

TRIM: 6¹/₈" × 9¹/₄"






HEAD: 9¹/₁₆"

BACK: 1³/₁₆"

Updated: 3/18/1998

TEXT PAGE: Top of CAP of first text line to bottom of last text line on a normal page.

TYPE PAGE: Top of CAP of RHD/FOLIO to bottom of last text line on a normal page.

KEYMARK	ELEMENT	SPECIFICATION
	ORNAMENTS	<p>A  Minion Ornament "v" 20pt</p> <p>B  Minion Ornament "u" 20pt</p> <p>C  Minion Ornament "w" 22pt</p> <p>D  Minion Ornament "I" (lc el) 20pt</p> <p>E  Poetica Ornament "T" 28pt</p>
T	Body Text	10.5/14 Janson × 26pi, justified • 38 lines per page • lining figures (<i>unless otherwise spec'd</i>) • 1em para indent, none following any head, subheads, text space breaks or to begin chapter text, use ligatures. Pages can run long or short to fix pagination problems. Long preferred.
	Running Heads	<p>When recto and verso RHDs are the same text, use same recto style for both.</p> <p>28pts b/b from RHD to text below</p> <p>Left RHD (A): 10pt Janson, C/SC, track 20. Flush inside of 26pi <i>(B):</i> 10pt Janson Italic, c/lc. Flush inside of 26pi <i>(C):</i> 10pt Janson Italic CAPS, track 20. Flush inside of 26pi</p> <p>Right RHD 10pt Janson Italic, c/lc. Flush inside of 26pi</p> <p>Folios 9.5pt Janson, lining figures, flush outside of 26pi</p> <p>Drop Folio (<i>only if specifically requested</i>) 9.5pt Janson lining figures, 24pts b/b below last line, indent 3p6 from left</p>
PART OPENER — <i>New recto, verso blank.</i>		
PN PN_ORN	Part Number	30pt Janson Italic CAP roman numeral. Sink 4pi from head to top of PN. Indent 3p6 from left to PN. Place 20pt Minion ornament "v" (or select ornament from list above) flush left and center on height of PN
PT PT_CAPS	Part Title	<p>DESIGN EDITOR: Mark msp for aesthetically planned line breaks</p> <p><i>(A: PT sets CAPS):</i> 28/36 Janson Italic CAPS, FLRR, track 20, Sink 7p6 from head, indent 3p6 from left</p> <p><i>(B: PT sets C/lc):</i> 28/36 Janson Italic CAPS, FLRR, track 20, Sink 7p6 from head, indent 3p6 from left</p>
CHAPTER OPENER — <i>Chapter following part, new recto; thereafter, start recto or verso, or as marked</i>		
CO	Chapter Opener	22 text lines • when epigraph is on CO, text lines will vary. <i>see EP specs below</i> NOTE: <i>Preface or Introduction whether in FM or text, should have a CT set heading with number of text lines below as noted above for chapter openers. Chapter opener may be long or short to avoid bad break.</i>
CN CN_ORN	Chapter Number	30pt Janson Italic lining figure. Sink 4pi from head to top of CN. Indent 3p6 from left to CN. Place 20pt Minion ornament "v" (or select ornament from list above) flush left and center on height of CN
CT	Chapter Title	20/26 Janson Italic C/lc, FLRR. Sink 7p6 from head, indent 3p6 from left
CA	Chapter Author	13/20 Janson Text Roman Smcaps, track 20, flush right, 3pi b/b from last line of CT
EP	Epigraph	9/12 Janson × 22pi, Flush right, ragged left, 30pts b/b below CT or 36pts b/b below PT, indented 4pi, all line Flush right. 22pts b/b between multiple EPs.
EPS	Epigraph Source	9/11 Janson Italic c/lc, 14pts b/b below EP. Start with 7pt Minion ornament when using matching ornament for chapter titles and part titles, otherwise suggest using EM or EN dash. At least 4pi b/b from EPS to first line of text on chapter opener.

African American Women and Christian Activism

Halftitle sets 14/20 Janson
italic, clc, indent 3.5pi, sink
7.5pi from head.

Spec is variable depending
on length and style of title
used on title page.

