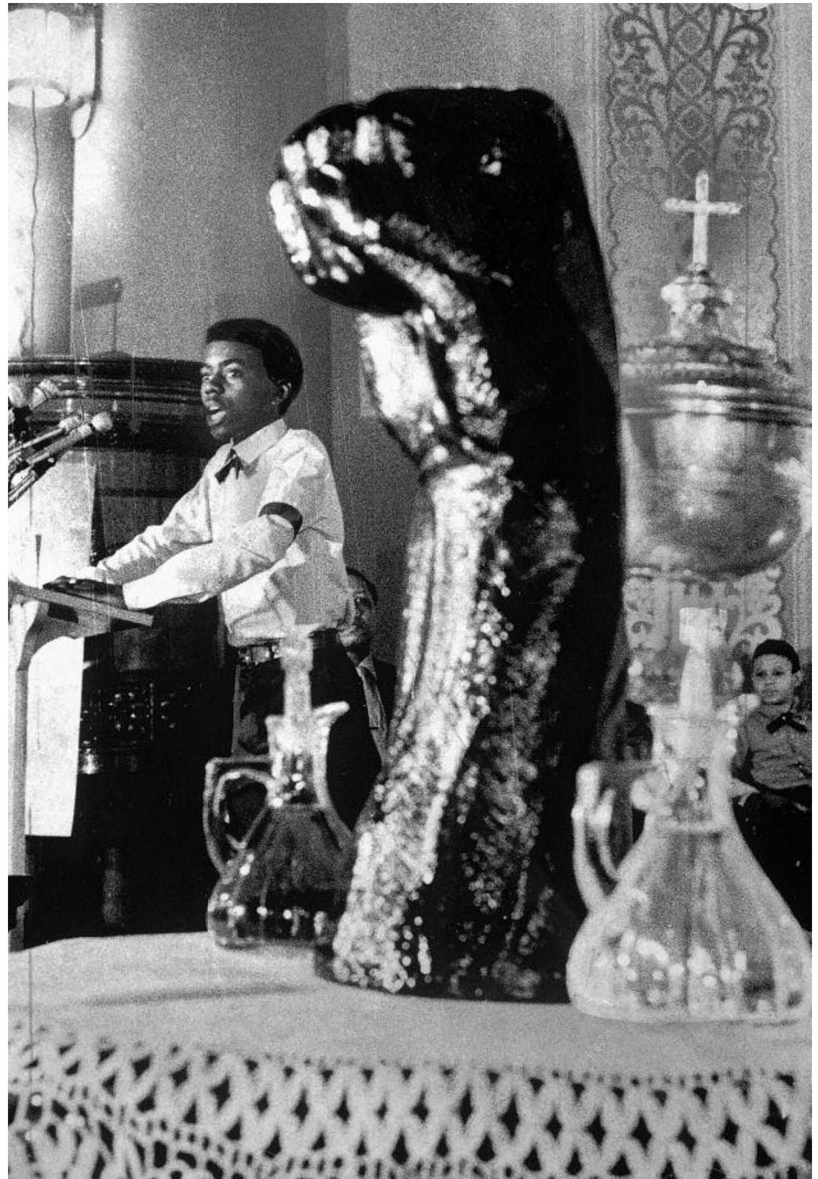
FREDERICK ALLEN HAMPTON was born in Chicago, Illinois, August 30, 1948, the youngest son of Francis and Iberia Hampton. He attended Blue Island and Irving Elementary Schools and graduated from Proviso East High School, Maywood, Illinois in 1966. At Triton College, Wright Jr. College, Central College and Malcom X Community College, he pursued a pre-legal curriculum.

Fred served as President of the Maywood NAACP Youth Council in 1967. In November, 1968, as Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, he continued to work with super-human strength and dedication to better the lot of Black people.

PURPOSE

Fred Hampton had a dream—he wanted to be a lawyer — "If only I had the time" — not in the traditional mold, but in a new, dynamic and relevant way. His people would have been his clients.

Although Fred saw the law as being a possible vehicle for "revolutionary" change, he made it abundantly clear that the legal profession had failed the people up to now.



because Cody used him, but because he expressed his Blackness and Catholicity in particular ways. This would be a recurrent theme nationwide in the 1970s.

At this point a surprising new participant entered the debate. Black Panther leader Fred Hampton arrived at St. Martin gym accompanied by a cohort of comrades. Hampton berated the audience for their timidity. When one white priest attempted to leave the room, a Black Panther reportedly restrained him. "Several Black and white laymen and priests stood up at this point," according to one account, to come to the departing priest's aid. Though the confrontation passed, emotions were rising to a fever pitch. John Hatch, president of the Catholic Interracial Council, attempted to broker some sort of compromise between the conflicting sides, but he was overpowered by Hampton's vigorous defense of Clements. Soon even Alvez, the speaker who had opened the meeting, declared Father Lambert "a traitor and an Uncle Tom." His accusations echoed Mitchell and Hampton and met with vigorous dissent "of the older Black lay people."

This confrontation captured mounting divisions among Black Catholics. Joshua Alvez, Pedro Walls, Thomas Mitchell, and the Concerned Black Catholics took up the banner of the Black Panthers. They imbued Black Power with deep religious significance that impacted everything from attire and hairstyle to music and movement in Catholic Mass. The reason its consequences were so comprehensive was that Black Power emphasized particular expressions of Black identity at the expense of others. Historian Thomas Sugrue names this as a defining feature of Black Power, which "embraced a cultural politics, one that rested on an understanding of Blackness and

that created a set of cultural practices that articulated Blackness, celebrated it, reinforced it, and marginalized those who questioned or rejected it. At the core of Black Power was cultural essentialism—the notion that there was a true, identifiable, authentic form of Black racial expression and that movement energies should be directed toward the production and reproduction of it."[46] In other words, the embrace of Black Power involved an embrace of a particular understanding of what it meant to be Black. Black Catholics who did not fit the bill might be criticized as self-hating and escapist, as "Black-faced white people." As we will see, the CBC and like-minded activists hoped to win over other African Americans to their cause. But in these first years of the Black Power era, Black Catholics like Alvez, Walls, and Mitchell remained the exception rather than the rule.

We have seen that African Americans were attracted to Catholic rituals and relationships because of their difference from the religious life prevalent in other Black churches. Many Black Catholics resisted identifying themselves as "Black" and rebuffed attempts to make their worship more "authentically" African and African American. Consequently, fault lines deepened not only between Black activists and the white archdiocese but also among Black Catholics themselves, most of whom remained uneasy about the ways the CBC hoped to bind Black Power to the changes of Vatican II. This conflict between Black Catholics amounted to a struggle over what it meant to be Black and Catholic in the first place. Thomas Mitchell and other Concerned Black Catholics criticized coreligionists who rejected Black Power as brainwashed, even Uncle Toms. It would not be long before their critics would respond in kind.

Black Unity Masses

The drama unfolding in Black Catholic Chicago took new form two days after the St. Martin's meeting. On Sunday, January 5, five Black Panthers occupied the vestibule of St. James church. Over fifty protestors, identified as the Concerned Black Catholics and Whites Concerned about the Black Community, sang and prayed through the service. Regular St. James churchgoers attempted to worship at Mass, protestors prayed their own alternative Mass, and undercover members of the Chicago Police Department (CPD) Tactical Unit known as "the Red Squad" took diligent notes. Reports described the demonstration as a "pray-in." Demonstrators called it a "Black Unity Mass." This was just the first of many Black Unity Masses in the coming months, rituals that attracted the persistent surveillance of the CPD throughout 1969.[47]

This first "Black Unity Mass" was a prayer that doubled as protest. Protestors occupied pews in the parish and prayed forcefully over parishioners. Form is at least as important as content for our analysis here. One prayer illustrates the ways the Concerned Black Catholics creatively combined Vatican II and Black Power.

> That we as Black people may never stop striving for Our place in the sun.
>
> *[Response: "Hear us Lord."]*
>
> That we might recognize Our Blackness as a thing of pride and beauty.
>
> That more of Our Black Brothers and Sisters might be brought into the One Black Fold.
>
> That we might always have the courage to carry out OUR THING—whatever it may be.
>
> That the Lord may strengthen Our faith in each other and love for one another.
>
> That Archbishop Cody might soon come to understand OUR BLACK THING.
>
> That Father Rollins Lambert might soon return to St. James as pastor.
>
> That Father George Clements be brought back to St. Dorothy as pastor.
>
> That ALL of Our Black priests might be put in leadership positions in Our Church.
>
> That the churches in the Black community might be run by Black people.
>
> That we might never have dissension among Our Black People.
>
> That Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. might be recognized as a saint by all Black People.[48]

This prayer was a version of the General Intercession or common prayer, more generally known as the "prayer of the faithful," which the Concerned Black Catholics in Chicago had adapted to their own intentions. Though the prayer of the faithful had roots in fourth-century Christian communities, it had fallen out of use. Its revival was one piece of the liturgical reforms instituted by the Second Vatican Council in the 1963 "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy" (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*). The prayer encouraged laypeople to actively engage in the liturgy by praying for the intentions of the congregation. What is more, the Council intended the prayer of the faithful to include not only prayers for the Catholic Church but also "for the civil authorities, for those oppressed by various needs, for all mankind, and for the salvation of the entire world."[49] Even as it challenged the institutional Church in Chicago, then, the Black Unity Mass at St. James exemplified the Council's call for lay participation devoted to the needs of the oppressed.

The prayer articulated two of the most important elements prevalent in Black Power at the time. The first five and final two intentions echoed cultural nationalist calls for Black self-love, unity, and pride. The prayer described African Americans as "Black people" and celebrated the beauty of "Our Blackness." Crucially, the intentions also hinted at divisions among African Americans over Black consciousness. Protesters prayed that "more of Our Black Brothers and Sisters might be brought into the One Black Fold," that there be no "dissension" among them. Activists struggled to convince Black Catholics that they should identify themselves according to Black cultural nationalist terms, a point many Black Catholics resisted.

Meanwhile, the middle five intentions listed the Concerned Black Catholics' demands and expressed its underlying political philosophy. Protestors hoped that Archbishop Cody might have a change of heart and called for the immediate installation of Fathers Lambert and Clements as pastors. Protestors also prayed more expansively for self-determination, "that the churches in the Black community might be run by Black people." The form and content of both these prayers illustrate the mutual influences of Black Power and Vatican II on Black Catholic protest. A martyr of Black freedom struggles, Martin Luther King, was reimagined as a saint; insistence on Black control of institutions in Black communities and affirmation of Black pride were reformulated as prayers in the spirit of Vatican II. This prayer, not to mention the presence of Black Panthers, dramatized the ways the Catholic Mass itself was becoming a charged event. Though Father McDonnell claimed the demonstrators did not disturb him—"they were only praying," he said—one report noted that some parishioners left Mass abruptly in disgust.[50]

CONTROVERSY IN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Furor Growing As Black Pastor Threatens To Quit

By FAITH C. CHRISTMAS
(Daily Defender Staff Writer)

A simmering controversy in the Catholic archdiocese gathered more steam over the weekend with the threat of Chicago's only black pastor to resign from his position if another black priest is not appointed a pastor immediately.

Charging that his recent transfer to the pastorate of St. Dorothy's Church was a political move, the Rev. Rollins Lambert called for the immediate appointment of the Rev. George Clements to a pastorate and the assignment of other black priests to pastorates wherever possible.

The dispute centers around the failure of John Cardinal Cody to appoint Clements to the pastorate at St. Dorothy's where he has served as assistant pastor for six years. Outspoken and articulate, Clements has long been active in civil rights and human relations.

REV. ROLLINS LAMBERT

Gaining widespread attention, the controversial issue was rekindled when Cody removed Lambert from the pastorate of St. James Parish and ignoring the demands of parishoners and organizations, placed him at St. Dorothy's.

In a news conference Friday co-sponsored by several black organizations which had demanded Clements' appointment refusal to "listen and respond to the voices of the black community" can only be interpreted as "unconscious racism."

"There are two kinds of racism," Lambert stated, "deliberate and unconscious. . . Cardinal Cody is not a conscious racist but his actions help to perpetuate racism prevalent in the Catholic Church of America."

He said that he is hopeful that Clements will be appointed as soon as he returns from a vacation. He indicated, however, that no deadline has been set for Cody to meet the demands, saying "Fr. Clements also has something to say about this."

Lambert was joined in his statement by members of the Black Priests Caucus, Operation Breadbasket, the Black Consortium, the Afro-American Firemen and Patrolmen Leagues, the Concerned Black Catholics, Catholic Interracial Council, the Concerned Transit Workers, the Martin Luther King Laymen's League, and Ald. William Cousins of the 8th Ward.

John Poindexter, co-chairman of the Black Catholics group, accused Cody of attempting to "muzzle" Clements in an expression of disapproval of Clements' activities with militant black organizations.

Poindexter said that his group opposes the replacement of a white pastor to St. James church and will take "all necessary measures" to insure the black community of appointing every available black priest to pastor a church in a black community.

A spokesman from the Catholic Chancery, the Rev. John Roache said that Cody is enroute to Chicago from

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Journalist Faith Christmas of the Chicago Daily Defender *regularly covered the situation at St. Dorothy, with updates appearing on January 13 (above) and January 22 (below) of 1969.*

51 White Priests Support Clements; Deny Reports They Were Threatened

By FAITH C. CHRISTMAS
Daily Defender Staff Writer

The 51 white priests who yesterday backed demands calling for the immediate appointment of the Rev. George Clements to a pastorate did so "without pressure," they admitted hesitantly.

Their admission came yesterday at a news conference held in St. Columbanus Church, 331 E. 71st st. where they urged their white colleagues to join growing support over Clements' appointment. The 51 are all assigned to parishes in the black community.

Clements, the assistant pastor of St. Dorothy Church at 450 E. 78th st. has been the center of widespread controversy in the Catholic archdiocese after John Cardinal Cody failed to name him St. Dorothy's pastor following the retirement of the Rev. Gerald Scanlon, a white priest.

The Rev. John O'Shea, pastor of St. Cyril Church at 55th and S. Wentworth ave., said that the white priests also support other demands issued by the Concerned Black Catholics, which include the immediate appointment of a black priest as coordinator of the Inner City Apostolate.

He said the immediate appointment of Clements to a pastorate would be a "recognition of black leadership and sharing of power with black people."

The white priests, according to O'Shea, agreed to support the Concerned Black Catholics, a lay group in a meeting Monday night.

The black Catholics are demanding that black priests be assigned to black parishes and given indigenous community control of schools and churches. The archdiocese is also asked to project equality by adopting and supporting their demands.

The Rev. Tracy O'Sullivan another spokesman said that the white priests are not defying John Cardinal Cody by supporting the demands.

"This is just to let Cardinal Cody know exactly how the community feels," he said. "We took this position willfully and we think that he is reacting more agreeably toward the issue," he stated.

According to O'Sullivan, Cody met Monday with the four black archdiocesan priests to discuss the issues around which the black community has rallied.

O'Sullivan denied that the white priests were pressured into announcing their support of the demands, a charge made somewhat hesitantly by O'Shea.

(See Page 4)

New Black Catholic Mass Draws Thousands

BY FAITH C. CHRISTMAS
(Daily Defender Staff Writer)

Operation Breadbasket's eight-piece band, eighty-voice choir, and eleven black priestt helped celebrate the firnt "Black Unity" main ever held in the Chicago Catoolic Arcadiocese, and perhaps anywhere else, at St. Doreshy's Cathlic Church. 354 E. 78th St., Sunday morning.

More than 4,000 persons crowded into the church and hundreds more stood outside the doors to witness the unique three-hour "concelebrant" Mass conducted by black priests of the Chicago Archdiocese and others from Harlem, New York and Steubenville, Ohio.

Guest speaker in the special services was the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national head of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket, who was introduced to the audience by the Rev. George Clements, assistant pastor of St. Dorothy's and one of the principals in a growing controversy around which the historic Mass was centered.

Host pastor to Sunday's event the Rev. Rollins Lambert, who is the only black pastor in the archdiocese, restated his decision to resign his position if Clements is not appointed a pastor immediately and told the audience that the mass was a "beautiful demonstratoin of love and unity in a struggle against racism."

Addressing the widely mixed audience, both racially and denominationally, Lambert assailed what he called forces of racism that oppress and said that historically, black people have been disunited by the oppressor.

He exhorted the audience to be proud of their blackness and to defy the tactics of racists by affirming themselves in black unity.

