

## Major N. Clark Smith in Chicago

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Uncertainty clouds many details about N. Clark Smith's early life. Collective evidence suggests the place of his birth was Leavenworth, Kansas, and the year most probably was 1866, only one year after the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution ratified the Emancipation Proclamation and officially abolished slavery. Although Kansas held the reputation of being more liberal than other Midwestern and Southern states, both racism and segregation existed within the community where Smith grew to manhood, and it prevailed in Missouri, Illinois, and Alabama, where he spent his mature years. When the educational and social factors impacting an African American's life are framed within the realistic conditions and restrictions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Smith's achievements are truly remarkable. Contemporary accounts of life in his community frequently reflect the struggles many from this aspiring generation endured, and also convey the diverse philosophies that existed within their ranks. Smith entered the world of music and education with determination, a rigorous work ethic, and a passionate dedication to his muse. Through his teaching and leadership he shared his knowledge, interests, and talent with the African-American community, and honored the musical traditions associated with its heritage.

Missing records and unreliable evidence handicap an accurate portrayal of N. Clark Smith's life and lead to speculation. There are no immediate descendents, and fire apparently destroyed most of his vast collection of personal papers, precluding glimpses into his private life and thoughts.<sup>1</sup> Documented evidence related to Smith's life is limited and frequently wrong. Most biographical entries contain inaccurate or conflicting information. African-American newspapers serve as the primary source for data, and they do provide an overview of Smith's activities with a sense of his working environment, but frequently contain questionable or obviously exaggerated accounts. All elements combine to produce a tattered personal history.

Early in his life, Smith began associating with a broad spectrum of people—black and white, rich and poor, established scholars alongside those just beginning their educational ascent, male and female musicians, along with men who were highly successful in the commercial music business. He appeared as comfortable with celebrities who had achieved national recognition as with his next-door neighbors who sang in the church

choir. Such factors coalesce and depict an admirable man living in an age of transition, a time when African Americans sought their rightful place in American society.

Until his mid-twenties Smith lived in Leavenworth, Kansas. Details of his early education remain murky, although the 1870 census identifies the fourteen year old as a "printer." In 1888 he and a colleague established and briefly published a local newspaper, the *Advocate*, but Smith sold his interest the following year. This experience in journalism proved beneficial; throughout his career, his knowledge of the press and its impact helped promote his activities.

During these same years he found time for music. While a youth, he established an association with the Hoffman music company in Leavenworth, directed church choirs, sang with a quartette, and organized a "Pickaninny Band." Although Smith gave serious consideration to the field of journalism, by the early 1890s his career path veered toward music.

Smith's affinity for Chicago dates from the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition where an extraordinary combination of architecture and graceful design presented an unprecedented setting of grandeur. The occasion also gave talented, young African Americans the opportunity to observe public performances by preeminent leaders of their community, and to place them in situations where a personal contact might occur. An indelible memory, Smith declared, was his meeting with an ageing heroic figure, Frederick Douglass (1817-1895) and it was from Douglass, Smith claimed, that he received inspiration to respect and preserve the African influence in their African-American musical heritage.<sup>2</sup>

For the next few years, Smith divided his time between Kansas and Missouri, teaching music, organizing bands and ensembles, and working for the Kansas City branch of the Hoffman music company.<sup>3</sup> In 1899 "M. B. Curtis All Star Afro-American Minstrels" engaged Smith's talented "Pickaninny Band" for a South Pacific tour.<sup>4</sup> Although the band received excellent reviews wherever it played, Smith realized that this facet of show business was not his calling.

Warm memories of Chicago tugged at Smith, luring him back. Although the specific date of his return is uncertain, it took only a few months for him to establish performing groups. The 1929 *Chicago Book of Achievement* published a photograph of Smith, seated, dressed in a tuxedo with a baton resting on his lap, surrounded by thirteen tuxedoed men, all carefully posed, instruments in hand. They are a handsome, proud, impressive looking group. A bass drumhead carries bold circled lettering that reads: "Smith Jubilee Choir, Band and Orchestra, Season 1899-1900."<sup>5</sup> At this time, Smith found a position with the celebrated Chicago music firm of

Lyon and Healy, although specific dates of his employment cannot be verified.<sup>6</sup> George W. Lyon, the music man, and Patrick J. Healy, the businessman, established their Chicago firm in 1864.<sup>7</sup> First, they opened a sheet music shop, but subsequently expanded their operation into one of the finest music companies in the United States. Smith undoubtedly had seen their elaborate display at the Columbian Exposition that featured their beautifully designed and masterfully crafted harps, exotic string creations of "mandolas, bandurias, banjorines and zithers," alongside displays of standard band and orchestra instruments.<sup>8</sup> Smith's association with Lyon & Healy proved fortuitous. Their management recognized his exceptional ability and played a significant role in the development of his professional life. They also utilized his skills in practical, learning experiences. For example, when they outfitted newly organized bands in nearby towns they assigned Smith responsibility for assisting with the initial organization and preliminary instruction at the site. Perhaps of even greater significance was the emphasis the company placed upon continuing formal education for their employees.

With generous assistance from Patrick Healy, Smith studied at Chicago Musical College, which had been established by Dr. Florence Ziegfeld, a German emigrant, in 1867.<sup>9</sup> Catalogs illustrating graduates and students from 1891 through 1905 depict only white faculty and students, primarily young females. School records could not confirm his attendance or degree awarded.<sup>10</sup> Smith presumably studied as a private student, but the connections he established and maintained with faculty proved advantageous throughout his career. One of his teachers, Dr. Felix Borowski, the eminent Polish composer, theorist, and critic, who taught orchestration, composition, and history of music in the classroom, also offered private lessons for twenty dollars each.<sup>11</sup> John B. Miller, tenor soloist with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, worked with Smith on voice training and the director of this symphony, Theodore Thomas, who had served as musical director for the Chicago Fair of 1893, also assisted Smith during the course of his career.<sup>12</sup>

Smith utilized his education and practical experiences in various community activities. Sometime during the first five years of the century he developed the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church choir, and in another project trained twelve women who formed the Ladies Mandolin Club. A photograph of this group illustrates Smith formally dressed, surrounded by women wearing long, elaborately ruffled skirts and white long-sleeved, high necked blouses, with decorative flowers adorning their hair. Their fingers are poised ready to pluck their instruments. He also receives credit for organizing the "Young Ladies Orchestra," as well as the first significant African-American symphony in Chicago.<sup>13</sup>

In 1903 J. Berni Barbour (b. 1881) and Smith established what some authorities contend was the first black owned music-publishing house.<sup>14</sup> Their first collaboration was *Baby, I'm Learning to Love You*, written especially for the Sisters Meredith, who, the *Indianapolis Freeman* reported, were making it a great hit.<sup>15</sup> Although the Smith and Barbour enterprise was short-lived, both men found success in a wide range of musical activities and rose to national fame.<sup>16</sup>

After three years of work, study, and community involvement, Smith volunteered for a three-year enlistment in the Eighth Regiment Infantry, Illinois National Guard on 9 January 1904 and was appointed bandmaster.<sup>17</sup> Other than the band's participation at a fair in Lexington, Kentucky, little has been uncovered about Smith's activities with the Guard, but while in service his participation in one outside event held in Chicago brought him in close contact with a highly respected international figure in the arena of classical music.

Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was born in England to an African father from Sierra Leone and an English mother, with whom he lived in Corydon, a suburb of London. While quite young, he established his reputation with highly respected compositions, such as *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast* (1898), and *Death of Minnehaha* (1899). Knowledgeable American musicians, especially choral directors and singers, revered his work.

Coleridge-Taylor made United States tours in 1904 and 1906, and each year scheduled concerts in Chicago. England, one writer observed, had no race question to consider and they accepted the man on the merit of his work, and on his own culture. Chicago's leaders invited him because they believed that the appearance of this distinguished international figure before an audience of his own race, would stimulate the African Americans to more serious endeavor in the field of music, for which their "natural abilities" had long been acknowledged.<sup>18</sup> The *Chicago Tribune* concurred:

There seems to be a field for the Negro in music which has not yet been sufficiently utilized. He undoubtedly can take a high place in it if he will cultivate his natural abilities. He need not fear that race prejudice will antagonize him. Music is the universal art and language and begins where speech ends. The Negro should have more to say in it.<sup>19</sup>

Smith's initial contact with Coleridge-Taylor possibly occurred during the first Chicago concert. For his second appearance in 1906, advance copies of the music were sent to Smith, who was to rehearse and

then direct the New Pekin orchestra.<sup>20</sup> For the return engagement, planners leased Robert T. Motts's recently opened New Pekin Theatre, one of the largest in the United States operated by blacks for black productions. Motts had previously operated a cabaret, or music hall, in conjunction with his saloon at this site until damaged by fire. Extensive remodeling transformed the saloon into the theatre, which opened in March 1906, committed to elevating the standard of accessible entertainment.<sup>21</sup> Coleridge-Taylor later reflected that in many ways the best concert of his United States tour might have come in Chicago, where the caliber of musicians impressed him: "really musical people," he observed.<sup>22</sup> Years later, a writer for the *Chicago Defender*, A. N. Fields, vividly recalled the occasion when several accomplished local musicians honored Coleridge-Taylor and his touring partner, American baritone Harry T. Burleigh, with an evening of entertainment. N. Clark Smith, Fields remembered, was "one of the stellar attractions of the evening," and mirrored "one of the outstanding musical sidelights of his many musical talents."<sup>23</sup>

