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## Community Building in Harlem: *The New York Age* in the 1910s

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### INTRODUCTION

The concept of the community in American history is multifaceted, but among the various types of communities, the necessary common factors that enable us to define a community are solidarity, a sense of belonging to the community, and communication among community members. Homogeneity and a sense of exclusivity are also important to some degree. Based on these commonalities, scholars of American history have defined “the community” broadly in two ways that are not mutually exclusive. One definition is a group of people that is not necessarily geographically bounded but created by the association or connection of people who share a sense of belonging or social ideas. The other is a group sharing the sense of belonging to some residential area.<sup>1</sup>

Although scholars of racial and ethnic history have studied ethnic and racial communities in both the above aspects, they have stressed the significance of local ethnic and racial communities and tended to suppose that a homogeneous and solid community based on ethnicity or race should be constructed naturally in a residential area. Furthermore, studies of African American communities have argued that the African American community is defined more strictly by denial and exclusion in comparison with ethnic communities that members construct willingly. In the 1960s and

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1970s, African American urban history emphasized the formation of the “black ghetto” that was developed because of segregation and prejudice. These studies acknowledged that African American business elites and middle-class African Americans made efforts to organize institutions within the ghetto and helped bridge the gap between average African Americans and elites. According to most “ghetto” studies, however, these elites did so for profit while the majority of African Americans were passive inhabitants or victims.<sup>2</sup>

Since the late twentieth century, based on the premise of African American experiences of segregation and prejudice, historians who study African American communities have argued that the exclusion did not determine the nature of any African American urban community while emphasizing the active agency of African Americans.<sup>3</sup> By underlining their agency, however, these scholars have been inclined to depict African American communities as separate worlds.<sup>4</sup> But were African American communities well-circumscribed in urban areas from the start? What kind of struggles or confusion arose in the process of forming the community? These studies as well as “ghetto” studies have recognized that the actors or leaders who built African American communities were their elites and middle-class members. Whatever the intents of the elites, how did they reach out to most African American residents? Was “racial solidarity” developed through the efforts of “uplift” by leaders? Isn’t the formation of community a more fluid and sometimes fluctuating process?<sup>5</sup>

In the search for answers to the above questions, in this article I review the community building of African Americans in the Harlem neighborhood of Manhattan in New York City from the early twentieth century, when African Americans started to move into the area, to the end of World War I. Scholars tend to focus on the 1920s, the age of the Harlem Renaissance, and to describe Harlem as the site of the miraculous emergence of a Negro Mecca. In 1930, James Weldon Johnson, a poet and a civil rights activist who was an editor of the African American newspaper the *New York Age*, proudly called Harlem “the greatest single community anywhere of people descended from age-old Africa” and “the Negro capital.”<sup>6</sup> This image of Harlem as an ideal African American community has occasionally appeared in studies of the Harlem Renaissance.<sup>7</sup>

In Harlem, however, the daily lives of anonymous African Americans had just begun in the early twentieth century. When Johnson described Harlem as “the greatest” community, it had only been about twenty-five years since Harlem as an African American neighborhood took form. Gilbert Osofsky’s

classic work, published in the 1960s, described the real living conditions in Harlem from the end of the nineteenth century to the 1930s but put too much emphasis on the “ghetto” aspect.<sup>8</sup> In this article, therefore, I will try to illuminate how class and gender relations among African Americans, cross-racial relations, and mobilization for the war intersected in Harlem while African American leaders were attempting to transform Harlem from an aggregate of residents into a community.

### I. THE *NEW YORK AGE* AND ITS IDEA OF COMMUNITY

I will focus on the formation of an African American community in Harlem through the eyes of the *New York Age*, which enjoyed a “virtual monopoly” as the city’s leading African American journal until the end of the 1910s.<sup>9</sup> The African American press, the local press that took root in African American residential areas in particular, is unquestionably the richest information source about African American communities. At the same time, the local African American press was perhaps one of the most significant actors in building their communities. The *Age*, which moved its office into the center of Harlem in the early 1910s, expressed its views on the necessity of building a community and agitated African American readers to be conscious about the community while it advertised significant local events and reported local news in detail. The owner and editors of the *Age* participated in forming African American organizations and meetings in Harlem with other leaders, and the *Age* itself hosted meetings, parades, and parties. By analyzing articles appearing in the *Age*, therefore, I will explore how challenging the formation of the community in Harlem was from the viewpoint of one active participant. It can be assumed that following the voice of one participant rather than summarizing topics related to the community based on various materials is more effective in illuminating the fluid and fluctuating process of the formation of community. In New York, at that time, a wide variety of African American activists were advocating their opinions, some of whom did not share the same views on the community as the *Age*. My attempt in this article, accordingly, is only an initial step in understanding the complexities of community formation. By eventually collecting various voices, following each one and relating those voices with one another, we will be able to present a more dynamic picture of community building.

The *Age*, first published in 1887, grew into one of the leading African American newspapers in New York in the early twentieth century.