In his message, Jackson compared the Catholic dilemma to a biblical story and hailed the mass as a "day of resurrection" when black men who were crucified are reborn with a spirit of unity, pride, and respect.

Jackson commended both Lambert and Clements and asserted, "We cannot allow Cardinal Cody to make a priest less than a priest."

The dispute in the archdiocese centers around the refusal of Cardinal Cody to appoint Clements to pastor St. Dorothy's church.

Ignoring the demands of hundreds of parishioners and many community groups, Cody instead transfered Lambert from his pastorate at St. James Church to St. Dorothy's, explaining that Lambert had more experience as a pastor.

Immediately, a furor arose over the failure of Cody to appoint a second black pastor to one of Chicago's 450 parishes. Members of St. James, stirred up by the sudden move, asked Lambert's white replacement not to accept the pastorate.

St. Dorothy's parishioners, who had threatened to withdraw their membership from the church and school, stated that they were glad to get a black pastor but called Cody's move, "a direct slap in the face to black people."

In a press conference following Sunday's mass, Clements stated that he would hope Cody would "apologize to the black community for the rash statements made about the issue."

"I also hope that he would recognize Operation Breadbasket as the only real action group in the community and meet with them to solve some of the problems," he stated.

Astronauts Due Here Tuesday For Parade

To make it possible for everyone in the Chicago area to see and join in welcoming the Apollo 8 crew Tuesday, Jan. 14, there will be a parade in which they will ride in a "bubble top" car, making it possible for everyone to see them and they in turn can see all in attendance.

to La Salle St. to the City Hall where they will be officially welcomed at a special meeting of the Chicago City Council at noon.

Everyone who desires will have the opportunity to see the astronauts during the parade to the City Hall. After the Council meeting they will ride to the

On January 12, 1969, Baptist minister Jesse Jackson spoke to thousands of attendees at St. Dorothy and declared the mass an occasion "when black men who are crucified are reborn with a spirit of unity, pride, and respect."

One week later, at a public press conference Father Rollins Lambert publicly announced his support for Clements and accused Cardinal Cody of being an "unconscious racist." The press conference featured statements from Lambert now joined by newly allied activists, including the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, Operation Breadbasket, the Black Consortium, the Afro-American Firemen's and Patrolmen's Leagues, the Concerned Black Catholics, the Catholic Interracial Council, the Concerned Transit Workers, the Martin Luther King Laymen's League, the Chicago Conference of Laymen, Committee for One Society, the St. Dorothy Parish Council, the Inner City Priests conference, and Alderman William Cousins from the 8th Ward. Lambert said that if Clements was not made a pastor immediately and "if Black pastors are not appointed in Black parishes wherever possible, I will not continue to serve as pastor of St. Dorothy's Church." If the archdiocese refused to relent to their demands, he would consider his ministry at St. Dorothy's "to be a participation in racism."[51] Lambert challenged what he took to be Cardinal Cody's manipulative decision making, saying his "appointment to St. Dorothy's was a purely political move."[52] He joined in calling the archbishop racist, though he did nuance it. "There are two kinds of racism," Lambert proclaimed, "deliberate and unconscious. . . . Cardinal Cody is not a conscious racist but his actions help to perpetuate racism prevalent in the Catholic Church of America."[53]

As we have seen, some of Clements's supporters had characterized Lambert as "the only guy who could spoil our whole campaign."[54] Now his fiercest critics did an about-face. When asked about this dramatic reversal, Thomas Mitchell simply said that Lambert's "recent statements work to the contrary [of any Uncle Tom characterization]." Mitchell credited himself and his fellow Black Power activists for Lambert's transformation.[55] Father Lawrence Lucas, a Black priest in Harlem and a nationally prominent Black Catholic, offered his interpretation in his book *Black Priest/White Church: Catholics and Racism* (1970). Lucas labeled the actions of Cardinal Cody a blatant attempt to "use a Black man to disarm the protest of Black people and their white supporters." Though Lambert may have assented to his archbishop's orders at first, Lucas said, "Father Lambert saw the light . . . encouraged by the Black brothers and sisters."[56] A notion of "authentic Blackness" operates here in the background. Elsewhere in the book Lucas argues, "[T]he most devastating effect of Catholicism on Negroes has been the loss of their minds as Black people."[57] For the CBC and other Black Catholic activists, Lambert's "enlightenment" was a restoration of his authentic "Black mind," whereby he transcended the "Negro" identity foisted on him by the white Church.

The second "Black Unity Mass," just days after this press conference, gave further liturgical expression to the expanding movement of Concerned Black Catholics. Instead of prayer-protest operating in parallel to worship, as at St. James, this service was a full-fledged liturgy designed by Black Catholic laypeople, sisters, and priests. Father Lambert and Father Clements celebrated this Black Unity Mass together in St. Dorothy church, joined by nine other Black priests from across Chicago and the country. If the transformation of worship was one of the most visible consequences of the Second Vatican Council, among one of the most innovative and contentious examples of post-

BLACK UNITY MASS [redacted]

A.N. 20629 Item 23-3

BLACK UNITY MASS

[redacted]

MASS FOR BLACK UNITY ** [redacted] ** [redacted]

I. Processional: Down by the Riverside

II. Lord, You Know My Heart

III. Prayerfor unity.

IV. Reading of Epistle selection.

V. Reading of Gospel passage.

VI. Sermon.

VII. Prayer of the Faithful: after each prayer, sing 5 Amens.

VIII. Offertory Song: Precious Lord.

IX. Background music for Eucharistic prayer: I Been 'Buked, I been Scorned.

After the consecration of the bread and wine, priest says:

Let us proclaim the mystery of faith.

ALL ANSWER: Christ has died,

Christ is risen,

Christ will come again.

X. The Lord's Prayer, recited by all (...for thine is the kingdom....)

XI. Kiss of Peace: the Freedom Handshake by concelebrating priests and congregation.

XII. Communion Song: Let us break Bread Together.

XIII. Recessional: I Wish I Knew How It Feels to be Free.

AMEN ALLELUIA

From the 1930s to the 1980s, the Chicago Police Department kept surveillance records on those suspected of "subversive" activity. Following two federal lawsuits, these files, known as the Red Squad Collection, were deposited at the Museum in the late 1980s. Father Clements has given written permission to disclose information about him from his Red Squad file, which includes this program from a Black Unity Mass.

Item 221 284 Fr. Clements PERSONAL FILE

NOTE: ALSO TO BE USED FOR OVERHEARD INFORMATION

INTELLIGENCE DIVISION CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

CASE

INTERVIEW REPORT

DATE OF REPORT

SUBJECT MATTER OF INVESTIGATION	PERSON INTERVIEWED
MASS FOR BLACK UNITY	C.I. #
DATE & TIME INTERVIEWED	OTHER PERSONS PRESENT
Monday,	None
PLACE OF INTERVIEW	INVESTIGATORS:
On the Street	

PURPOSE OF INTERVIEW OR INFORMATION

To obtain information regarding the SUBJECT affair, held on Sunday, at 11:00 A.M., that would be of interest to the Intelligence Division.

STATEMENT OF INTERVIEW OR INFORMATION

This meeting was planned by , Father George Clements M/N, and The attendance was close to three thousand (3000). There were several whites in attendance. Eleven (11) ministers were introduced to the audience, all Catholics and all Negroes. Two of these introduced were and Father Clements, two were priests from New York, one from Ohio and the remainder from Chicago's South and West sides.

conducted this so-called black mass. Father Clements did not speak. made it quite clear that is just a political racist taking orders from Chicago's political big wheels; hence in this way the black priests are being contained. He is demanding that he be sent back to and Father Clements be appointed head of . came to the speakers stand and called for " , leader of the " by menas of the public address system. No reason was given for the paging of this man. then took his place on the alter near . actually made a threat to ; that

CPD 35.361 (REV. 7/68) 106491

A confidential informant (CI) for the Chicago Police Department's Intelligence Division compiled this report following a Black Unity Mass. Pulled from Father Clements's Red Squad file, these pages are reproducible only because of his written permission. The redactions follow the court's restrictions on access to and disclosure of Red Squad files. Material in these files is not necessarily accurate.

Item 282 284

PAGE 2 OF 2

SUBJECT MATTER OF INVESTIGATION: MASS FOR BLACK UNITY
(TITLE ONLY)

INVESTIGATORS [redacted] DATE OF REPORT [redacted]

unless the black priests are given what they have coming to them, there will be an uprising by the black people.

There were approximately eight (8) Chicago Police present in uniform, all Negroes from the [redacted] Districts, who are members of the [redacted] There were also members of the [redacted] present. Members of the [redacted] were also present.

conciliar change was the integration of so-called "Black" religious practices into the Catholic Mass—changes initiated by those inspired by Black Power.

Chicago Catholics had already set a precedent for this kind of experimentation a month prior. The Knickerbocker Hotel hosted Chicago's first "African Mass" on December 1, 1968. This service served as the culmination for a meeting of the Chicago Conference of Laymen, an organization dedicated to implementing Vatican II teachings regarding the lay apostolate. When it came time for the presentation of the gifts, a Black man stripped to the waist processed to the altar with the chalice, performing an interpretative dance "to the beat of jungle music" along the way. Musicians dressed in "African robes" provided the music and relied heavily on drums, which led some critics to call this the "Drum Mass."

Father George Clements witnessed the liturgy and spoke with media afterward. He situated the Mass in the context of the Council. "African masses as offered in the jungle village are in keeping with the renewal program of the Roman Catholic church as started by the second Vatican council," Clements argued. He went so far as to suggest that "African masses with jungle music" would soon be offered in Black parishes throughout Chicago and that Black saints would populate their altars. Cardinal Cody, on the contrary, rejected Clements's claim that this represented a logical (or legitimate) consequence of Vatican II. He insisted that "permission has not been granted . . . nor will it be granted to conduct any services not in keeping with the devotional spirit of the liturgy. It is forbidden to introduce nonliturgical elements into the mass at any time."[58] This exchange between Clements and Cody, a precursor to the St. Dorothy controversy, highlighted a growing divide among all Catholics over the legacies of the Council.

The widening divide within Black Catholic communities sharpened after the second Black Unity Mass, hosted in St. Dorothy church on Sunday, January 12, 1969. Thousands of people crammed into the parish, forcing a few hundred more to listen outside to a service that stretched the better part of three hours. Mass featured eleven Black priests garbed in "African-style vestments." Father Lawrence Lucas was among them. Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, and nonreligious African Americans joined Black Catholics. White allies, such as members of the Catholic Interracial Council, were present in support. Black Panthers provided security, "strung out all over the sanctuary." A wide range of activist organizations was represented, including the Afro-American Youth Organization, the Black Consortium, Afro-American Patrolmen's and Firemen's Leagues, and the Concerned Transit Workers.[59] Reverend Jesse Jackson was present and his civil rights organization, Operation Breadbasket, provided the music for the service with an eight-piece band and eighty-voice choir. Gospel hymns like "Down by the Riverside," "Precious Lord," and "I Wish I Knew How It Feels to Be Free" were sung.[60]

The *Los Angeles Times* described the event as "an old-fashioned hymn-singing religious rally and Mass of a kind never seen in a Catholic Church in the city. The congregation was addressed not only by the priests, but by Black militant leaders as well, who urged them to back Father

On June 30, 1969, Holy Angels Church hosted a Black Unity Mass to celebrate the appointment of Black pastors—the Reverends Kenneth Brigham (from left), George Clements, and Dominic Carmon—to three Chicago parishes. Photograph by Bill Mares, Chicago Sun-Times.

Clements."[61] Father Lambert's sermon restated his decision to resign if Clements was not appointed pastor and called on the congregation to "be proud of their Blackness and to defy the tactics of racists by affirming themselves in Black unity." These statements of pride and self-determination were met with roars of applause.[62]

Different descriptions of the St. Dorothy Black Unity Mass, some skeptical and others celebratory, highlight how explosive Black Catholic liturgical experimentation could be. Anne Getz of the *Chicago Tribune* wrote the most vivid account of the Mass, though her disapproval rings clear. The musicians were "a rock-and-roll band which played Negro spirituals" and the experience was participatory, as "members clapped vigorously and priests and church members swayed to the beat of drums." The music crescendoed during the collection and invocation when a lay reader called for the appointment of Father Clements as pastor. Getz went on to imply the illegitimacy of a service "barely recognizable as a traditional Catholic ceremony" because "Father Clements and Father Lambert were dressed in multi-colored robes," "altar boys wore zebra-striped robes, the altar was adorned with African symbols and a picture of the late Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., and the ceremony rose to a fever pitch as a priest proclaimed 'unity before God.'" Getz also noted Jesse Jackson's militancy at the press conference after the Mass, when he challenged Cardinal Cody to put "Catholic money into Black banks," employ "Black laborers in Catholic schools," and use "products made by Black persons."[63]

The surveillance report filed by the CPD Tactical Unit echoed Getz's bemusement. From the Red Squad's perspective, the service was virtually illegible as a Catholic Mass. The report describes a liturgy that "differed from the normal Catholic Mass in that it followed the Black Baptist Church services rather than the rituals of the Roman Catholic Mass." The Red Squad report claimed that the Black Unity Mass did not follow Roman rituals, this in spite of the fact that a program attached to the report enumerated all the essential elements of a Catholic liturgy: the proclamation of the gospel, a homily, prayers of the faithful, and, most crucially, the consecration of bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus. This discrepancy conveys just how revolutionary it was to incorporate the aesthetics of the Black Power era (African-inspired garb) and Black Protestant musical traditions ("Down by the Riverside," "I Been 'Buked, I Been Scorned," et al.) into the Catholic Mass.[64]

The revolutionary nature of the Black Unity Mass was not lost on Father Lawrence Lucas, who described it as "what Mass is supposed to be—a celebration." Lucas connected this celebration to protest politics. "Black Catholics had come together for a cause, a cause worthy of celebration," he recalled. "They came to tell Cardinal Cody and the entire American Catholic Church that they disagreed that the Church in Chicago had no room in it for a relevant Black man in a position of power." The implications of the Black Unity Mass extended beyond the bounds of one service, in Lucas's eyes. He hoped the Mass might wake up Black Catholics and force them to shout out "'you can't continue to use one of us to shoot another down; you can't continue to misuse and abuse Black people; you can't continue to make Uncle Toms of Black folks.'"[65]

Black Unity Masses reveled in the inseparability of religion and politics, of Black Catholicism and Black Power. Perhaps for this reason, Black Unity Mass*es* became one of the most prevalent and powerful modes of protest in the movement around Clements—whether they were staged as pray-ins concurrent with another Mass, as at St. James, or were stand-alone celebrations like this one at St. Dorothy. Clements's Red Squad file alone included surveillance reports on six Black Unity Masses held in January and February of 1969. It also became customary for weekly meetings of the Concerned Black Catholics to conclude with their own "mini-Black Unity Mass" in the homes of activists. These services brought to life new ways of being both Black and Catholic, drawing freely from an array of aesthetics. Priests wearing the red, black, and green colors of the Black Liberation flag sang songs common in "Black Baptist Church services," as the surveillance report put it, and consecrated the Eucharist on altars bedecked with tiger pelts and African sculptures, shields, and spears. Catholic liturgies thus served as the bedrock for the broader project of building a distinctively Black Catholicism.[66] . . .

The Controversy Concludes, the Movement Continues

Concerned Black Catholics and other supporters of Father Clements received resolution on June 13, 1969, nearly six months after the protests began. Cardinal Cody announced the promotion of three Black priests to pastorates in Chicago. Rollins Lambert remained pastor of St. Dorothy while George Clements was made pastor of Holy Angels church. Kenneth Brigham was assigned to administrate Our Lady of Perpetual Help, and Divine Word priest Dominic Carmon became the first Black pastor of St. Elizabeth church, the "mother church" of Black Catholic Chicago where another Black Divine Word priest, James LaChapelle, would assist.

On hearing the news, Clements was quick to claim the success for the entire Black community. He hailed the decision as "a great victory for the Black community in general and groups such as the Afro-American Patrolmen and Firemen's leagues, the Concerned Black Catholics, and Operation Breadbasket in particular." What is more, from Clements's perspective this was a crucial victory for an ongoing struggle. The promotion of Black priests to positions of power across the city, the beginnings of Black Catholic self-determination in Chicago, was not just a direct response to "the legitimate demands of the Black community." It may be "the only hope for the Catholic Church in the Black community."[67]

Lambert, Clements, and Carmon led a fitting celebration on June 30. Together with eleven other Black priests, the three Black pastors led the first Black Unity Mass at Holy Angels, just the first of many. With a tiger skin draped over the altar and "assorted African" sym-

Unity Mass Sunday

Laymen To 'Swear In' Three Black Priests

Three Catholic priests who were recently elevated to pastorships at three churches in the black community will be sworn in by Negro laymen at a Black Unity Mass Sunday at Holy Angel Church, 607 E. Oakwood blvd.

