Essay

From Hyde Park to the Highlands: St. Clair Drake, *Black Metropolis,* and the Struggle Over Black Land

Andrew J. Rosa, PhD
andrew.rosa@wku.edu
Associate Professor of History and Africana Studies
History Department
Western Kentucky University

Abstract

This essay considers the origins, scope, and content of the Cayton-Warner research project and St. Clair Drake's senior role in writing *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945), with the sociologist Horace Cayton. Based on data collected by the Cayton-Warner project, between 1937 and 1941, Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* represented the first ethnography of Chicago's all-Black Bronzeville; it also represented a new way of theorizing about Black communities, by illustrating the attachment developed by Black Chicagoans, for an organized way of life they did not want to see all together disappear with integration. Produced within the context of a vibrant Chicago renaissance, *Black Metropolis* pushed back against racist academic discourses on Blacks and the city, and linked the University of Chicago to Black intellectuals, writers, and activists in, and beyond, Chicago's

Siyabonana: The Journal of Africana Studies, Volume 3, Number 1, Winter 2025

South Side. Following the publication of *Black Metropolis*, a legal struggle with the University of Chicago over the razing of Black homes in Hyde Park sensitized Drake to the land struggle of the Kikuyu people in Kenya. The politics of urban renewal and the struggle against settler colonialism in East Africa would ultimately lead Drake to Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana at the dawning of that nation's independence.

Keywords
Scholar activists, urban sociology, Chicago School, urban renewal, settler colonialism

> "Had I not been black I would have been a very different kind of anthropologist. Interest in theory has always been subordinated to my preoccupation with black liberation."[1]

Introduction

In 1987, in reply to an invitation to participate in a conference planned in honor of the social anthropologist St. Clair Drake, the historian August Meier, author of *Negro Thought in America, 1890-1915* (1964), remarked how his "own work owes a great deal to St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's *Black Metropolis* (1945) and that he could cite a number of other cases where this classic has proven influential in the work of historians…"[2] For Meier, whose work lay in Black intellectual and social protest history, the enduring significance of *Black Metropolis* was to be found in its rich description of Chicago's historic Bronzeville, a city within a city, a separate Black lifeworld that was self-sustaining by virtue of local business development, the establishment of churches and civic groups, and the creation of local newspapers. Within the broader history of mass Black migration in the first half of the twentieth century, Meier considered Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* evidence of Black

American's capacity to adjust to the urban context and expand an all-Black urban sector (Chicago's South Side) to include status differentials and social hierarchies that resembled the larger American social landscape.

Along with Meier, the French sociologist and social theorist Louic Wacquant credited Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* for inspiring his own research interest in the contemporary Black urban condition. In a letter written to Drake in 1990, Wacquant shared how he considered *Black Metropolis* "a model of social science research and one of the most extraordinary documents and analyses of the Afro-American experience in the United States. It is one of the very few books I have read and re-read," he explained, and "not only with intense pleasure, but with admiration and even envy. You," he told Drake, "have set very high standards for those who write on black Chicago, especially for those, like me, who seek to do so with no prior knowledge of black America and the Windy City…." With an interest in the increasingly tight meshing of what he called the "hyperghetto and the carceral state," Wacquant considered his work as picking up where Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* left off. As he went on to tell Drake, "my project, entitled the Ghetto and the Gym will be an attempt to combine social history of the Black Metropolis since the close of World War II, focusing on the black working class and sub proletariat, with an ethnography of boxing in Chicago's ghetto..."[3] Since the publication of Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis,* Wacquant reasoned that a combination of social forces gave rise to a mechanism of social spatiality that enabled a dominant class to benefit from a marginalized group, materially and socially, through the development of penal institutions, over-policing, and the stigmatization of punishment. [4]

The reception of Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* by Meier and Wacquant signals the longevity and cross-disciplinary appeal of this now classic work that joins W.E.B. Du Bois's *Philadelphia Negro* (1899) in bounding an era considered by many as representing the "golden age in the sociology of Blacks" in the United States.[5] In between these two signposts, dozens of other works, resulting from the training of Black sociologists in formal departments of Sociology, were produced, each uniquely canonizing modes of inquiry into Black social life in the urban industrial and rural agrarian United States. Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis,* however, stands alone as an exemplary monograph on the South Side of Chicago, written mainly by Drake,

with input and support from the sociologist Horace Cayton, the social anthropologist William Lloyd Warner, and the novelist Richard Wright. With a view of contextualizing *Black Metropolis's* place in American sociological research during the interwar period, as well as within Drake's own life history, this essay will explain three aspects pertaining to this classic work: 1) how the book emerged from a community-based research collective of academics, community members, and students, 2) how the research carried out by this collective gave rise to a book that was never planned; and, finally, 3) how Drake's principal leadership over the research and writing of *Black Metropolis* corresponded to his personal and public struggle with the University of Chicago over housing and the razing of Black homes in Southwest Hyde Park in the 1950s. Drake's fight with the University of Chicago is especially significant for the connections he draws between the politics of urban renewal in mid-century Chicago and the struggle against settler colonialism in Kenya during what the British Colonial Office referred to as the "Mau Mau crisis."[6] More than this, consideration of Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* is revealing of a Black intellectual estate that formed around the University of Chicago in the 1930s and 1940s, and brought social justice perspectives to the fields of Urban Sociology and Anthropology.

A Federal Project

The research for *Black Metropolis* began with considerable federal financing. The initial project, from 1935-1937, was the work of two researchers of different status: William Lloyd Warner (1898)-1970), a white, tenured professor of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Chicago, and Horace Cayton (1903-1970), a graduate student and research assistant to Warner and other key figures in the social sciences at the University of Chicago. Prior to *Black Metropolis*, Warner headed several different projects, including an investigation of the caste and class system of the American South, which became the basis for Allison Davis and Burleigh Gardeners' *Deep South: A Social Anthropology* (1941).[7] Instead of describing Warner's career here, it is significant to mention Cayton's previous training. He was the son of a journalist and the grandson of Hiram Revels, the first Black senator in Mississippi during Reconstruction; Cayton had studied Sociology and then had different research

experiences, including his collaboration in research on the Black political world of Chicago.[8]

Cayton's first experience as a researcher came in the early 1930s as an assistant in the department of Political Science of the University of Chicago, probably under the influence of Robert Ezra Park who was his teacher and a founding member of the Chicago School of Sociology. At the University of Chicago, Cayton also worked with Harold Gosnell who was studying the Black political machine in Chicago and the rivalries between the Republicans and Democrats to secure jobs and win voters in the city.[9] Cayton carried out fieldwork while working under Gosnell, conducting interviews, particularly of police in the city. Working with the police was familiar to Cayton, as he had been a member of the Seattle police force (a deputy sheriff) prior to moving to Chicago for graduate school. Surviving fieldwork documents also include Cayton's extensive ethnographic observations of Republican Party meetings, which took place in Bronzeville throughout the 1930s, and often had an atmosphere identical of that of certain South Side churches.[10]

After this experience, Cayton became Louis Wirth's assistant at the University of Chicago. Along with Park, Wirth was a leading figure within the Chicago School of Sociology, particularly in Applied Sociology. It was in Wirth's office, in 1933, that Cayton first met the novelist Richard Wright, who had come to collect a list of books to read, probably in preparation for writing such classics as *Uncle Tom's Children, Black Boy,* and *Native Son*.[11] During this period, Cayton also worked for the federal government, as an assistant to the secretary of the interior, doing fieldwork in factories to discover the effects of the National Recovery Act (legislative measures designed to change working conditions). As he recalled in his autobiography, *Long Old Road,* it was in New York where he met George S. Mitchell, a professor of Economics at Columbia University, who was to "be my colleague on the study of the Congress of Industrial Organization and the role of the Negro worker in the steel, meat packing, and railroad car shop industries."[12] This study was the source of what would eventually become Mitchell and Cayton's *Black Workers and New Unions* (1939).[13]

The Cayton-Warner Project

After a period of teaching at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, on the invitation of Charles S. Johnson, another student of Robert Park's at the University of Chicago, Cayton returned to Chicago in 1936 as a research assistant and instructor in the Anthropology department. It was then that the Works Progress Administration (WPA) project was born in collaboration with Warner. Together, they set up a research project to use the money coming from the WPA, a federal agency for unemployment aid.[14] They focused on juvenile delinquency in the Black community and arranged the required institutional backing with the Institute of Juvenile Research, which played a central role in delinquency studies.[15] This project was a pretext to study the entire structure of the Black community.[16] It was also part of the Illinois WPA project, which included an ensemble of projects turned more toward the arts and literature and where Black writers like Richard Wright had an important place. If the collapse of the U.S. stock market in October of 1929 brought an abrupt end to the era of the Harlem Renaissance and the predominately white patronage system that supported it, the Great Depression and a variety of New Deal initiatives served to breathe new life into a Chicago Renaissance, represented by Black intellectuals and artists who coalesced around the University of Chicago and institutions and organizations across the city's South Side.