Beginning at the turn of the century, it was supported financially by Booker T. Washington. Accordingly, from the viewpoint of the so-called controversy between Booker T. Washington, who emphasized the “racial uplift” through the education and economic progress of African Americans, and W. E. B. DuBois, who demanded full civil rights and accused Washington of being an accommodationist, we assume that the *Age* would have the so-called accommodationist tendency. In fact, it mentioned DuBois only when he led or cooperated with local activities in Harlem. Nevertheless, the *Age* was not necessarily an organ for voicing the theory of accommodation. The topics covered by the *Age* varied from criticism of colonialism to sermons given at local African American churches, and it appealed for civil rights and equality as well as self-help and progress as a race. Johnson, who became an editor of the *Age* in the 1910s, condemned racial injustice harshly.<sup>10</sup> More than anything, the *Age* repeatedly referred to the theme of community building. An editorial in the *Age* in 1918 described its concept of the community concretely. The editorial listed employment, commercial activities, church work, and the achievement of “the health and the legal rights of the community” as “the essential features of community building.” Furthermore, it appealed for the cultivation of “community spirit.”<sup>11</sup> Keeping this list in mind, I will analyze how community building proceeded in Harlem.

## II. POPULATION AND HOUSING

It is estimated that there were 22,000 African Americans living in Harlem in 1910. In the middle of the 1910s, 70 percent of Manhattan’s 109,000 African Americans resided in Harlem, and in 1920 the population of Harlem was about 80,000.<sup>12</sup> Despite this growth in the African American population, Harlem as a residential area was not homogeneous. By 1923, it is estimated that Harlem’s Jewish population was 168,000.<sup>13</sup> Even in 1930, the African American population was only 66.4 percent of all of central Harlem’s population.<sup>14</sup> Also, around 33,000 immigrants from the West Indies moved into Harlem in the 1910s.<sup>15</sup> In short, the African American residential areas were only part of Harlem, and in some areas whites and immigrants from the West Indies lived side by side with African Americans.

This demographic composition has been attributed to the method of land development in Harlem. Harlem was not originally the kind of working-class neighborhood into which African Americans from the South usually moved when they came to Northern cities. At the turn of the century, Harlem

was a relatively new and beautiful area with broad asphalt avenues and transportation into the city. The planned extension of the Lenox Avenue subway line led to a building boom. Speculation in West Harlem property led to phenomenal increases in the price of land and the cost of houses. When the inevitable bust came in 1904–5, Harlem had been overbuilt with new apartment houses, and there were many vacancies. In this situation, African American real estate companies bought or leased properties and filled them with African Americans at high rents.<sup>16</sup> By 1910, many of the city's most prominent African Americans had moved from other African American neighborhoods in New York City to Harlem. Elites from the South also gathered in Harlem.

Noticing the change in the neighborhood, many white residents and landlords feared the degradation of property values and tried to protect their property value against African American realtors and tenants. Some white residents and owners banded together in neighborhood protective associations to block what they referred to as “the Negro invasion” by using restrictive covenants and other measures. When blocking the influx of African Americans proved to be difficult, they proposed “a plan to provide better housing conditions for Negroes” in a limited area. The *Age* criticized this proposal, using the term “segregation.”<sup>17</sup>

Despite the attempts of white owners to prevent it, African Americans expanded their residential areas steadily. According to Osofsky, the streets covered by restrictive covenants were known among African Americans as “covenant blocks,” and African Americans took pride in being the first “colored” landlords or tenants to live in them.<sup>18</sup> In the end, all the organized efforts of white residents collapsed because of the inability of any group to gain total and unified support of all the white property owners in the neighborhood. In the middle of the 1910s, when a massive flight of white owners began on a large scale, it became easier for middle-class and lower-middle-class African Americans, which is to say “aspiring” African American families, to move to Harlem. The *Age* pointed out that “the demand on the part of Negro tenants for high-class, up-to-date apartments in Harlem” was met, and the tenants were professionals and small businessmen and women, including dentists, clothing factory operators, dressmakers, express shipping clerks, and the like.<sup>19</sup>

Most tenants paid substantially higher rents than whites paid for similar accommodations in other areas of New York City.<sup>20</sup> Even during the 1920s, African Americans paid rents 50 percent higher than those charged for comparable living quarters elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> Not everyone could afford

expensive rents, however. The high cost of living forced some residents to take in lodgers and to live in congested rooms without privacy.<sup>22</sup> It is estimated that in 1915, 32 percent of the African Americans in Harlem were lodgers.<sup>23</sup> The *Age* criticized what in many instances appeared to be “an entire disregard for the comfort, convenience, or even rights of the Negro tenants.”<sup>24</sup>

Starting in the middle of the 1910s, the massive migration of African Americans from the South to the city further changed the residential balance of “Black Harlem.” On the one hand, the development of apartments for the middle class continued. In 1917, an African American real estate operator encouraged people in Harlem to invest in “high class elevator apartment houses for colored people.”<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, during the war, people who could obtain wage work began to buy property. According to Johnson, despite unfair appraisals and discrimination by title companies and most banks in the acquisition and retention of real estate, buying property became “a contagious fever.”<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, as migrants from the South moved in, African American neighborhoods became very crowded. Scarcity of space for development and congestion added to the difficulties.<sup>27</sup> Because of congestion and poor management of apartments, two-thirds of African American residences were old and had no proper bathing facilities in Harlem in 1917. During the 1920s, Harlem’s African American neighborhoods began to expand even more, but some parts of Harlem became so-called slums.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, the housing situation shows up class differences among African Americans in Harlem. This situation was two-sided in terms of community building. On the one hand, it was presumably difficult to bridge the gap between the middle class and poor laborers, since they had different economic interests. On the other hand, since many middle-class African Americans, who were active in community organizations, and working-class African Americans resided in the same neighborhoods and went to the same churches, cross-class contacts and communication took place, and community builders became aware of problems that needed to be solved.