Father George Clements, pastor of Holy Angels Church, said the mass will begin at 12: 15 p.m. and will include an installation ceremony.

Ordinarily, new pastors are sworn in by Catholic bishops. But Father Clements said participation of laymen at the ceremony will signify the priests' allegiance to the black community.

Father Clements was appointed to the pastorate after weeks of wrangling with the Catholic hierarchy in Chicago. He was formerly associate pastor at St. Dorothy's Church at 7740 S. Eberhart.

The inter-church furor started after the former pastor of the Southside church retired. Black parishioners urged that Father Clements be appointed to the post, but the head of the archdiocese, John Cardinal Cody, decided that Father Clements was "too young" to head his own parish.

The furor continued even after another black priest, the Rev. Rollins Lambert, was appointed by Cardinal Cody.

A number of white priests joined the fight and called for the immediate appointment of the Rev. Clements to a pastoral post.

Finally, Father Clements was elevated to a pastorate at Holy Angels, along with another black priest, Father Kenneth Brigham, who was appointed pastor at Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church at 1300 S. St. Louis.

The third pastor to be installed will be Father Dominic Carmon, of St. Elizabeth Church at 4049 S. Wabash.

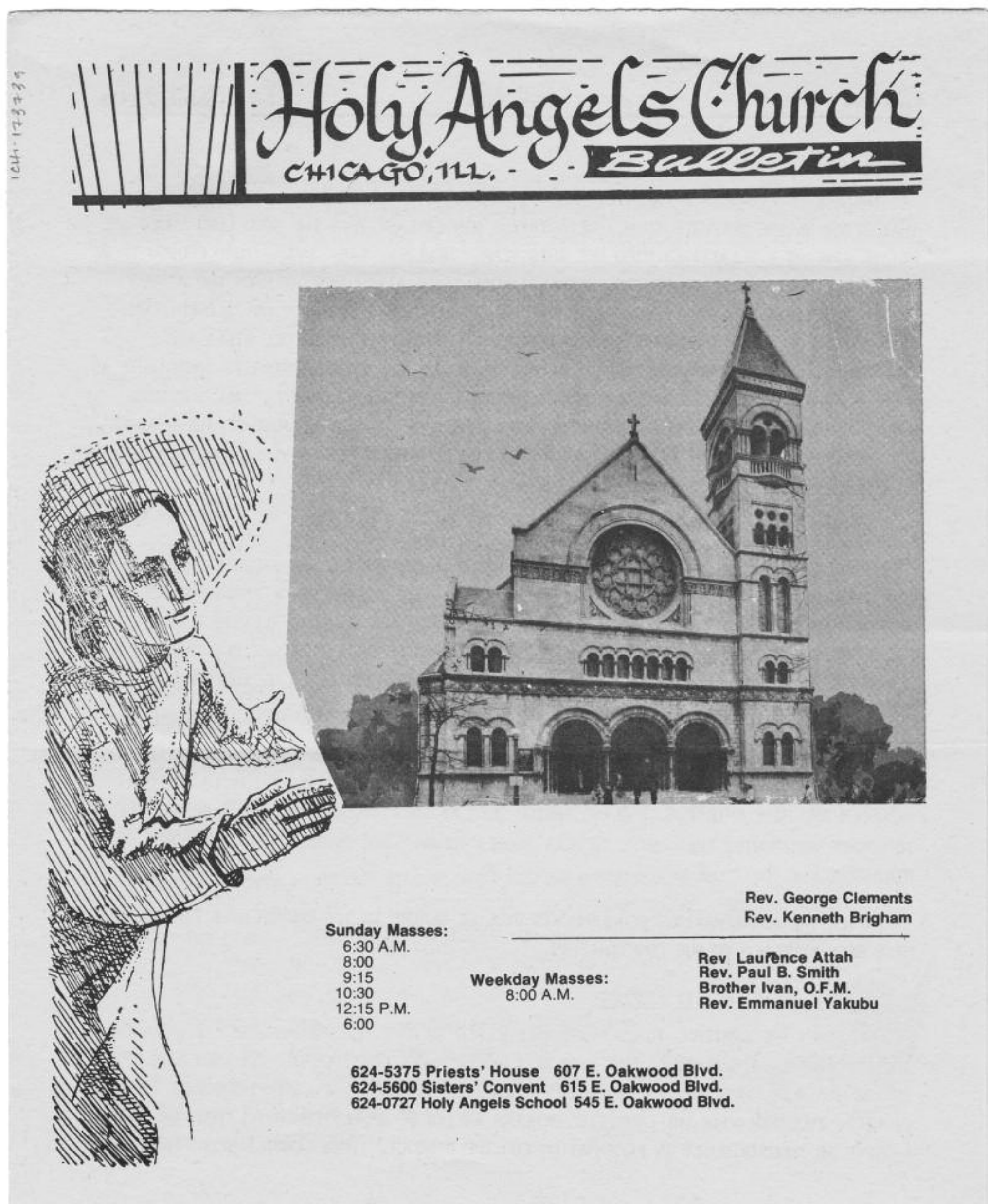
Father Clements said representatives of Operation Breadbasket and a number of other black community organizations are expected to take part in the mass.

"We hope to increase the positive relationship of the Catholic church and the black community at the mass, and we invite all to attend," Father Clements said.

Catholic priests were typically installed by bishops, but Black laymen performed that duty for Father Clements, Father Brigham, and Father Carmon.

bols (spears, swords, masks, shields, and sculptures) behind him, Father Lawrence Lucas declared in his sermon that Black Power had won the day; that Cardinal Cody had tried to make Lambert a "house nigger"—had tried to divide the Black community—and failed.[68]

The appointment of four Black priests to positions of power in Chicago parishes represented the first major victory for a movement that soon spread across the country. Father Clarence Williams, himself a Black priest in Chicago, argued that the success of the protest movement supporting Father Clements served as "the impetus for the national black Catholic Church movement and in the organization that came into being." The coalition of Catholics, Black and white, and Black Power organizations such as the Black Panthers and AAPL had demonstrated "the effectiveness of black Catholic's [*sic*] challenge to the Church for determining their destiny."[69] Black Power continued its rise in currency in the Black freedom struggles as the 1970s began and as it did, Lucas and Clements and like-minded Catholics became the dominant voices in a national Black Catholic Movement. If the Catholic Church were to survive at all in Black com-


Holy Angels Church
CHICAGO, ILL.
Bulletin

Rev. George Clements
Rev. Kenneth Brigham

Rev. Laurence Attah
Rev. Paul B. Smith
Brother Ivan, O.F.M.
Rev. Emmanuel Yakubu

Sunday Masses:
6:30 A.M.
8:00
9:15
10:30
12:15 P.M.
6:00

Weekday Masses:
8:00 A.M.

624-5375 Priests' House 607 E. Oakwood Blvd.
624-5600 Sisters' Convent 615 E. Oakwood Blvd.
624-0727 Holy Angels School 545 E. Oakwood Blvd.

The six Sunday masses listed on this Holy Angels bulletin from 1978 indicated the size of the congregation. The parish once operated the largest grammar school in the Chicago Archdiocese.

A fire destroyed the original Holy Angels Church in June 1986. A year later, the groundbreaking ceremony for the new church drew a notable crowd, including (seated, second from left) fight promoter Don King, Father Clements, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Mayor Harold Washington, and boxer Mike Tyson. Photograph by Peter J. Schulz, June 7, 1987.

munities awash in Black Power, they argued, Black people had to gain control over the Catholic institutions in their neighborhoods. Catholic churches had to be made *Black*. But as we will see, to accomplish this ambitious goal activists would have to win over their critics. Catholics would have to become Black.

Matthew J. Cressler is assistant professor of religious studies at the College of Charleston. His teaching and research interests revolve around the inseparability of religion, race, and politics in the United States.

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ILLUSTRATIONS | Page 4, ICHi-061563. 6, ICHi-061560. 7, top: Newberry Library, Percy H. Sloan photographs, 1890–1930, Midwest MS Sloan, Box 1, Folder 13; bottom: South Parkway, Folder 140, Sheet 34, CPC_01_B_0140_034, Chicago—Photographic Images of Change, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections Department. 8, top: ICHi-173732, photograph by Mann for the *Chicago Daily News*; bottom: Margaret (Peggy) Roach Collection, Women and Leadership Archives, Loyola University Chicago. 9, top: ICHi-173740; bottom: ICHi-173743. 10, *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 15, 1968, 3. 11, ICHi-076569. 12, ICHi-173734. 13, ICHi-173736. 14, *Chicago Daily Defender* (Big Weekend Edition), January 4, 1969. 15, ICHi-039071 (cropped). 16, ICHi-173733, photograph by the *Chicago Sun-Times*. 17, top: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-USZ6-1847, https://www.loc.gov/item/92522562; bottom, ICHi-173741. 19, left: ICHi-173738_001; right: ICHi-034872. 21, top: *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 13, 1969, 2; bottom: *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 22, 1969, 3. 22, *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 13, 1969, 3. 23, ICHi-173729_e1. 24, ICHi-173730_001_e1. 25, ICHi-173730_002_e1. 26, Photograph from the *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 30, 1969. 27, *Chicago Daily Defender* (Big Weekend Edition), June 28, 1969, 1. 28, ICHi-173739. 29, Chicago Public Library, Special Collections, Mayoral Records, Photograph Series, Box 67, Folder 5.

FURTHER READING | For additional perspectives on Black Catholics in the United States, see M. Shawn Copeland, ed., *Uncommon Faithfulness: The Black Catholic Experience* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009). Suellen Hoy provides insight into the work of women religious during this era in *Good Hearts: Catholic Sisters in Chicago's Past* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006). For a deeper exploration of the Black Panther Party, see Joshua Bloom's and Waldo E. Martin's *Black against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

ENDNOTES

1. Father George H. Clements, interview with author (January 30, 2012).

2. Ibid.

3. Clements had a controversial career even beyond the issues discussed in this book. He became nationally renowned in the 1980s, for instance, when he became the first Catholic priest in the Chicago area to adopt children. This was depicted in the film *The Father Clements Story* (Lionsgate, 1987).

4. The only published treatments of this particular Father George Clements controversy (surrounding the pastorate of St. Dorothy church) are in John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 225–26; and Lawrence E. Lucas, *Black Priest/White Church: Catholics and Racism* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World, 1992), 118–28.

5. Here I am drawing on Michael Eric Dyson's categorization of different modes of Blackness: "incidental," "accidental," and "intentional." See Michael Eric Dyson, *April 4, 1968: Martin Luther King Jr.'s Death and How It Changed America* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2009), 231–32.

6. Clements, interview with author (January 30, 2012).

7. "St. Dorothy Church Commemorative: 75th Anniversary" (1991), AAC.

8. Clements, interview with author (January 30, 2012). Biography courtesy of Meg Hall, archivist for the Archdiocese of Chicago.

9. "Fr. George H. Clements," Chicago History Museum Research Center (CHM), Chicago Police Department Red Squad Archive, Box 297, Folder 7 (hearafter Red Squad Papers, CHM).

10. This narrative of Father George Clements and the Afro-American Patrolmen's League is drawn from the Afro-American Patrolmen's League Records (AAPL) housed in the Chicago History Museum.

11. "Afro American Patrolmen's League," untitled pledge or mission statement, CHM, AAPL, Box 37, Folder 8. See Robert McClory, *The Man Who Beat Clout City* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1977). Though Clements (and Black Catholics) are notably absent, for more on the AAPL, see Beryl Satter, "Cops, Gangs, and Revolutionaries in 1960s Chicago: What Black Police Can Tell Us about Power," *Journal of Urban History* 42, no. 6 (2015): 1–25.

12. Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, Jr., *Black against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

13. See Jakobi Williams, *From the Bullet to the Ballot: The Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party and Racial Coalition Politics in Chicago* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 15–51; Taylor Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965–68* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), 501–61. This period also witnessed the rise of Black student protests on college campuses in Chicago, most notably Northwestern University and Crane College (later Malcolm X College); see Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley: University of California, 2012), 79–113. Black Power also served as the roots for Black electoral politics in the 1970s and 1980s; see Manning Marable, "Black Power in Chicago: An Historical Overview of Class Stratification and Electoral Politics in a Black Urban Community," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 17, no. 3 (1985): 157–82.

14. Clements, interview with author (July 9, 2012).

15. Bob Hunter, "Rev. Clements Denies Being 'Black Militant Separatist,'" *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 15, 1968, 3. "White Priest and Nuns Quit in Clash with Negro Cleric," *New York Times*, August 13, 1968, 23.

16. Hunter, "Black Militant Separatist," 3.

17. "Name Negro Pastor, Parish Tells Cody," *Chicago Tribune*, December 16, 1968, 8.

18. Ibid.

19. D. J. R. Bruckner, "Race, Authority Issues Peril Chicago Diocese: Demand That Militant Priest Be Named Pastorate Challenges Cardinal's Power," *Los Angeles Times*, February 3, 1969, A17.

20. Steven M. Avella, *This Confident Church: Catholic Leadership and Life in Chicago, 1940–1965* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 344; Beryl Satter, *Family Properties: How the Struggle Over Race and Real Estate Transformed Chicago and Urban America Paperback* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2009), 33 and 317; McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 186–87; Charles Dahm, O.P., *Power and Authority in the Catholic Church: Cardinal Cody in Chicago* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981).

21. Patricia Krizmis's *Chicago Tribune* article, "New World Assails Black Groups' Tactics,'" January 12, 1969, noted that only Father Lambert and one other priest from his ordination class were pastors and that no priests from Clements's ordination class had yet been made pastor.

22. "Name Negro Pastor, Parish Tells Cody."

23. "Father Rollins Lambert Pastor of St. Dorothy," *New World*, December 20, 1968, 3.

24. John McGreevy describes the "logics of the civil rights movement and the Second Vatican Council" as "anti-authoritarian" and discusses the St. Dorothy controversy as part of "the crisis in authority and the collapse of interracialism"; McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 216 and 227.

25. Cardinal Cody invoked the vow of obedience priests take to their bishop upon ordination. Michael D. Wamble, "Black Priests, Black Panthers: Breaking Barriers at Every Turn," *New World*, October 1, 2000.

26. Clements, interview with author (January 30, 2012). See also Lucas, *Black Priest/White Church*, 118–28.

27. "St. Dorothy's New Pastor: Appointment Praised by Parish Council," *New World*, December 27, 1968, 1.

28. "Blacks in Controversy at St. Dorothy," *New World*, January 10, 1969, 1.

29. John T. McGreevy, "Racial Justice and the People of God: American Catholics, Civil Rights, and the Second Vatican Council," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 4, no. 2 (1994): 225. Cyprian Davis, OSB, and Jamie Phelps, OP, echo this assessment

in *"Stamped with the Image of God": African Americans as God's Image in Black* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), 111.

30. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*; and Amy L. Koehlinger, *The New Nuns: Racial Justice and Religious Reform in the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA): Harvard University Press, 2007.

31. Timothy B. Neary, *Crossing Parish Boundaries: Race, Sports, and Catholic Youth in Chicago, 1914–1954* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016) and Karen Johnson, "Beyond Parish Boundaries: Black Catholics and the Quest for Racial Justice," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 25, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 264–300.

32. Biondi, *Black Revolution on Campus*.

33. Sr. M. Martin de Porres Grey, "The Church, Revolution and Black Catholics," *Black Scholar* 2, no. 4 (December 1970): 23. Thank you, Shannen Dee Williams, for directing me to this essay.

34. Lawrence Lucas emphasizes the importance of Chicago in the rise of the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus. See Lucas, *Black Priest/White Church*, 183–84.

35. "A Statement of the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, 1968," in *"Stamped with the Image of God*," 111.