Following his service with the Illinois National Guard, Smith accepted an invitation from Booker T. Washington to serve as bandleader at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. The federal government offered assistance to state based schools for military programs and at Tuskegee, Smith rose to the rank of captain.<sup>24</sup> But the specific role of the federal government and the National Guard in assisting Tuskegee is unclear, and National Archives and Records Administration could not find the appropriate documents to confirm Smith's appointments.<sup>25</sup> In 1913, after an exhausting tour and disagreements with Booker T. Washington about the choice of music the band should play, Smith left Tuskegee. He settled in Kansas and accepted a teaching position at Western University. After the 1916 National Defense Act created the Junior Reserve Officer's Training Corps (JROTC) and offered federal assistance with personnel and equipment, Smith received the rank of major.<sup>26</sup>

He joined the faculty at Lincoln High School in Kansas City, Missouri, where he led the band and taught fundamentals of music. Several of his students later became prominent Kansas City jazz musicians. But once again irresistible opportunities enticed Smith back to Chicago. One request came from a former student who asked for advice about establishing a music school; another was an offer from the Pullman Company to serve as leader of an innovative project designed for their railroad porters. Dr. Borowski of the Chicago Musical College reportedly had recommended Smith to the Pullman Company for this leadership position.<sup>27</sup>

Smith's former student, Pauline James Lee (b. 1887), founded and assumed the presidency of the Chicago University of Music; the name was

later changed to National University of Music. The school opened in 1920 and she remained at the helm for almost three decades.<sup>28</sup> While the school openly embraced a broad spectrum of stylistic approaches, Lee intended to encourage a just valuation of "American Negro" music, making it possible to develop their folk themes as a basis for a modern school of American composition. Smith helped plan the school, and while still living in Kansas City, came as a visiting teacher to instruct advanced students during the "Summer Master School."<sup>29</sup> Following his move to Chicago, he headed the orchestra and military band departments and taught conducting.<sup>30</sup> Lee's preparatory school accepted children as young as five, but it also provided instruction for students entering secondary schools and conservatories.<sup>31</sup> Summer school drew professional musicians who welcomed the opportunity to teach.<sup>32</sup> Practice studios, with reasonable fees, were arranged for the benefit of students in need or lacking suitable home facilities.<sup>33</sup> Enrollment approached three hundred in 1925 and welcomed all students regardless of race.<sup>34</sup>

Headquarters for the school were located on 5002 S. Wabash Street until 1922 when Lee leased property belonging to Ernestine Schumann-Heink (1861-1936), an internationally recognized Austrian contralto who immigrated to the United States and became a naturalized citizen. Schumann-Heink publicly voiced support for participation of blacks in the music world, and when the rumor circulated that rental of her home on "Chicago's Gold Coast" appeared imminent, her wealthy neighbors expressed concern, for her prestigious, twenty-one room brick residence at 3672 South Michigan Avenue, sat near the fringe of the "Black Belt" area. Schumann-Heink disregarded her neighbors' complaints and reportedly rejected their attempts to purchase the property.<sup>35</sup> Following an investigation by her attorney, she reached an agreement with Lee, who signed a three-year lease with the option to buy the property.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to making frequent weekend trips to assist Lee with school activities, Smith continued teaching at the high school in Kansas City, and training African-American United States Army bandmasters.<sup>37</sup> On the horizon loomed an innovative project planned by the well-known Pullman Company, manufacturer of the sleeping railroad car, invented by George Pullman in the 1860s.

Early in 1922 the Pullman Company originated a program designed to display the talents of their Pullman porters. The company would sponsor choral groups, a concert band, and a symphony orchestra. Smith accepted their offer to organize these groups.<sup>38</sup> In their public announcement of this undertaking, the company described Smith as one of the leading, if not the premier, "Negro" musician in the country.<sup>39</sup> The company

gave two reasons for embarking on this unique undertaking: first, it believed it would be a good thing for the men, because they were "a singing race" and the company anticipated that music would add to their "cheerfulness and contentment." Secondly, this endeavor would contribute to the development and preservation of a true folk music reflecting their African heritage. For executing their plan, they divided the United States into eight zones, and each zone was expected to organize a chorus of at least fifty voices. Company officials anticipated that Chicago, the home base of more than four thousand of the nine thousand Pullman porters, would double that number. Shortly after the project was announced, three hundred Chicago employees climbed aboard.

Throughout his career Smith honored each school or organization under his direction with an original composition and for this project he wrote *The Pullman Man*. A copy appears on the back cover of *Pullman News*, the company journal.<sup>40</sup> He also co-wrote *Pullman Porters March* with "Ray and Lemonier," presumably William Ray and Thomas Lemonier. Lemonier, a talented composer and writer, and long time Chicago resident, also served as stage director for one of the Chicago concerts.<sup>41</sup> Smith spent March weekends in Chicago, meeting with the men every Sunday morning at the Wabash Avenue YMCA, where he offered vocal instruction and began organizing quartettes, octets, and choruses.<sup>42</sup> By June, Smith had settled in Chicago. Four months later, he had instructed more than seven hundred men, lectured on musical theory, appreciation, and the art of proper breath control; he also offered private lessons for voice, violin, reed and brass instruments, and drums.<sup>43</sup>

The project received widespread publicity in eastern newspapers. Lucien H. White, whose column "In the Realm of Music" regularly appeared in the *New York Age*, believed Smith to be an inspired choice for the leadership position.<sup>44</sup> The *Boston Post* prefaced their account with a cautious, but hopeful, 'If.'

If the plan works well the public will be given a very welcome surcease from the idiotic whang-banging and vulgar jazz that seems to have crowded out for the present all music of real merit and beauty. Three cheers for "George" and the entire Pullman outfit.<sup>45</sup>

In February 1923 the Chicago porters musical clubs presented Smith a gold medal in appreciation of the valuable services he had rendered. A concert featuring the sixty-four-member chorus, a fifty-member band and an orchestra of thirty pieces, took place on 15 April 1923 at the Grand

Theatre at 31st and State streets, featuring quartets from four Chicago districts. Admission ranged from thirty-five cents to one dollar for box seats.<sup>46</sup> Special music for this event included Smith's arrangements of *Old Kentucky Home*, *Swanee River*, *Old Black Joe*, *Git There Bye An' Bye*, and *Steal Away to Jesus*. The orchestra played his composition *Memories De France* (Petite Valse), dedicated to the Red Cross Workers of World War I. They also played the *Pullman Porters' March*, Smith's previously mentioned collaboration with Ray and Lemonier.<sup>47</sup> On his eastern tour Smith was invited to speak in New York on African folk songs and melodies, and he supervised organizational meetings in Washington, D.C., New York, Boston, Albany, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh.<sup>48</sup> Smith spent about a year with the Pullman project before accepting an offer from the *Chicago Defender* to create a newsboys' band.

Smith found a kindred spirit in Robert S. Abbott, the founder of the *Chicago Defender* newspaper. They held common interests in music and journalism, and Abbott, too, had attended the 1893 fair as a member of the renowned touring Hampton Institute Quartet.<sup>49</sup> A few years later he, too, returned, established residence, and began publishing the newspaper. By 1920 the *Defender* employed 563 newsboys, whose aggressive sales, coupled with those from newsstands, enabled the *Defender* to rise above all competitors.<sup>50</sup> A decade later it ranked as the most popular African-American newspaper in the United States.<sup>51</sup>

In the summer of 1923, when Abbott decided to underwrite a newsboys' band, he offered Smith the opportunity to organize and direct them. The *Defender* underlined the important role parents should play in maintaining the boys' interest and overseeing their prompt and regular attendance.<sup>52</sup> Abbott supplied the 125 participants with uniforms, equipment and instruments.<sup>53</sup> For the newspaper and his "windy city lads," Smith wrote *The Chicago Defender March*, and the newspaper offered a free copy to every band in the country.<sup>54</sup>

Unforeseen financial constrictions forced the *Defender* to terminate sponsorship in the fall of 1925.<sup>55</sup> From this group of fortunate youth came some well-known musicians, most famous perhaps, Lionel Hampton. At the time, Hampton was attending a private school because Chicago public schools were, in his words, "so bad." But vibrations from the *Defender* practice sessions lured him to the site. In later life, having earned his rewards, Hampton spoke with great admiration of Smith's teaching ability.<sup>56</sup>

The number of activities that Smith participated in during these years is astonishing, and his extraordinary energy enabled him to fulfill his self-imposed work ethic. Throughout the lean years of the depression, Smith was never out of work. His ability to engage people attests to the



confidence he radiated, and the rapidity with which he fulfilled his commitments is a credit to his perceptive evaluation of potential. He composed and arranged material appropriate for the capability of the diverse talents and voices of the individuals with whom he was working.