In addition to the internal differences among African American residents, Harlem during the 1910s did not have the demographic homogeneity that would facilitate community building. Despite the beginning of white flight, Jews constituted the largest nonblack ethnic group in the uptown district until the end of the war. The uptown “black enclave” was apparently a good place for Jews to live and to do business.<sup>29</sup> In addition, as mentioned, immigrants from the West Indies began to settle in Harlem in the 1910s.

Even though they looked “black” to whites, these immigrants did not necessarily identify with the African American community. African Americans who were proud of being US citizens sometimes differentiated themselves on that basis from immigrants from the West Indies. Criticizing the immigrants’ indifference to naturalization, the *Age* warned: “Our West Indian brethren should embrace the opportunity to enroll themselves as full-fledged American citizens by taking advantage of the naturalization laws.”<sup>30</sup> Consequently, even though Harlem’s core residential area grew gradually in the 1910s, local African American leaders needed to develop psychological and social networks in order to ally African American residents for the purpose of creating solidarity and communication.

### III. EMPLOYMENT AND COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

#### Employment

In contrast to the African American neighborhoods of Chicago, where most residents worked in factories, the majority of African American working-class people in New York were engaged in jobs categorized in local statistics as “domestic and personal services” in the early twentieth century. In this category, African American males were engaged in unstable and poorly paid jobs, working as janitors, asphalt workers, subway construction workers, and elevator boys. Women were also in poorly paid employment, mostly in domestic and personal services.<sup>31</sup> According to the statistics of 1905, 40.2 percent of African American wage earners over fifteen in Manhattan were engaged in these jobs.<sup>32</sup> Janitors and elevator operators, two typical occupations available to African American men in New York, earned a maximum of \$31 monthly in the 1910s.<sup>33</sup> Union restrictions and racial barriers in industry were so widespread that African American workers in New York had few opportunities for well-paying work even if they had skills.<sup>34</sup> The *Age* pointed out in 1914 that preventing African American men and women from getting jobs other than in personal service work was “the northern type of segregation.”<sup>35</sup>

It is true that during World War I opportunities for African Americans expanded. Just before the war, the *Age* urged African American laborers to prepare for opportunities because immigration from Europe would stop due to the war.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, it was difficult for many people in Harlem to find jobs, in contrast to the mass recruiting of African Americans in the South by factories in the North. Even during the period of wartime labor shortages,

for instance, the Woman's Division of the Federal Employment Bureau feared that it would cause serious problems to place colored women in factories and munition works because white employees would walk out.<sup>37</sup>

Under these circumstances, social service organizations tried to help job seekers. One of the major activities of the Urban League, a social service agency for African Americans in New York, was to find employment for the jobless. In 1918, the Urban League placed nearly six thousand men and women in industrial positions.<sup>38</sup> The African American branch of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in Harlem also tried to find "safer" jobs for African American women, demanding of employers "fair wages and hours, sanitary working conditions and preliminary training."<sup>39</sup> The employment policy of the Urban League, however, was not always favorable to laborers; it sometimes ended up supporting white businesses. The Urban League argued that it was necessary to "stabilize" African American working men in order to reduce the labor turnover in factories and to develop more "punctuality, regularity, and efficiency among the employees."<sup>40</sup> In one case, the Urban League introduced African American laborers as strikebreakers. When the strike ended, African American workers were discharged from all their jobs.<sup>41</sup>

The close of the war reduced the demand for workers, and many African American men and women who had the luck to find work during the war were fired and fell into unstable employment situations. The *Age* warned workers, but to no avail: "Northern manufacturers and employers of labor expect steady workmen. . . . Colored workers have got to learn to stick to their job."<sup>42</sup> Consequently, most male and female workers still worked in service jobs. Johnson observed that at the end of the 1910s, African Americans in Harlem were "employed as individuals" in comparison with Chicago where "more than twelve thousand Negroes were employed at the stockyards." Johnson attributed this situation to there being no major race riot in Harlem at the end of the 1910s as there was in Chicago.<sup>43</sup> From the viewpoint of community building, however, it was difficult to find a common interest to unite African American workers in Harlem, unlike factory workers in the industrial cities of the North.

### Commercial Activities

In addition to a few African Americans who made their fortunes in manufacturing, there were people working in small businesses of all kinds in Harlem.<sup>44</sup> The *Age* repeatedly investigated the condition of small businesses



in Harlem before the war began. It found a predominance of “white” stores or businesses in all cases.<sup>45</sup> On nine blocks of Lenox Avenue, the most popular thoroughfare in Harlem in 1914, for instance, of 145 places of business, only 23 percent were owned by African Americans, while 117 stores were owned by “Russians, Chinese, Jews, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Irish and Bohemians.”<sup>46</sup>

These white or non-black businesses and stores in African American residential areas could not succeed without African American consumers. Editorial in the *Age* in 1914 pointed out frequently the lack of a feeling for “race patronage” among African Americans.<sup>47</sup> This subject illustrate the meaning of community for African American leaders in Harlem. In 1914, Rev. Adam Clayton Powell in Harlem advocated “race patronage” from the pulpit to “build up strong race enterprises and strong race men.”<sup>48</sup> An editorial in the *Age* in the same year argued that “race economy” based on “race patronage” would give the African American in Harlem “a place of his own, a foundation for confidence, loyalty and race pride.”<sup>49</sup> In 1916, the *Age* tried to promote “economic awakening.” Since the largest group of consumers was the wage-earning class, most of whom were ardent churchgoers, the *Age* asserted that it would be effective to teach the significance of “race patronage” in churches. The *Age* believed that the mass of people who learned the necessity of “race patronage” would act as “missionaries” and preach “the doctrine of buying from race merchants to all with whom they come in contact.”<sup>50</sup> These religious terms used by the *Age* imply the idea that racial solidarity in economic activities would develop a community spirit. In this way, the arguments related “race patronage” to the sense of belonging to the community, solidarity, and racial pride that are necessary factors for community development.