36. Ibid., 112.

37. Ibid.

38. Shannen Dee Williams first told me the story of Sister Martin de Porres Grey's exclusion from the founding of the BCCC. She also suggested that, if we are looking for a Catholic Malcolm X, we need look no farther than Sister Grey. Grey (now Dr. Patricia Grey) has since left the sisterhood. Williams has written extensively on Black Catholic sisters, detailing the violence they faced from white sisters as they struggled to desegregate religious orders in the United States. Her forthcoming book will be the first comprehensive study of Black Catholic sisters in the United States. See Shannen Dee Williams, "Subversive Habits: Black Nuns and the Struggle to Desegregate Catholic America after World War I" (PhD dissertation, Rutgers University, 2013); "The Color of Christ's Brides," in "Forum: Race, White Supremacy, and the Making of American Catholicism," Cressler, ed.; and "Subversive Images and Forgotten Truths," in *American Catholic Studies* 127, no. 3 (Fall 2016).

39. "The Survival of Soul: National Black Sisters' Conference Position Paper, 1969," in *"Stamped with the Image of God*," 114.

40. Ibid., 115.

41. Faith C. Christmas, "Catholic Issue Still Hot," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 4, 1969, 1.

42. "Blacks in Controversy." This point echoed a public statement Father Clements and six other Black Chicago priests made earlier that year, which argued that "the Church in the United States has a 'suspicious disdain' of militant Negro elements," and termed it a "great mistake." "7 Negro Priests Criticize Church: Deplore 'Suspicious Disdain' of Militants on Race," *New York Times*, February 18, 1968, 84. Cited in Katrina M. Sanders, "Black Catholic Clergy and the Struggle for Civil Rights: Winds of Change," in *Uncommon Faithfulness: The Black Catholic Experience*, M. Shawn Copeland with LaReine-Marie Mosely, SND, and Albert J. Raboteau, ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009), 91.

43. "Blacks in Controversy."

44. The *New World*, which covered the meeting in depth, also disputed the challenges to Lambert's Blackness. They reminded their readers, for instance, that "Father Lambert had been chosen by the Black priests of America to be chairman of their national Black clergy caucus held in Washington last fall." "Blacks in Controversy."

45. "Blacks in Controversy."

46. Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008), 354–55.

47. Williams, *From the Bullet to the Ballot*, 109.

48. Quoted in Williams, *From the Bullet to the Ballot*, 109–10.

49. Sacrosanctum Concilium, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Paul VI, December 4, 1963.

50. Williams, *From the Bullet to the Ballot*, 110.

51. "Negro Pastor in Chicago Says Cody Is 'Unconsciously Racist,'" *New York Times*, January 11, 1969, 37.

52. Patricia Krizmis, "Black Pastor Charges Cody Is Racist and Threatens to Quit," *Chicago Tribune*, January 11, 1969, 10.

53. Faith C. Christmas, "Controversy in Catholic Church: Furor Growing as Black Pastor Threatens to Quit," *Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1969, 2.

54. "Blacks in Controversy at St. Dorothy," 1.

55. Krizmis, "Black Pastor."

56. Lucas, *Black Priest/White Church*, 120.

57. Ibid., 13.

58. Richard Philbrick, "Jungle Drums Throb at Mass, Irk Cody," *Chicago Tribune*, December 6, 1968, 20; "African Masses Considered," *Chicago Daily Defender*, December 5, 1968, 1.

59. Lucas, *Black Priest/White Church*, 121–22.

60. "St. Dorothy Commemorative" (1991) 22, AAC. Clements, Red Squad Papers, CHM.

61. D. J. R. Bruckner, "Race, Authority Issues Peril Chicago Diocese," *Los Angeles Times*, February 3, 1969, 17.

62. Faith C. Christmas, "New Black Catholic Mass Draws Thousands," *Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1969, 3.

63. Anne Getz, "Rev. Jesse Jackson Joins Black Priest Fight, Challenges Cody," *Chicago Tribune*, January 13, 1969, 6.

64. Clements, Red Squad Papers, CHM.

65. Lucas, *Black Priest/White Church*, 121.

66. Clements, Red Squad Papers, CHM.

67. Patricia Krizmis, "Three Negroes Are Selected to Be Pastors," *Chicago Tribune*, June 13, 1969, 15.

68. Kevin Lahart, "Cody 'Deliberate Racist,' Black Priest's Accusation," *Chicago Today*, June 30, 1969, 14. Clipping collected in Clements, Red Squad Papers, CHM.

69. Williams, *From the Bullet to the Ballot*, 19.

West Side VOICES

HELEN KINSKEY and PETER T. ALTER

Founded in 2005, the Chicago History Museum's Studs Terkel Center for Oral History collaborates with community partners to promote oral history as a tool of social justice. Through documenting everyday people's voices, the center carries forward the legacy of well-known actor, disc jockey, oral historian, journalist, and writer Studs Terkel. The center's most recent oral history projects have a youth engagement component, training middle and high school students as oral historians. During the past three years, the center has worked with youth to address the gaps in our historical understanding of the city's West Side. Young people have conducted interviews for *Forty Blocks: The East Garfield Park Oral History Project* and the North Lawndale Sesquicentennial celebration. They will also serve as oral historians for the Chicago Muslim Project.

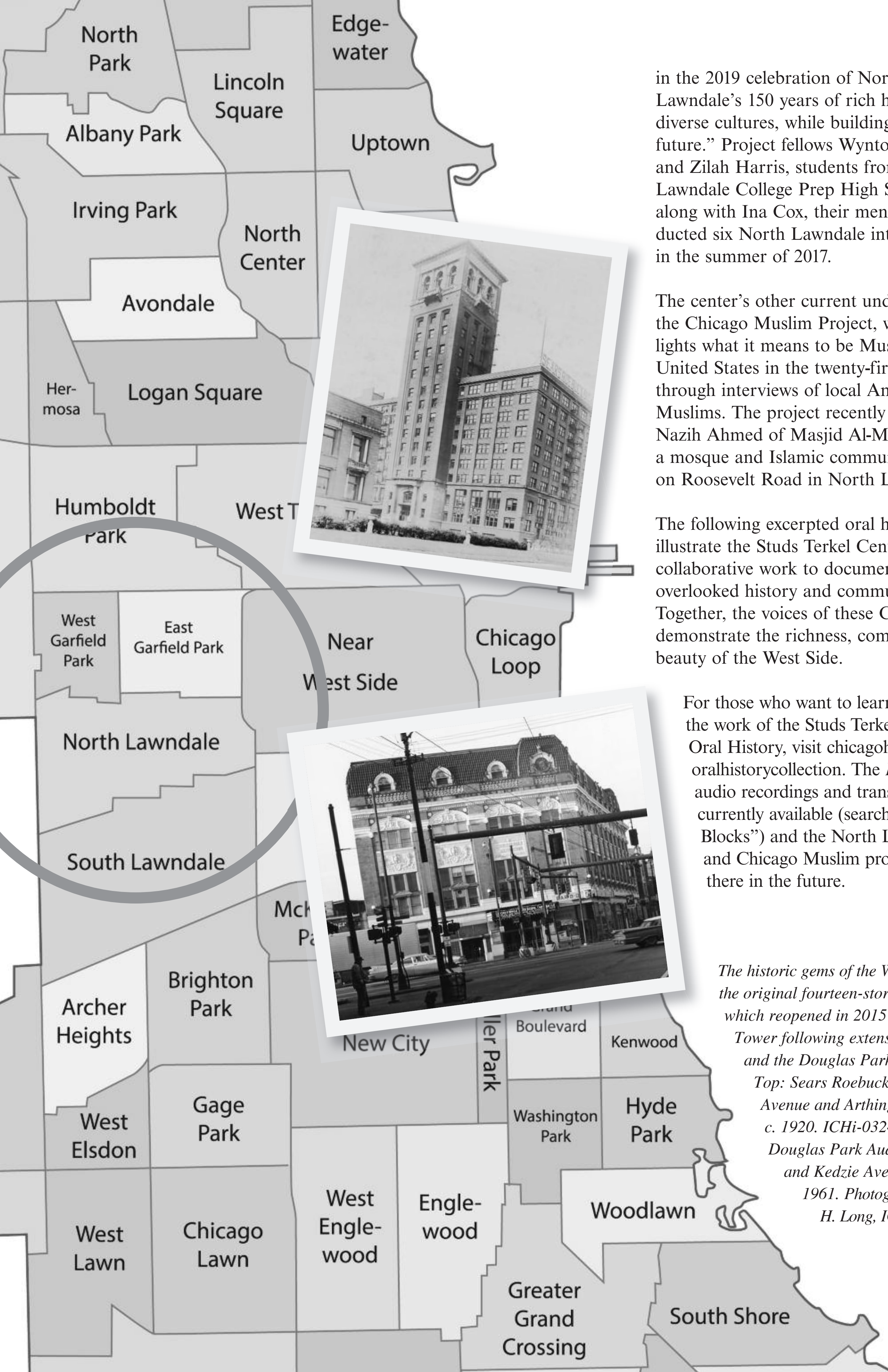
East Garfield Park and North Lawndale are two of Chicago's most historically significant West Side communities. Since World War II, both have undergone enormous changes. During much of the postwar period, many West Side communities, including these areas, experienced major racial transformation, from white to African American, and deep disinvestment as companies and businesses moved out of the area, taking jobs and services with them. Historians and others have studied the pre-1950s and civil rights history of North Lawndale and East Garfield Park. After the late 1960s, however, these communities are woefully underdocumented.

The Forty Blocks *interview day team (above) included Breakthrough's Film Crew and volunteers as well as Chicago History Museum staff and interns, 2016. Photograph by Erin Drewitz.*

In 2016, Studs Terkel Center staff worked with the Film Crew, a youth documentary filmmaking group that is part of Breakthrough Urban Ministries in East Garfield Park. Each year, Breakthrough—a community organization with broad connections in the neighborhood—recruits, hires, and trains young people from the area to work with documentary filmmakers to create short films.

The Film Crew, consisting of nine middle and high school students, collaborated with the center to conduct twenty-two interviews. These oral histories became *Forty Blocks*, a documentary film about East Garfield Park's history.

Currently, the center plays a supporting role in the North Lawndale Sesquicentennial, developed by Paul Norrington, president and founder of the K-Town Historic District Association. The project supports the upcoming celebration of the 150th anniversary of Chicago annexing this West Side community. Consisting entirely of local stakeholders, in the words of the organization, "the North Lawndale Sesquicentennial Committee (NLSC) is dedicated to fostering community pride by maximizing community participation



in the 2019 celebration of North Lawndale's 150 years of rich history and diverse cultures, while building toward the future." Project fellows Wynton Alexander and Zilah Harris, students from North Lawndale College Prep High School, along with Ina Cox, their mentor, conducted six North Lawndale interviews in the summer of 2017.

The center's other current undertaking is the Chicago Muslim Project, which highlights what it means to be Muslim in the United States in the twenty-first century through interviews of local American Muslims. The project recently interviewed Nazih Ahmed of Masjid Al-Mumineen, a mosque and Islamic community center on Roosevelt Road in North Lawndale.

The following excerpted oral histories illustrate the Studs Terkel Center's latest collaborative work to document previously overlooked history and communities. Together, the voices of these Chicagoans demonstrate the richness, complexity, and beauty of the West Side.

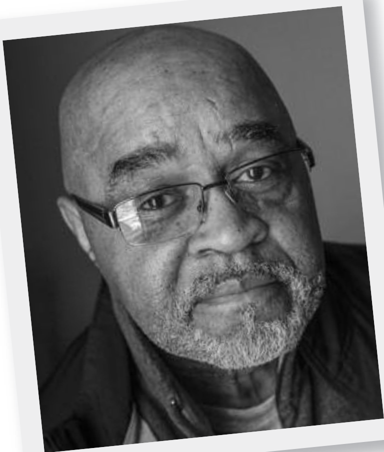
For those who want to learn more about the work of the Studs Terkel Center for Oral History, visit chicagohistory.org/oralhistorycollection. The *Forty Blocks* audio recordings and transcripts are currently available (search "Forty Blocks") and the North Lawndale and Chicago Muslim projects will be there in the future.

The historic gems of the West Side include the original fourteen-story Sears Tower, which reopened in 2015 as the Nichols Tower following extensive renovation, and the Douglas Park Auditorium. Top: Sears Roebuck Tower, Homan Avenue and Arthington Street, c. 1920. ICHi-032487. Above: Douglas Park Auditorium, Ogden and Kedzie Avenues, December 1961. Photograph by Tom H. Long, ICHi-039794.

Coming to Chicago

The Great Migration significantly shaped Chicago. The movement of eight million African Americans from the rural South to the cities of the South, Midwest, and North started in the 1910s and ended by the 1970s. Before this shift, African Americans made up roughly 2 percent of Chicago's population and, by 1970, about 33 percent. The Reverend Willie Morris Jr. and Blanche Suggs-Killingsworth recall their journeys to and from the city.

Left: An African American family newly arrived in Chicago, c. 1918. ICHi-028567. Below: Student historians interview Reverend Willie Morris Jr. for the Forty Blocks *project, 2016.*

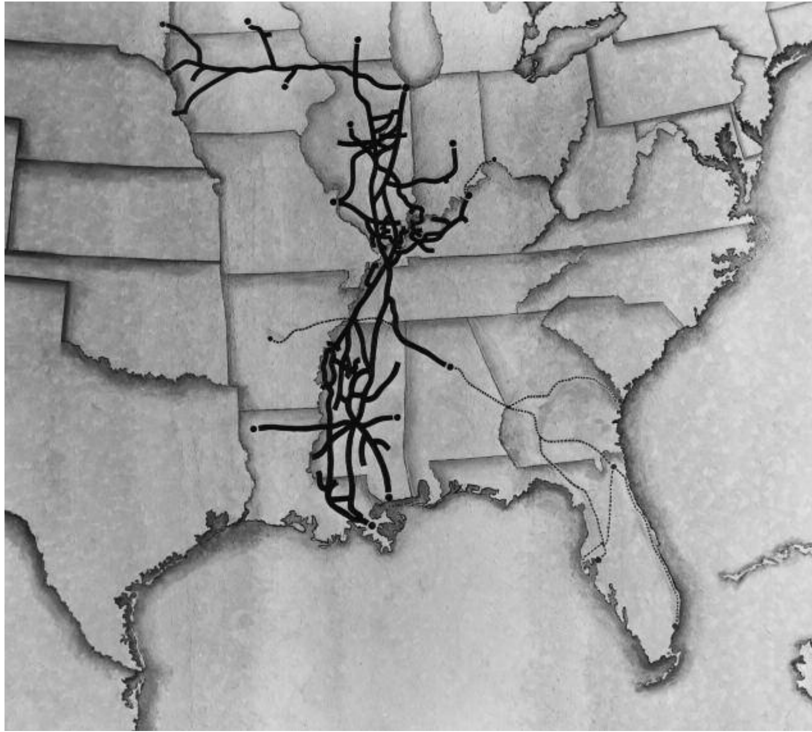


Photograph by Erin Drewitz

Reverend Willie Morris Jr. (above), former pastor of Greater Union Baptist Church on the Near West Side, recounted the two years he spent in Arkansas during his childhood and his journey back home to Chicago.

"As a young child, I moved to . . . Arkansas with my mother. She was divorcing my father. . . . I remember one particular incident when we rode into Arkansas by train. When we got off the train, there were signs that said "Whites Only" and "Coloreds Only." I had never seen that before in my life. As a seven year old, I asked my mother, "Well, what does that mean?" and she said, "Don't worry about it. Just keep walking."

. . . We spent a couple years down there. My mother had remarried. . . . I remember being told later that when my mother remarried she married into a family of sharecroppers, and I never knew that until many, many, many years later. We had to sneak off of the owner's property to come back to Chicago. We snuck away at night in a 1948 Chevrolet. I'll never forget that."



Many migrants took the Illinois Central Railroad to Chicago. Left: Illinois Central route map, 1945. Photograph by Hedrich-Blessing, HB-08925. Below: The Illinois Central platform at 63rd Street, spring 1967. Photograph by Gustav D. Frank, ICHi-173717.

Photograph by Ina Cox

Blanche Suggs-Killingsworth (above) works at Neighborhood Housing Services of Chicago (NHS) with offices in North Lawndale's historic Nichols Tower, formerly known as the Sears Tower. At NHS, she helps residents buy, repair, and keep their homes. In her interview, she spoke of her trip to Chicago from her hometown of Hazlehurst, Mississippi, at age eleven in 1962.