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BOSTON HISTORICAL STUDIES 126

Published under auspices of the Department of History
from the income of the Paul Revere Frothingham Bequest
Robert Louis Strock Fund Henry Warren Torrey Fund

FM_HT_SERHD

FM_HT_SERTXT

Series title sets 14/16 Janson small caps letterspaced
.1ems loose, 18pts to 10pt lining figure (TNT set
18pt em space for space to figure and swipe figure to
10pt).

Series text sets 9.5/16 Janson, clc, rr, 24pts b/b below
title, indents 3.5pi. Series text should not exceed width
of series title and number.

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Sinkage is variable depending on the length of the title and how it looks on the page. The sinkage should range from 5–7.5pi. A 2 line title as set here sinks to 5pi.

African American Women and Christian Activism

FM_TP_TITLE

Use 3.5pi indent for title and/or subtitle if it look sbetter for any given configuration. Subtitle can also set flush right if it looks best.

NEW YORK'S BLACK YWCA, 1905–1945

FM_TP_SUBTITLE

Subtitle is 18pt Janson Text roman sc, letterspaced “track 20.”
Lining figures in dates should be small cap height. (TNT letter spacing is in the tag, figures should be 12.5pt)

Subtitle can be flush right if it looks better. It can also be italic, csc letterspaced or caps letter spaced, but preferably not roman clc.

JUDITH WEISENFELD

FM_TP_AUTHOR

Author sets 18pt Janson Text roman, csc letter spaced “track 20,” indent 3.5pi from left, 8pi b/b below subtitle. (TNT letter spacing is in the tag)

Author spec can vary depending on length and what looks best. Use italic, csc letter spaced, or small caps letter spaced.

b/b's are variable based on the amount of type and what looks best.

“Collegiate” text sets 11.5pt Janson text roman sc, letter spaced “track 20,” 18pi b/b below author.

PUBLISHER

Anywhere, USA
Somewhere, UK 1997

Location sets 10.5/16 Janson Text italic, clc, EM space to year, 18pts b/b below “Collegiate” text.

FM_TP_HUP

FM_TP_ADD

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Chapter number: Sets flush left, EM space to title, clear for max digits.
Chapter titles: 11/14 janson Text, clc, 22pts b/b below to next chapter, turnovers align on word above. 26pts b/b above FM titles, 30pts b/b below to EM titles. Pages numbers set 11pt italic (TNT: tab to page numbers).
Sub titles: 10/13 Janson Text italic, clc, indent 1em from chapter titles, turnovers indent an additional em. Page numbers set 10pt italic, 2ems from sub title. 16pts b/b above to chapter title.

Head uses ET spec.

Contents

FM_CONT_HD

Approximately 12.5pi b/b. Less if contents almost fits on one page. Min. of 6pi b/b

22pts b/b	Acknowledgments	000
26pts b/b	Introduction	000
16pts b/b	1 "Bend the Tree While It Is Young": Institutional Alliances / Institutional Appropriations	000
	<i>African-American Women and the Politics of Racial Uplift</i>	000
	<i>YWCA Social Reform Work</i>	000
	<i>African-American Women and the National YWCA</i>	000
	2 "If One Life Shines": African-American Women in Networks	000
	<i>Laying an Activist Foundation</i>	000
	<i>Conflicting Visions</i>	000
	3 "The Home-Made Girl": Constructing a Mobile Private Space	000
	<i>Racially Charged Public Space</i>	000
	<i>Racialized and Gendered Public Space</i>	000
	<i>At "Home" in New York</i>	000
	<i>Performing the Private in Public</i>	000
	4 "We Are It": Building on the Urban Frontier	000
	<i>"Harlem Rides the Range"</i>	000

FM_CONT_FM1

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Head uses ET spec.

Chapter number: Sets flush left, EM space to title, clear for max digits.

Chapter titles: 11/14 janson Text, clc, 22pts b/b below to next chapter, turnovers align on word above. 26pts b/b above or below to FM or EM titles. Pages numbers set 11pt italic (TNT: tab to FM and BM titles, tab to all page numbers).