Many people took part in what became the Cayton-Warner project, with Drake being among the most significant. Drake was then at Dillard University in New Orleans, Louisiana, headquarters for Allison Davis and Burleigh Gardner's Deep South study and where Horace Mann Bond served as dean. In this role, Bond protected faculty who, like Drake and the historian L.D. Reddick, became involved in a variety of local movements against Jim Crow, lynching, and fascism in the mid-1930s. Drake went to Chicago in 1937, with a Julius Rosenwald grant, to continue his graduate studies in Anthropology at the University of Chicago and to contribute to the publication of *Deep South* by the University of Chicago Press. Upon connecting with Warner and Cayton at the University of Chicago, Drake joined the Cayton-Warner project, as it became known, taking charge of the study of Black churches and voluntary associations in the city's South Side. Drake also took up a position as the associate director on the Illinois State Commission on the Urban Colored Population, for which he was tasked by a local politician with investigating

employment discrimination in Chicago's public transportation and utilities industry.[17]

For the Cayton-Warner project, Drake headed-up research on South Side churches and voluntary associations, focusing on "their relation to social stratification and to ethnic action" in Bronzeville.[18] The son of a Baptist minister from Barbados, Drake was uniquely prepared for this research; he also received training as a researcher and interviewer, by participating, between 1935 and 1937, in the study of white and Black communities in and around New Orleans and Adams County, Mississippi. This research led to the publication of *Deep South,* under the management of Allison Davis, his undergraduate mentor at Hampton Institute in Virginia, and with the backing of Warner at the University of Chicago.[19] Also, Drake previously had considerable experience working in both interracial spaces and Black institutions, having attended Hampton Institute, from 1927 to 1931, and working with the Quakers in Philadelphia and Cambria, West Virginia, before joining the *Deep South* research team. During this period, Drake was trained as a participant observer and learned how to reconstruct interviews from memory. He also established links with Black institutions and contributed to analyzing data and writing the book that ultimately became *Deep South: A Social* Anthropology (1941).[20] That Drake was not listed as one of the authors of this project is revealing of the racial power-dynamic between the senior and junior researchers connected to this major community study of a cotton plantation economy in Mississippi.

In Chicago, Drake and Cayton divided the work of studying different social components of the Black community. Cayton was familiar with the elites of Bronzeville. He had observed the lifestyle of the two components of the Black upper class: the "Upper-Respectables" and "the Upper Shadies," or rich racketeers. His selection in 1939 as head of the Parkway Community House—a sort of cultural and social center in the heart of Bronzeville—gave him a position as activity leader, manager, and observer of the social, political, and intellectual life of the South Side. Drake already had the experience of moving within the religious milieus of the working classes from his previous research in Mississippi where he moved among cropper families, juke joints, and farming cooperatives. In Chicago, he rapidly became familiar with the world of the lower classes and visited families that did not

go to church. Drake also became a voluntary teacher at the Chicago Baptist Institute as part of his participant observation of lower-class families.

How the Team was Organized

A large team was set up to undertake the Cayton-Warner project. The research assistants—there were about twenty of them—were recruited from among graduate students at the University of Chicago. Most were white, for, according to Cayton, few Blacks had graduate level research experience at this time.[21] More than 150 other people, 20 to 30 percent of whom were white, also worked on the project, primarily as office staff, documentation staff, typists, and statisticians.[22] Some accounts tell of two hundred contributors, including a larger number of Black and white investigators who carried out interviews; Drake helped train the investigators, interviewers, and observers. He taught them how to carry out and memorize an interview and to draft an account in the correct format. [23]

The project was supported by such institutions as the Julius Rosenwald Foundation and the Church of the Good Shepherd, which, according to Drake, became the Parkway Community House under the management of Horace Cayton himself in 1939. [24] This social assistance institution and Black cultural center received some of the documentary material collected. A photograph taken in this institution in 1939 shows an exhibit of reports and documents collected by the research assistants, including large volumes on a table, and on the walls maps of Chicago, with dark patches representing the Black areas (Image 1). Though clipped off here, the caption of the photograph mentions twenty-three projects produced by this archive, including St. Clair Drake's report on the churches and voluntary association in Chicago.[25] Drake's study is also mentioned in the chapter devoted to Black churches in Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma* (1944). Drake's report, a large volume of 314 pages, includes a review of the Chicago tradition, referencing Park, Wirth, and Thomas—the critical core of the Chicago School of Sociology. A veiled reference is also made to Marx, concerning social stratification. This is followed by a long historical development based on diverse sources and presenting the evolution of churches and women's organizations like the Ida B. Wells Club. Then begins the purely empirical part, devoted to a numerical analysis and to case studies of churches and association on the South Side.[26] This is how some of the research work of the

Cayton-Warner project presented itself. Nothing at the time indicated that it would be the source of a book, however.

The Writing of Black Metropolis

By 1940, with the research for the Cayton-Warner project complete, Cayton seized upon the idea of turning the materials into a published manuscript. As Drake explains, "*Black Metropolis* was an unplanned book. Like Topsy, it just grew."[27] The story of *Black Metropolis* is the story of a book that grew from the WPA project designed to cope with mass unemployment in the mid-1930s. It grew from a databank that did not have any book in view at first. Publication was Cayton's idea, and Drake was not aware of his plan until he and Warner turned to him to "write a book comparable to *Deep South*."[26] According to Drake, Cayton had a good sense of the nation's pulse during this period, and believed that little stood in the way of publishing a book of monumental importance.[27] As Drake explained in an interview with the sociologist Benjamin Bowser, "after the Scottsboro Case, race relations…ceased being an isolated domestic issue and became an international embarrassment."[28] Racial discrimination, segregation, and violence was now "defined as a flaw in America's identity as a progressive democracy," a fact that was "publicized" to the rest of the world by "Marxists, who were using Jim Crow in the South, and the condition of the ghettos in the North, as very effective propaganda against the United States both at home and abroad."[29] According to Drake, the Communists were a growing force in the 1930s, and "what made" this decade "so productive in terms of the passage of progressive legislation was the working relation between the Communist Party, labor unions, and major black leadership." [30] Moreover, the potential for Black disloyalty and disruption was considered to be a very real threat, and Cayton realized that in this political climate the publication of a book like *Black Metropolis* was attainable. Private philanthropies and public agencies saw it as their role to sponsor and encourage the publication of research that would, more than inform public policy, reaffirm the public's belief in America's democratic ideals, and counter the country's negative image across the globe.[31]

Image 1: An exhibit of research supervised by Horace Cayton and funded by the Works Progress Administration was presented to the public in the basement of the Church of the Good Shepherd (5700 Prairie Avenue) in 1939. The 23 studies were the most comprehensive ever undertaken of a northern Black community, and helped provide the database for Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis*. Three of these studies, including St. Clair Drake's *Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community*, were published in limited quantities in mimeographed form, Horace R. Cayton Papers, Box 42, Photo 22, Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

In a request for additional funding from the publisher to carry out the project, Cayton exploited this sentiment in noting of the study's significance, that:

> Events of the past year have further convinced us that the American reading public is likely to accept a book of this type. The war has removed the Negro problem from the realm of academic discussion. Numerous magazine and newspaper articles as well as some books with mass distribution are creating a wide appreciative background for a serious discussion of Negro-white relations in America. The recent incidents in Detroit, Beaumont, and Los Angeles are fresh in the public mind. As the war draws to a close, the critical aspects of post-war adjustment will loom large. People will be groping for an understanding of the problem…*Black Metropolis*, although a study of a single northern community, may in some ways meet the needs of the moment.[32]

The political atmosphere in this country, shaped by the war and the very real threat of revolution from below, created ideal conditions to get support and begin work on *Black Metropolis*.