"I came by myself. My dad put me on a train with my cousin heading to Detroit, and I came to Chicago. . . . Chicago frightened me. I had never been in a town this large. When I got off at the 63rd Street Station [on the Illinois Central Railroad], I didn't see my mother. She was no place to be found.

When I came up here, back then, people came with ten suitcases and a shoebox with fried chicken in it. So I'm standing there, and my grandmother had labeled me like a package. My name was inside my coat. It was on the inside of my wrists. A police officer came to me, "Little girl? Who're you looking for?" [Suggs-Killingsworth answered,] "My mother, but she's not here."

I showed him what my grandmother had put on me, and it turns out, I was supposed to get off at Roosevelt not 63rd Street. So they took me to the 63rd Street police station. They called

my mom, because I was like a package coming to town. . . . In my hometown, we didn't have trains that went through the air like Chicago's Ls. . . . So when the train began to pass over us, I hit the floor of the police car. I was so scared!"

The 1960s: A Pivotal Decade

Chicago's West Side communities played significant roles in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. The Black Panther Party established an Illinois chapter in the late 1960s and rapidly became popular among people who fought against racism, economic inequality, and police brutality. During the summer of 1966, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. helped launch the Chicago Freedom Movement. Dr. King and other civil rights leaders worked with local organizations and residents to fight racist practices in housing, education, and employment. The King family even temporarily lived in a high-rent slum at 1550 South Hamlin Avenue in North Lawndale. During their interviews, community members recalled their activism and also the violent civil unrest, popularly known as the West Side Riots, following the news of Dr. King's assassination on April 4, 1968.

Members of the Lawndale community hold a memorial march in protest of the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church of Birmingham, Alabama, which killed four young girls on September 15, 1963. Photograph by James H. Hall, ICHi-040016.

Billy Lamar Brooks Sr. was born in Mississippi in 1948 and moved to Chicago in 1951. He organized for the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s and later at the Better Boys Foundation in North Lawndale. As a longtime community activist, he has worked to empower youth and their families to reach their academic and economic goals.

Left: Michael Owen Harrison (from left), William O'Neal, and Billy Lamar Brooks Sr. leave a court hearing, c. 1969. Below: Billy Lamar Brooks Sr. speaks with DePaul University students at the Better Boys Foundation, North Lawndale, 2017. Photographs courtesy of Billy Lamar Brooks Sr.

"People in the Black Panther Party were regular, everyday people. The majority of the people in the Party were college students or high school students trying to go to college. I have to tell you how many judges we have today who were in the Black Panther Party, how many lawyers we have, how many nurses we have, how many doctors we have, how many schoolteachers we have. We didn't . . . go to the penitentiary, turn into dope fiends. We stayed true to what it was that we were trying to do, you know what I'm saying? What do doctors do? They help people. What do nurses do? They help people.

. . . The ideology that was there and the philosophical understanding was something that I subscribed to. I think that poor people in general, black people in particular, have to work together to establish a functional economic system that can ensure their survival. And that was one of the things that the Black Panther Party did in those days.

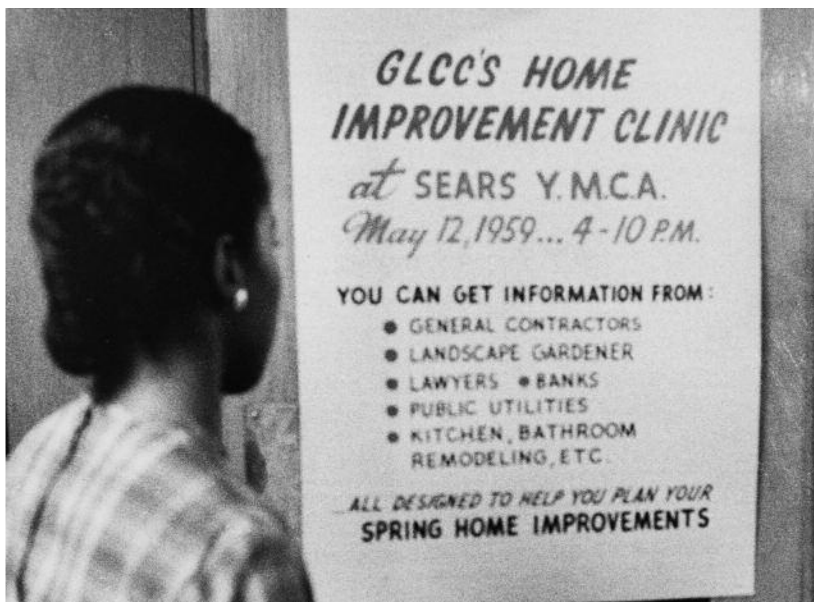
I was the deputy minister of education for the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party, which meant that it was my specific responsibility to insure that all party members understood the platforms, the Ten-Point Program platform. And that they did the necessary readings that would enable them to politically articulate the ideology and the philosophy and actually live by the rules and regulations. Our most salient program was the free breakfast program for schoolchildren. We started that because we understood that there was a glaring contradiction. You see, one of the things we tried to do in the Black Panther Party was raise people's consciousness by exposing the wrongs that existed. And we called that heightening contradictions. Children were going to school hungry. I mean seriously hungry. So we started our first free breakfast program in North Lawndale at the Better Boys Foundation in April of 1968."

Valerie Leonard (below), a longtime North Lawndale resident, currently works as a community development consultant. She discussed the Greater Lawndale Conservation Commission (GLCC) and the history and effectiveness of block clubs, a form of community organization that North Lawndale residents helped pioneer in the 1960s.

Block club representatives (from left) Amy White, Franklin Looney, Hattie Mack, and Brenetta M. Howell meet with John W. Smith of the Board of Education, who was conducting training sessions for door-to-door hospitality visitors. Photograph by Hollis Photo Studio, ICHi-173720.

Photograph by Peter T. Alter

"The GLCC was a conglomeration of the various block clubs . . . in North Lawndale. And people were, I think, much, much more empowered. They say that the block club is your basic unit of government. . . . And the block clubs have been very, very instrumental in improving the quality of life. When you have active block clubs, you have a safer community. You have more activities. There's more beautification. People tend to keep their property up. . . . We would do the block parties. We would watch out for one another. Go to different community meetings. But almost every block in that area within what we called the K-Town Historic District . . . every one of those blocks had an organized block club. And what that meant was the aldermen were more responsive to the people. . . . If you have a block club and you have a group of people who are concerned about issues like potholes and sidewalks, they were responsive."



Among its many initiatives, the Greater Lawndale Conservation Commission hosted Home Improvement Clinics. Photograph by Marshall Marker, ICHi-173721.

Photograph by Erin Drewitz

Richard Bradshaw (above) grew up in East Garfield Park and remembers spending time in his youth at the Golden Dome building, the field house in Garfield Park. In his interview, he looked back to the events immediately following Dr. King's assassination.

“When King was assassinated, I was actually in college at Kansas University. And you know the strange thing is that I was on my way home for spring break, and I flew into O'Hare Airport, and I took a cab to where we were living on the West Side. I was living with my parents at Hamlin and Gladys, right across the street from Garfield Park.

On my way in the cab from O'Hare, the cab driver took the Eisenhower going east, and we noticed all the smoke from the fires and we didn't know what was going on. I mean it was fresh news, you know. That was a pretty remarkable time. It was really strange when I got home and my parents told me that Dr. King was assassinated. . . . You know you've seen the film [footage], you know the story. There was a lot of anger obviously.”

Carl Ellis and his wife, Barbara Ellis, (right) grew up in East Garfield Park. He remembers the daily joys the neighborhood offered during his childhood as well as significant events that took place there.

Photograph by Erin Drewitz

“I've had the opportunity to see Martin Luther King twice at rallies on the West Side of Chicago. . . . At the time, it was in just support of a rally, and it was just in the glory of his greatness, and as you're submerged in his surroundings, or their surroundings, you don't necessarily know that it's history that you are actually participating in. . . .

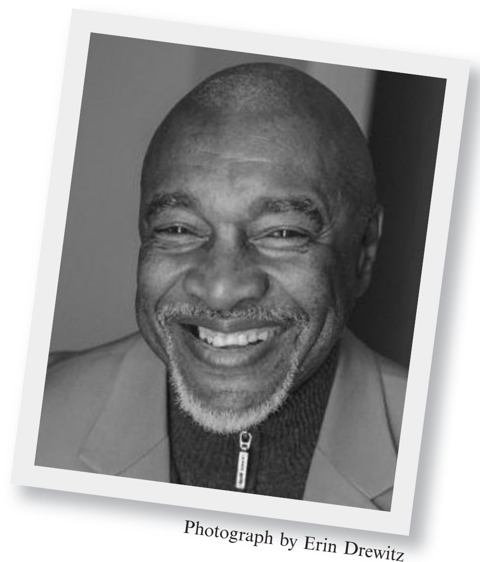
There were riots after Martin Luther King's assassination, and Chicago's West Side and portions of Chicago's South Side were up in flames. Madison Street was on fire from Pulaski all the way down to Halsted. Stores were set on fire and rioting and looting was taking place, and they called in the National Guard. Waking up to see national guards on your corner and having a curfew where you couldn't be outside after six o'clock was traumatic.”

Below: Following the West Side Riots of April 1968, Sister Julia captured the devastation near Marillac House, a community center then located at 2822 West Jackson Boulevard. ICHi-040026.

A Sense of Community

Today, an array of vibrant community groups and collaborations strive to return beauty to West Side neighborhoods and rebuild an atmosphere where "everyone knows everyone." These organizations draw upon the West Side's history of activism, from large-scale efforts in the spirit of the 1960s civil rights movement to everyday engagement, like block clubs. The oral history narrators featured here draw from many inspirational sources for change and reform, including art, music, religion, and law.

Steve Braxton (right) relocated to North Lawndale in 2008 after hearing about its community-oriented focus. Since moving there, he has served youth and families through his work at the Lawndale Community Church.



Photograph by Erin Drewitz

"We [North Lawndale residents] have a really good dialogue with the Chicago Police Department. The Tenth District is right up the street from our headquarters. We have a dialogue with them. We meet once a month and talk about the challenges.

We focus specifically on our young people, like you guys [speaking to the middle school and high school student oral historians], and we focus on our seniors, because those two—the seniors and the young people—get abused by the police most. We focus on those two issues, and we tell the police that seniors are human and our youth are people, too. We should treat them like people and not like numbers. We have that dialogue going. It's not 100 percent [completed], but it is working."

The Garfield Park Fieldhouse, originally the West Park Commission Administration Building, was designed by architects Christian S. Michaelsen and Sigurd A. Rognstad and built in 1928. Colloquially known as the Golden Dome Building, the structure was dedicated as a Chicago Landmark in 2009. Photograph by Hedrich-Blessing, HB-42823-D, c. 1980.

Howard Sandifer reviews music with students during a CWCMC Orchestra rehearsal, May 2017. Photograph by Darlene Sandifer and courtesy of Howard Sandifer.

Howard Sandifer is the executive director and cofounder of the Chicago West Community Music Center (CWCMC). Located in the Garfield Park Golden Dome building, the nonprofit organization uses "education and training in the arts" to improve West Side communities. Sandifer sees music as a force to bring people and communities together.

" People come here to play music, to learn music, and to listen to music. That is something we can do. Music can be part of the healing process. There is a message from music. There is hip-hop, which is very popular right now. There is rap. There are a lot of different styles. We don't preach here. We discuss that there is a message in music. . . .

One of our students called one day to say he could not come in, because his younger sister got shot at school and he had to go see about her. We talked with him later that day, and he said his sister died. He said he would come in the next day. We said, "No, take care of yourself and your family." He said, "I have to come in, because I have to express myself through the music." He did. It was communal. Everyone embraced him. He shared his thoughts about what had happened. He expressed himself through writing, through rap and music. That had a very calming effect and a healing effect on our group of students. That is not uncommon [young people dying from gun violence]. It happens much too often. Music can reflect that. We try to come up with solutions not just tell the story. There are a lot of problems. How can we solve these problems? That is what we do at the center. "

Levette Haynes (right) is a lifelong resident of the West Side. She works as an artist and arts activist at the West Side Cultural Arts Council in the Golden Dome building. She leads programs for youth to explore and express themselves through art and spoken word. Here, she recounts the Garfield Park Advisory Council's efforts to lobby the Chicago Park District and launch a junior advisory council.

Photograph by Erin Drewitz

" We . . . said to them, "Listen, we're tired of walking on cracks [structural problems with the Golden Dome]." Now, we got that done, and now we want other things done in the park. It is important to us to keep this structure intact, because it's a place where almost a thousand kids come to every week. When I see that, it is important to me that, that facility is kept up. Now, I think that they could probably work a little harder. We're still struggling with some repairs that we need in the park. . . .

We're starting a junior advisory council. You guys [speaking to the middle school and high school student oral historians] are welcome to come on there, because your voices would probably be very loud. That's something that we are working on. We want our park to compare to a park on the lake. We don't think that we have to wait to have our children and our community on the back end. "

Ruby Taylor (below), born and raised in East Garfield Park, is director at Taproots, Inc. Founded in 1978, Taproots is an acronym for Teens, Adolescents and Parents Realizing Ongoing Orientation Towards Success. Today, the organization supports social and educational outreach, particularly life skills training, parenting classes, and cultural arts programs.

Taproots–After School Matters participants of Colored Girls are Cover Girls and Urban Sons Speak Life with instructors Anastasia Baker, Patti Jenkins, and Morris "Momentum" Garrett at an open mic event, April 2018.

Photograph by Erin Drewitz

"I think we've had a very significant impact on East Garfield Park. I actually started this program called Education for Life before I got to Taproots. And when I became the director at Taproots, I decided we were going to do that [too]. So we started doing Education for Life, which is a prevention program where we reach out to young people just to educate them. One of the biggest areas that we've educated young people about is violence prevention.

Even now we're conducting Restorative Practice Circles at a school in East Garfield Park, and young people are learning how to resolve conflict. They're learning how to build community, they're learning how to get along better, and I think that's making a significant impact, because as they learn, then they take it back to their different homes and continue to spread the word. . . . We go out into schools and talk to young people. We go into other organizations and talk to parents. I decided that I had a stake in this community. It's where I grew up, and it's what I wanted to give back to.

So, I got to admit sometimes . . . I ask myself, "Why did I stay?" But then again I feel like if everybody leaves the neighborhood, then, you know, what do we do? But someone has to stay, and it's not just me but there are many others. . . . We have Taproots. We have so many organizations in this community who reach out to families and give them a safe place to go—to where they can find a way to overcome some of the societal ills that they've grown up with—that have made them better people. And now they're giving back."

Taproots youth participate in a Peace Circle with Eleventh District police officers at the East Garfield Park Youth Collaborative "FLASH" Violence Prevention Youth Summit, October 2017. Photographs courtesy of Ruby Taylor.

North Lawndale Sesquicentennial fellows Wynton Alexander and Zilah Harris interviewed Audrey Dunford during the summer of 2017. Pictured (from left) Harris, Dunford, Alexander, and student mentor Ina Cox. Photograph by Paul Norrington.

Audrey Dunford, a lifelong resident of North Lawndale, is a community outreach worker with the Restorative Justice Community Court. Through the organization, participants address nonviolent crimes in a dialogue between the person who committed the crime and the person harmed. All parties work together to find a just resolution. Their goal is to spread change throughout the city of Chicago.

“[If a person commits] a nonviolent offense, either a misdemeanor or a felony, they can go through the [Restorative Justice] Court. They can have a conversation with the person that they did harm to. And, they can repair that relationship without them having to go in front of a traditional judge, go to a traditional jail, or even wind up in a traditional penitentiary. I think the Restorative Justice Court is a good way for people to come together. Not only just because they did harm to somebody, but to learn about themselves along the way, because a lot of people go through a lot of struggles.

We don’t know why they committed that crime at that moment, but we can help them to figure that out through Peace Circles, through art therapy, and through traditional therapy. They have mental health people that can help them. They have workforce development if they think they need a job. It is getting to the whole person.

[We are working toward a representative] at each court and a lot of neighborhoods, then we will cut the pipeline to prison down. [We] will have more people going through this realizing that they are harming people and that we can build the communities back up. Because nine times out of ten, the people they do the harm to are the same people they live in the community with. So I think we can build a stronger community that way.”

The Masjid Al-Mumineen, located on West Roosevelt Road in North Lawndale, is a house of worship and Islamic community center. Its mission includes promoting spiritual growth and community development. Photograph by Peter T. Alter, 2018.