Contents

Approximately 12.5pi b/b. Less if contents almost fits on one page. Min. of 6pi b/b

FM_CONT_HD

22pts b/b	Acknowledgments	000
26pts b/b	Introduction	000
22pts b/b	1 "Bend the Tree While It Is Young": Institutional Alliances / Institutional Appropriations	000
	2 "If One Life Shines": African-American Women in Networks	000
	3 "The Home-Made Girl": Constructing a Mobile Private Space	000
	4 "We Are It": Building on the Urban Frontier	000
	5 "Interwoven Destinies": Wars at Home and Abroad	000
	6 "A Grand Place": Black America's Community Center	000
26pts b/b	7 "Against the Tide": Racial Conflict and Interracial Work	000
	Notes	000
	Index	000

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FM_CONT_CN2

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Head uses ET spec.

Contents

Chapter number: Sets flush left, EM space to title, clear for max digits.

Chapter titles: 11/14 janson Text, clc, 20pts b/b below to next chapter, turnovers align on word above. 24pts b/b below to part titles. Pages numbers set 11pt italic (TNT: tab to FM and BM titles, tab to chapter numbers, tab to chapter titles, tab to page numbers).

Part numbers: Flush left, clear for max digits, em space to title, turnovers indent an additional em (TNT: tab to part numbers, tab to titles).

Part titles: 12/15 Janson Text roman, csc, letterspaced "track 20." 24pts b/b below FM titles & chapter titles (TNT letter spacing is in the tag).

Approximately 12.5pi b/b. Less if contents almost fits on one page. Min. of 6pi b/b

20pts b/b	Acknowledgments	
24pts b/b	Introduction	
20pts b/b	I JUSTICE	
	1 "Bend the Tree While It Is Young": Institutional Alliances / Institutional Appropriations	000
	2 "If One Life Shines": African-American Women	000
24pts b/b	3 "The Home-Made Girl": Constructing a Space	000
	II DEMOCRACY	
	4 "We Are It": Building on the Urban Frontier	000
	5 "Interwoven Destinies": Wars at Home and Abroad	000
	III CHRISTIANITY	
	6 "A Grand Place": Black America's Community Center	000
26pts b/b	7 "Against the Tide": Racial Conflict	000
	Notes	
	Index	

FM_CONT_HD

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*“Interwoven Destinies”:
Wars At Home And Abroad*

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IN SEPTEMBER of 1919 as the United States emerged from the First World War, the bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal and of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches separately published petitions to Congress and other white political leaders.

These petitions, on behalf of large constituencies of African American Christians, expressed the hopes and frustrations that many black Americans felt in this period of intense and rapid changes in American life. In their concluding paragraphs the AME bishops called for a bold new relationship between African Americans.

The war era precipitated significant the changes in American social, political, and economic life and African American communities in particular experienced the monumental transformations of the Great Migration. Scholars have estimated that, between 1916 and 1921, one half million southern African Americans migrated to northern cities, spurred by a combination of cotton crops decimated by boll weevil infestations in the South and war-related labor shortages in the North. New York, for example, experienced an increase of 66.3% in its African American population in the years between 1910 and 1920. James Weldon Johnson has described this period by noting that, “for the Negroes of the South this was the happy blending of desire with opportunity.”³

In the context of wartime rhetoric of the American commitment to expanding access to democracy for all the world’s citizens, as well as

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Use drop folio only if specifically requested.

“general” pamphlets and posters, relegating them, instead, to brochures and articles that depicted the separate category of “colored work,” and typically directed at a white readership. Often, white members of the YWCA’s publicity committee produced these images and stories with very little sense of African American women’s perspectives on their own work with the YWCA. For the YWCA, “*the American woman*” remained essentially a white woman.

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~ IN HER EXAMINATION of women in the public sphere in nineteenth century American cities, Mary Ryan demonstrates some of the ways in which a strictly-dichotomized view of the public as gendered masculine and the private as gendered feminine obscures the historically significant and creative ways in which women lived and acted in the public sphere. Recognizing that the public sphere in American history has, indeed, been constructed in ways that seek to exclude women and to express male power, Ryan examines the presence of women in urban celebrations, in the sex industry, as public consumers, as participants in riots, and as feminist activists. Her work emphasizes the role that class and ethnicity have played in the gendering of public space and in the experiences of women in the public sphere. Contrary to Jürgen Habermas’ notion of the public sphere as an arena of rational debate and a unified site in which public opinion is formed, Ryan posits the nineteenth-century urban public sphere as one in which “public life was not enacted in some ideal hall of rational deliberation . . . but on a fluid field of cultural, social, and political mobilization.”⁷⁷ Most important, Ryan emphasizes that “multiple points of public access” to this process have always existed.