Although Cayton's initial emphasis was to present the findings to an academic and professional audience, the outbreak of war in Europe served to change this direction. Convinced that a worldwide struggle in defense of democracy had to include a national commitment to reforming conditions for the Black masses of Chicago's South Side, Cayton now discerned a greater significance for the study and consciously began to lay plans for reaching a much larger audience than he had originally intended. As Cayton described of his new vision to his close friend, Richard Wright, the book had to be more than a "descriptive study" of race relations in Chicago. Like the Carnegie-funded study directed by Myrdal, whose vision and work Cayton deeply respected, the resultant publication from the Cayton-Warner project had to "generate" an entire "school of thought," which would, in turn, "outline a moral argument" against social inequalities in American society. As Cayton explained to Wright:

> the problem is moral. We do not want to face this moral problem; as a matter of fact, we protect ourselves from being aware of it in many devious

> psychological ways. Therefore, we keep talking about techniques to solve the race problem. Techniques without a moral position are impotent…[Edwin] Embree, [Charles] Johnson, and that crowd are talking about techniques, as if a technique could be applied fruitfully without a clear notion of a goal.[33]

Cayton's goal was to move beyond techniques to present an irrefutable moral argument against racism in America. As the basis of *Black Metropolis,* this argument, he was convinced, would distinguish it from other community studies produced during this period and make it a truly "great book." [34]

From Cayton, Drake remembers that he learned "how a book is sold to the public," and "what makes an ordinary book a Great Book."[35] In an effort to influence and change the heart and mind of a nation caught in the throes of war, Cayton, against Warner's wishes, contracted with Wright, who had just finished his widely acclaimed *Native Son*, to prepare an introduction to the study, and secured a promise from a commercial press, Harcourt Brace, to publish it.[36] To actually write the book, Cayton and Warner turned to Drake, whose familiarity with and authority over the materials in the databank, coupled with his research background on the Deep South study, made him the ideal candidate to carry out the task.

When the research for the Cayton-Warner project came to an end, and before being charged with the task of writing *Black Metropolis*, Drake quickly found work on the Illinois State Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population. Created by an act of the Illinois General Assembly in 1939, and composed of five state senators, five state representatives, and three appointees of the governor, the commission was charged, over the course of its four years of existence, with inquiring into the general living conditions of the urban colored population of the state, and reporting back to the General Assembly with recommendations on how to improve these conditions. Drake was made Associate Director of the commission by, as he remembers, "a local black politician."[37] In this position, Drake was commissioned by the All-Chicago Committee Against Discrimination (ACCAD) to conduct a study of public transportation in the city.[38]

Completed in 1942, Drake's memorandum focused on the use of Chicago's public transportation system by Blacks, and the discriminatory hiring practices in this industry, which, at the time, included three main transit companies in the city:

Chicago Surface Lines, Chicago Rapid Transit Company, and Chicago Motor Coach Company.[37] Drawing from interviews, statistical data, local newspapers, and files of the Illinois Commission and the Chicago Race Relations Committee of 1920, Drake's findings provided a troubling portrait of a transportation system that depended on a majority Black cliental. While Blacks constituted the largest number of users of the public transportation system in the city, contributing as much money as all the fares paid to the bus company in 1940, Drake discovered that very few Blacks were employed by this industry. As he explains:

> the public utilities, quasi-public institutions, are even more reluctant than private industries to grant full occupational opportunity to Negroes. In 1939, on the eve of the depression, after Negroes had been in Chicago in large numbers for ten years, not one Negro was employed as a street railway conductor, a ticket or station agent, a telegraph operator, or a telephone operator…Yet, Negroes use both telephones and public transportation facilities at a higher rate per hundred Negroes than do white citizens in the city.[39]

In a time of economic hardship and war, this was, in Drake's view, a moral dilemma with clear-cut economic repercussions for the Black working class in Chicago.

According to Drake such patterns of discrimination "kept the general income level of Negroes low" and "limited their purchasing power to a level lower per capita than for white persons…At the same time, whether as workers in private industry, domestic service, or on the WPA, Negroes have had to use public transportation, and to a much larger extent in proportion to their numbers than the white population."[40] With little means to buy automobiles, or pursue other modes of private transportation, Black Chicagoans, Drake argued, depended on public transportation to get to work in areas that were mostly located outside of their primary area of residence. Moreover, "in this period of sharp depression," according to Drake, "Negroes have begun to think about their plight and articulate demands for equal opportunity."[41] For example, as Drake discovered, the failure of a street railway company to offer employment opportunities to Blacks when a track was being laid in their neighborhood in 1931 nearly resulted in a riot in the city's South

Side, and a more recent boycott directed against the telephone company actually led to the creation of more jobs for Blacks in that particular industry.[42]

Drake believed that denied opportunities and blocked access to public resources had served to animate a group consciousness among Blacks, which, in specific cases, forced fundamental changes in the hiring practices in the quasi-public and private sectors of the economy. More than simply recognizing the value of utilizing all available manpower in time of war, the government had, in Drake's view, a real responsibility to demonstrate its sincerity by rigorously adhering to a policy of equality of opportunity. If anything, Drake determined, the current state of affairs in the city's transportation industry had served to impart to "this disadvantaged minority group," a sense of its spending power and "moral right to demand equality of treatment."[43] Drake's view reflected the organizational values of the National Negro Congress, which, when he joined in 1937, sought to build a national constituency to pressure New Deal administrators for labor and civil rights reform.[44] More directly, his view reflected the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign of the Washington, D.C.-based New Negro Alliance. Under the leadership of John A. Davis, the brother of Allison Davis, the New Negro Alliance sought to harness the purchasing power of Blacks to obtain, through non-violent direct action strategies, certain economic advantages in the city.[45] Drake concluded his memorandum by providing his sponsor with a "proven" model for challenging the stricture of caste in the hiring practices of Chicago's public transportation system, which reflected his long-held commitment of working through coalitions of protest dedicated to non-violent direct action strategy. Drake attributes the successes of earlier movements in New York, Cleveland, and Detroit, to the coming together of progressive unions and Negro organizations in this manner.[46]

After completing his report on the state of public transportation in Chicago, Drake, accepting Cayton's offer, as well as a third grant from the Rosenwald Foundation, took a leave of absence from the university and returned to Dillard University in New Orleans, where it was expected he would be able to devote most of his time to writing a draft of all but one of the twenty-two chapters of *Black Metropolis*.[47] Once at Dillard, Drake immediately set himself the task of defining the parameters of the book, proposing in a lengthy prospectus to expand the Cayton-Warner materials into a study of Black migration to Chicago. As stated in the

prospectus, Drake's main concerns were "those factors affecting the adjustment of Negroes to the city, the demographic and social characteristics of the Negro migrants themselves, the development of mechanisms to assist problems of adjustment, and the spatial, structural, and institutional aspects of Negro community with an emphasis on its internal class dynamics and relationship to the larger white community."[48] What emerged from Drake spending the better half of 1941 and 1942 at Dillard was the first draft of *Black Metropolis*, which, in its original form, numbered over a thousand pages in length.

Divided into four parts, Drake's analysis began with a fast-paced history of Chicago from 1840 to 1942, with an emphasis on those social crises that affected race relations in the city, as well as the internal structure of the Black community. Beginning with the story of Point de Sable, an enslaved fugitive from Santo Domingo, Drake assumed a Black presence in the city well before it was founded. In the antebellum period, Chicago became a hotbed of abolitionism and an open city, home to a small number of free Blacks and enslaved fugitives who were "free to develop their own family and community life, participate in friendly intercourse with whites, and, if so desired, marry across the color line."[49] As Drake explained, "the Negro was a hero around whom stirring battles were fought in the courts and city streets."[50] This view did not last. After Emancipation "the Negro" suddenly became "just one more poverty-stricken group competing in a city where economic and political issues were being fought out behind the façade of racial, national, and religious alignments."[51] As Chicago "steadily laid the foundations" for what Drake described as its "industrial and commercial supremacy in the Middle-West," the badge of color came to mark Blacks as inferior and the spirit of abolitionism gave way to continuing conflict between democratic beliefs on the one hand, and the existence of a racial minority on the other.[52] To illustrate this point, Drake's historical narrative ends in the period of the First World War, with the race riot and its aftermath.