In the course of his career, Smith associated with a number of the nation's most talented musicians, both men and women, many of whom possessed national reputations. His alleged personal contacts with a few well-known personalities, such as poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar, could not be confirmed. Smith tells differing stories about their initial meeting and collaboration. In one version, he wrote Dunbar in April 1893 requesting a poem he might set to music, and Dunbar responded with the poem, "Good Night." Facsimiles of the alleged correspondence exist.<sup>57</sup> But in another touching story, Smith claims to have met Dunbar at Chicago's 1893 Fair. One evening as they sat in the "sunken gardens of Jackson Park," Smith says, Dunbar wrote the poem, which Smith then set to music. He was deeply touched by Dunbar's premature death at age thirty-three and treasured his original copy of Dunbar's creation, which he claims to have kept in his vault. Smith said he did not place the song on the market until 1923 because of sentimental association; a copy of the music, however, attributes Smith's composition to the year 1898. The published version he dedicated to Maude Roberts-George, a Chicago soprano and member of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Music Association, who sang it on a radio program. At the same time, Smith released another song, *In the Heart*, which he dedicated to Roland Hayes (1887-1976) one of the nation's foremost tenors with whom Smith had worked in Kansas and Missouri. Both compositions were copyrighted in 1923 and offered for sale from his Chicago address, 3763 Wabash Avenue.<sup>58</sup>

Many held Smith's creative work in high regard and musicians played his compositions and arrangements in a variety of settings. At a 1925 fundraiser for the National University of Music held at the Avenue Theatre, Dave Peyton's orchestra played an arrangement of Smith's *Folk Song Prelude*.<sup>59</sup> A repertoire of Smith's compositions keynoted a program held in Orchestra Hall in 1926 commemorating the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. It featured the Great Lakes Concert Band of seventy-five pieces that accompanied a three-hundred, fifty-voice choir and featured soprano Anita Patti Brown as soloist. A Chicago newspaper, the *Broad Ax*, noted that Smith had been writing and arranging "our music" for twenty-five years, and that they were songs that "soothe the sordid souls."<sup>60</sup>

Early in 1924 a forty-piece orchestra with a grand chorus under Smith's direction made their initial appearance at the Institutional Church.<sup>61</sup> That same year Smith assisted in planning the pageant "Milestones in the

Progress of the Colored Race." He served on the five-member music committee chaired by George R. Garner, Chicago's highly touted singer. A cast of hundreds (one source says four hundred, another five hundred) rehearsed nightly in preparation for the event that took place in the beautiful Auditorium Theatre, one of Chicago's most illustrious landmarks.<sup>62</sup> The city's leading musical artists collaborated to present nine episodes that portrayed the struggles and trials of African Americans from ancient Egypt through the ongoing march of progress. Smith assembled special music, including his own work, for this occasion and directed the orchestra throughout the evening performance. Among other composers represented were Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Nathaniel Dett, Harry Burleigh, and Clarence Cameron White.<sup>63</sup> Featured performers included the previously mentioned George Garner, who also led the choruses. With the exception of Garner's solo, *God Be With Our Boy Tonight*, sung before a scene of Flanders Field, all musical selections were the work of black composers.<sup>64</sup>

In 1925, shortly after the *Defender* ceased sponsorship of the newsboys' band, Smith accepted the position of bandmaster at Chicago's Wendell Phillips High School.<sup>65</sup> Since the Illinois State Board of Education had not yet recognized the academic position of bandmaster, the local boards could not award full teaching certificates or supply uniforms. Bandmasters entered through the school's JROTC military program. The school, located on East Pershing Road, had been constructed in 1904 and named to honor the famous humanitarian, reformer, and abolitionist, Wendell Phillips (1811-1884), who served as president of the American Anti-Slavery Society until blacks received the right to vote. At the time it was built, Wendell Phillips was one of the largest and, according to the superintendent of schools, the finest high school constructed by the Chicago Board of Education.<sup>66</sup>

Vocal music dominated school classrooms before 1910 but thereafter, and most notably following World War I, instrumental music, especially band music, gained favor.<sup>67</sup> Students dressed in traditional military style and were expected to perform with the precision characteristic of the military.<sup>68</sup> The Ascher Brothers theater chain assisted Chicago's neighborhood schools in procuring uniforms, and in 1925 sponsored a benefit performance to buy uniforms for the fifty-five member Wendell Phillips High School JROTC band at the Metropolitan Theater.<sup>69</sup> Smith's previous association with the Chicago Musical College may have been helpful in securing another financial boost for the band when the College's Verdi Opera Company gave a benefit performance of Gilbert and Sullivan's operetta "The Mikado," in the high school auditorium.<sup>70</sup>

In the 1927 Wendell Phillips yearbook, *The Red and Black*, Major Smith is pictured with the faculty; his credentials indicate that he held the

"Bac. Music" from Chicago Musical College, and erroneously credit him with holding a master's degree from the University of Kansas, although he did complete two summer school courses there in 1919. According to information on the sheet music *I Will Arise*, sold by Lyon & Healy, Smith was in the 1924 Master Class at Chicago Musical College.<sup>71</sup>

When Smith first came to Wendell Phillips High School, he headed a thirty-member band and staff of five and was applauded for his capable management and stimulating influence.<sup>72</sup> He carried an unrelenting commitment to elevating musical taste and appreciation. His dedication to this objective is evidenced in the following quote from the school yearbook:

The Wendell Phillips Band, under the direction of Major N. Clark Smith, is devoting itself to arranging, interpreting and presenting all types of music which will help to develop public taste. It is the joy of these boys to glorify music, and they enter into their work with rare enthusiasm and spirit.<sup>73</sup>

In *An Autobiography of Black Chicago*, Dempsey Travis wrote that Wendell Phillips High School "literally bubbled over with swingers without portfolio," and that Smith had trained some of Chicago's most talented popular musicians who later became associated with nationally known bands. Travis named Ray Nance (trumpet and violin with Duke Ellington), Willie Randall (saxophone and arranger for Earl Hines), Milton Hinton (bass violin with Cab Calloway), Charlie Allen (trumpet with Duke Ellington), Quinn Wilson (bass and arranger for Earl Hines), and Lionel Hampton (drummer with Louis Armstrong and vibra harp with Benny Goodman).<sup>74</sup>

Smith most certainly would have been pleased and possibly offered advice or assistance to students in another endeavor—Wendell Phillips was the only Chicago high school to set up and print an annual yearbook.<sup>75</sup>

Students and faculty at Wendell Phillips were privileged to have W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963) make a guest appearance at their school in 1925, and during his speech he outlined a distinctive path for African Americans to follow. For decades, this highly educated writer and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) remained a controversial, but staunch advocate of civil rights. Smith surely nodded in agreement when Du Bois stressed the importance of education in his speech, "Go to High School, Go to College." It is the only means through which one is lifted from slavery to freedom, Du Bois said. He also addressed the question of leadership and asserted that the white man feared the leadership of the darker races and tried to hold them back.<sup>76</sup>

Had Du Bois remained in Chicago, he might have verified his strong contentions by using examples drawn from a forthcoming event, another fair, intended to celebrate the past one hundred years. Initially, Smith and his associates were inspired and eager to demonstrate their dedication to their country. They believed their proposals would be accepted and hopefully broaden the perspective of American history. But they encountered rejection, isolation, embarrassment, humiliation, and division within their own ranks, until an unexpected decision by fair managers afforded them the opportunity for redemption, success, and vindication.

The idea for a second world's fair began in the mid-1920s, when a select group of Chicago's civic leaders envisioned marking the great advances in science, engineering, and technology achieved during Chicago's previous one hundred years. Planning began in 1926, but apprehension about a financial crisis and possible depression caused interest within the business community to diminish. Charles S. Peterson, who would later serve as vice-president of the organization, revived interest a year later, and in January 1928, a new committee received a non-profit charter for "Chicago's Second World's Fair Centennial Celebration" from the Illinois Secretary of State. In 1929 the name was changed to "A Century of Progress."<sup>77</sup> Rufus C. Dawes (1867-1940), a utilities magnate, served as president.

Commentary appearing in *Official Pictures of A Century of Progress* draws a comparison with the World's Columbian Exposition:

The "World's Fair" of 1893 appealed directly to sentiment. A Century of Progress appeals to the imagination. It is the difference between a story and a prophecy. . . . A Century of Progress was planned, by architecture and arrangement as well as by exhibits, to throw the minds and the imaginations of men forward, into the future. It was not to look back, but onward. It was to be a projection, not a recollection.<sup>78</sup>

*Chicago Defender* publisher, Robert S. Abbott, was asked to join the founding group and although he declined an active role, he did pay the membership fee of one thousand dollars.<sup>79</sup> Initially the planning committee included Jesse Binga, a prominent banker and successful realtor, who was assigned a minor position. After his bank failed in July 1930, no black staff or committee members were represented among any of the fair's eight divisions. As planning progressed, fair administrators encouraged other ethnic groups to participate, but not blacks, who expressed resentment and

concern about their exclusion and the denial of their active participation in the official program.<sup>80</sup> The Fair's president assured them that discrimination would not be tolerated; the *Chicago Defender* accepted this affirmation and week after week promoted the fair.