The relationship of African American women to public and private space emerged as a central concern of African American women in the YWCA in New York City in the period from the institution’s founding in 1905 until its move to Harlem in 1913. “Public” and “private” became crucial issues for these women because of the ways in which the public realm in New York became a minefield of tensions of race, gender, class, and sexuality in these years. In addition, the concentration of working black women in domestic service, as well as overcrowded neighborhoods and housing, compromised the ability of black women to construct safe and nurturing home environments. The city’s African American YWCA’s project entailed constructing a homosocial pri-

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vate space in its building in order to overcome the impact of gendered and racially charged public space on young, working African American women. The “home” of the YWCA functioned at once as a safe environment and as a mechanism for instructing women on their domestic duties. This instruction took place in the context of an emerging discourse of the home for African Americans and the philosophy of racial uplift. Through this the homosocial space African American women who came to the YWCA underwent a socialization process to guide them into the proper Christian way of establishing heterosexual family units in the potentially destabilizing context of early twentieth-century New York.

Racially Charged Public Space

In addition to emphasizing the construction of family units and Christian home environments, the YWCA mobilized its own space, through holding regular public meetings, in service of the reappropriation of public space. Because it merely approximated a home, the liminal status of the YWCA made it possible to mobilize its private space to invest the public sphere with the Christian energies of its membership. By enlarging the private, this African American YWCA attempted to redeem the public and counter the ways in which the particularly racially charged and gendered atmosphere of early twentieth-century New York worked against the possibilities of African American women establishing truly safe home environments.

Labor on the Home Front

In July of 1907, two months after New York’s African American YWCA opened its new space on West 53rd street, the *New York Age* published an editorial addressing the relationship between the New York City Police department and black New York communities. “Now, it is a fair statement of fact that the New York police force has a greater dislike and nags and persecutes more, the colonized Afro-Americans than they do any of the other sort [immigrant communities]. A kind of war exists between them. Beginning with the San Juan Hill [neighborhood] riots⁸ several years ago there has [sic] been constant clashes between the two forces. As long as the police regard and treat all Afro-Americans in a

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colonized district as if they are suspicious characters and toughs, there will be trouble and plenty of it.”⁹ This editorial followed by a few months another *Age* piece aimed at dissuading southern African Americans from adopting an idealized vision of the city and its promises

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YMCA DURING THE WAR

Her work emphasizes the role that class and ethnicity have played in the gendering of public space and in the experiences of women in the public sphere. Contrary to Jürgen Habermas’ notion of the public sphere as an arena of rational debate and a unified site in which public opinion is formed, Ryan posits the nineteenth-century urban public sphere as one in which “public life was not enacted in some ideal hall of rational deliberation . . . but on a fluid field of cultural, social, and political mobilization.”⁷ Most important, Ryan emphasizes that “multiple points of public access” to this process have always existed.

It is impossible for an individual to leave the average Southern State and come into a city like New York and establish himself, all at once, in his new surroundings without, in many cases, suffering greatly. In the large cities of the North competition is severe. Not only is there competition, but there is race prejudice in many of the avenues of life that has to be reckoned with. The cost of living is high and employment not always easy to find. All these considerations lead us to warn our people to think carefully before they decide to pack up and leave their rural homes to come into a large city like New York.¹⁰

1. The call by African Americans
2. Citizenship rights
3. Call for support opportunities afforded by life in the North, especially potentially greater.
10. The cost of living high and employment not always easy to find.

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While southern, rural African Americans had long viewed the north, and its cities in particular, as the promised land within the American context, black New Yorkers understood the complexities of life in the urban North and regarded their home with great ambivalence. Certainly, given the systems of slavery, radical segregation, and racial terrorism in the South, the opportunities afforded by life in the North, especially potentially greater access to education, employment outside of agriculture, and some measure of personal security, were undisputed.