Realistically, however, there were obstacles to the promotion of a “race economy.” Even if “race patronage” was put into practice, both the market and the capital were small. George Edmund Haynes, who investigated the economy of African Americans in New York in 1912, warned: “The severest test of a business enterprise is its relation to the community . . . 63 percent of the Negro businesses investigated have to depend upon the small purchasing power of their own people for the trade.”<sup>51</sup> Discrimination in renting was also a disadvantage for African American small businesses. African Americans had difficulty in renting stores for business purposes from white landlords, and the rent was high. Landlords refused to let them have the more favorable locations.<sup>52</sup>

Despite all these obstacles, African Americans slowly developed their

own businesses. For instance, “colored saloon keepers” developed their own style of cabaret that offered amusement, in some cases with a complete orchestra and a company of singers and dancers.<sup>53</sup> By 1914, 37 percent of the African American tenements in Harlem were managed by African American agents, although less than 5 percent of these homes were owned by African American landlords. In 1919, a plan to have a bank owned and operated by African Americans in Harlem was realized.<sup>54</sup>

#### IV. THE POWER OF AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

According to Johnson, in the 1930s, there were approximately 160 African American churches in Harlem. More than half were not established denominations and were housed in stores or on one floor of a private dwelling. This “little church movement” shows the power of religion in African American lives.<sup>55</sup>

For raising the consciousness of residents about Harlem as a whole, however, the established African American churches were more influential. Johnson remarks that “in a community like Harlem, which has not yet attained cohesion and adjustment, the church is a stabilizing force.”<sup>56</sup> By the middle of the 1910s, the established African American churches had moved into Harlem.<sup>57</sup> They became the center of economic development; providers of education, employment and houses; and venues for social interchange.

Churches were also centers for communication between the elites and lower classes of African Americans in Harlem. Some pastors appealed for full civil rights for the race and discussed current topics such as “economic awakening” from the pulpit.<sup>58</sup> Churches also offered their facilities for public and political meetings. During the war, churches repeatedly preached “patriotism.” The *Age* in 1917 advised cooperation among churches for strengthening “race-wide power” and asked them to tackle practical problems: “It is a time to put the Negro church into close touch with the practical questions that affect the welfare of the Negro people as citizens.”<sup>59</sup> These activities of the African American churches showed the power of self-help, which is an essential factor in community building.

#### V. SOCIAL SERVICES FOR HEALTH AND LEGAL RIGHTS

##### The National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes

Social services for African Americans in New York as a whole had been

provided by African American elites and white reformers in collaboration with white philanthropists since the late nineteenth century.<sup>60</sup> Three of these social service organizations joined forces to form the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes (the previously mentioned Urban League) in 1911. It grew rapidly, with affiliates appearing in principal cities in all sections of the country. In 1918 the New York branch became an independent organization. As the origin of the organization indicates, the Urban League was not an African American self-help organization. White reformers and social workers as well as African American elites were involved in its activities, and, above all, the Urban League was subsidized mainly by white philanthropists. For instance, in 1918, John D. Rockefeller Jr. and A. T. White pledged contributions to the Urban League if it raised \$1,800.<sup>61</sup>

Scholars of African American history emphasize that the Urban League before World War II had an “accommodationist” stance. There is no doubt that the Urban League sought a nonconfrontational posture in comparison with other African American organizations that fought for civil rights.<sup>62</sup> Unlike these scholars and their low evaluation, however, the *Age* appreciated the contribution of the Urban League to Harlem and unflinchingly covered its activities. Since Fred Moore, publisher of the *Age*, took part in the foundation of the Urban League, and the *Age* also had a deep relationship with B. T. Washington, we should discount the information about it in the *Age* a bit. Nonetheless, in terms of community development, we cannot fail to recognize the role of the Urban League.

There are two aspects that we should particularly notice. One is the Urban League’s practical services for everyday life. According to Johnson, its main purpose was “to work for the industrial, social, and health betterment of the colored people, especially those living in urban centers.”<sup>63</sup> To achieve this, the Urban League worked on all fronts: finding employment, giving financial relief, providing legal counsel, donating goods to those in need, establishing playgrounds, conducting health campaigns, and so on. It emphasized health care, for instance, by regularly holding a Negro Health Week. In 1918, the Urban League implemented a campaign to “save” babies. It opened an examination center in a public school building where babies were weighed, measured, and given a physical examination by physicians.<sup>64</sup>

Housing was another significant problem for residents of Harlem. The Urban League assisted tenants who protested rent increases and poor management of tenements. For instance, in 1916, African American tenants

on a block of 143rd Street formed a neighborhood association. Around 1,500 people, including white tenants who were forced to move out to make room for colored tenants who would pay a higher rent, held meetings, and 109 people signed a petition of protest. The Housing Bureau of the National Urban League circulated the petition to property owners, real estate agents, newspapers, and the mayor.<sup>65</sup>