Nazih Ahmed, who grew up on the West Side, is the *mudeer* (manager) of Masjid Al-Mumineen, the first mosque on the West Side located in North Lawndale.

“We actually do a lot of social programs. We organize efforts to gather used products—clothes, furniture, and different things. And a lot of it is new from Muslims in the suburbs and immigrant Muslims. And we disseminate it in the community because, of course, to give charity to those who don’t have in Islam is very important, and it allows for us to gain reward from the creator. And the people benefit from it in the North Lawndale area. We have a feeding program. We give generally weekly, sometimes twice or more a week depending on the food donations that we receive, and we prepare the food, and we serve it. That’s kind of the day in the life of the masjid.

One of our main focuses is the vocational program for the young men. We do a lot of that. Actually the rehab of the masjid is being done primarily by the neighborhood young men. My crews are those brothers, those young people from the neighborhood, from the streets that I came from. So we try to kind of give back, so to speak, after we’ve taken so much.

[Classes offered at the masjid are] not like traditional western classes. We have some time where we separate classes if a student is at a particular level or read through a certain group of material from the proper scholars in the religion. . . . But the class doesn’t have an age range. You might find someone there [who is] ten and then someone there [who is] forty or fifty . . . the intent is not to alienate the people but to try and help them understand that this is a religion of humanity . . . as opposed to other things, a lot of different things, that are going on and being taught under the flag of so-called Islam.”

Helen Kinskey *is a recent DePaul University graduate, where she studied elementary education with a focus in history. She interned at the Chicago History Museum through DePaul’s public history program.*

Peter T. Alter *directs the Museum’s Studs Terkel Center for Oral History.*

Looking Toward the Future

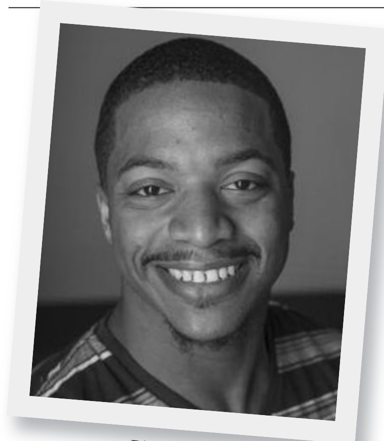
As lifelong residents of the West Side, many oral history narrators have seen tremendous growth in their communities. Latoya Winters and Lamar Taylor, who both grew up in East Garfield Park, feel that the neighborhood's strength will inevitably expand and continue to enrich the lives of its residents. Breakthrough Urban Ministries' work with the Film Crew exemplifies this drive to further develop West Side communities. The North Lawndale Sesquicentennial celebration's core goal is creating and expanding self-esteem for the area.

Photograph by Erin Drewitz

Latoya Winters (right), a poet and author, uses her writing to express her many encounters with violence. She works to encourage young people through the literary arts at Marillac St. Vincent Family Services, a human services provider in East Garfield Park that "strengthens, empowers, and gives voice to those in need."

"The education system, the people in the community, the agencies, and the work that people are doing are coming together. I love the way different agencies come into the neighborhood and how we all try to collaborate and work together, because just one person can't do it. As much as one person can fight a cause and do a great job at it, it's got to take all of us, and all of our experience and education, to come together and make these things happen and make them happen the right way—because we have a voice.

We definitely need to use our voice to, like I said, to fight these causes and do what we need to do to make the world a better place, even if it's just our neighborhood, and then we can reach out to the city and reach out across the country to be heard. We can definitely do it, and throughout my lifetime I've seen a lot of changes, but there's also improvement that still can happen. I'm definitely all for doing whatever I can to help make those changes happen."



Photograph by Erin Drewitz

Lamar Taylor (above) believes strongly in the power of intergenerational mentorships in a community's success. He worked at Breakthrough Urban Ministries, the Museum's collaborative community partner on the *Forty Blocks* project.

"When I represent East Garfield Park or when I talk about East Garfield Park, I give the entire story. So if anyone listens to the entire story, I don't think you're allowed to say it's a bad neighborhood, because the story's too beautiful. It's too beautiful to call it that. And I think that's with any neighborhood. I think every neighborhood has its struggles, some more visible than others, but usually when I represent it, I represent it holistically and just try to paint a true picture. I don't think it's a negative . . . definitely not a negative neighborhood. I don't give it the negative feel. And for people who say that, I'm always asking questions, like, "Why do you feel that way? What makes you feel that way?"

Usually there's some validity to what they're saying but, again, once the bigger picture is painted for them that opinion usually changes, because there's beautiful things going on, beautiful children, beautiful people. . . . When I'm thinking beautiful, I'm thinking journey. For instance, a couple friends of mine grew up without a father, now they have children, and they're fathers to their children. So it's like, these are beautiful things going on in East Garfield Park, and at face value, some people can look and be like, "This is a messy neighborhood" or "This is not good." But no, it's beautiful, and things are happening here. And again, it just looks different . . . I always try to tell people: Different isn't wrong. Different is what it is. It's different."

Breaking Chicago's Glass Ceilings: Making History Interviews with Deborah L. DeHaas and Adele S. Simmons

TIMOTHY J. GILFOYLE

Chicago is no stranger to powerful women. From Juliette Kinzie to Jane Addams to Michelle Obama, the city has been home to women whose influence extended far beyond the borders of Cook County. Adele S. Simmons and Deborah L. DeHaas exemplify this tradition, devoting their successful professional careers to breaking the glass ceilings that historically restricted the leadership roles of women in business, education, and philanthropy.

Today, DeHaas is vice chairman, chief inclusion officer, and a national managing partner for Deloitte LLP in Chicago. She was included in the 2015 and 2016 National Association of Corporate Directors 100, recognizing her as one of the most prominent leaders in corporate governance, and in *Accounting Today*'s "Top 100 Most Influential" lists of 2013 and 2014. DeHaas was named one of the "100 Most Powerful Chicagoans" by *Chicago* magazine in 2012. In 2004, she became the first female recipient of the Daniel H. Burnham Award of the Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce.[1]

Deborah L. DeHaas (left) received the 2017 Bertha Honoré Palmer Making History Award for Distinction in Civic Leadership. Adele S. Simmons (right) received the 2012 Robert Maynard Hutchins Making History Award for Distinction in Education.

Adele Simmons, a member of a storied Chicago family, served as a dean at Tufts and Princeton Universities and then as president of Hampshire College. At each institution, she founded or cofounded the first full-time childcare facility. From 1989 to 1999, Simmons was president of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. She has been president of the Global Philanthropy Partnership for most of the twenty-first century. Simmons was the first woman to serve in each position.[2]

Adele Smith Simmons was born in 1941 to Hermon Dunlap Smith and Ellen Thorne Smith.[3] The Smith family was widely known for their business and civic activism. Simmons's great-grandmother was Lucy Flower,

cofounder of the nation's first juvenile court with Julia Lathrop and a long-serving member of the Chicago School Board. Simmons's mother was the daughter of Robert Thorne, president of Montgomery Ward.[4] Ellen Thorne Smith founded the women's board at the Field Museum and chaired the board at Hull-House. She was also a respected and talented ornithologist. Her book *Chicagoland Birds: Where and When to Find Them* (1972) is still required reading for bird-watchers in the region. "During World War II, all of the serious ornithologists [at the Field Museum] went off to Washington to help develop radar," Simmons recounts, "so my mom ran the bird department for a while."[5]

Simmons's father, Hermon Dunlap Smith, was president of the insurance broker Marsh & McLennan. He is best remembered, however, for his community service. At various times, he was president of the Newberry Library, the Chicago Historical Society, the Adler Planetarium, the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, the Illinois Children's Home & Aid Society, the Community Fund of Chicago, and the Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs at the University of Chicago. The Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library is named for him.[6] His family avidly supported Adlai Stevenson for many years, with Smith serving in Stevenson's campaign for governor of Illinois in 1947; as chairman of the Board of Public Welfare Commissioners during Stevenson's governorship; and as chairman of Volunteers for Stevenson during his ill-fated 1952 presidential campaign. When Adele was baptized, Adlai Stevenson was her godfather.[7]

Adele Simmons, a member of a storied Chicago family, grew up in suburban Lake Forest. She is pictured here in 1947.

Deborah L. DeHaas was born in 1959 and grew up in Washington, Pennsylvania, outside of Pittsburgh.[8] Her father, David Robert DeHaas, was an obstetrician. Her mother, Mary Lou Wetmore DeHaas, was a trained accountant who, although she stayed home to care for her three children, was active in local affairs. She proved to be an instrumental role model for her daughter: "She was the only woman business and accounting major at the University of Pittsburgh at the time," DeHaas explains. "She often talks about having this accounting professor who, when she came into class, held up a 'drop card' every day and said, 'Well, Mary Lou, you must be dropping out of this program today, because you can't possibly cut it as a woman in accounting.'" Mary Lou DeHaas graduated from the University of Pittsburgh in 1951 with an accounting degree.[9]

Of her mother, DeHaas says, "her mentorship taught me that there were no barriers to achieving what I wanted." Left: Deb with her mother, Mary Lou, c. 1960.

Equally influential was her social activism. Mary Lou DeHaas founded the Head Start program in their town, was the first woman to serve on the local city council, and encouraged her children to push themselves, which is something DeHaas said she has tried to do with her three sons. "I think that was a great thing that my parents did," she admits retrospectively. "My mom always said you don't have to be the best, but you have to do your best."[10]

Growing up in a small town enabled DeHaas to participate in many activities. "I was involved in high school in a lot of different things," she

Growing up in a small town in Pennsylvania allowed DeHaas to participate in many activities, including ballet and cheerleading.

enumerates: student council secretary-treasurer, church choir, high school choral groups (in which she was an all-state choral singer), and Model United Nations. "Title IX was just coming into effect, right before my freshman year in high school," she adds. "So I ran girls' track, even though we had no locker rooms for girls because we never had girls' sports. We had to get dressed in the concession stand at the football stadium." DeHaas has fond memories of her Pennsylvania childhood. "It was a great place to grow up, [surrounded by] terrific people, hardworking people. Being a small high school, there were lots of opportunities to have leadership roles, to the point of being involved in a lot of different things."[11]

Simmons was raised in Lake Forest, Illinois. "We eventually moved to my grandfather's summer home, which was right on the lake on Stonegate Road," she reminisces. "I woke up every day and looked out over Lake Michigan. We watched the moon rise and we took many, many walks along the beach. It was a wonderful place to grow up."[12]

Growing up in a family of Democrats in Republican Lake Forest proved beneficial to Simmons. "I think it helped me understand that it was okay to be a little different, that I didn't have to be like everybody in every way in order to be liked, in order to be part of the group, and that it was okay to think outside the box," she recounts. "As I look back on my life, this has been really important." Simmons attended Lake Forest Country Day School, which her parents helped establish, and then Garrison Forest School in Maryland.[13]

Simmons matriculated at Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, earning her undergraduate degree in 1963. Her timing was fortuitous: "It was the first year in which Harvard had an interdisciplinary major in social studies, so we could combine the social sciences," she recalls. "All through my life, I believed that things are connected and that dividing ideas and thinking

Simmons visits with her godfather, Adlai Stevenson II, a progressive Democrat, who served as governor of Illinois (1948–52), a two-time presidential nominee, and an ambassador to the United Nations.

in silos gets in the way of pursuing a good idea wherever it takes you," Simmons adds. "It was the first year of their freshman seminar program, and [the famed sociologist] David Riesman built an extraordinary freshman seminar program."[14]

Riesman frequently brought in outside speakers, including Edwin Land, inventor of the Polaroid camera, and diplomat and historian George F. Kennan. Another was Dr. James H. Robinson, a minister and founder of Operation Crossroads Africa, a program "that took college students to work in summer camps in Africa," Simmons explains. "I got really excited about that and did that." She spent a summer in Kenya working at a medical clinic and building a YMCA camp.

Simmons's experience in Kenya convinced her to study Africa. Upon graduating from Radcliffe, she entered the doctoral program in African history at the University of Oxford. Internal conflicts within Kenya, however, forced her to change her research agenda, and she started studying Mauritius. "I was very interested in plural societies, countries where people of different ethnic and religious groups lived together. And nothing is more perfect than Mauritius for that," according to Simmons. The island, originally uninhabited, was eventually settled and ruled by the Dutch, French, and British with African slaves and Indian indentured laborers. In time, other Hindu, Muslim, and Chinese groups migrated there. "You have these groups of people living in a space about the size of Rhode Island," explains Simmons. "Most interesting was the absolute lack of violent conflict."[15]

DeHaas's higher education experience took her to Duke University where she earned a bachelor's degree magna cum laude in management science and accounting in 1981. She initially planned to move to Washington, DC, but after visiting her sister, who was pursuing an MBA at Northwestern University, she thought: "Chicago, great city, seems like a good place to start a career. It's big, but manageable. It's beautiful, very diverse business community."[16] Thus DeHaas began a twenty-one-year career at Arthur Andersen LLP, then one of the world's prestigious Big Eight accounting firms, which provided auditing, tax, and consulting services to large corporations and was headquartered in Chicago.[17]

DeHaas was first assigned to the manufacturing division. "I wanted to be in a business that made stuff or that had something tangible," she recalls. "Financial services was not as interesting to me." DeHaas also preferred auditing over accounting. "Auditing was trying to sort of figure out a puzzle," she reports. "Back in those days, companies were not as sophisticated, so in certain instances, there were errors in their financial statements. You were really helping them get their financial statements to a place that might have been different than they would have gotten to on their own."

In 1981, DeHaas graduated magna cum laude from Duke University, earning a bachelor's degree in management science and accounting.

DeHaas recalls that "there were not a lot of women in the manufacturing division or at our clients at that point in time." In fact, Andersen had few women in any leadership positions: when DeHaas joined, less than 10 percent of the partners were women. "I think in Chicago we had one or two women partners when I started," she recounts. "There were very few." DeHaas puts that in perspective: "I only worked for one woman in my career at Arthur Andersen—one."[18]

In 1993, DeHaas became a partner at Andersen.[19] She admits that her path was somewhat unusual. As a senior manager, she had worked to expand the firm's services: "I had the opportunity to go help build an offering around doing internal audit-related services and risk consulting-related services for clients. So that was part of my path to partnership." DeHaas recalls, "I was the only new woman partner in the United States that year who was not in Andersen Consulting."[20] She continued to impress her colleagues at Andersen and, in 1999, was offered the position of managing partner of Andersen's headquarters in Chicago. "That was kind of a watershed moment for me personally," she admits. "There had never been a woman leader in a firm like ours, and it was an amazing opportunity."[21]

In contrast to DeHaas, Simmons's early career took her around the world. Upon completing her research in Mauritius, she married John Simmons in 1966 and moved to Tunisia to work as a reporter for *The Economist* and finish her dissertation.[22] Two years later, Simmons moved back to Cambridge, Massachusetts, while her husband taught at Harvard. Shortly thereafter, she was appointed dean of Jackson College and assistant professor of history at Tufts University, where she taught the school's first course offered in women's history.[23]

Then in 1972, she moved to Princeton University as an assistant professor of history and dean of student affairs, becoming the first female dean or senior officer in the university's history. The Princeton appointment was national news. "Princeton Gets Woman Dean," blared a *New York Times* headline.[24] The university only began accepting women in 1969, so many alumni and students resisted. "I was the first woman dean, and there were a bunch of people there who wanted to get me out of my job," Simmons recalls. "A group of alumni, including Sam Alito [later justice of the US Supreme Court] was a leader of part of that group." Despite the public sexism and blatant misogyny, Simmons has no regrets about her Princeton experience. "That's where I really learned about college administration, dealing with faculty, dealing with students, dealing with alumni," she explains. "It was an extraordinary opportunity." She credits Princeton University president William G. Bowen for being "one of the best mentors I could have had, and I had amazing and wonderful colleagues." For Simmons, in retrospect, the experience "was terrific."[25]

The success Simmons experienced at Princeton led to her appointment as the first female president of Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts. As one of the few women to head a coeducational college in the United States during the 1970s, Simmons was credited with insuring the school's financial stability and generating successful fundraising efforts during her twelve-year presidency. During her tenure, Hampshire's enrollment and applicant pool rose, the endowment ballooned 500 percent, and the number of students

In June 1966, the New York Times *announced the engagement of Adele Dunlap Smith to John Leroy Simmons, son of Mr. and Mrs. Elwyn Leroy Simmons of Decatur, Illinois. Left: The young couple photographed prior to their marriage.*