From this sweeping history, Drake delved into a discussion of present-day race relations in the Chicago, based on the materials collected from the participant observations of those involved in the Cayton-Warner project. In part two of the study, Drake examined the "static" and "conservative" aspects of race relations, focusing on family and associational contacts, patterns of residential segregation, the

nature of job discrimination, the limitations placed on general social participation, and the changing aspects of race relations, with particular reference to the role of economic and political systems in the city.[53] Contrary to Warner's contention regarding the presence of a caste system in Chicago, Drake broke with his mentor and described race relations in this northern city as having more fluid social systems than the "Deep South." Drake, as well as Cayton, felt that in Chicago of the 1930s there were varying degrees to which people were racially integrated, which was not the case in Mississippi. Making his single contribution to the study in this section, Cayton provided Drake with a paper entitled "Crossing the Color Line," which implicitly compared the "looser," more democratic social milieu of a Chicago to the "tighter," less democratic social organization of a smaller southern town like Natchez. In final form, Cayton's essay would become the thirteenth chapter of *Black Metropolis*, "The Shifting Line of Color."[54]

After the sweeping history of Chicago and the extended consideration of race relations in the first and second parts of *Black Metropolis*, Drake devoted the third part of his analysis to a discussion of Black Chicago itself, placing the city's "Black Belt" under the microscope and providing a vivid glimpse of everyday life in Bronzeville. Representing the second major treatment of a large, urban Black community since the publication of Du Bois's *Philadelphia Negro*, this section of *Black Metropolis* considers Bronzeville's evolution at the end of a hundred years of growth, during the Great Depression and just prior to the Second World War. The unstated question guiding Drake's analysis of Black religious and voluntary institutions and class structures throughout is whether Bronzeville will return to its present state after the war, or benefit from the promises of greater democracy worldwide.[55] The reason Walter White predicted *Black Metropolis* would "infuriate the extreme left and right" alike is to be found in this section.[56] Rather than sharing in the dream of truly integrated society, many Blacks in Bronzeville wanted to maintain their separate institutions and organizations, resentful only of being told where they could live, work, and play. "For while it is conceivable that many Negroes would prefer to live in a Negro community, they do not like being forced to live there."[57]

Finally, in the fourth and last section, Drake sought to fulfill Cayton's specific promise of *Black Metropolis* by offering something useful and instructive for the nation as a whole. Consisting of just two chapters, the fourth part of *Black Metropolis* is

Drake's generalized reading of the Black condition in Chicago, pointing out the similarities and differences in the patterns and resultant effects of Black migrations to other cities such as Detroit, Cleveland, and New York. Reflective of Drake's burgeoning internationalist perspective during this period, which would eventually lead him to the seaport community of Tiger Bay in Cardiff, Wales for his dissertation some years later, this last section suggest that conditions in Bronzeville mirrored those of "colored peoples" globally. *Black Metropolis* was, as Drake argued, a "microcosm" of "the problem of colored peoples in contact with white people the world around."[58] Like his "hero" Ralph Bunche, whose *A World View of Race* he remembers reading with great interest upon first arriving to Chicago from Dillard, Drake was beginning to think about race as the primary organizing principle for economic and political life across the globe, demarcating the boundaries between developed and lesser developed nations and nationalities.[59] In this sense, Drake himself was moving to a worldview of race relations as symptomatic of capitalist economies that, in line with the radical economist Oliver Cox's view, had come through the epochs of slavery, colonialism, and Jim Crow segregation. This final section of *Black Metropolis* illuminates the beginning of Drake's intellectual journey beyond Chicago, toward studying the international dimensions of what he had first identified as a local characteristic of Black-white relations in New Orleans and Natchez, Mississippi while a research assistant on the Deep South project in the mid-1930s.

While at Dillard, Drake found, in the space of a year, the necessary time to finish the first draft of *Black Metropolis*, which, in addition to his own writing, included "proofreading" Cayton's work, who busied himself back in Chicago with the minutiae of laying the groundwork for making *Black Metropolis* the commercial success he envisioned.[60] Returning to Dillard in 1941, Drake resumed teaching, and, despite his writing obligations, even found time to become involved in the historic movements then underway in and around New Orleans. Unanticipated by him at the time, however, was the degree to which Dillard had changed since the days of Horace Mann Bond. Under Bond, Drake, like other faculty at Dillard, was active in a number of movements taking place in the larger community off campus. Between 1935 and 1937, Drake had become involved in Popular Front movements then mobilizing around the issue of fascism in Europe and the problems of lynching,

discrimination, and sharecropping in New Orleans and Natchez. Mississippi. Upon his return to Dillard, Drake once again devoted his energies toward these ends, making specific contributions to working class and anti-discrimination movements. As Sidney Williams, director of Chicago's Urban League, remembers of this period, "Drake was teaching at Dillard and consulting and organizing the integrated Longshoreman's Union in New Orleans," which, at the time, "was considered other than loyal to the present form of Government."[61] Occasionally, to facilitate interracial cooperation among the longshoremen, Williams recalled, Drake disregarded local caste strictures and organized integrated dances. In addition to his work with Black and white longshoremen, Drake was also reportedly associated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW), which, under the direction of Aubrey Davis, became the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) in 1946.[62] In addition to representing some of the most independent-minded folks in the South, the SCHW appealed to Drake because of its expressed commitments to Civil Rights and bringing an end to segregation.

In the post-Bond era at Dillard, Drake quickly came to be seen by some in the administration and faculty to be "troublesome" and "misguided."[63] Their attitude toward Drake reflected an important break with the political ethos of the promising young faculty of an earlier generation, who, with the exception of Benjamin Quarles and Robert Christian, had left the institution following Bond's own departure to Fisk in 1937.[64] Of Drake's activities at Dillard during the writing of *Black Metropolis*, one colleague remarked that he exercised "questionable discretion in his choice of associates," and was firmly entrenched with "elements way to the Left."[65] Given this new repressive, anti-radical political climate, Drake's days at Dillard were numbered.

The breaking point came in 1942, toward the end of Drake's first year back at Dillard. As Assistant Director of the Illinois Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population, Drake saw public transportation in the city as the ideal battleground for waging a people's movement against discriminatory hiring practices. Similarly, in New Orleans, some fourteen years before the Montgomery Bus Boycotts, Drake threw his support behind a student movement then being waged against segregation on public transportation in the city. For his display of solidarity with Dillard students in "their demonstration against bus segregation, the president," Drake recalls, "fired me!"[66] In his mind, his termination from Dillard was the direct

result of institutional changes that occurred following Bond's departure in 1937, and of his consistent participation in progressive social movements and coalitions of protests against caste and class oppression in the South. These experiences would, some twenty later, lead Drake to say, in his own defense against allegations of subversion, that "I am a Negro American 'refugee' from the South who has been living in Chicago, 'exiled' for protesting against Jim Crow."[67] In 1942, deprived of a base of operations, Drake returned to Chicago, carrying with him a completed first draft of *Black Metropolis*.

Over the course of next two years following his return to Chicago, a series of events took place in rapid succession that affected Drake's personal and professional life. Having known Elizabeth Johns since his first days on the Cayton-Warner research project, Drake finally married her in 1942, moving into a multi-family home owned by her sister, Margaret, on Michigan Avenue.[68] For the next two years, Drake spent most of his time "constantly revising and rewriting" *Black Metropolis*, preparing it "for a popular audience."[69] Seeing a need to translate the mood of Black Chicago during wartime to a wider public, Drake also took time to spin off an article in the *Journal of Educational Sociology* that was based on his observations in the final section of *Black Metropolis*.

In the article, entitled "Profiles: Chicago," Drake endeavored to make sense of the riots that broke out in a number of cities during the spring and summer of 1943. According to Drake, the "zoot suit-sailor clashes" in Los Angeles; "adolescent gang fights" in Newark and Philadelphia; "mob violence" in Beaumont, Texas, and "major riots" in Detroit and New York were not only "disruptive to the rhythm of war production and the pattern of national unity," but served to illustrate persistent racial disparities in housing, employment, public services, and mortality rates in these areas.[70] In Drake's view, these "riots were symptomatic of deeper, chronic maladjustments—discrimination in industry, inadequate housing, inferior schools, and the Negro's long standing dissatisfaction with his subordinate role in the nation's life."[71]

Though Chicago averted a full blown riot during this period, "Negroes were," Drake believed, "open-voiced about their wartime status," seeing in their discrimination in industry, the armed forces, and housing the "unfulfilled promise of Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms.'"[72] In the South Side, Drake remarked, "rents are

twenty to fifty percent higher than in other areas of the city; public services are neglected; schools are overcrowded," and the "mortality and morbidity rates, as well as juvenile delinquency and crime rates, are disproportionately high…Within this spatial and social framework morale tends to be low and tempers taut…Demands for control of the Black Belt arise," and "resentments assume varied forms."[73] While some of this antagonism resulted in sporadic, violent skirmishes along the color line in Chicago, Drake was encouraged by the fact that much more energy was being spent in ameliorating these disparities through organized forms of protest and pressure politics. Drake specifically applauded the works of the NAACP, NNC, March-on-Washington Movement, the Illinois State Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population, the CIO, and the WPA, believing that recent gains made in the areas of employment represented the just rewards of their persistent efforts against caste and class barriers in the city.[74] While Chicago averted a race riot in the spring and summer of 1943, Drake was careful to conclude that the danger still presented itself in the coming "critical postwar years."[75] He therefore encouraged the continuance of:

> the constructive channeling of mass resentment into action patterns of non-violent protest; the strengthening of social controls…within the Black Belt; the continuous interpretation of the Negroes' aspirations and demands to all sections of the white community; the actual progressive relaxation of discrimination and segregation during the war; and the inclusion of Negroes in all postwar plans on an equitable basis.[76]

To ensure improved conditions along these lines, and in keeping with his sense of responsibility, as a Black intellectual, to the masses of Black people, Drake joined a small group of Black conscientious objectors in Chicago in becoming a vocal critic and agitator against segregation in the military. With Preston Bowie, a former Army Airmen, Barefield Gordon, a photojournalist, and Ernest Colloway, educational director for the United Transport Workers of America, Drake founded the Chicago-based Conscientious Objectors Against Jim Crow (COAJC), taking as its central mission the education of Black youth in resisting the draft so long as the policy of racial segregation in the military was maintained.[77] Declaring such a policy a

"negation of American democracy, which verges on Hitlerism," Drake, in a telegram to the director of the Selective Services, announced that he was registering under protest and requested the "privilege of Conscientious Objector."[78] Probably as a result of their widely publicized activities, each of the founding members of COAJC, including Drake himself, was, despite repeated appeals, refused exemption from the draft. As Drake recalls, he was then presented with three specific choices: "to be drafted to fight in a war which I opposed, go to jail, or volunteer for the Maritime Service to serve abroad on its only integrated ship."[79] Drake chose the last option, relocating with his new wife, Elizabeth, to New York and serving until 1946 as a non-combative medical statistician in the fully integrated USMS in Sheepshead Bay.[80]

During Drake's time of active duty in the USMS, Harcourt Brace finally published *Black Metropolis*. Coming a year after Myrdal's *American Dilemma*, the publication of *Black Metropolis* was not without controversy. Drake always viewed the book, which was based on the materials collected in the Cayton-Warner databank, as a cooperative endeavor. For him, it embodied, "as any shrewd analysis could detect," the "sensationalism" and "naturalism" of Richard Wright's literary imagination, William Warner's "liberal pragmatism," and Horace Cayton's "commitment to racial advancement," as well as "his cynicism about its means." [81] Of his own specific mark on this classic work, Drake notes that, at best, *Black Metropolis* reflected his somewhat "naïve undoctrinaire Marxism."[82]

Drake's view on the creation *Black Metropolis* only underscores his humility, which has, over time, obfuscated the true extent of his contribution to the study. As Cayton reminded Warner, who insisted he be listed as senior author of the study, "Drake has written more than two-thirds of the book without assistance from either of us."[83] Therefore, Cayton reasoned, "just two signatures, his and mine, should appear on the book and that your assistance in the whole project be acknowledged much in the way it was done in *Deep South*," which meant his writing the brief afterward that became the curious "Methodological Note" at the end of Black Metropolis.[84]

Cayton's response to Warner's assertion gives us a glimpse of the relative power behind the publication of *Black Metropolis*. It is crucial to note that, when *Black Metropolis* began, Drake and Cayton were graduate students, the latter an advanced graduate student, the former yet to take his preliminary examinations. Warner was

a professor of some eminence who initially opposed the idea of Wright writing the introduction, preferring instead to write it himself. Warner also sought publication of the manuscript by the University of Chicago Press.[85] Cayton independently secured an agreement with Harcourt Brace to publish the book and insisted, against Warner's wishes, that Drake be listed as senior author and he as second author. It is significant to note that the social relations involved in the Black Metropolis project included, like *Deep South* before it, relations of power; that there was a status hierarchy with Warner at the top; and that this status hierarchy would have been wholly transformed, with exactly the same relative rankings, into a hierarchy of relations of power, had not Cayton consistently intervened against Warner.

The publication of *Black Metropolis* was met with mixed reviews, which seemed to run along racial lines. Fisk sociologist Kenneth Little referred to it as an important work that situates "the Negro problem as a function of wider economic and industrial forces shaping American society."[86] The historian Carter G. Woodson praised *Black Metropolis* for its attention to history, as well as for its emphasis on the present situation in Chicago.[87] And Howard sociologist E. Franklin Frazier praised *Black Metropolis* for its "description of the fundamental social problem confronting the nation in time of war," which was, in his view, "presented in a way that even the layman could understand it."[88] Describing it as a "monumental contribution to our understanding of the Negro Problem and the ghetto," even Walter White chimed in with praises for *Black Metropolis*, seeing it, at five dollars a copy, "a better investment than a fifth of whisky."[89] While *Black Metropolis* was well received by many Black intellectuals, reviews coming from white intellectuals were less laudatory, as in the case of Samuel Strong, who, upon noting the authors' racial identities, questioned their degree of objectivity, or Harold Gosnell, who, despite his working relationship to Cayton, felt that the authors were far too uncompromising in their demands for unconditional racial equality. In calling for structural changes in Black-white relations in Chicago and rejecting a gradualist approach to the Negro Problem, Gosnell believed that Drake and Cayton were departing from the teachings of Robert Park and throwing the Tuskegee approach out the window.[90]

Despite the mixed reviews, *Black Metropolis* earned the Anisfield-Wolf Award for the best book on racial relations published that year, and Drake and Cayton secured their reputations as leading figures in the field. The irony of this was not lost

on the Chicago sociologist Everett Hughes, who, in a letter of congratulations to Drake, remarked that, "*Black Metropolis* is a really great book, in case you didn't know it. And to think that academic convention is such that we didn't give both of you doctorates for it without further to do. What a stuffy bureaucracy we are! No sir, can't work with anyone else; have to do it all alone."[91] The fact is, Drake did in fact nearly do it all on his own, but would yet wait another nine years before actually receiving his doctorate.

Black Metropolis: A Postscript

Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* has endured as an exemplary monograph on the Black community of Bronzeville; it remains an extraordinary book and very much relevant because of the diversity of themes it covers and for its social theory of a Black community as a metropolis within a metropolis, a product of racism in the larger city of Chicago, but a world belonging entirely to Black people. Only teamwork, guided

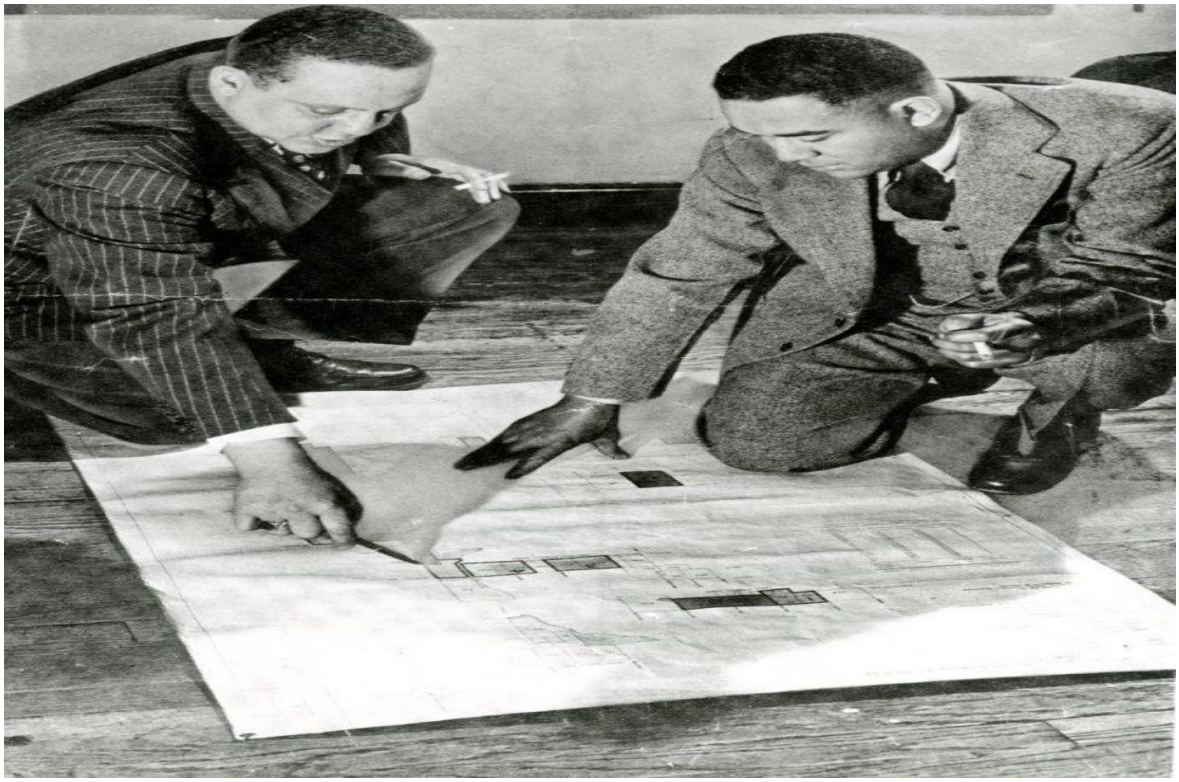

Image 2: Horace Cayton [left] and Richard Wright [right] examining WPA maps of Bronzeville at the Parkway Community House, 1941. Horace R. Cayton Papers, [Box 42, Photo 036], Chicago Public Library, Woodson Regional Library, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature.