In December 1930, Lillian LeMon, presiding officer of the National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM), began assigning leaders to prepare music entertainment for presentation at the fair. She appointed Smith organizer and director of an anticipated ninety-piece National Symphony Band.<sup>81</sup> She identified Dr. Robert Nathaniel Dett (1882-1943) organizer of a national chorus; Frederick J. Work, leader of the Memorial Jubilee chorus; and Dr. Harrison Ferrell, director of the National Orchestra.<sup>82</sup> LeMon emphasized the importance of selecting music that had been composed or arranged by African Americans. Among her specific recommendations was Smith's five-part *Choral Symphony*, sometimes referred to as his "African Symphony."<sup>83</sup>

Smith contacted Lyon & Healy and informed them of his appointment. The firm expressed their pleasure at having it come to "one of our own boys," and extended their offer of help: "If there is anything that we can do, please call on us. Mr. Ernest Hartman of our band department will serve as your manager with our office force assisting."<sup>84</sup>

More than three years before "A Century of Progress" opened, Smith had envisioned participation of community bands; he organized three in Chicago, which the Chicago Conn Company sponsored. During February and March of 1930 these bands gave concerts at the Binga Arcade Auditorium and Wendell Phillips High School.<sup>85</sup> Smith intended to hold try-outs in twenty-one major cities to select musicians who would begin rehearsing for the NANM national band. Potential participants were instructed to write Smith in-care-of the theatrical department of the *Defender*.<sup>86</sup>

In March 1930, Smith contacted fair headquarters and requested an appointment with the assistant secretary (later secretary) of the fair, P. J. Byrne. Interoffice correspondence between fair administrators indicates that Smith pressed for a commitment contending that in previous fairs blacks came in too late for adequate preparation.<sup>87</sup> Byrne asked Smith to submit an outline of his plans.<sup>88</sup> Smith responded and then followed up with a face-to-face meeting with Byrne during which he further described the undertaking he envisioned. Secretary Byrne characterized Smith and his objective in correspondence to a colleague:

He is a rather high type man and possesses a rather unusual degree of perfection in the use of the English language, and he appeared to me to be sincerely interested

in the uplift of the colored people. He has made an arrangement with one of the instrument houses to sell or give to him second hand musical instruments, or those that have been taken in trade and are broken or out of order in some respect. Such instruments are either loaned to, or purchased on installment payments, by the members of his many bands.<sup>89</sup>

As part of their routine procedure, fair authorities were required to make legal checks on African and African-American participants. They received a favorable response on Smith and submitted his proposal to their legal advisors, attorneys Carnahan and Slusser, who reported to the fair's general manager, Major Lenox R. Lohr, that they found nothing in Smith's procedure or project to criticise and that there should be no question about support or sponsorship.<sup>90</sup>

A year later, having received no further communication, Smith contacted Lyon & Healy and asked them to inquire about his application. On 2 April 1931 Lyon & Healy wrote President Dawes, requesting a status report, explaining that they had always been interested in Smith and that their founder had contributed quite generously to his education. In their letter they mentioned that NANM musicians had chosen Smith to direct their World's Fair band. Since there had been no official word regarding Smith's appointment, they requested information about the current status. A cursory note from Dawes's office attached to Lyon & Healy's letter indicates that they had contacted the firm by telephone and explained the situation.<sup>91</sup> A group of unsuccessful applicants formed the Colored Citizens' World's Fair Council in 1932 to promote black participation, but it proved ineffective. A prominent Chicago businessman originally from Alabama blamed part of the problem on the "Uncle Tom" attitude, especially of the southern emigrants, and the people's failure to demand equal rights and privileges.<sup>92</sup>

Why Smith decided to leave Chicago is open to speculation. Did St. Louis offer greater opportunity? Did he receive an assignment to organize or direct a JROTC unit? Might his departure have been triggered by frustration with Fair authorities? Could it have been the unforeseen changes occurring at Wendell Phillips? The student population had increased dramatically, primarily a consequence of the northern migration, which Robert Abbott had vigorously promoted in the *Chicago Defender*. Articles and editorials of encouragement had accelerated the *Defender's* circulation throughout southern states. Abbott's 1917 article, "The Great Northern Drive," launched the official campaign, counseling blacks to leave the South and

come to the North where they would find greater opportunities. In issue after issue, the *Defender* printed pungent publicity encouraging this movement, sometimes called the "Black Diaspora." Chicago's population skyrocketed from an estimated 40,000 to 150,000.<sup>93</sup> Between 1916 and 1919 fifty thousand immigrants moved into Chicago's south side, many of them poor and uneducated.<sup>94</sup> So great was the influx that an Abbott editorial alerted potential migrants to the conditions they would encounter and made specific points to be considered if they were intent upon gaining in the North the things denied in the land of their birth.<sup>95</sup>

Burgeoning growth resulted in deterioration in the quality of education. Wendell Phillips's school building had been designed to accommodate somewhere between 1,200-1,900 students.<sup>96</sup> When Smith came in 1925 there were 1,500 students and a year later parents and teachers began clamoring for a new building. By 1931 the student population had reached 3,400 and by 1935 soared to 4,700.<sup>97</sup> The building was architecturally sound, but fourteen of the schoolrooms were only one-half standard size. Inadequate desk space forced students to study in the assembly hall where they wrote on their knees. Chauncy C. Willard, principal of Wendell Phillips, sighed, "It's too bad, but we can't stretch brick!"<sup>98</sup> This unfortunate confluence of factors further eroded the status of African Americans.<sup>99</sup> Whether any of these circumstances personally influenced Smith's decision to leave Chicago is not known, but in January 1931 he resigned from Wendell Phillips to accept a position at Sumner High School in St. Louis, Missouri, where he continued making preparations for the NANM appearance at the fair.

In addition to Smith's responsibility for organizing the ninety-piece band, he needed to assemble a great choral group that would offer a songfest in conjunction with a performance of his National Symphony Band. Smith attracted one hundred fifty singers from St. Louis city and county that met with E. W. Dudley, who had been tapped by Smith to organize and lead the group.<sup>100</sup> A month later, at their second session, more than three hundred singers and instrumentalists came to rehearse *Swing Low Sweet Chariot*. Smith had won a Wanamaker prize for this arrangement and Lyon & Healy were publishing it in a special edition. A visiting reporter who attended the second rehearsal claimed never to have witnessed such enthusiasm—"And did they sing? Oh. Boy!" Forty contraltos vied with fifty tenors familiarizing themselves with the difficult counterpoint; the director gave the seventy-five basses the opportunity to out point the eighty-five sopranos. "What volume, and super harmony," the reporter noted.<sup>101</sup> At that rehearsal Smith introduced his African friend Abool Andarsin (or Andars-San and Americanized by some to Anderson) who had come to St. Louis to assist Smith dramatize and costume this group into a grand

"Choral Symphony."<sup>102</sup> At this time it was announced that Smith had accepted an appointment as one of the musical directors of the "Negro section" of the World's Fair African organization.<sup>103</sup>

Nine months later, before departing for their Chicago performance, the three hundred fifty-voice choir from St. Louis was scheduled to present Smith's *Choral Symphony*, scored for full orchestra and chorus, at the Municipal Opera in Forest Park.<sup>104</sup> According to the *St. Louis Argus* (sometimes a questionable source of information) this original drama was based upon Smith's travel and research dealing with the history of the original Nubian Race.<sup>105</sup> The *Choral Symphony* consists of five episodes: *Prelude*, *Echo Melody*, *Prayer from the Heart of Emancipation*, *Spiritual Jubilee*, and *Prima Donna Song*. Lyon & Healy published it in a special "Century of Progress" edition. This work had been in the making for several years. In 1929 Victor J. Grabel, a white bandmaster, composer, and adjudicator of band contests, had presented a public performance of the *Prelude* at the Chicago Federation Band concert in Grant Park. Sixteen male voices that formed Smith's Jubilee Club choir sang the theme.<sup>106</sup>

The *Chicago Defender* reviewed the 14 July choral songfest collaboration and judged it a brilliant success. Featured were two celebrated Chicago groups: James A. Mundy and his choristers and J. Wesley Jones and the Metropolitan Choir. Smith's St. Louis chorus, along with about ten other groups from neighboring cities and states, also participated. The National Broadcasting Company aired the event for half-an-hour beginning at 9:00 PM from the Hall of Science. The *Chicago Defender* reported, "It was one of the finest demonstrations of cooperation by church choirs and choral leaders ever staged in this vicinity."<sup>107</sup>

A disgruntled visitor from Tennessee complained about the choral music he had heard at a concert in the Hall of Religion, where a large assembly hall accommodated choral concerts and other group activities. He described the concert there as the fallacious effort to exhibit religious earnestness: "There should be a moratorium declared on the moaning of Negro spirituals, the 'Blues' and the like, until the members of the race can gain satisfactory recognition in activities that will be productive of more good than singing."<sup>108</sup> The vulgar salacious contortions of both male and female participants at the plantation show on the Midway disgusted this Tennessean. He was particularly offended by the minor role assigned blacks and the few numbers of them employed in respectable jobs, a situation that had aroused great concern among Chicagoans as well. Historians continue studying the exclusion of blacks from employment and the discrimination they encountered at the concessions and restaurants, and they question whether the benefits ultimately gained resulted from conciliation or



protest.<sup>109</sup> In response to complaints from some African Americans about the fair excluding them from official programming, an exclusive segment of time for celebration was created for them and designated "Negro Day." By most accounts, it turned into an embarrassing disaster.