The second noteworthy aspect of the Urban League is its function of bringing about coordination and cooperation among existing agencies and organizations. Although the Urban League did not originate in Harlem, it penetrated Harlem by partnering with various local organizations. In 1917, for instance, the Negro Civic Improvement League, along with the United Civic League, the Urban League, the 130th Street Association, and the Harlem Council of Women made a major effort to secure a municipal bathhouse in Harlem, and a half year later a decision was made by New York City to construct a public bath in the center of Harlem.<sup>66</sup>

These networks of social service organizations expanded, and in the 1920s some forty or fifty social service agencies were active in Harlem, while their leadership passed to African Americans.<sup>67</sup>

### White Middle-Class Morality

Historians rightly point out that white social reformers were eager to inculcate African Americans with white middle-class values. Mary W. Ovington, who took part in founding the Urban League, believed that the “white race” should help “the Negro civilization” to be “uplifted.”<sup>68</sup> In order to “uplift” African American morality, the League focused on the family, which was the major safeguard of morality for the white middle class. They believed that because of slavery, African Americans had loose or no family ties.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, they worried that this situation was exacerbated by poverty. In Haynes’s analysis, poverty made the family unable to protect itself “from both physical and moral disease.”<sup>70</sup>

Among problems concerning the family, social service organizations assigned the highest priority to juvenile delinquency, because they assumed that loose family ties caused children and young people to become delinquents. During the 1910s, for instance, under the leadership of the Urban League, the Big Brother and Big Sister movements started. In connection with juvenile court and probation officers, these movements enlisted African American volunteers as companions for boys and girls in order to “save them from arrest.”<sup>71</sup>

Although African American activists in Harlem denied the stereotypes of the African American family, they also feared the increase of juvenile delinquency, particularly misbehavior by young women. One reason for the focus on girls was that a considerable number of women were arrested for prostitution. Several private institutions that aimed to be “a disciplinary and protective home for unfortunate colored girls” were operated in Harlem.<sup>72</sup> Discussing the increased number of African Americans committed to penal institutions, the *Age* advocated reaching out to “the wayward girl” before she became “a confirmed offender.”<sup>73</sup> As the term “wayward girl” suggests, girls and young women were to be educated, saved, and protected. The private institutions for delinquent girls taught them techniques of homemaking and made them live with “proper” families. Various other organizations, including the Urban League, held classes on homemaking skills and provided counseling and temporary residences. The African American branch of the YWCA, one of the most active African American women’s organizations in Harlem,<sup>74</sup> also devoted attention to “the problem of the black girl.” It regularly provided education, social activities, and moral instruction. It paid special attention to protecting young female migrants from the South and set up residences and programs for them.<sup>75</sup>

Paying special attention to girls reflects white middle-class values in which women were held responsible for upholding a moral standard and observing the separate gender roles within the family. The African American middle-class activists of the YWCA, however, could not ignore the real situation of girls and young women. Even though women’s role in the family was important, and very few white married women worked outside their homes at that time, most African American married women had no choice but to work. Therefore, along with classes in homemaking, the YWCA put emphasis on finding better and safer jobs for them, as discussed. Some white social reformers also recognized the situation and taught African American women homemaking as an employable skill. But the African American YWCA in Harlem assisted in training women in more professional skills and made attempts at placing them in positions “not traditionally open to African American female workers in New York City,” such as in clerical, bookkeeping, and stenographic employment.<sup>76</sup>

Regarding educational programs for girls, in 1919, following the Girl Reserves movement of the national YWCA, the African American YWCA in Harlem made its own programs with the slogan “a square deal for the colored girl.” The original program of the national YWCA was to provide a forum where “ethics relative to how girls should act in public places, at

home and on the street are discussed.” For the African American YWCA, however, race was a primary concern, so the aim of the campaign was transformed “to make them realize that first of all they are American girls and second, that they are colored girls and as such have a distinct contribution to American girlhood and womanhood.”<sup>77</sup>

We tend to consider that self-help in every sense was a requisite factor for community building for African Americans and that African Americans should have been antagonistic to the imposition of white middle-class values. As the activities of the African American YWCA show, however, African Americans adapted middle-class values to fit their purposes and utilized social services at their convenience.

## VI. COMMUNITY SPIRIT AND THE WAR

### Harlem’s Hellfighters

In the midst of war mobilization, African Americans became conscious or were forced to become conscious of what “solidarity” meant. In response to the opinion of some African American activists that African Americans should resist supporting the war effort,<sup>78</sup> the black churches of Harlem as well as the *Age* emphasized the necessity of participating in order to assert the full citizenship of African Americans. In a sermon titled “The Negro’s Americanism” at Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, the pastor preached that “the Negro, in order to keep his case clean, must perform all the duties of citizenship, while he constantly renews his claim to all the corresponding rights.”<sup>79</sup>

From Harlem, in addition to conscripted men, “Harlem’s Hellfighters,” a volunteer regiment of the New York National Guard, was dispatched to the battlefields of Europe. Since the turn of the century, African American elites had tried to get a bill through the state legislature authorizing an African American regiment, because African Americans were excluded from the state militia. Finally, in 1916, Governor Whitman signed into law a bill authorizing the 15th New York Infantry Regiment, New York National Guard, despite the opposition of the commander of the New York National Guard.<sup>80</sup>