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But these *Age* editorials emphasize the ways in which the city loomed as a highly racially charged environment for black New Yorkers. And the dangers of racial conflict had an impact on politics, economics, religion, and gender relations.

Others situated African American destiny firmly in the American context. Mrs. M.E. Lee put forward this position in her poem, “Afmerica,” published in 1885 in an AME church periodical:

Afmerica! her home is here!
She wants or knows no other home,
No other lands, nor far nor near,
Can charm or tempt her thence to roam.
Her destiny is marked out here.
Her ancestors, like all the rest,
Came from the eastern hemisphere
But *she* is native of the *West*.
She'll lend a hand to Africa
And in her elevation aid.
But here in brave America
Her home, her only home is made.
No one has power to send her hence;
This home was planned by Providence.¹⁸

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Lee's use of “Afmerica” represents attempts by some black Americans to assert their Americanness in the context of ongoing discussions among whites and blacks of colonization schemes—that is, the expulsion or “repatriation” of people of African descent to parts of Africa. In this sixteen stanza poem, Lee traces the integral part that African Americans played in the building of America and foretells a future in which the nation embraces its diversity. “O turbulent America!” Lee declared. “So mixed and inter-mixed, until throughout this great Columbia all nationalities at will become thine own, thy legal heirs.” Lee placed women at the center of this future in a variety of spheres from the home to education, medicine, the arts, religion, and politics.

Whether African Americans saw God as working out African American destiny primarily in the context of Africa or America or both, all agreed that God's plan would entail human agency. In the period from _____S
the end of Reconstruction to World War I, dubbed “the nadir” by his- _____R
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torian Rayford Logan,¹⁹ African Americans debated the politics of racial uplift to determine what form of human agency God's plan would require. The politics of racial uplift in the late nineteenth century encompassed a broad spectrum of opinions, but tended to emphasize racial solidarity and action from within the community on behalf of all African Americans.

A number of fundamental points of agreement emerged among racial uplift activists.

Articulators of the philosophies of racial uplift, across a range of approaches, called for African Americans to marshal their means and create institutions

The politics of racial uplift in the late nineteenth century encompassed a broad spectrum of opinions.

Black and white women in the national and New York City YWCAs approached the combined opportunities and frustrations of the period through means that sometimes converged and often diverged and publicity became a central focus for both groups. During the war the National Board of the YWCA developed a large propaganda machine through pamphlets, posters, and a weekly paper, the *War Work Bulletin*, all of which advertised its role in dealing with labor issues at home and with war issues abroad. In one discussion in the *War Work Bulletin* on the topic "When Publicity is Education," the YWCA emphasized that "Educational publicity must turn the uninterested portion of the public into believers. Statements of accomplishments must demonstrate that YWCA work does what it is intended."¹

Thus, most racial uplift activists saw a strong organizational base as a critical component of any approach to racial uplift. Articulators of philosophies of racial uplift, across a range of approaches, called for African Americans to marshal their means and create institutions of civil society that could mediate between African Americans and white Americans society and hasten the progress of the race. A number of fundamental points of agreement emerged among racial uplift activists in looking ahead to the new century, including clear, easy identification of the wrongs committed against African Americans. They also agreed

1. Addition, the concentration of working black women in domestic service, as well as overcrowded neighborhoods and housing, compromised the ability of black women to construct safe and nurturing home environments.

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that, despite the shameful treatment the blacks had suffered, African American achievement could be demonstrated and must be demonstrated as part of an organizationally based strategy for uplift.²⁰ Truly, the most ironic element of the juxtaposition lay in the fact that.

Racially Charged Public Space

Labor on the Home Front

In the end, New York's African American YWCA would *not* take up residence at 118 West 131st Street in May of 1913 as planned, precisely because of the opposition of white residents of the street to having an African American institution as a neighbor. While the institution could not move to this particular location, by the end of May it had established itself at 121–123 West 132nd Street, in two houses converted into one and considerably larger than the West 53rd Street location.² With this move, New York City's African American YWCA inaugurated an important new phase in its institutional life and began to participate in what would become, during and after the First World War, a momentous shift in demographics and in the locus of African American identity construction.