Early in August, Illinois Governor Henry Horner issued his proclamation that designated 12 August 1933 "Negro Day" at the Fair.<sup>110</sup> Chandler Owen (manager of Chicago's new Hotel Vincennes) had been the active voice that prevailed upon the governor to proclaim that special day. On 9 April 1932 Owen had submitted a proposal naming himself executive director and listing forty-five outstanding talents and musical groups that might participate. His special committee of "White Friends of the Negro" included some familiar Chicago names.<sup>111</sup> The fair board approved his application but deleted the bathing beauty contest.<sup>112</sup>

Some Chicagoans viewed Owen, a relative newcomer to their city, as an interloper. Within the black community he lacked support, especially among religious and civic leaders, and the elite actively opposed his intrusive leadership.<sup>113</sup> When Owen asked Oscar De Priest, a banker, real estate tycoon, and the first black congressman from the North, permission to use his name as one of the sponsors of the "Negro Day" ceremonies, De Priest refused and stated his position in an open letter. One of the principal reasons he gave was that all events associated with the pageant were to take place in Soldier Field, outside the fair grounds, and pageant tickets that sold for between fifty cents and three dollars did not entitle the bearer to admission inside the fair gates. De Priest also questioned the financial arrangement and the handling of any profit. Some suspected De Priest might have seen Owen as a potential challenger to his political position.<sup>114</sup>

The daylong "Negro Day" celebration was to begin with a parade and thousands lined the streets in anticipation. Assurance had been given that it would begin at 9:00 AM sharp, but it started an hour late and few representatives of Chicago's mainstay civic, fraternal, and business groups were represented. The *Chicago Defender* repeated in print the widespread voiced opinion that the parade had been the worst in the history of the city. One observer was heard to say that rather than depicting the progress of the past one hundred years, "it seemed to show we have retrograded in that time."<sup>115</sup>

African Americans had not been represented in the Fair's exhibit "Epic of America," which focused on specific nationalities and their contributions to the culture of America. Some regarded the omission an affront. The title chosen for the featured evening attraction, "Epic of a Race," reflected something of their resentment or vindication.<sup>116</sup> This pageant aimed to depict the pathos and joy woven through Negro history

during the previous century and to measure progress, while showcasing some of the greatest talent in the United States. Dr. Andrew Dobson, author and member of WJJD radio broadcasting staff wrote and directed this production assisted by Sammy Dyer, dance instructor and theatrical producer. Dobson asked Carl Sandburg, a Chicago resident and nationally recognized poet, author, and journalist, to verify historical materials. Sandburg read the script and conferred with Dobson for several hours, making suggestions and comments. Richard B. Harrison, who gained enormous fame playing the part of "De Lawd" in "Green Pastures," agreed to be master of ceremonies.<sup>117</sup>

Weeks before the anticipated events, Lloyd Lewis expressed high expectations in his *Chicago Daily News* column, "Stage Whispers:"

On 12 August the American theater will have occasion, for once in its life, to hold its head high in righteousness and to look down upon the moral forces of the nation.

On that day it will be dramatically apparent that the theater has been the best friend, in modern times, of the Negro—the one institution wherein he could develop himself to the full without the handicaps which haunt him in all other fields of endeavor.

Not since the days of the abolitionists has the Negro had such a friend as the modern theater. In it he has flowered. In it he is allowed to express himself naturally and to measure his talents, man for man, with the white man. In all sections save the south, a Negro actor or singer or instrumentalist can appear with white colleagues and be judged solely on his talents. Prejudice may still linger in this or that wing of the theater, but it certainly is weaker than elsewhere in America.<sup>118</sup>

The site for the pageant was Soldier Field. One reporter believed no more appropriate stadium could be found or desired. It had good seating, excellent viewing from every location, and superb facilities for the transmission of sound.<sup>119</sup> Quality amplification of sound in this setting would have been essential for an acceptable presentation of this multi-faceted program. "Epic of a Race" consisted of eleven parts and a cast of approximately fifteen hundred. Singers, whose numbers the press estimated anywhere between five hundred and three thousand, portrayed significant dramatic and historical personages and events. Professor Edward Boatner of the Boston Conservatory of Music directed a huge chorus rendering

spirituals.<sup>120</sup> And of course there was band music, rendered by the Eighth Illinois National Guard Regiment Band. The National Broadcasting Company planned to broadcast from the stage.<sup>121</sup>

Unfortunately, the production failed to touch an emotional center and many reviewers expressed serious reservations about the production. Dewey R. Jones, whose *Chicago Defender* column regularly covered the Fair, had been annoyed from the beginning, since the pageant, as the parade, did not start on time. Jones delivered a blistering review:

Well, it came, and thank heavens, it went! . . . Now, four days later, I, for one, pause to say that as soon as I finish this story, I hope to forget "Negro Day" as thoroughly and as completely as I have forgotten Caesar's Gallic wars in the original Latin. To me it was just that bad—just that far short of what its prospectus promised, and what it should have been!<sup>122</sup>

Anger and disappointment peppered his account. The story line was jumbled, the set was poorly designed and too small for the stadium, and the actors cavorted in a mood contradictory to the spirit of the affair. However, he did praise some of the singing and the first genuine applause he heard came in response to tenor George R. Garner Jr.'s rendering of Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha*.<sup>123</sup> He deemed the vocal selections and the choirs the highlight, not only of the pageant, but also of the Fair. As for the pageant, Jones provided a synopsis of his perspective:

It depicted a jumbled account of slave conditions, showing the struggles for freedom. It brought out, first a sad looking cotton field of about a dozen rows that looked most forlorn as the scanty buds nodded in the breezes of an August evening. The set, constructed on a platform at the north end of the huge stadium, looked like a miniature stage for a "Punch and Judy." Then came the actors, a handful of young men, women and children, cavorting about the stage in a mood so contradictory to the spirit of the affair as to cause wide comment from the spectators.<sup>124</sup>

The pageant ended with the freeing of the slaves, followed by young people dancing. In every way, Jones judged the performance a total loss belying the bombast of advance publicity. He attributed its failure to the production's small scale; a more appropriate setting would have been a

small church. "Personally, I'm more than glad it's over," he concluded. Spectators could be heard grumbling as they left. A prominent physician despondently reflected the views of many around him—"It set the Race back 25 years."<sup>125</sup>

More favorable reviews appeared in the *Chicago Herald-Examiner*: "Epic of the Race ... lost nothing of its pathos, nor yet of its hope by reason of the simplicity with which it was told." And from the *Chicago Daily Times*: "With solemn grandeur and ecstatic enthusiasm Negro Day was celebrated."<sup>126</sup> Lloyd Lewis, columnist for the *Chicago Daily News*, believed the pageant had been aptly conceived, but badly illuminated and, like most similar efforts, suffered from bad delays between episodes. He described the stage and setting in greater detail than most.<sup>127</sup>

During the interlude before the concluding segment, George Dewey Washington and George Garner presented classical offerings. Garner sang an aria from Puccini's opera "Tosca." The announcer said that this particular segment demonstrated their capability to sing the most difficult and exalted of the white man's musical compositions, but at that juncture Lloyd Lewis rebutted:

But in singing them he is only proving that he can do with his voice what the white man can do. I want to hear him do what no white man can ever do—throw back his head and sing his own spirituals with unquestioned sublimity and superiority.<sup>128</sup>

Barney E. Page's critical opinion appeared on the editorial page of the *Chicago Defender*. He perceived the event as an arrangement catering to racial group passions in order to promote an enterprise:

I was not in sympathy with "Negro Day" or any other racial group day. No one would think of staging a Virginia colonial day, showing the sale of convicts and criminals from the overcrowded prisons of England and English people who had fallen into debt. These things were incidental and not the long range design of a conscientious people. All races may have their skeletons. Why parade them? . . . as for a united nation we are just about where we were 100 years ago; check the administration of 1829-1837.<sup>129</sup>

A concerned physician, Dennis A. Bethea, asked the question, "Did we do the right thing when we withheld our support to this celebration?"

He found De Priest's explanation of his negative position feeble and far from convincing, even though Chicago's religious leaders shared De Priest's viewpoint. Bethea believed his people were at a crossroads and wondered if those who supported the special day showed better judgment. He philosophized that even though "Negro Day" did not reach expectations, it should not be considered a failure:

If the Jew, the Italian, the Greek and the Indian feel the need of a day to celebrate their achievements, surely the Negro should. All thinking men will admit that the Race is at the crossroads just now. I know of nothing that would have done more to bolster up the morale than a whole-hearted celebration. Take it for granted that there was some blundering in the preliminary arrangements for the day, I believe that the favorable results would have outweighed any error that may have been made in the setup. It would seem that our leaders are gnawing on the bones, as usual, instead of getting at the meat of the situation.<sup>130</sup>

Chandler Owen had been at financial odds with fair administrators from the beginning. Fair officials contacted him in July reminding him that they needed a deposit for the \$10,000 bond required for the use of Soldier Field. In lieu of the bond, Owen turned over \$9,000 worth of tickets and a cashier's check for \$500 and told Fair officials he expected 100,000 people would attend. They waived the bond. Management arranged a suitable number of ticket takers and adequate security force for Owen's estimated attendance and charged him accordingly.<sup>131</sup> The crowd was far less than anticipated. Total ticket sales amounted to only \$5,998. Owen protested vigorously about the money he owed, but Robert Isham Randolph, director of operations retaliated: "I am sorry you were disappointed in the results of your enterprise, but it was your endeavor, not ours."<sup>132</sup> After a series of ineffectual conferences and correspondence, Owen filed suit against the fair. Judge of the Superior Court dismissed the case for want of equity.<sup>133</sup>

A Century of Progress received no aid from city, state, or national government. Private capital funded this philanthropic enterprise, but underwriters did expect their investments to be recovered. Attendance, tallied at about 22.3 million, had fallen far short of the anticipated 60 million, and since bondholders received only fifty percent of their investment, fair managers scheduled a second run from 26 May to 31 October 1934.<sup>134</sup>

Anticipating discrimination in hiring personnel and restaurant access, three black Illinois legislators threatened to block passage of an

enabling act for the 1934 run unless blacks were guaranteed rights to all public accommodations. One of these legislators, Charles J. Jenkins, denounced the fair's discriminatory practices from the floor of the state legislature, and called for a grand jury investigation. Legislators then passed an act requiring the issuance of restraining injunctions against operators who practiced racial discrimination and established a special commission to monitor the concessionaires. Overwhelming majorities in both the house and senate affirmed legislation enabling the fair to move forward.<sup>135</sup>