Hermon Dunlap Smith escorts his daughter Adele on her wedding day, 1966. Photograph by Arthur Siegel.

receiving financial aid increased from 20 to 50 percent.[26] Under her leadership, Hampshire introduced the first program in peace and world security studies in the United States and one of the earliest programs in urban agriculture. She was beloved by many students for frequently eating in the student dining hall with her small children.[27]

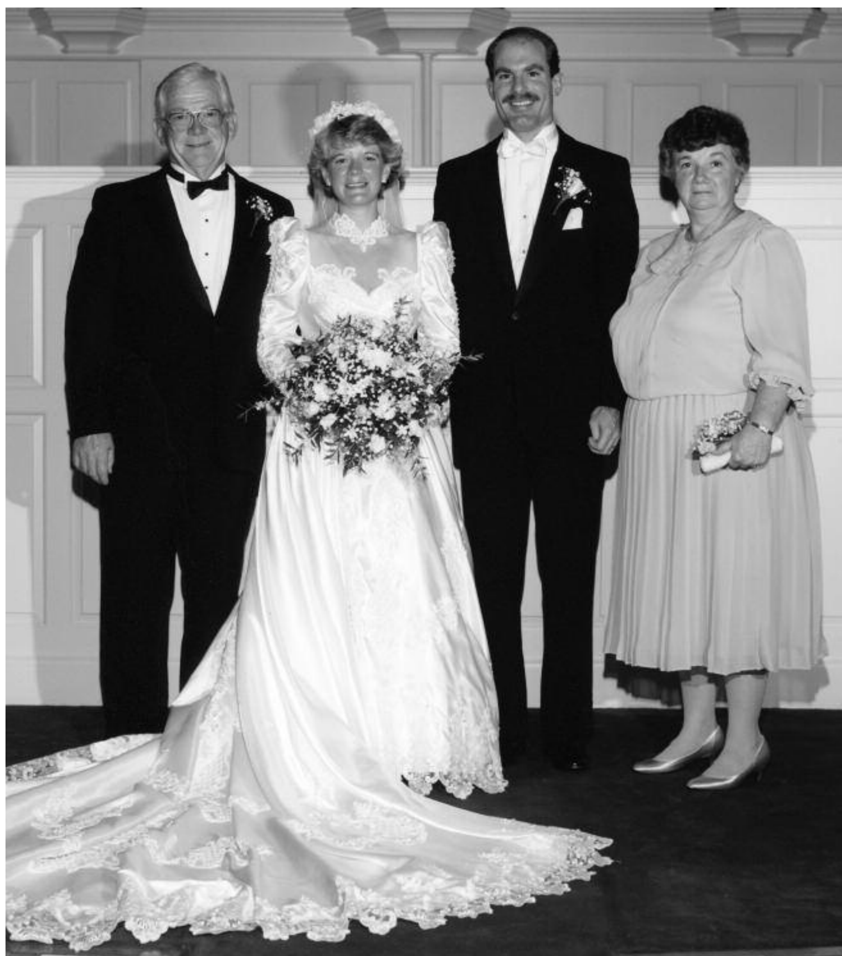
The hardest decision Simmons confronted as Hampshire's president was divesting from companies doing business in South Africa. At first, native South Africans critical of apartheid resisted the divestment movement. "I had long conversations with Bishop [Desmond] Tutu, who in fact thought it was a bad idea, and with Helen Suzman, who was a very good friend, who also thought it was a bad idea." Simmons ultimately rejected their advice: "We were the first college in the country to divest stock in companies doing business in South Africa and began the movement." Decades later, she contended that most, including Nelson Mandela and even Bishop Tutu, agreed that the disinvestment plus the athletic boycotts "were the two outside forces that contributed the most to the change." Simmons adds that upon meeting former South African president Frederik Willem de Klerk years later at a Nobel Laureate meeting in Chicago, "he commented that when the divestment movement began to happen, he understood that apartheid wasn't going to last." For Simmons, history demonstrates that "it was the divestment movement and the withdrawal of the businesses that got him to understand that apartheid had to end."[28]

The hardest decision in DeHaas's career was unexpected and fast. In 2001, Arthur Andersen was implicated without warning in the bankruptcy of the Enron Corporation, an energy corporation based in Texas; it was the single largest bankruptcy in US history. Anderson's Houston office was charged with shredding materials and not properly retaining audit work documents. "We starting having a lot of difficult conversations with clients around what this means and what are the implications for the firm," DeHaas acknowledges. "Certainly we hadn't lost any clients of any significance, and we were holding things together in a pretty effective way."[29]

But matters worsened in Houston. In 2002, Andersen was found guilty of criminal charges relating to the audit of Enron, and the firm surrendered its licenses to practice as certified public accountants in the United States. The conviction was upheld by the Fifth US Circuit Court of Appeals but overturned by the US Supreme Court in 2005 on the grounds that the judge erred in the jury instructions. But by then, it was too late: the multinational partnership founded by Arthur E. Andersen in 1913 was out of business. DeHaas recalls the rapidity of the event. "In three months, the firm was completely gone," she states. "It was kind of a fast, horrible, painful death versus what could have been maybe a slow, horrible, painful death."[30]

The reactions of local business and political establishments proved more memorable. "What was incredibly inspiring in Chicago was the support that we had from business and government leaders to help find places for our people," DeHaas recalls. "We had about five thousand Andersen people in Chicago. I remember Mayor [Richard M.] Daley having a press conference, stating: 'The people in Chicago had nothing to do with the issues that Andersen was facing. These are great people. Let's find jobs for them, because this would be a tragedy, to lose this talent from Chicago.' That was really quite an amazing experience."[31] She was standing at Daley's side when the mayor implored the business community to help.[32]

DeHaas proceeded to lead the dispersal and reassignment of Andersen's partners, accountants, and staff to other offices. She elected to join Deloitte, bringing approximately one thousand people from Andersen with her. "Deloitte made a lot of sense," according to DeHaas. "They had a culture that felt really comfortable and good to me, very collaborative, very collegial. And for me, one of the things that really stood out was Deloitte was a leader in advancing women and diversity and had started their women's initiative, interestingly, in 1993, the year I made partner [at Arthur Anderson]."[33]



While working at Arthur Andersen, DeHaas met David Underwood. The couple, pictured with DeHaas's parents, on their wedding day in 1987.

Saturday, July 15, 1972

First woman dean at Princeton

'It's just like any other job'

By Andrea Chambers
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Medford, Mass.

How will it feel to be the first woman to serve as a senior academic official at Princeton University?

"Oh, it's just like any other job," smiles Dr. Adele Simmons, the soon-to-depart dean of Jackson College at Tufts University.

As of September 1, Dr. Simmons will become Dean of Student Affairs and Associate Dean of the College at Princeton. She will be the first woman in such a high Princeton post, and also the first holder of this joint title.

"I see my dual title as a symbol of the realization that student problems can't be categorized according to administrative offices," explains the 30-year-old dean. "You can't automatically send a student to a student-affairs dean for a dormitory problem and to an academic dean for a course change."

Very often, she believes, a student may come in ostensibly to drop or change a course. But, in reality, he or she wants a chance to talk and discuss future plans, or to "get at a problem that troubles him or her deeply."

At Princeton, Dr. Simmons hopes to encourage joint program development between offices of academic and student affairs. And although her principal responsibility is student affairs, she is willing and anxious to help students with academic questio
as well.

and then as dean of all-girl Jackson, where she is also an assistant professor of history specializing in African studies.

"I hope to continue teaching African history at Princeton," affirms Dean Simmons as she leans back in her cluttered Tufts office.

The African woodcuts and hand-crafted vermillion tapestry on the wall attest to her interest in things African — an interest which developed during her undergraduate career at Radcliffe, when she spent a year in Kenya in the Operation Crossroads Africa program.

In 1966-68, Dr. Simmons returned to Africa with her husband, Dr. John L. Simmons, currently a Harvard lecturer in economics and formerly director of the Harvard North Africa project. Dr. Simmons will shortly join the staff of the World Bank in Washington, commuting from Princeton.

Mrs. Simmons did research in Tunisia as a part of her doctoral studies at Oxford University, from which she received a Ph.D. in history in 1969. After a period of residence on the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius, she completed her doctoral thesis on "Mauritius, the Politics of Pluralism."

Another special area of academic interest of the new Princeton dean is women's studies programs. In collaboration with others, she is now completing a volume for the Twentieth Century Fund on the subject of "Working Women in America in the 1970's" and is affiliated with the Advisory Committee on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges.

At Tufts, Dean Simmons taught a seminar on "Women in America in the 19th Century" and was instrumental in establishing a child-care center.

"I doubt that I'll have the time to teach a seminar on the history of American women at Princeton," smiles the easygoing dean. "But I hope to be involved with women's programs, among other things."

The "other things," as Dean Simmons describes them, are multiple and varied. These include working with undergraduate

Meet Dean Simmons

organizations and looking into the ways in which the living environment can provide a richer educational experience.

In addition, the Dean of Student Affairs must consider the ways faculty can be brought into touch with the students outside the classroom — ways to build up informal relationships.

"We must provide an opportunity for students to discuss questions and problems and issues that are not necessarily related to Milton and ancient history," Dean Simmons muses.

The youthful dean joins a new Princeton administration with Dr. William Bowen at its helm. President Bowen, who took office July 1, is a nationally known economist who has served as Princeton's provost since 1967.

Both Dr. Bowen and Dean Simmons support the idea of a flexible degree program — one not confined to the traditional four-year time span. As ex-officio member of the Princeton Commission on the Future of the College, President Bowen proposed instead a three-year program.

Dean Simmons advocates a three-to-five-year schedule, giving the student the option to proceed at his or her own pace. "I'm opposed to any rigid time restrictions for learning," she emphasizes.

Princeton — once a staunch male bastion — has only recently admitted women to anything other than proms and weekend festivities. The university is still adapting to its changed status and to a de-emphasizing of the select circle of eating clubs that formerly constituted a distinct social hierarchy.

Tufts and Jackson, on the other hand, have long been a brother-and-sister team, sharing faculty and facilities. Abutting the city, the two schools are more urban in character than bucolic Princeton.

What encouraged Dean Simmons to tackle the administrative duties of a new university with very different priorities, personality, and academic and social structure?

"I was very excited by some of the recent changes at Princeton," she explained, noting particularly the shift to co-ed status and the innovations proposed by the Bressler Commission (established to study a three-year curriculum).

"Moreover," she adds, "Princeton is a small university of very high quality. I don't want to work at a large university, where eans get removed from faculty and students nd just become administrators."

Here, she excused herself to answer one of e more urgent administrative questions at seem always to hover outside her orway. Upon returning, she commented at the problems of university administion fascinate her. But she is also devoted her career as "a teacher and a scholar."

n the threshold of a challenging new ition at Princeton, she looks forward to iching both her academic and adminisive career. And for scholar-professorinistrator Dean Simmons, this is the bes l possible worlds.

Adele Simmons has kept mementos of her early academic career, including a snapshot taken while she worked at Tufts and a 1972 newspaper clipping covering her appointment at Princeton.

Simmons introduced Bishop Desmond Tutu at the Council on Foreign Relations, just three weeks after he was honored with the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize for "his opposition to South Africa's brutal apartheid regime."

DeHaas's rise in Chicago's corporate universe coincided with Simmons's return to Chicago. In 1989, she was named president of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, becoming the first woman in American history to serve as president of a top ten foundation. When she assumed the helm, MacArthur was little more than a decade old and still figuring out how to develop and build various programs. During the ensuing decade, Simmons oversaw grants totaling more than $1.5 billion, including an annual $25 million program for Chicago. "These were all new programs, so it was a matter of helping them grow and develop, and figuring out where each one could have its greatest impact given the nature of the field," she explains.[34]

Under Simmons's leadership, the MacArthur Foundation identified areas in which philanthropic investment could generate the most success. "The whole field of aging was transformed by the MacArthur work," she believes. "We talk about and think about successful aging all the time, not realizing that twenty years ago, it wasn't part of the vocabulary." Similarly, Simmons points out that the public discussion of biodiversity and understanding biodiversity was just getting started in the late 1980s. The MacArthur Foundation completed "rapid inventories that really identified parts of the world where you needed to really invest in environment," she argues, "because there were huge threats to biodiversity." Finally, "what we were doing in mental health was really revolutionary." Indeed, by 1991, the MacArthur Foundation was the largest funder of research on mental health after the federal government.[35]

Simmons is particularly proud of the way the MacArthur Foundation cultivated new and innovative ways of developing and fostering communication among civic groups. Locally, the foundation fostered neighborhood leadership by promoting early childhood education initiatives, encouraging the develop-

As president of Hampshire College (1977–89), Simmons was beloved for frequenting the student dining hall with her small children. Left: The Simmons family in 1984.

ment of affordable housing, supporting institutions like Chicago's ShoreBank. Globally, it helped shift attention to women's health, particularly at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. But success required cooperation and support from relevant countries. Simmons points out that the MacArthur Foundation "would support women's organizations in those countries to brief and put pressure on their own government delegations so when they got to Cairo, they were informed and on board."[36] Similar efforts led to passage of the Mine Ban Treaty of 1997.[37]

Simmons, pictured below in 1991, served as president of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation from 1989 to 1999. During her tenure, she "established the foundation's global reach."

Perhaps the best example is the Nobel Prize–winning Muhammad Yunus and his microcredit and microfinance programs. "We provided really important support to Muhammad Yunus at a time when he was thinking of expanding beyond Bangladesh," Simmons recollects. A MacArthur grant "enabled him to take an idea and make it a global idea."[38] Yunus concurs. "Adele Simmons's decision to support the Grameen Trust jump-started us on our ambitious new replication program and encouraged other donors to follow suit," he writes, including the Rockefeller Foundation, the World Bank, the US government, the German government, and the United Nations Capital Development Fund. Yunus believes none of that would have happened without Simmons and the MacArthur Foundation.[39]

After moving to Deloitte in 2002, DeHaas became one of Chicago's most visible corporate executives. She was named the central region managing partner, responsible for overseeing nine thousand professionals in twenty-three offices in twelve states.[40] At the same time, she continued her civic engagement and promoting women in the workplace, eventually becoming Deloitte's vice chairman and chief inclusion officer. DeHaas acknowledges that by the 1990s, almost 50 percent of Deloitte's entry level hires were female, but "we were losing those women in much larger numbers."

She recognized that the Big Four accounting firms—Deloitte, Ernst & Young, KPMG, and PricewaterhouseCoopers—each followed "a turnover model" in their operations but that did not explain why women were leaving at higher rates than men. "Our business model was not going to be successful," she argues. Something had to change. A decade later, the company achieved an industry milestone: female partners, principals, and directors at Deloitte in the United States exceeded 1,100 in 2012.[41]

DeHaas has a precise philosophy regarding inclusion: it is the "key to unleashing the power of diversity." More specifically, inclusion and diversity are not the same. "You could have a diverse environment that's not inclusive," she argues. DeHaas clarifies that "inclusion really is much more about culture, about how the people feel." An inclusive workplace, by this measure, values each employee "for the unique individual that they are." Such workplaces encourage employees to "bring [their] authentic self to work," to develop individual strengths, and "to grow and develop both personally and professionally."[42]

When DeHaas joined Deloitte, she brought her high-profile position in Chicago's corporate and philanthropic communities. "The managing partner of Andersen was sort of the CEO of the marketplace," emphasizes DeHaas. "All of a sudden, I was asked to join boards with people like Bill Osborn, Andy McKenna, Pat Ryan, Jim Farrell, and Jim O'Connor. But there weren't many women in senior leadership roles in the community at that time." Her move allowed her to expand her civic profile, or in her words, Deloitte was "an opportunity to get involved on a much larger scale."