William Hayward, a public service commissioner for New York City, took command of the regiment. He had to start from scratch. As Arthur Little, a senior captain in the regiment, recollected, the 15th was “the self-made regiment of the American Army.”<sup>81</sup> Unlike the situation in the Illinois 8th

regiment, where the officers were all African Americans, all the officers initially recruited by Colonel Hayward were white, including some from prominent families, although the *Age* repeatedly demanded the appointment of African American commissioned officers.<sup>82</sup> Recruiting soldiers was not an easy task at first, either. The *Age* urged African American men to enlist for the purpose of “elevating the race in public esteem.”<sup>83</sup> After the declaration of war, the enlisted men eventually numbered more than two thousand, and in July 1917, the 15th became the first regiment in the New York National Guard to be mustered into the US Army.<sup>84</sup>

After experiencing harsh racial abuse at the training camp in Spartanburg, South Carolina,<sup>85</sup> the 15th (US Army 369th Infantry Regiment) at last departed for France in December 1917. In France, the 15th was integrated into the French Army, along with the Illinois 8th and other African American regiments, and fought in the trenches, while most conscripted African American soldiers were assigned various kinds of labor. With records of bravery and triumph, they came home in February 1919.<sup>86</sup>

The *Age* had stood steadfastly behind the regiment and reported its every move. The story of Harlem’s Hellfighters inspired the community spirit in two ways. First, the 15th became the local pride of Harlem. The African American press consciously constructed the image of heroic, triumphant African American soldiers. When the story of two soldiers (Henry Johnson and Neadam Roberts) who received the Croix de Guerre in May 1918 was reported, the *Age* acclaimed “the glorious and heroic deeds of Johnson and Roberts.”<sup>87</sup> This heroic image of the 15th came to be equated with the image of Harlem. In reality, the regiment was commanded by white officers, supported by white politicians and philanthropists, and included some soldiers from outside of Harlem and even outside of New York. Nevertheless, the 15th represented Harlem and gave people there a feeling of solidarity. Just before the 15th’s return home, the *Age* called the regiment “the pride of all home folks.”<sup>88</sup> Osofsky points out that “the Fifteenth’s exploits” became part of “the ghetto’s folklore.”<sup>89</sup> In other words, African Americans felt a sense of belonging to an idealized Harlem.

The other way that the regiment inspired community spirit was by its experiences of racism throughout the war. The New York National Guard did not recognize the regiment even after it was authorized, and the US Army stuck to a segregationist policy.<sup>90</sup> The *Age* continuously criticized segregated training camps and race riots at the camps.<sup>91</sup> After the armistice, the US Army did not permit the participation of African American soldiers in the Allied victory parade in Paris, although the black colonial troops of

Allied nations marched.<sup>92</sup>

In sharing these experiences, not only each soldier but also the African American people in Harlem were confronted with the necessity of a broader collective struggle for racial progress. African Americans in Harlem expected that the valor of the 15th would convince American society of their patriotism and eligibility for full citizenship rights. Instead, after the armistice, African American activists and newspapers including the *Age* came under the surveillance of the FBI. Under these disappointing circumstances, it was likely that African Americans in Harlem would pay more attention to nationwide African American movements.

The *Age's* support of an all-African American volunteer regiment and its criticism of segregation in the US Army may seem paradoxical. Presumably, African Americans could accept separation if they initiated it and owned the results. Moreover, as in the case of African American churches and the campaign for "race patronage," African Americans who supported the regiment viewed separation and in-group development as necessary in order to develop their own community.

## Parades

Johnson recalled that Harlem streets were "a parade ground." Almost every Sunday, people marched in various kinds of parades with brass bands. In the process of organizing the 15th before the war, and during wartime, for instance, the parades were indispensable.<sup>93</sup> Marching in parades consolidated participants' solidarity. At the same time, in Harlem, parades often involved the active participation of viewers. Johnson noted: "For it is not a universal custom of Harlem to stand idly and watch a parade go by. A good part of the crowd always marches along, keeping step to the music."<sup>94</sup>

Above all, parades that involved the whole African American neighborhood of Harlem exemplified the sort of community that African Americans expected to build. Two representative parades took place in the 1910s. One was the victory parade held on February 17, 1919. The 15th marched from downtown to Harlem along Fifth Avenue with the injured Johnson in a car at the head of the parade, making an impressive formation of experienced soldiers.<sup>95</sup> New York as a whole welcomed the return of the 15th (369th Infantry Regiment), and white New Yorkers also cheered their homecoming. The *Age* observed that "thousands of white and colored citizens participated in such a tumultuous and enthusiastic demonstration."<sup>96</sup> When they reached Harlem, the regimental band, a source of great pride for



the men in the regiment and the people of Harlem,<sup>97</sup> switched from playing military marches to the popular Collins and Harlan song "Here Comes My Daddy Now!" Colonel Hayward allowed the men to march through Harlem singing and laughing.<sup>98</sup> This parade demonstrated to African Americans as well as whites in New York that the 15th belonged to Harlem and gave them the impression that Harlem as a community seemed as solid as the 15th Regiment. It reaffirmed people's sense of belonging to the imagined community of Harlem that the 15th and its parade presented. For the *Age*, this parade proved African American eligibility for full citizenship: "We wonder how many people who are opposed to giving the Negro his full citizenship rights could watch the 15th on its march up the Avenue and not feel either shame or alarm?"<sup>99</sup> At the same time, however, we should not forget that this parade, in which only African American regiments marched, reflected the method of segregation in Northern cities.