Those in the musical and theatrical community who had been disappointed or embarrassed by the "Negro Day" production found redemption when the Fair opted for a second run in 1934. African Americans preeminent in the arenas of music and entertainment, joined forces under the umbrella of National Auditions, Incorporated, with a twofold mission: to conduct a nationwide talent contest, and to produce a pageant for the forthcoming season. Nahum Daniel Brascher, who receives credit for the pageant concept, enlisted Noble Sissle and Nathan K. McGill to join him. Sissle served as general manager. McGill, an attorney, who was Robert Abbott's brother-in-law, and general manager of the *Defender*, was appointed chairman of the board of directors.<sup>136</sup> For the pageant's theme, composers drew from two Psalms, the 98<sup>th</sup>—"O sing to the Lord a new song"; and the 150<sup>th</sup>—"Praise the Lord! Praise him with trumpet sound; praise him with lute and harp! Praise him with timbrel and dance; praise him with strings and pipe!" Sissle, vaudeville performer, lyricist, and collaborator of Broadway musicals, and one of the nation's most ingenious talents, enthusiastically embraced the endeavor and explained:

For years our greatest composers have been writing superlative works and placing them on the shelf where dust covered them because the public was not ready for the best in Negro music. Today, the public asks for more and more. "O, Sing a New Song," our World's Fair pageant, will represent a dream come true to those men whose toil, until now, has been unrequited.<sup>137</sup>

Sissle and Onah B. Spencer authored the script. Smith and twenty other composers of music collaborated to prepare the music. Participants included some of American's most illustrious names: Harry T. Burleigh, Will Marion Cook, Harry Lawrence Freeman, W. C. Handy, J. Rosamond Johnson, Will Vodery, and William Grant Still. Freeman and Smith were regarded as representatives of the scholarly side of musical endeavor and authorities on primitive African music. Freeman, who gained recognition as

a composer of operas, was the director general of the pageant music and Smith the assistant director. Choirs came under the experienced leadership of James A. Mundy and J. Wesley Jones, Chicago's previously mentioned, highly respected choral directors.<sup>138</sup>

Preparing costumes and scenery for the pageant provided work for hundreds of Chicagoans. The African village required construction of yellow and black native huts, palisades, sacrificial altars, and jungle backdrop. In act two, the plantation scene called for an appropriate structure to suggest a mansion, along with log structures for the slave habitation, and a landscape embellished with artificial trees, and streams. For the living cotton field scene, thousands of singers wore multi-colored robes and held uplifted stalks of cotton. More than one hundred local women were employed in the manufacture of these items at various South Side social centers. Three thousand sets of silver helmets, gloves, and shorts were required for the dancers in the "Mechanistic Ballet" performed during the final act. Hundreds of workers were employed to change scenery on the night of performance—a challenge when allotted only ten minutes to replace the African village with the southern plantation.<sup>139</sup>

An audience estimated at sixty thousand gathered in Soldier's Field and an announcer requested quiet before a bell rang loudly for two minutes alerting the audience to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's anticipated remote control signal from the White House that would illuminate Soldiers Field at precisely 8:30 PM, a gesture that emulated the signal activated by President Grover Cleveland for the 1893 fair. National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System planned to air portions of the performance.<sup>140</sup>

Through music and dance, the three episodes of "O, Sing a New Song" traced the progress of African Americans, beginning with depictions of their African roots, moving on to years of bondage in the United States, and concluding with their contribution to contemporary society.<sup>141</sup> Two selections from Smith's *Negro Choral Symphony* were featured in the Prologue: *Prelude*, dedicated to the fair's president, followed by *The Prayer* featuring vocalist Lillian Jackson with orchestra and full chorus. Each of the composers was to conduct his work as it appeared. In the first episode, Smith directed "Iron Workers," "Muttering Thunder," "Bamboula Fire Dance," and "Bangangi," as actors portraying African villagers recounted their past through song and dance.<sup>142</sup>

By all accounts "O, Sing a New Song" was an outstanding production and the final episode especially, enthralled the audience. The names of many participants are now embedded in America's history of music. Abbie Mitchell sang *Red, Red Rose* accompanied on the piano by the composer, Will

Marion Cook; Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, one of the foremost exponents of modern tap dancing, climaxed his act with his famous "ladder dance"; and W. C. Handy conducted the Mundy singers in a special rendition of his *St. Louis Blues*. Irene Castle McLaughlin explained dances that she and Vernon Castle had made famous such as the "Cake Walk," "Bunny Hug," "Texas Tommy," and the "Castle Walk," which agile young dancers demonstrated to Noble Sissle's music. Katherine Dunham also appeared with her dancers; and "Father" Earl Hines brought to life Scott Joplin's *Maple Leaf Rag*.<sup>143</sup>

Commentary from journalists covering this event differed markedly from reviews of the 1933 production. Dewey R. Jones raved about the performance in his column for the *Chicago Defender*:

One of the most spectacular, and at the same time, most poignantly dramatic pageants ever presented anywhere by members of the Race. . . . Never before have music and a dance on such a large scale succeeded in creating such a perfect illusion.<sup>144</sup>

Albert G. Barnett who also covered the event for the *Chicago Defender* agreed:

"O, Sing a New Song" pageant will long live in the memory of all who witnessed it because, without doubt, it was the most imposing and best conducted spectacle of its kind ever produced in America and also because of its salutary effect on the representatives of the various races who attended. Its value in the furtherance of interracial goodwill and understanding is one that cannot be overestimated. And as Major N. Clark Smith, thrice winner of the Wanamaker prize for music, said to this writer at Soldier Field last Saturday night, before finis was written to the big pageant: "Only Chicago could do it."<sup>145</sup>

"O, Sing a New Song," brought an appropriate and rewarding climax to Smith's career. Now approaching the age of sixty-nine, he resigned from Sumner High School and at the conclusion of the 1935 school term returned to his permanent residence in Kansas City, Missouri. Early in August he made his final trip to Chicago to watch the heavyweight-boxing bout between Joe Louis and King Levinsky. He returned to Kansas City the following day and became ill while directing an orchestra at the local musicians union headquarters. Colleagues took him to his home where he suffered a debilitating stroke. He died 8 October 1935.<sup>146</sup>



## Notes

- 1 The date of the fire is not known. Some copies of his music, reportedly retrieved from the fire, are with the N. Clark Smith papers, Miller Nichols Library Special Collections, University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas City, MO.
- 2 *St. Louis Argus*, 1 July 1932, 5-1, 2. This is the second of two articles ostensibly drawn from Smith's memoirs. When Douglass died two years later Smith paid tribute with his published composition, "Frederick Douglass Funeral March."
- 3 For his years in Wichita see Linda Pohly, "N. Clark Smith's Influence in Wichita: Toward a More Complete Biography," *Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education*, 19 no. 2 (January 1998): 71-89.
- 4 Henry T. Sampson, *The Ghost Walks* (Metuchen, N.H.: Scarecrow Press, 1988), 183-4.
- 5 Frederic H. H. Robb, ed., *Chicago Book of Achievement: The Negro in Chicago: 1779-1929*, (Chicago: Washington Intercollegiate Club of Chicago, Inc., 1929), 42.
- 6 Most of the records before 1989 have either been lost or destroyed. The firm was sold to Columbia Broadcasting System in 1964 and diversified in 1977, at which time the retail side of the business was disbanded. Lyon & Healy, letter to author, 22 November 1999.
- 7 Alfred T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 634.
- 8 *Musical Instruments at the World's Columbian Exposition*, edited and compiled by the editorial staff of *The Presto*, Frank D. Abbott, managing editor (1895), 236-7.
- 9 Correspondence Lyon & Healy, Inc. to Rufus Dawes, 2 April 1931, Century of Progress (hereafter COP) f. 1-13722, Special Collections, University of Illinois-Chicago. On 1 September 1954, Chicago Musical College and Roosevelt University combined to form one institution.
- 10 Roosevelt University, Music Librarian, note to author, March 2000.
- 11 Borowski came to Chicago Musical College in 1897 and served as president 1916-1925. *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, 8th edition, 217; *Musical Leader*, (September, 1956): 12; Chicago Musical College Catalog 1900-1901, 60.
- 12 G. Lake Imes, "Capt. N. Clark Smith and Tuskegee Institute Band," *Metronome*, 27 (May 1911): 19-20; *Kansas City Sun*, 9 January 1915, 1.
- 13 Robb, *Chicago Book of Achievement*, 47.
- 14 *Indianapolis Freeman*, 2 January 1904, 5-3; Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997), 308. Their business address was 3604 State Street.
- 15 *Indianapolis Freeman*, 2 January 1904, 5-3.
- 16 Barbour found success in performing, writing popular songs, and producing musicals and operettas. He eventually settled in New York, which became the base of his touring operation as he continued composing, traveling on a Midwestern Chautauqua circuit, and staging musicals. *Chicago Defender*, 3 November 1917, 4-5. In 1919 he served as manager and toured with W. C. Handy's orchestra. During the 1920s, a concert company featuring his work arranged engagements through Texas, Missouri, and Kansas. Eileen Southern, *Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 26-7.

17 Enlistment paper dated 9 January 1904. Reports about Smith's military experience have sometimes indicated four to eight years of service, but the three-year enlistment is all Illinois authorities could verify. Department of Military Affairs, Illinois State Military Museum Springfield, Illinois, letter to author, 25 August 1999. Also see *Chicago Defender*, 22 May 1920, 10-3.

18 Glen Dillard Gunn, "Coleridge-Taylor to Visit Chicago," *Inter Ocean*, 2 December 1906, from Chicago Woodson Library, Harsh Collection, Box 48, f. 6.