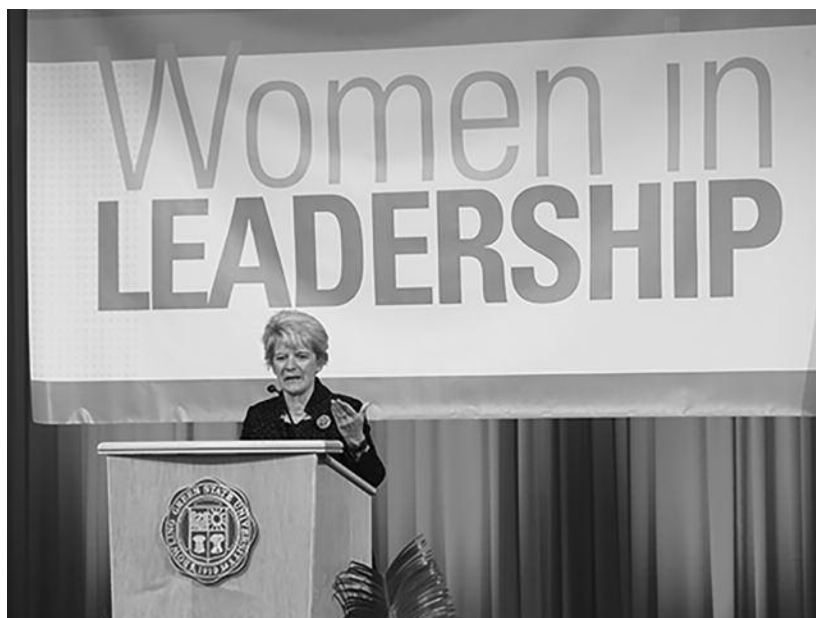
In a 2004 interview with the Chicago Tribune*, DeHaas remarked, "I'm incredibly fortunate to have a spouse and family as supportive as mine." Above: Dave Underwood, Deb DeHaas, and their sons, Matthew (from left), Eric, and Alex, c. 2006.*

Thanks to her upbringing, DeHaas was well-prepared for community service. She describes community activism as "very core to our family" from the time she and her siblings were young. "That was just something our parents believed in," she recounts. DeHaas's mother was a critical role model. "One of the things I'm really proud of is just how much of a leader she was in our community," she states. "As an example, she helped start this Head Start program in our community." DeHaas insists that rubbed off onto her. "We tutored at our church. We had a carnival for muscular dystrophy in our yard when we were kids. In college, my sorority was very involved in the Ronald McDonald House."[43]

Mayor Daley also appealed to DeHaas to encourage Deloitte to fill in the civic vacuum created by the demise of Andersen. "Mayor Daley called me over to his office," remembers DeHaas. He made the case that Deloitte needed to assume a greater public role in Chicago, "to step in and become this larger civic leader than in the past. We really need you," Daley told DeHaas. DeHaas answered his call. Since moving to Deloitte, she has been a virtual whirling dervish of civic activism. DeHaas has served on the boards of the Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce, Northwestern University, the Executives' Club of Chicago, the Museum of Science and Industry, and WTTW/Channel 11. She also served as board chairman of the United Way of Metropolitan Chicago and cochairman of the development committee of Chicago 2016, which led the city's bid for the 2016 Olympic Games.[44]

When it comes to civic activism, DeHaas leads by example. She has fully embraced Mayor Richard M. Daley's charge to guide Deloitte to assume a greater public role in Chicago.

In her life and work, DeHaas embodies the motto "Be bold for change." Below: During the 2015 Women in Leadership conference at Bowling Green State University, she spoke about the need to move toward "cogitative diversity—diversity of perspective, diversity of thought."

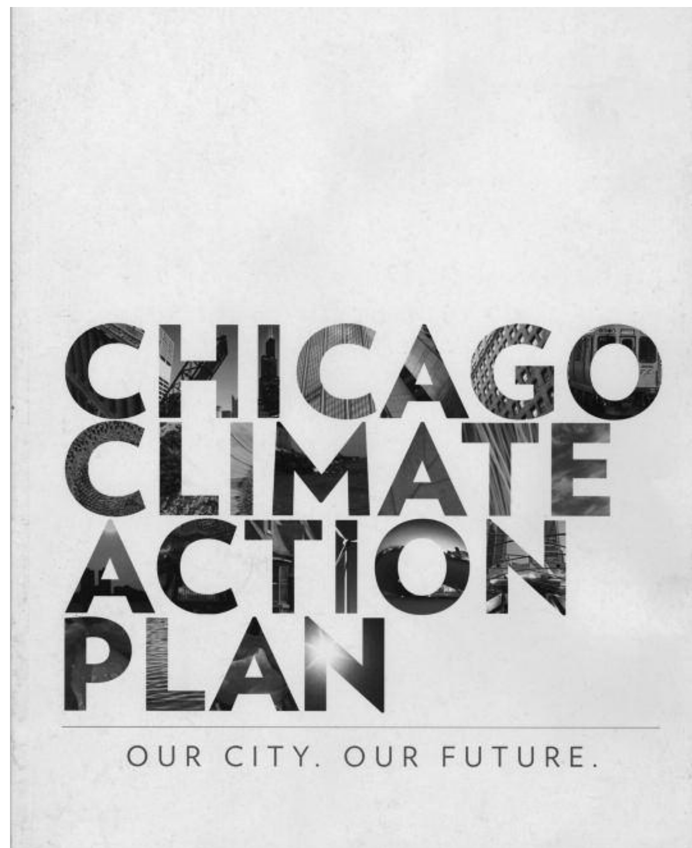


At almost the same time that Daley recruited DeHaas, he did the same with Simmons. From 1993 to 1994, she chaired the mayor's Youth Development Task Force.[45] After leaving the MacArthur Foundation in 1999, Simmons remained engaged in more projects than ever. Daley asked her to co-chair the task force that produced the *Chicago Climate Action Plan* (2008), a document in which the City of Chicago promised to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 25 percent below 1990 levels.[46] Chicago thus became the first US city to identify emission sources, anticipate impacts, and propose specific solutions in response.[47]

Adele and John Simmons and their children, Ian (from left), Erica, and Kevin, c. 2000.

Simmons co-chaired the task force that produced this 2008 report (below), which included the work of leading scientists, policy experts, and business leaders.

Simmons points out that this differed from other "task force" publications. A "green ribbon committee" of community, corporate, and civic leaders was formed after the report's publication, responsible for overseeing and working with "the people involved in implementation." If "at any point when we saw that something wasn't working right," emphasizes Simmons, "we could go to the mayor and say, 'I think you should call Streets and Sanitation, because they're not moving, and before the *[Chicago] Tribune* writes a story, you could start fixing it." Simmons and the committee continued working "very closely with the mayor in the implementation of the plan." Even today, Mayor Rahm Emanuel "is continuing it and moving a lot of things forward."[48]



Simmons also served as the vice chair of Chicago Metropolis 2020 and was instrumental in the planning of the 2009 Burnham Plan Centennial. As president of the nonprofit Global Philanthropy Partnership, she works in support of developing global philanthropy infrastructures, encouraging global giving, and promoting sustainable cities.[49] The organization is particularly focused on the relationships among climate change, global poverty, and international security. Simmons was also active in the Synergos

Institute, serving on the board, chairing the Program and Planning Committee, and editing the quarterly newsletter *Global Giving Matters*.[50]

Much of Simmons's civic work in the twenty-first century is a continuation of her work at the MacArthur Foundation. For example, she co-chaired a Chicago Council on Global Affairs study group that examined and promoted Chicago as a global city. "When I left MacArthur, I had a Chicago soul and a global soul," admits Simmons. "I wanted to keep my global interests and have a base for them." She points out that during her youth "nobody thought of Chicago as a global city." Simmons's solution was to organize a group of civic leaders with MacArthur funding. "We brought in the unions; we brought in the businesses," she recalls. "We brought in all these different groups to really talk about and help build the image of global Chicago." The final result was her influential *The Global Edge: An Agenda for Chicago's Future* (2007), coauthored with Michael H. Moskow and Henry H. Perritt Jr.[51]

DeHaas (right) credits her siblings—Betsy Holden (left), a prominent businesswoman, and David DeHaas, a vascular surgeon—with pushing her "to put high expectations" on herself.

DeHaas celebrates with her family at the 23rd Annual Making History Awards ceremony, held at the Four Seasons Hotel Chicago, in 2017. Dan Rest Photography.

Left: Adele Simmons accepts her Making History Award from Marshall Field V on June 6, 2012. Right: Scott Swanson presents Deb DeHaas with her Making History Award on June 7, 2017. Dan Rest Photography.

Simmons and DeHaas share an honest modesty in their numerous accomplishments and pathbreaking contributions. For Simmons, she considers the "small things" to be most significant: support for neighborhood health clinics, funding a local museum, working on a land mine treaty, promoting the concept of an international criminal court.[52] "I never really think anyone accomplishes anything on their own," concurs DeHaas. "Working on teams solving problems, and then working with other leaders in the community to hopefully make things better—I think I'm most proud of that."[53] And so is most of Chicago.

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ILLUSTRATIONS | All illustrations are courtesy of the awardees, except for the Chicago History Museum event photography at the bottom of page 61 and on page 62.

FURTHER READING | Deborah DeHaas and Adele Smith Simmons await their biographers. Explorations of DeHaas's career appear in John Carpenter, "Demise of Arthur Andersen taught professional, personal lessons to Deloitte leader," *Chicago*

Tribune, March 5, 2012, and Deanna Hartley, "Accounting for Inclusion: Deloitte's Deborah DeHaas," *Diversity Now*, January 14, 2013. On Arthur Andersen and Enron, see Barbara Ley Toffler, *Final Accounting: Ambition, Greed, and the Fall of Arthur Andersen* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003) and Nancy B. Rapoport, Jeffrey D. Van Niel, and Bala G. Dharan, eds., *Enron and Other Corporate Fiascos: The Corporate Scandal Reader*, second edition (New York: Thomson Reuters/Foundation Press, 2009). A concise summary of Adele Simmons's career appears in Barbara J. Love, ed., *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963–1975* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 424. Simmons's major work on Africa is *Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). Her term as Hampshire College president is discussed in Fox Butterfield, "She Has Hampshire Feeling Frisky Again," *New York Times*, January 4, 1987. Simmons's views on Chicago as a global city appear in Adele Simmons, "Introduction" in Charles Madigan, ed., *Global Chicago* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 7–14, and Michael H. Moskow, Henry H. Perritt Jr., and Adele Simmons, *The Global Edge: An Agenda for Chicago's Future* (Chicago: Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2007).

ENDNOTES

1. Chicago History Museum, "Deborah L. DeHaas biography," 2017, in possession of the author (hereafter DeHaas biography); "Deborah DeHaas," *Chicago Magazine*, February 14, 2012, accessed April 6, 2017, https://bit.ly/2vXWGyB; Deborah DeHaas, oral history interview by Timothy J. Gilfoyle, May 25, 2017, deposited in the collection of the Chicago History Museum (hereafter DeHaas, interview).

2. "Simmons, Adele S." in Barbara J. Love, ed., *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963–1975* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 424.

3. "Adele Simmons," *Wikipedia*, modified January 18, 2018, accessed March 1, 2018, https://bit.ly/2vWmUBO; "Miss Smith Fiancée of John L. Simmons," *New York Times*, June 10, 1966.

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5. "Adele Simmons," *Wikipedia*; "Hermon Dunlap Smith Cabin," *Flickr*, June 26, 2012, accessed March 1, 2018, https://www.flickr.com/photos/teemu08/7450212076 (Field Museum, Hull-House); Ellen Thorne Smith, *Chicagoland Birds: Where and When to Find Them* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1972), accessed March 5, 2018, https://bit.ly/2FtC6FZ; Simmons, interview.

6. "Miss Smith Fiancée of John L. Simmons," *New York Times*; "Hermon D. Smith Dies at 83," *New York Times*.

7. Simmons, interview.

8. DeHaas, interview. Other sources give DeHaas's birth year as 1960. See John Carpenter, "Demise of Arthur Andersen taught professional, personal lessons to Deloitte leader," *Chicago Tribune*, March 5, 2012, accessed April 6, 2017, https://trib.in/2I1q2kG.

9. DeHaas, interview; Carpenter, "Demise of Arthur Andersen;" Deanna Hartley, "Accounting for Inclusion: Deloitte's Deborah DeHaas," *Diversity Now*, January 14, 2013, accessed April 6, 2017, https://bit.ly/2r60ZCm.

10. DeHaas, interview; Carpenter, "Demise of Arthur Andersen."

11. DeHaas, interview.

12. Simmons, interview.

13. Simmons, interview (including the note about her parents founding Lake Forest Day School); "Miss Smith Fiancée of John L. Simmons," *New York Times*.

14. Cara M. Familian, "MacArthur Foundation Names New President," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 27, 1988, accessed April 9, 2012, https://bit.ly/2r7Sfg0; "Adele Simmons," *Wikipedia*; Simmons, interview.

15. Simmons, interview. See also Adele Smith Simmons, *Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

16. Carpenter, "Demise of Arthur Andersen;" DeHaas, interview (magna cum laude).

17. Barbara Ley Toffler, *Final Accounting: Ambition, Greed, and the Fall of Arthur Andersen* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003), 25. The Big Eight accounting firms included Arthur Andersen LLP, Arthur Young, Coopers & Lybrand, Deloitte Haskins & Sells, Ernst & Whinney, Touche Ross & Company, Peat Marwick Mitchell, and Price Waterhouse & Company. In 1989, Arthur Young merged with Ernst & Whinney and Deloitte Haskins & Sells merged with Touche Ross. In 1998, Price Waterhouse merged with Coopers & Lybrand.

18. DeHaas, interview.

19. Hartley, "Accounting for Inclusion."

20. DeHaas, interview. Arthur Andersen, the tax and auditing giant, launched Anderson Consulting as a semiau-

tonomous unit in 1989. The companies broke apart in 2000 following a bitter three-year legal battle. See David Leonhardt, "Anderson Split Into Two Firms by Arbitrator," *New York Times,* August 8, 2000, accessed May 5, 2018, https://nyti.ms/2IaQGEw.

21. DeHaas, interview.

22. Simmons, interview; "Adele Simmons," *Wikipedia*. Simmons received her PhD from the University of Oxford in 1969.

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31. Carpenter, "Demise of Arthur Andersen."

32. DeHaas, interview.

33. Carpenter, "Demise of Arthur Andersen;" DeHaas, interview.

34. Love, "Simmons, Adele S."; "Adele S. Simmons, President," *Global Philanthropy Partnership*, undated, accessed March 2, 2018, https://bit.ly/2raBz7D; "Adele Simmons," *Wikipedia*; "Adele Simmons," *Chicago Metropolis 2020*, 2012, accessed April 9, 2012, https://bit.ly/2JHjrsF; Simmons, interview.

35. Simmons, interview; Kathleen Teltsch, "Foundation Leader Charting New Paths," *New York Times*, May 25, 1991.

36. Simmons, interview.

37. This effort was the result of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction, informally known as the Ottawa Convention. The treaty was adopted in 1997 and "entered into force" in 1999. For more information, visit the International Campaign to Ban Landmines website at http://www.icbl.org/en-gb/the-treaty.aspx.

38. Simmons, interview.

39. Muhammad Yunus, *Banker to the Poor: Micro-Lending and the Battle Against World Poverty* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999), 164.

40. Carpenter, "Demise of Arthur Andersen."

41. DeHaas, interview; Hartley, "Accounting for Inclusion."

42. DeHaas, interview.

43. Ibid.

44. DeHaas, interview; Carpenter, "Demise of Arthur Andersen;" Hartley, "Accounting for Inclusion."

45. On the controversy surrounding the youth development task force report, see John Kass, "Daley Skips Out on Kid Task Force Report," *Chicago Tribune*, June 10, 1994.

46. According to the Kyoto Protocol, the recommended baseline levels of greenhouse gas emissions are based on those from the year 1990.

47. Adele S. Simmons and Sadhu Johnston, *Chicago Climate Action Plan* (Chicago: City of Chicago, 2008), accessed March 1, 2018, https://bit.ly/1qbre4K; "Adele S. Simmons, President," *Global Philanthropy Partnership*. On the release of the plan, see "Daley, Business, Foundation Leaders Announce Climate Action Plan," September 18, 2008, Mayor's Press Office, accessed March 2, 2018, https://bit.ly/2jkAOEy.

48. Simmons, interview.

49. "Adele S. Simmons, President," *Global Philanthropy Partnership*; "Adele Simmons," *Chicago Metropolis 2020*; Michael H. Moskow, Henry H. Perritt Jr., Adele Simmons, *The Global Edge: An Agenda for Chicago's Future* (Chicago: Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2007).

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51. Simmons, interview; "Adele S. Simmons, President," *Global Philanthropy Partnership*; "Adele Simmons," *Chicago Metropolis 2020*; Moskow, et al., *The Global Edge*.

52. Simmons, interview.

53. DeHaas, interview.