by socially committed and visionary leadership, could have allowed such documentation to be gathered. The scenes written from notes compiled by these diverse investigators, whom Drake and Cayton hired, give this research the character of an account and a testimony of a community that many still recognize today. Following the completion of his dissertation, which focused on the Black seaport community of Tiger Bay in Cardiff, Wales after the Second World War, Drake returned to Chicago and to the newly formed Roosevelt College where he taught a variety of courses in Sociology, Anthropology, and African Studies that drew from materials compiled by the Cayton-Warner research project, as well as from his new research into other Black communities he studied in different parts of the Atlantic world.

Image 3: St. Clair Drake teaching a sociology class at Roosevelt University in Chicago in 1949, with maps from the Cayton-Warner database. Courtesy of Rie Gaddis Photography and Roosevelt University Archives.

In 1954, with support from the Ford Foundation, Drake travelled to Africa for the first time, specifically to Libera and then down to the Gold Coast to study mass media at the dawn of Ghana's independence. On his return to Chicago in 1955, Drake's plans to write up his Ghana findings were interrupted by his unwillingness to remain on the sidelines of a race-based housing conflict in Chicago when the University of Chicago, working through the Neighborhood Redevelopment Commission, sought "to remove a group of lower-middle class Black families from land it wanted immediately for graduate student housing."[92] A longtime critic of racist housing policy in Chicago, Drake dedicated himself to the work of protecting the rights of Black families to remain in their homes, a fight that was also a very personal for Drake and his family as they were repeatedly prevented from renting and buying homes in Hyde Park. Drake's experience of organizing and leading a grassroot effort against the University of Chicago's land grab of Black homes in Hyde Park also sensitized him to the fury of his "Kikuyu friends," particularly Mbiyu Koinange, Jomo Kenyatta, and Mugu Gatheru, all of whom were actively fighting "the continued existence of 'The White Highlands in Kenya.'"[93] For three years, Drake led the legal struggle to save Black housing as head of the Southwest Hyde Park Neighborhood Association. After one unsuccessful appeal after another, however, his court battle against the University of Chicago finally ended in October of 1958, when the United States Supreme Court upheld the right of the Commission to use condemnation procedures in "blighted areas." Against racially charged and fictitious definitions of blight, Drake defended the character and integrity of Black working and middle-class peoples as integral to the Black life world represented in *Black Metropolis.* Coming a decade after the restrictive covenants in the city were ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, the University of Chicago's victory was a setback in the struggle for decent and affordable housing in the city and "a bitter defeat for Drake."[95] In 1958 Drake left Hyde Park and America for Africa, preferring to "fight the "germs of malaria" as an expatriate in Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana than "the "germs of prejudice" in Richard Daley's Chicago.[96] With events moving so fast in Kenya and Ghana during this period, and given his relationship to George Padmore, Horace Mann Bond, Kwame Nkrumah, and other Pan Africanists, Drake "felt a strong urge to be on the scene where the 'revolution' created by the Fifth Pan African Congress in 1945 was underway."[97] Though unsuccessful in preventing the

University of Chicago from eventually razing Black homes in Hyde Park, Drake's activism on behalf of Black, mostly working-class residents of Hyde Park, served to outrage Black Chicagoans and effectively shame the University of Chicago into discontinuing its use of imminent domain in removing Black people from their homes.

Finally, if Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* made evident that Bronzeville, whatever its deficiencies of poverty and deprivation, was an urban community within which Black people had constructed the framework for an organized way of life, so too is it revealing of a Black intellectual estate that took hold in Chicago in the 1930s around the University of Chicago and a number Black religious and voluntary associations, like that of Cayton's Parkway in the city's South Side. More than this, *Black Metropolis* illuminates an important moment in the long career of its senior author, who dedicated himself to producing conceptual and theoretical tools for building a free and just world. For this reason, Drake is connected to earlier generations of Black thinkers, who, like Du Bois, Woodson, Allison Davis, and so many others, recognized the life-changing potential of scholarship and worked tirelessly to refashion it for Black liberation.

Notes

[1] George Clement Bond, "A Social Portrait of John Gibbs St. Clair Drake," *American Ethnologist,* 15, no. 4 (November 1988), 788.

[2] August Meier to Glenn H. Jordan, 5 January 1987, box 20, folder 10, St. Clair Drake Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture; St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (Harcourt Brace, 1945).

[3] Loic Wacquant to St. Clair Drake, 20 March 1990, box 21, folder 6, St. Clair Drake Papers; the resultant book by Wacquant was *Body & Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer* (Oxford University Press, 2004), which was followed by *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008).

[4] For a good discussion of Wacquant's theory of territorial stigmatization in urban sociology, see Ian Cummins, "Wacquant, urban marginality, territorial stigmatization and social work," *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work,* 28, no. 2 (January 2016), 75-83.

[5] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1899); for a discussion of Black sociology's "golden age," see Stanford Lyman, *The Black American in Sociological Thought: A Failure of Perspective* (New York: Putnam Pubs, 1972), 62-65.

[6] The militant African nationalist movement that originated in the 1950s among the Kikuyu people of Kenya was dubbed Mau Mau by the British Colonial Office. Formally the Land and Freedom Party, the Mau Mau advocated violent resistance to British domination in Kenya. In 1950, the Mau Mau were banned by British authorities, and in October 1952, after a campaign of sabotage and assassination attributed to Mau Mau terrorists, the British Kenya government declared a state of emergency and began four years of military operations against Kikuyu rebels. By the end of 1956, more than 11,000 rebels had been killed in the fighting, along with about 100 Europeans and 2,000 African loyalists. More than 20,000 other Kikuyu were put into detention camps, where intensive efforts were made to convert them to the political views of the government. Despite these government actions, Kikuyu resistance spearheaded the Kenya independence movement, and Jomo Kenyatta who had been jailed as a Mau Mau leader in 1953, became prime minister of an independent Kenya 10 years later. For a discussion of the Mau Mau crisis, see James H. Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 124-149.

[7] Allison Davis, Burleigh Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1941).

[8] Hiram Revels of Mississippi became the first Black senator in Mississippi in 1870. Born in North Carolina in 1827, Revels attended Knox College in Illinois and later served as minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore, Maryland. He raised two Black regiments during the Civil War and fought at the Battle of Vicksburg in Mississippi. The Mississippi state

legislature sent him to fill a vacancy in the U.S. Senate during Reconstruction, and he quickly became an outspoken opponent of racial segregation. Although Revels's term in the Senate lasted just a year, he broke new ground for African Americans in Congress, see Elizabeth Lawson, *The Gentleman from Mississippi: Hiram R. Revals* (New York: privately printed, 1960), 8; see also Horace Cayton, *Long Old Road* (New York: Trident Press, 1964), 184.

[9] Cayton, *Long Old Road*, 184; Harold F. Gosnell, *The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935).

[10] Horace Cayton, "Republican mass meeting. April 9, 1932," folder marked "Horace Cayton," Box 12, folder 3, St. Clair Drake Papers.
(Cayton, 1932).

[11] Hazel Rowley, *Richard Wright: The Life and Times.* (New York: Henry Holt, 2001), 81.

[12] Cayton, *Long Old Road,* 1964, 207.