19 *Chicago Broad Ax*, 15 December 1906, 2-5, quoting the 9 December *Chicago Tribune*.

20 In addition to Smith, Coleridge-Taylor was assisted by Abbie Mitchell, Irene Howard, and William Tyler. *Chicago Tribune*, 2 December 1906, sec. 10, 3.

21 *Chicago Broad Ax*, 24 March 1906, 1-4 and 10 August 1912, 2, 2-3. The saloon was located at 2700 S. State Street in a building constructed in 1892. The Pekin Theatre went through several ups and down. It later operated as a Black and Tan cabaret and then the Beaux Arts Club, but closed after two detectives were killed there in 1920. A reopening came in 1922 *Chicago Whip*, 2 December 1922, 6-5. The city bought it in 1924 for \$35,000 for use as a police station. After twenty-five years of neglect, the unsightly building was scheduled for demolition in 1950. See *Chicago Daily News*, 2 July 1948; *Chicago Sun* 12 August 1945; *Chicago Tribune*, 24 December 1950, and the Pekin file, Chicago Historical Society.

22 Geoffrey Self, *The Hiawatha Man* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1995; Published by Scholar Press in England.), 162.

23 A. N. Fields, "Old Chicagoan is Noted Musician," *Chicago Defender*, 15 July 1933, 17.

24 Albert L. Scipio, II, *Pre-War Days at Tuskegee* (Silver Spring, MD.: Roman Publications, 1987), 364, 369.

25 Trevor K. Plante, Old Military and Civil Records, Textual Archives Services Division, National Archives and Records Administration, letter to author, 24 August 2000.

26 Government offices did not respond to requests for an official history or information regarding the location of personnel records of the JROTC. Related articles appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, 25 May 1916, 1-3 and 8-6; and 2 June 1926, 10-1. Chicago apparently voted for the JROTC in May 1916, challenging an unofficial history available on the Internet that indicates Leavenworth, Kansas had the first official JROTC program in the United States dating from 29 January 1917. <http://www.usarotc.com/History/jhist01.htm>. Between 1916 and 1919 thirty schools established units and about 45,000 students were participating.

27 *Chicago Whip*, 11 March 1922, 4-1. The writer of this article claimed to have seen evidence that Smith was chosen upon the recommendation of "Dr. Felix Barrowski" [sic].

28 *Chicago Defender*, 15 January 1921, [8]-3. In September 1920 the state of Illinois granted a charter and authorized the awarding of diplomas, degrees and teaching certificates. Lee became the principal subscriber in capital stock. Secretary of the State of Illinois to author, Statement of Incorporation, Certificate Number 4792. The school changed its official status and location several times and but continued operation until it failed to file an annual report in 1949 the Attorney General ordered the corporation dissolved in 1950. State of Illinois, Office of Secretary of State to author

- 31 May 2001.
- 29 *Chicago Defender*, 27 May 1922, 5-8.
- 30 *Chicago Defender*, 12 January 1924, 8-1.
- 31 *Chicago Defender*, 4 July 1925, Tuskegee Institute News Clippings File, Microfilm edition, reel 245, f. 491.
- 32 *Chicago Defender*, 5 August 1922, 15, 5.
- 33 *Chicago Defender*, 3 June 1922, 5-6.
- 34 John Taitt, compiler, *Souvenir of Negro Progress*, Chicago 1779-1925 (Chicago: The De Saible Association, Inc. 1925), [47].
- 35 *Baltimore Afro-American*, 7 April 1922, Tuskegee Institute News Clippings File, Microfilm edition, reel 245, f. 324.
- 36 *Kansas City Call*, 12 August 1922, 2-3; *Chicago Whip*, 1 April 1922, 6-3; *Chicago Defender*, 11 February 1922, 3-2, and 1 April 1922, 5-4. Lee did not buy the house. In 1925 the school moved to 4427 Grand Blvd. *Chicago Defender*, 30 May 1925, 9-4.
- 37 *Pullman News* (May 1922): 11; *Chicago Tribune*, 22 April 1922, sec. 2, 15-6.
- 38 *Kansas City Call*, 4 March 1922, 2-3.
- 39 *Pullman News* (May 1922): 11.
- 40 *Pullman News* (June 1922): back cover.
- 41 Information from an announcement for a 15 April 1923 concert. Lemonier wrote several songs for Ernest Hogan's successful play "Rufus Rastus" and formed an early (1905) music publishing business with Leigh R. Whipper, *Colored American Magazine*, 9 (December 1905): 726. Dave Peyton calls Lemonier "one of the quaintest characters in Chicago," and describes his Chicago years in "The Musical Bunch," *Chicago Defender*, 11 Dec. 1926, 6-3. He is illustrated in "black face," apparently for a minstrel show, in the Robb, 1929 *Book of Achievement*, 234. Nothing could be learned of William Ray.
- 42 *Chicago Whip*, 8 April 1922, 5-3.
- 43 *Kansas City Sun*, 10 June 1922, 1-7; *Chicago Defender*, 21 October 1922, 3-4.
- 44 Lucien H. White, "Preservation of Negro Folk Music Object of A New Work," *New York Age*, 9 September 1922, 5-1, 2.
- 45 Quoted in *Pullman News* (June 1922): 61.
- 46 *Chicago Defender*, 3 February 1923, sec. 2, 6-2; *Chicago Defender*, 14 April 1923, 4-1.
- 47 Program available, COP, f. 1-13722. There is one known recording. Sometime between 1926-1942 a Pullman Porters Quartette recorded: "Jog A-Long Boys," which was reissued in 1997 as a selection on the CD, *A Warrior on the Battlefield* by Rounder, Cambridge, MA.
- 48 *Pullman News* (June 1922): 61; *Chicago Defender*, 12 August 1922, 2-2. The August schedule: Washington, D.C., 14 New York, 15-18; Boston, 22; Albany 27; Buffalo 29; and concluding 2 September. in Pittsburgh.
- 49 Roi Otley, *The Lonely Warrior* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1955), 74.
- 50 Otley, *Lonely Warrior*, 87, 133.
- 51 *St. Louis Argus*, 13 February 1931, sec. 2, 1-6.
- 52 The YMCA provided practice space in the auditorium of its facility on Wabash Avenue. *Chicago Defender*, 29 September 1923, 4-3.
- 53 Otley, *Lonely Warrior*, 133. Abbott was a complex personality, aloof, difficult to

understand, and controversial. According to *Lonely Warrior*, his penury was legendary but matched by his generosity, 5. The reed section alone had thirty-five players, and they aimed for an eventual membership of 150 pieces. The instruments included a "gold Sousaphone, the only one of its kind in the city," a French bassoon, and an imported bass clarinet. *Chicago Defender*, 29 September 1923, 4-3.

54 *Chicago Defender*, Elks Edition 1 Sept. 1923, 1-2; *Chicago Defender*, 29 September 1923, 4-3.

55 Because of persistent questions raised by associates regarding the newspaper's financial situation, Abbott authorized an outside audit that confirmed rumors of high-level employee dishonesty, financial mismanagement, and inadequate accounting procedure. Ottley, *Lonely Warrior*, 247-8.

56 Arnold Jay Smith, "Lionel Hampton," *Down Beat* (10 August 1978): 21.

57 COP, f.1-13722.

58 *Chicago Defender*, 4 August 1923, 4-6. The poem was probably lost in the fire that destroyed Smith's papers in his Kansas City home.

59 *Chicago Broad Ax*, 28 November 1925, 1; *Chicago Defender*, 19 December 1925, 6.

60 *Chicago Broad Ax*, 30 January 1926, 2-5.

61 *Chicago Defender*, 2 February 1924, 4-4.

62 The Auditorium was built in 1889, designed by the notable architects Dankmar Adler & Louis Sullivan. The *Chicago Defender* claimed that over 6,000 people packed the auditorium, 25 October 1924, 12-4. The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 October 1924, sec. 2, 13-4, reported that practically every seat in the theatre was occupied.

63 *Chicago Broad Ax*, 11 October 1924, 1.

64 *Chicago Defender*, 25 October 1924, 12-4.

65 The Records Department and Payroll Research Department was unsuccessful in retrieving any information on Smith. Sarah B. Thompson, Freedom of Information Officer, Chicago Public Schools to author, 17 August 2000.

66 Albert W. Evans, Principal, "Wendell Phillips High School and How It Is Serving the Community," *Chicago Defender*, 12 November 1921, 3-2.

67 William Carter White, *A History of Military Music in America*, (New York: The Exposition Press, 1944), 252.

68 Rosagitta Podrovsky, "A History of Music Education in the Chicago Public Schools," (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1978), 126-28.

69 *Chicago Defender*, 19 December 1925, 6-2.

70 Wendell Phillips yearbook, *The Red and Black*, 1927, 105.

71 *The Red and Black*, 1927, 20. Smith copyrighted the music "I Will Arise," in 1924.

72 The number of band members varies from thirty to fifty, depending upon the year and the source of information. Ascher brothers' benefit indicated more than 55 cadets in the Wendell Phillips band. The figure of 30 band members comes from the school yearbook, *The Red and Black*, 1926, 122.

73 *The Red and Black*, 1927, 105.

74 Dempsey J. Travis, *An Autobiography of Black Chicago* (Chicago: Urban Research Institute, Inc., 1981), 80.

75 *Chicago Defender*, 7 July 1923, 5-6.

76 *Chicago Defender*, 23 May 1925, sec. 2, 4.