The other parade was the Silent Protest Parade held on July 28, 1917. As many as fifteen thousand African Americans, men in Sunday finery, women in white dresses, little girls in white church dresses with ribbons in their hair, and little boys in jackets, marched from Harlem to downtown along Fifth Avenue. There was no musical band, only muffled drums. They marched in silence and were watched in silence. Marchers carried banners. Some of them read: "Mr. President, Why Not Make America Safe for Democracy?!" and "Treat Us So that We May Love Our Country." The parade, which was organized by the *Age* and other African American leaders in New York, protested the East St. Louis riot, lynching, Jim Crow cars, segregation, discrimination, and disfranchisement. Despite this harsh criticism of the federal and local governments, however, the *Age* repeatedly declared African American patriotism.<sup>100</sup> African American leaders seemed to consider that their criticism was not incompatible with war service in the 15th and on the home front. Rather, they supposed that protecting human rights was a presupposition of the War for Democracy.

The Silent Protest Parade demonstrated Harlem's community spirit in a double sense. Community in the sense of the local Harlem neighborhood was exhibited by the fact that "everyone," including children, marched. According to the *Age*, African Americans "representing all conditions and walks of life," and immigrants from the West Indies also participated.<sup>101</sup> At the same time, the parade manifested the association of African Americans in their quest for civil rights beyond their geographical boundary.

## War and Gender in Harlem

War is always a gendered phenomenon. In World War I, soldiers had to prove their masculinity, the supreme demonstration of which was a heroic death. For the African American male in Harlem, the 15th was the supreme opportunity to prove his masculinity. One of the soldiers in the 15th recalled in his memoir how he decided to enlist: "You had to belong to the 15th Infantry or jealously look at them in uniform. Everybody loves a soldier. . . . So, to be somebody, I joined up."<sup>102</sup> When the regiment experienced its first real training in small-arms practice at training camp, Hayward noted, the men were in the process of transformation "from colored boys . . . to *men*, real men."<sup>103</sup> And, finally, they came back as heroes. Describing the victory parade in 1919, Little recollected that viewers cheered "*because ours was a regiment of men, who had done the work of men*" (italics in the original).<sup>104</sup>

It was necessary for African American men to prove their masculinity all the more because whites stressed the stereotype that African American men were sexually strong but socially weak or uncivilized. Accordingly, in order to prove their eligibility for full citizenship, they needed to prove their masculinity. In addition to the stereotypes, the economic situation made the gender relations of African Americans complex. It was difficult for African Americans to establish a traditional middle-class family supported by a male breadwinner.<sup>105</sup> The *Age* reported that many married African American women brought in "incomes equal to and sometimes in excess of the incomes enjoyed by men."<sup>106</sup> Therefore, through the heroic battles of the 15th, African American men expected to prove their masculinity.

In a parallel way, African American women fulfilled roles that were expected of women on the home front. Harlem's war service on the home front started when the Woman's Loyal Union, the oldest African American woman's club in the city, was officially registered as the Women's Auxiliary of the 15th Regiment, New York Infantry, National Guard of Greater New York in May 1917. Almost four hundred women assembled "comfort kits" and other materials such as tobacco for enlisted men; corresponded with enlisted men; regularly visited the homes of soldiers with dependents to determine what services they needed; and provided food, clothing, and money to dependent families. The Auxiliary held meetings and fundraising parties. It was affiliated with the National League of Women's Service and the Red Cross and cooperated with other Harlem's organizations providing war services.<sup>107</sup> The *Age* praised the Auxiliary for its support of racial and community solidarity and reported its activities in detail.<sup>108</sup>

Members of the Auxiliary apparently did not consider the roles that women were expected to play during the war as inconsistent with their views as African American women. After the East St. Louis riot of 1917, the Auxiliary appealed for the protection of all citizens and participated in planning the Silent Protest Parade.<sup>109</sup> The Auxiliary also protested the policy of the American Red Cross, the national center for war service. Although it assisted the National Red Cross in its drive for funds in 1917, the Auxiliary demanded that the National Red Cross remove its discrimination bars and give “equal opportunity to all qualified for the Red Cross work.”<sup>110</sup> Refused by the Red Cross, the Auxiliary repeated its demands and issued a petition to the US Army to “send some of our nurses over to France to care for our boys.”<sup>111</sup> The *Age* supported this campaign and criticized the Red Cross. In November 1918, when an influenza epidemic overwhelmed existing personnel, the Army finally decided to assign eighteen black nurses to two integrated camps in the United States.<sup>112</sup>

Thus, the Auxiliary was not merely an organization that assembled “comfort kits” but, rather, one that actively enhanced the solidarity of Harlem through its activities. By active support of the 15th, the Auxiliary consolidated the image of community that the 15th Infantry represented. At the same time, it searched for ways to balance the competing goals of racial democracy and patriotism, even under the emergency conditions of war.