Domestic Workers. In discussing “colored work,” the author emphasized the growth in membership among African Americans during the war years, as well as the general growth of the work “to dignified proportions.” Following this section, however, the YWCA eviscerated the message of the dignity of black women’s work with a photograph of four black children in a rural setting. The caption reads, “Happy-go-lucky and content with a minimum amount of miscellaneous clothing, these colored children of the rural districts of Alabama are nevertheless potential citizens under the Stars and Stripes.”⁸² In addition to withdrawing Americanness from black women and replacing it with “potential citizenship,” the national YWCA increasingly turned to international issues in ways that made African American women’s YWCA work invisible. In one striking example, the YWCA’s Department for Work with Foreign Born Women provided a *Handbook of Racial and Nationality Backgrounds* that discussed cultural differences among national groups, prefaced by a table that presented “a simple racial classi-

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fiction.” The table lists, in painstakingl, national peoples who fall under the “racial” categories of Teutonic, Keltic.

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- Precisely because of the opposition of white residents of the street to having an African American institution as a neighbor.
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Fighting for Democracy

I don't live in the best neighborhood, I don't live in the best apartment complex. But I can decide where my child is going to play and the people she is going to interact with.

≈ *Helena*

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*“We Are It”: Building on
the Urban Frontier*

ELIZABETH K. BETHUNE

I don't live in the best neighborhood, I don't live in the best apartment complex. But I can decide where my child is going to play and the people she is going to interact with.

≈ Helena

THE MAY 1, 1913 issue of the *New York Age* carried a notice concerning New York's African American YWCA which, in retrospect, appears full of illuminating juxtapositions. First, the paper reported the success of a recent social event, hosted by Sadie Battles, at which “a real Dutch supper was enjoyed by all present.” Battles, active in the Women's Mite Missionary Society of the AME Church and chair of the YWCA's House Committee, had joined the steady movement of black New Yorkers into Harlem and invited the membership to this fundraiser at her home at 69 West 132nd Street.¹ The notice continued with the announcement that this particular YWCA would be relocating from 143 West 53rd Street to 118 West 131st Street in early May and invited the public to a reception and housewarming that would be advertised in the near future.

As with this YWCA's 1907 move to West 53rd Street that signaled its arrival as an institution of significance for black New Yorkers, the impending move to Harlem also carried great meaning. The juxtaposition of its announcement with news of the “authentic” Dutch dinner is ironic: The African American women of the YWCA traveled to Battles' home in Harlem, residential section for black New Yorkers, to partake in an “authentic” expression of Harlem's roots as a Dutch settlement.

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*“Interwoven Destinies”:
Wars At Home And Abroad*

IN SEPTEMBER of 1919 as the United States emerged from the First World War, the bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal and of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches separately published petitions to Congress and other white political leaders.

These petitions, on behalf of large constituencies of African American Christians, expressed the hopes and frustrations that many black Americans felt in this period of intense and rapid changes in American life. In their concluding paragraphs the AME bishops called for a bold new relationship between African Americans.

The war era precipitated significant the changes in American social, political, and economic life and African American communities in particular experienced the monumental transformations of the Great Migration. Scholars have estimated that, between 1916 and 1921, one half million southern African Americans migrated to northern cities, spurred by a combination of cotton crops decimated by boll weevil infestations in the South and war-related labor shortages in the North. New York, for example, experienced an increase of 66.3% in its African American population in the years between 1910 and 1920. James Weldon Johnson has described this period by noting that, “for the Negroes of the South this was the happy blending of desire with opportunity.”³ In the context of wartime rhetoric of the American commitment to expanding access to democracy for all the world’s citizens.

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Racially Charged Public Space

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The well as expanding economic opportunities in northern cities, many African Americans felt heightened hope for their collective future. This hope remained tempered, however, by realities like those described in the bishops's petition. After years of commitment to America, African Americans felt the frustration of being denied full access to the rights.

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IN THE CONTEXT of wartime rhetoric of the American commitment to expanding access to democracy for all the world's citizens, as well as expanding economic opportunities in northern cities, many African Americans felt heightened hope for their collective future. This hope remained tempered, however, by realities like those described in the bishops's petition. After years of commitment to America, African Americans frustration being denied full access to the rights.