[13] Cayton and George Mitchell, *Black Workers and New Unions* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1939).

[14] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (Harcourt Brace, 1945), xii; Cayton, *Long Old Road: An Autobiography* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 236.

[15] Jean-Miche Chapoulie, *La transition sociolgioque de Chicago.* (Paris: Le Seul, 2001) 261.

[16] Cayton, 1964, 237.

[17] St. Clair Drake, "On the 40th anniversary of the first edition of *Black Metropolis,* Box 27, folder marked "Black Metropolis, 1985," Drake Papers.

[18] Drake, "On the 40th anniversary of the first edition of *Black Metropolis.*

[19] Allison Davis, Burleigh Gardner, and Mary Gardner, *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class* (Chicago: University of Chicago 1941).

[20] For a discussion of Drake's time as a student at Hampton Institute, see Andrew Rosa, "New Negroes on Campus: St. Clair Drake and the Culture of Education, Reform, and Rebellion at Hampton Institute, *History of Education Quarterly,* 53, 3 (August 2013), 57-93; for a discussion of Drake's involvement in the research and writing of Davis and Gardners' *Deep South,* see "In the Mirror of Black Scholarship: W. Allison Davis and Deep South," in *Education and Black Struggle: Notes of the Colonized World,* ed. Institute of the Black World (Cambridge: Harvard Educational Review, 1974).

[21] Cayton, 1964, 237.

[22] (Cayton, 1964, 237; also see St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, November 6, 1981, box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[23] Cayton, 1964, 239.

[24] St. Clair Drake. "Obituary for Horace Cayton," 1970, box 33, folder 12, Drake Papers.

[25] St. Clair Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community," *Mimeograph. Report of Official Project.* 465=54-3_386, Works Progress Administration, 1940.

[26] Drake and Cayton, 1945, 614, 703.

[27] St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, (November 6, 1981) Box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[26] Benjamin P. Bowser, "Retrospective on St. Clair Drake," in *Confronting the American Dilemma of Race: The Second Generation of Black American Sociologists*, eds. Robert E. Washington and Donald Cunnigen (New York and Oxford: University Press of America, 2002), 160.

[27] Cayton desired to produce a book that would rival the importance of Myrdal's *American Dilemma*, noting "I'd like to see a book that is more psychological and sociological and penetrate the problem of race rather deeply. We got enough factual stuff, and any wooden blockhead can write a report on one phase of things," Cayton to Richard Wright, 22 October 1944, Box 5, file 28, St. Clair Drake Papers. Cayton first met Myrdal while traveling in Europe during the late1930s, see, Cayton, *Long Old Road*, 231. Cayton remained in touch with Myrdal through the writing of *American Dilemma*, see Eileen Southern, *Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations*, 23. Cayton was among those who defended Myrdal against his detractors, who he saw as "following the Party line," Horace Cayton, "Whose Dilemma?" *New Masses* (July 23, 1946), 8-10.

[28] Benjamin P. Bowser, "Retrospective on St. Clair Drake," 13.

[29] Bowser, "Studies of the African Diaspora: The Work and Reflections of St. Clair Drake," 13; for a discussion of the Left's efforts of publicizing the evils of racism and the benefits of integration during this period see, Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 139-168. Several works have focused on the international implications U.S. race relations between the 1930s and the beginning of the Cold War. see, for example, Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997)**;** Brenda Gayle Plumber, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996)**;** Thomas Borstlemen**,** *Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001); Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)**.**

[30] By "Progressive Legislation," Drake Meant Social Security, the National Labor Relations Acts, Public Housing, and a huge public work program, see Bowser, "Retrospective on St. Clair Drake," 164-165.

[31] Bowser, "Studies of the African Diaspora," 14; also see Cayton, *Long Old Road*, 238. The Rosenwald Foundation and the WPA funded both *Deep South* and *Black Metropoli*s. The Carnegie Foundation supported *American Dilemma*. The American Council on Education supported Allison Davis and John Dollard's *Children of Bondage* (1940) as well as E. Franklin Frazier's *Negro Youth at the Crossways* (1967); Charles Johnson's *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (1941); Ira De A. Reid's *In Minor Key* (1940); and William L. Warner and Buford Junker's *Color and Human Nature* (1941).

[32] William Lloyd Warner, Horace Cayton, and St. Clair Drake, "Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City," Research memorandum, Box 37, file 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[33] Cayton to Richard Wright, 22 October 1944, Box 5, file 28, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[34] Cayton to Richard Wright, 22 October 1944, Box 5, file 28, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[35] St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, November 6, 1981) Box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[36] St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, November 6, 1981) Box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers. The author has found no evidence suggesting who came up with the title of *Black Metropolis*. Drake does mention the significance of Georg Simel's essay, The Metropolis and Mental Life, on his own views of the city. See St. Clair Drake, notes on Georg Simel's *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, n.d., Box 77, folder 39, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[37] In a letter to the Secretary of Records at Hampton Institute, Drake described the founding and function of the Illinois State Commission on the Urban Colored Population (ISCUCP). Drake to Ms, Marion C. Deane, 13, June 1945, Box 3, folder 1, St. Clair Drake Papers. Drake makes reference to his appointment as Associate Director of the ISCUCP. Little, however, is mentioned of his specific activities while working with the ISCUCP. See Bond, "A Social Portrait of John Gibbs St. Clair Drake," 777.

[38] St. Clair Drake, Memorandum on the Use of Transportation Facilities by Negroes in Chicago, and the Employment of Negroes by the Transit Companies, submitted to the All-Chicago Committee Against Discrimination, 1942, NU 7-2254, Northwestern University Library, Northwestern University.

[37] St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, November 6, 1981) Box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[39] Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," 2.

[40] Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," 2.

[41] Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," 3.

[42] Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," 3.

[43] Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," 4.

[44] In its founding preamble, the National Negro Congress organized around the following issues: "discrimination in employment, prejudice, ignorance, lynching, sharecropping, the Scottsboro Boys and Angelo Herndon cases, sharecropping, and the expulsion of Ishmael Flory from Fisk University." The NNC demanded passage of the Costigan-Wagner Act, the equalization of educational opportunities, and the creation of federal child labor laws. They also called for Congressional resolutions on juvenile delinquency, youth employment, and child labor laws, the National Negro Congress Preamble, Box 22, folder 9, St. Clair Drake Papers. Drake joined the Chicago chapter of the National Negro Congress (NNC) in 1937 only to resign from the organization in 1941. Drake followed the departure of A Philip Randolph from the NNC when the national leadership was taken over by known Communists, see, Drake to Charles S. Johnson, 29 April 1950, Box 16, file 7, St. Clair Drake Papers. Also see, Drake to Horace Mann Bond, 16 May 1963, 411 11-27b, Horace Mann Bond Papers, University of Massachusetts. The Chicago chapter of the NNC proved among the most active. The Chicago NNC protested discrimination in the Cook County Nursing Home, demonstrated against police brutality, helped to form tenant councils, organized steel and meatpacking workers into the CIO, and called for more Black workers in city industries. Charles Burton of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters held the leadership position until 1940 when Ishmael P. Flory, a member of the Communist Party, assumed power. The NNC did not survive the Cold War, disbanding in 1947. Raymond Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression: The Problem of Economic Recovery,* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Publishing, 1970), 353-382.

[45] For a discussion on John A. Davis and the activities of the New Negro Alliance in Washington, D.C. see, Jefferson Bradley Kellogg, A Study of Negro Direct Action Activity During the Depression: The Selective Buying Campaigns in Chicago, Baltimore, Cleveland, Washington, New York, and Richmond (dissertation, Kent State, June 1974), 69-82.

[46] St. Clair Drake, Memorandum on the Use of Transportation Facilities by Negroes in Chicago, and the Employment of Negroes by the Transit Companies, 4.

[47] Drake saw his return to Dillard University as needed writing time for *Black Metropolis*, see, St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, November 6, 1981) Box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers. Between 1931 and 1947, Drake was awarded a Rosenwald Fellowship on four separate occasions: 1) to attend Pendle Hill; 2) to assist Davis in the writing of *Deep South,* 3) to attend the University of

Chicago and work on *Black Metropolis;* and 4) to conduct dissertation research. Drake was one of many Black intellectuals to receive funding from the Rosenwald Foundation during the depression of the 1930s. As Bond contends, Drake was a part of an active community of scholars, who were products of their own industry. Many were recipients of research fellowships from the Rosenwald Fund, which contributed generously to developing a cadre of academics from disadvantaged populations. As Drake, Rosenwald Fellows went on to create an intellectual world based on active struggle, believing that theory had its greatest force in concrete, empirical study directed against social inequalities. Bond, "A Social Portrait of John Gibbs St. Clair Drake," 768.