- 77 Report of the President of A Century of Progress to the Board of Trustees, 14 March 1936, 20-25, available at the Chicago Historical Society; Lenox R. Lohr, *Fair Management* (Chicago: The Cuneo Press, Inc., 1952) [2]-15,
- 78 *The Official Pictures of A Century of Progress Exposition 1933* (Chicago: Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation, 1933), 5.
- 79 Christopher R. Reed, "A Reinterpretation of Black Strategies for Change at the Chicago World's Fair, 1933-1934," *Illinois Historical Journal* 81 (Spring 1988): 5.
- 80 Report prepared for the Chicago Urban League Research and Planning Department. Barbara Holt, "An American Dilemma on Display: Black Participation at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition, 1933-34," c. 1985, 3-4.
- 81 *St. Louis Argus*, 30 Jan. 1931, 8-6.
- 82 Letter from LeMon to Smith, 20 December 1930, reprinted on a brochure for the World's Fair National Symphony Band, COP, f. 1-13722.
- 83 *Chicago Defender*, 20 December 1930, 6-5.
- 84 Lyon & Healy to Smith, 28 February 1931, COP, f. 1-13722.
- 85 Program, COP, f. 1-13722
- 86 *St. Louis Argus*, 30 January 1931, 8-6; brochure for World's Fair National Symphony Band, COP, f. 1-13722.
- 87 Barbara Holt confirms Smith's opinion, in "An American Dilemma," 2. In 1984, when Chicago was considering another fair, Dreck Spurlock Wilson wrote an article entitled "Black Involvement in the Century of Progress World's Fair," but neither the City of Chicago, the Harold Washington Library Center, nor the Chicago Historical Society could find a copy.
- 88 COP, f. 1-13722. Included were programs from the Pullman Porters concerts, and purported copies of Dunbar's correspondence to Smith.
- 89 Byrne to McGrew 15 March 1930, COP, f. 1-13722.
- 90 Carnahan & Slusser, to Major Lohr, fair manager, 17 March 1930, COP, f. 1-13722.
- 91 Lyon & Healy to Rufus Dawes, 2 April 1931, COP, f. 1-13722. Dewey Jones believed the fair to be a "WHITE MAN'S proposition," *Chicago Defender*, 11 November 1933, 17-1.
- 92 *Chicago Defender*, 28 October 1933, 13-4.
- 93 Ottley, *Lonely Warrior*, 159-62.
- 94 *Women Building Chicago 1790-1990*, Rima Lunin Schultz and Adele Hast, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 959.
- 95 Editorial, "When you Come North," *Chicago Defender*, 30 May 1925, sec. 2, 12-1. Also see Charles A. Simmons, *The African American Press* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1998), 31-8.
- 96 The figure of 1,200 comes from Chauncy C. Willard, *Chicago Tribune*, 29 March 1931, sec. 7-S, 1-8. Albert W. Evans, principal, offers the 1,600 to 1,800 estimate, *Chicago Defender*, 12 November 1921, 3-2; the 1,900 figure comes from Michael Homel, "Negroes in the Chicago Public Schools 1920-1940," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1972), 113.
- 97 Homel, "Negroes in the Chicago Public Schools," 113; *Chicago Defender*, 5 Oct. 1935, 11-2.
- 98 *Chicago Tribune*, 29 March 1931, sec. 7S, 1,8.

- 99 Homel, "Negroes in the Chicago Public Schools," 262.
- 100 *St. Louis Argus*, 30 September 1932, 4-1.
- 101 *St. Louis Argus*, 21 October 1932, 5-3.
- 102 *St. Louis Argus*, 21 October 1932, 5-3. For a biographical sketch and photograph of Andar-Sin see *Chicago Defender*, 5 August 1933, sec. 2, 13.
- 103 *St. Louis Argus*, 30 September 1932, 4-1.
- 104 *St. Louis Argus*, 16 June 4-2; 7 July 4 -2, 1933.
- 105 *St. Louis Argus*, 9 December 1932, 3-3,4.
- 106 COP, f. 1-13722.
- 107 *Chicago Defender*, 22 July 1933, 4-6.
- 108 *East Tennessee News*, 27 July 1933. Tuskegee Institute News Clippings File, Microfilm edition, reel 43, frame 0943
- 109 See August Meier and Elliott M. Rudwick, "Negro Protest at the Chicago World's Fair, 1933-34," *Illinois Historical Journal*, 59 (Summer 1966): 161-171; Christopher Robert Reed, A Reinterpretation of Black Strategies for Change at the Chicago World's Fair, 1933-1934," *Illinois Historical Journal*, 81 (Spring 1988): 2-12; Barbara Holt, "An American Dilemma on Display." Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 165-171.
- 110 *Chicago Defender*, 12 August 1933, 1-5.
- 111 *Chicago Defender*, 29 July 1933, 2-4.
- 112 COP, f. 1-11707.
- 113 Holt, "An American Dilemma On Display," 5.
- 114 *Chicago Defender*, 5 August 1933, 2-4 and 12 August 1933, 1-1.
- 115 *Chicago Defender*, 19 August 1933, 2-5.
- 116 Holt, "An American Dilemma," 5.
- 117 *Chicago Defender*, 29 July 1933, 2-4,5, 12; COP, f. 14-309 (*Chicago Daily News*, 24 July 1933). The pageant opened with a musical prologue and African dancing, followed by the depiction of Negroes in slavery, slave revolts, sorrow songs, spirituals, abolition agitation, Lincoln-Douglas debates, John Brown's raid on Harpers ferry, the underground railroad, Civil war, emancipation of the slaves, reconstruction, Lincoln's assassination, rise of the Ku Klux Klan, educational crusade of the northern philanthropists, the ascendancy of Booker T. Washington and culminated in the advent and development of the jazz age.
- 118 COP, f. 14-309 (*Chicago Daily News*, 21 July 1933).
- 119 *Chicago Defender*, 29 July 1933, 12-8.
- 120 COP, f. 14-314 (*Chicago Daily Times*, 10 August 1933). Edward Boatner and Smith may have been acquainted. Boatner studied music at Western University in Kansas and attended Chicago Musical College.
- 121 *Chicago Defender*, 29 July 1933, 12-10.
- 122 Dewey R. Jones, "A Day at the Fair," *Chicago Defender*, 19 August 1933, 10-1.
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 Ibid.
- 126 Glenn Dillard Gunn, "Fair Pageant Shows Rise of Colored Race," *Chicago Herald-Examiner*, 13 August 1933, Tuskegee Institute News Clippings File, Microfilm

- edition, reel 43, frame 0943; COP, f. 14-315 (*Chicago Daily Times*, 13 August 1933).
- 127 Lewis described Richard Harrison as the Lord, "... sitting in a frock coat under a star-spangled sky while small sable angels fluttered their robes at his feet," or when Lincoln concluded reading his state paper, "The slaves tore to bits the huge symbolic chain and began climbing the stairs which led to large representations of a wheel symbolizing industry and an inkwell standing for book learning." Lloyd Lewis, "The Theatre," *Chicago Daily News*, 14 August 1933, 15-1.
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 *Chicago Defender*, 19 August 1933, [14].
- 130 Dennis A. Bethea, M.D., "More About "Negro Day," *Chicago Defender*, 26 August 1933, 11-5,6.
- 131 COP, folders 1-11707 and 1-11708.
- 132 COP, f. 1-11708.
- 133 Ibid.
- 134 Virginia Stewart, "Century of Progress," Introduction to finding guide (September 1971), 4, Special Collections, University of Illinois-Chicago. Robert Rydell cites the Century of Progress Confidential Files for his contention that it was because of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's urging that the Fair reopen for the extended run, but he does not provide Roosevelt's reasoning. Rydell, *World of Fairs*, 170 and n. 24.
- 135 Barbara Holt, "An American Dilemma on Display," 7-8. Jenkins and a reporter from the *Chicago Defender* tested the Black Forest Inn. They had heard rumblings that the black in the inn's name applied to everything but people—especially American people. After a prolonged wait, multiple gestures calling for service, and whispering among personnel, they were served. Dewey Jones, "A Day at the Fair," *Chicago Defender*, 11 August 1934, 11-5, 6.
- 136 Nahum Brascher, a journalist with the Associated Negro Press, worked for the *Chicago Defender* and in 1920 Brascher was editor in chief, Associated Negro Press. Brascher also served as Executive Director of National Auditions, Inc. the sponsoring organization credited for the pageant concept. *St. Louis Argus*, 31 August 1934, 1-4.
- 137 *St. Louis Argus*, 24 August 1934, sec. 2, 7.
- 138 *National Auditions Annual* (August 1934): 11, Available at Chicago Woodson Library, Harsh Collection; *Chicago Defender*, 18 August 1934, 2-4; *Chicago Daily News*, 23 August 1934, 19-7. Hildred Roach credits Freeman with the orchestral work in *Black American Music*, 2nd ed. (Malabar, Fla.: Krieger Publishing Co., 1992), 114.
- 139 *Chicago Defender*, 25 August 1934, 4-1.
- 140 *Chicago Defender*, 11 August 1934, 3-3.
- 141 *Chicago Defender*, 11 August 1934, 3-3.
- 142 *National Auditions Annual*, 15, 17. Smith presumably composed these selections.
- 143 Ibid.
- 144 Dewey R. Jones, *Chicago Defender*, 1 September 1934, 1.
- 145 Albert G. Barnett, "O, Sing a New Song," *Chicago Defender*, 1 September 1934, 3-2.
- 146 *Kansas City Call*, 11 October 1935, 1; *Chicago Defender*, 12 October 1935, 1.