The Colored Work Committee also took up this project of wartime representation, and African American women welcomed an opportunity to present themselves as patriotic Americans. Both white and black women in the YWCA, however, approached the issue of representing African American women in ways that relied on older images. Bowles and the Colored Work Committee held fast to standards of "respectability" for African American women that, in many ways, embraced traditional images of black women.

White leaders in the national YWCA retreated rather quickly from the wartime on the Americanness of African American women. In the first issue of the *Blue Triangle News*.

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IN SEPTEMBER of 1919 as the United States emerged from the First World War, the bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal and of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches separately published petitions to Congress and other white political leaders.

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The war era precipitated significant the changes in American social, political, and economic life and African American communities in particular experienced the monumental transformations of the Great Migration. Scholars have estimated that, between 1916 and 1921, one half million southern African Americans migrated to northern cities, spurred by a combination of cotton crops decimated by boll weevil infestations in the South and war-related labor shortages in the North. New York, for example, experienced an increase of 66.3% in its African American population in the years between 1910 and 1920. James Weldon Johnson has described this period by noting that, “for the Negroes of the South this was the happy blending of desire with opportunity.”³ In the context of wartime rhetoric of the American commitment to expanding access to democracy for all the world’s citizens, as well

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The Colored Work Committee also took up this project of wartime representation, and African American women welcomed an opportunity to present themselves as patriotic Americans. Both white and black women in the YWCA, however, approached the issue of representing African American women in ways that relied on older images. Bowles and the Colored Work Committee held fast to standards of "respectability" for African American women that, in many ways, embraced traditional images of black women as morally dangerous and potentially morally contagious.

White leaders in the national YWCA retreated rather quickly from the wartime on the Americanness of African American women. In the first issue of the *Blue Triangle News*.

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Fighting for Democracy

I don't live in the best neighborhood, I don't live in the best apartment complex. But I can decide where my child is going to play and the people she is going to interact with.

↪ *Helena*

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“Interwoven Destinies”: Wars At Home And Abroad

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Figure 1.1 This is a sample of a figure caption.

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women and to express male power, Ryan examines the presence of women in urban celebrations, in the sex industry, as public consumers, was not enacted in some ideal hall of rational deliberation . . . but on a as participants in riots, and as feminist activists. Her work emphasizes the role that class and ethnicity have played in the gendering of public space and in the experiences of women in the public sphere. Contrary to Jürgen Habermas’ notion of the public sphere as an arena of rational debate and a unified site in which public opinion is formed, Ryan posits the nineteenth-century urban public sphere as one in which “public life was not enacted in some ideal hall of rational deliberation . . . but on a fluid field of cultural, social, and political mobilization.”⁷ Most impor-

debate and a unified site in which public opinion is formed, Ryan posits space and in the experiences of women in the public sphere. Contrary tant, Ryan emphasizes that “multiple points of public access” to this process have always existed American women to public and private space emerged as a central concern of African American women in the

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Introduction

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1. Throughout this work I use “black” and “African American” interchangeably. With an understanding that, throughout the period covered by the book, the women themselves would have they appear in the original sources.

2. Pauli Murray, *Song in a Weary Throat: An American Pilgrimage* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), p. 74.

3. Murray, *Song*, p. 75.

4. Murray, *Song*, p. 60.

5. Murray, *Song*, p. 65.

6. Murray, *Song*, p. 75.

7. For more on the emergence of three generations of black professional women, see Stehanie J. Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

8. Paula Giddings, *Where and When I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: Bantam Books, 1984); Dorothy Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890–1920* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1990); Stephanie J. Shaw, “Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women,” *Journal of Women’s History* Vol. 3.

9. On Battles, see *New York Age*, March 25, 1915; Richard R. Wright, *Centennial Encyclopedia of the AME Church* (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the A.M.E. Church, 1916), p. 331.

Incorporated into the city of New York in 1873, Harlem’s boundaries have never been firmly defined. Gilbert Osofsky places the nineteenth-century boundaries at 110th Street to 155th Street, pp. 75, 235.

10. *New York Age*, May 29, 1913.

100. James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (1930, reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1991), pp. 3–4.

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COLLECTED WORKS

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