[48] St. Clair Drake, Prospectus for the Study of the Migration and Adjustment of Negroes to Cities, under the direction of Horace Cayton, Louis Wirth Papers, LIV/17.

[49] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis,* 97.

[50] Drake prospectus also served as an outline for Black Metropolis. See, St. Clair Drake, Prospectus for the Study of the Migration and Adjustment of Negroes to Cities, under the direction of Horace Cayton, Louis Wirth Papers, LIV/17.

[51] Drake, Prospectus for the Study of the Migration and Adjustment of Negroes to Cities.

[52] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis,* 97.

[53] St. Clair Drake, Prospectus for the Study of the Migration and Adjustment of Negroes to Cities.

[54] Drake states that he wrote all of *Black Metropolis* with the exception of one chapter. Cayton criticized them all. Drake also notes that he wrote the first draft of Black Metropolis between 1941 and 1942 when he returned to teach at Dillard University. Drake to John Bracey, 19 January 1975, files of John H. Bracey. Cayton became involved in a dispute with Warner over the authorship of Black Metropolis. Cayton informed Warner that since Drake wrote most of Black Metropolis, and he raised funds for the book, wrote a chapter (Crossing the Color Line), and assisted Drake in the lay out, only their names should appear on book. Cayton insisted that Warner not appear as an author since he did not contribute enough to be considered as such. Cayton to Warner, 10 January 1944, Box 5, folder 28, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[55] St. Clair Drake, Prospectus for the Study of the Migration and Adjustment of Negroes to Cities.

[56] Walter White, book review of Black Metropolis, by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Chicago Defender,* November 17, 1945, 22.

[57] White, book review of Black Metropolis, 22.

[58] St. Clair Drake, Prospectus for the Study of the Migration and Adjustment of Negroes to Cities.

[59] St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, November 6, 1981) Box 77, folder 38, St. Clair

Drake Papers. In addition to Bunche, Drake notes that other Howard University intellectuals influenced his views during this period. See, Drake, "A Social Portrait of John Gibbs St. Clair Drake," 771. Also see, Drake, "Twenty Most Influential Works," n.d. Box 7, file 1, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[60] Drake rarely discussed the extent of his role in writing Black Metropolis. In a letter to his former student, John H. Bracey, Drake mentioned that he wrote most of Black Metropolis, and edited contributions by Cayton. While Cayton wrote only one chapter, he did play a significant role in overlooking its development. See, Drake to John Bracey, 19 January 1975, files of John H. Bracey.

[61] Sidney Williams to Robert Roberts, 6 June 1983, author's possession, Robert Roberts Papers.

[62] The Committee on Un-American Activities cited SCHW as a communist front organization. An amendment to the charter of SCHW in 1946 changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. See, St. Clair Drake, FBI Files, 161-1681-26; 161-1681-521; 161-1681-44.

[63] Description based on an unknown informant who allegedly worked with Drake at Dillard, see, St. Clair Drake, FBI Files 161-1681-34.

[64] Dent discusses the pattern of faculty departures form Dillard after Bond's resignation in 1937. Tom Dent, "Marcus B. Christian: A Reminiscence and an Appreciation," 26.

[65] Description based on an unknown informant who worked with Drake at Dillard, see, St. Clair Drake, FBI Files 161-1681-32.

[66] Bowser notes that Drake and the historian Benjamin Quarles raised money for the demonstration, see, Bowser, "A Retrospective on St. Clair Drake," 167. Drake actually participated in the student demonstration against public transportation in New Orleans and was arrested and fired for his actions, see, St. Clair Drake, "notes on the Deep South," 1972, Box 3, File 1, St Clair Drake Papers.

[67] In the October 6, 1962, Red Streak Edition of the *Chicago Daily News,* Drake wrote a letter to the editor relating his experiences in Ghana. He opens his letter by identifying himself as an "An American Negro refugee from the South," see, St. Clair Drake, FBI Files, 161-1681-58.

[68] St. Clair Drake, "Autobiographical outline," 1976, Box 4, folder 1, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[69] St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, November 6, 1981) Box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[70] St. Clair Drake, "Profiles: Chicago," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 17, 5 (January 1944): 263.

[71] Drake, "Profiles: Chicago," 262-263.

[72] Drake, "Profiles: Chicago," 262.

[73] Drake, "Profiles: Chicago," 270.

[74] Drake, "Profiles: Chicago," 267.

[75] Drake, "Profiles: Chicago," 270.

[76] Drake, "Profiles: Chicago," 270-271.

[77] Unknown, "Swear They Will Not Fight for Uncle Sam," *Associated Negro Press*, October 12, 1942, 2; for news clippings relating to the activities of the Conscientious Objectors Against Jim Cross (COAJC), see Claude Barnett, "Military Draft Resisters File," 6910/ Series F 3-1045, Claude Barnett Papers, University of Massachusetts.

[78] St. Clair Drake, FBI Files, 161-521. After Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union and its subsequent alliance with the United States, the Communist Party retreated from its criticism of an "imperial war" to become the most patriotic organization in the country. The Party now denounced striking miners and protesting blacks, demanded the arrest of A. Philip Randolph and the prosecution of John L. Lewis, and applauded the bombing of Japan. This shift in policy made Drake and members of the COAJC targets of attack, see, Albert Parker, "Conscientious or Militant Struggle," *The Militant*, February 4, 1941.

[79] Bowser, "Studies of the African Diaspora," 17.

[80] As late as 1961, Drake listed his time and place of active duty in the USMS on his resume, see St. Clair Drake, "resume," 1961, Box 2, folder 1, Drake Papers. While with the USMS, Drake remained stateside and conducted a study on tuberculosis rates in the military. Drake's choice of enlisting in the only desegregated branch of the of military had a profound impact on him. As Drake explains of experience with his fellow merchant marines, "the fact that we all had to depend on one another in order to survive at sea made Black and white crewmembers peers regardless of race," see Bowser, "Studies of the African Diaspora," 17.

[81] St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, November 6, 1981) box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[82] St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, November 6, 1981) box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[83] Cayton to Warner, 10 January 1944, Box 5, file 28, St. Clair Drake Papers; Cayton took control of dealing with Warner's demands, see, Cayton to Drake, 18 January 1945, Box 29, folder 5, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[84] Cayton to Warner, 10 January 1944, Box 5, file 28, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[85] St. Clair Drake, "How We Wrote Black Metropolis," (lecture, Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, Chicago, IL, November 6, 1981) Box 77, folder 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[86] Kenneth Little, review of *Black Metropolis*, by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Man*, 6, 48 (May 1948), 58. Little and Drake developed a close working relationship after World War II, selecting Black communities in Britain as a research subject, see, Kenneth Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London: Routledge, 1972); also see St. Clair Drake, Value Systems and Voluntary Associations in the British Isles (dissertation: University of Chicago, 1954).

[87] Carter G. Woodson, review of Black Metropolis, by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Journal of Negro History,* 31, 1 (January 1946): 114.

[88] E. Franklin Frazier, book review of Black Metropolis, by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Social Forces,* 24, 3 (March 1946): 361.

[89] Walter White, book review of Black Metropolis, by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Chicago Defender*, November 17, 1945, 22.

[90] Samuel Strong, book review of Black Metropolis, by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *American Sociological Review*, 11, 2 (April 1946): 240-241. Harold Gosnell, book review of Black Metropolis, by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *American Political Science Review*, 40, 2 (April 1946): 375-377.

[91] Everett Cherrington Hughes to Drake, 25 January 1945, Box 1, file 38, St. Clair Drake Papers.

[92] Drake, "How Has the Study of Ourselves Been Affected by our Experience with the Study of Developing Areas," no date, box 24, Drake Papers; Drake to Editor, *Chicago Daily Times*, 16 November 1949, box 48, Drake Papers.

[93] Drake, "How Has the Study of Ourselves Been Affected by our Experience with the Study of Developing Areas," no date, box 24, Drake Papers; Drake to Editor, *Chicago Daily Times*, 16 November 1949, box 48, Drake Papers.

[95] Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings* (New York: The Free Press, 1961), 180.

[96] Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal,* 180.

[97] Willie L. Baber, "St. Clair Drake: Scholar and Activist," in *African American Pioneers in Anthropology,* eds. Ira E. Harrison and Faye V. Harrison (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 204.