The war experiences in Harlem and on French battlefields illustrate that separate spheres based on gender were maintained in Harlem, though the boundary was not a rigid one. This can also be seen by the fact that the *Age* and the African American churches strongly supported the suffrage movement of African American women in Harlem during the war. As members of the Colored Women’s Suffrage Club of New York City, affiliated with the New York City Women Suffrage Party, “colored suffragists” in Harlem held street meetings, participated in suffrage parades, and canvassed the voters. In many churches, “suffrage sermons” were preached.<sup>113</sup> In early November 1917, a state law giving the women of New York the right to vote passed.<sup>114</sup> Once they acquired the voting right, African American women organized the Woman’s Non-Partisan League and the Woman’s Political League. They invited speakers from major political parties to their meetings and actively participated in local politics.<sup>115</sup>

It is true that the *Age* and churches supported women’s suffrage not because they supported gender equality but because they expected that “the political effectiveness of the colored vote” would be “doubled.”<sup>116</sup> At first, the *Age* did not expect the full participation of women in politics but

presumed that African American women would be interested in politics just as mothers and housekeepers concerned with “the protection of the home, the purity of food and water supplies.”<sup>117</sup> However, the *Age* was astonished at the enthusiasm of African American women. It observed: “The colored women in Harlem are showing unusual interest in politics and within the past month have been holding numerous meetings.”<sup>118</sup> One year after women acquired the voting right, the *Age* acknowledged, “women can vote as well and as effectively as the men.”<sup>119</sup>

Thus, African American women, female activists at least, could have a greater voice in such a public sphere as community building than was expected in the norm of separate spheres.

#### CONCLUSION

In September 1917, the *Age* looked back on the history of Harlem and acknowledged the “immeasurable progress” in terms of housing and “equal facilities” such as schools. Nevertheless, pointing out the necessity of greater effort in cooperative business enterprises, the *Age* noted, “much remains to be accomplished along constructive lines in the matter of business and community upbuilding.”<sup>120</sup> As discussed above, we can agree that the community of Harlem made “immeasurable progress” in a short period of time. At the same time, however, the interracial relations and intraracial differences made Harlem’s “progress” precarious. As a residential area Harlem had a mixed population, and its housing reflected class differences. In economic matters, workers were hardly united, and self-development was insufficient. African American leaders needed to depend on cross-racial relations in social service activities. During the war, African American leaders in Harlem barely kept the delicate balance between patriotism and the appeal for civil rights. Because of space constraints, local politics cannot be discussed in this article, but there were factional struggles involving both white and African American politicians. Thus, it is difficult to conclude that the residents of Harlem succeeded in building a well-circumscribed community before the 1920s. We can assume that people were attracted to Marcus Garvey at this precarious stage of the real community. Nonetheless, as the 15th Infantry Regiment, parades, and women’s activities on the home front demonstrate, Harlem as an imagined community, to which African Americans felt a sense of belonging and pride, was indeed constructed during the 1910s. Based on this imagined community, the Harlem Renaissance bloomed.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> On my argument about the community in American history, see Matsumoto, Yuko, 「民主主義の再生を求めて」 [In the quest for the regeneration of democracy] in 紀平英作編著『アメリカ民主主義の過去と現在』 [The past and present of American democracy] (Tokyo: Minerva Shobo, ミネルヴァ書房、2008).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966); Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870–1930* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1976). Among studies in Japan, see Takenaka, Koji, 『シカゴ黒人ゲトー成立の社会史』 [Social history of the black ghetto in Chicago] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 明石書店、1995).

<sup>3</sup> Quintard Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 135.

<sup>4</sup> For a critical overview of historical works on Harlem, see Judith Weisenfeld, *African American Women and Christian Activism: New York's Black YWCA, 1905–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 92–3. See also, Lillian Serece Williams, *Strangers in the Land of Paradise: The Creation of an African American Community, Buffalo, New York 1900–1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, *To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910–1963* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> In Japan, the following work proposes to re-examine the history of the African American community as a community in flux. Higuchi, Hayumi ed., 『流動する「黒人」コミュニティ：アメリカ史を問う』 [African American communities in flux: Interrogating US history] (Tokyo: Sairyusha, 彩流社、2012).

<sup>6</sup> James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), 3–4, 159.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, Lionel Bascom, *A Renaissance in Harlem: Lost Voices of an American Community* (New York: Amistad, 2016).

<sup>8</sup> Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, Negro New York, 1890–1930* (NY: Harper & Row, 1963).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>10</sup> On the history of the *New York Age*, see Jeffrey T. Sammons and John H. Morrow, Jr., *Harlem's Rattlers and the Great War: The Undaunted 369th Regiment and the African American Quest for Equality* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014), 33; William G. Jordan, *Black Newspapers and America's War for Democracy, 1914–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 29–32.

<sup>11</sup> *New York Age*, Jan. 12, 1918, 4.

<sup>12</sup> Gilbert Osofsky “Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto,” in John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Harlem: A Community in Transition* (NY: Citadel Press, 1964), 25; Jeffery S. Gurock, *When Harlem Was Jewish, 1870–1930* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1979), 148–49.

<sup>13</sup> Gurock, *When Harlem Was Jewish*, 145.

<sup>14</sup> Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, “A Harlem Almanac” (typewritten), 1964, 1. The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

<sup>15</sup> Florette Henri, *Black Migration: Movement North, 1900–1920* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1976), 89–90.

<sup>16</sup> Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 148.

<sup>17</sup> *Age*, Feb. 12, 1914, 1.

<sup>18</sup> Osofsky, *Harlem*, 107–8.; *Age*, March 19 and 24, 1914.

<sup>19</sup> *Age*, Nov. 12, 1914, 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 1919, 1.

<sup>21</sup> The Guilds' Committee for Federal Writers Publications, *The WPA Guide to New York City: The Federal Writers' Project Guide to 1930s New York* (1939; repr. NY: Pantheon Books, 1982), 258.

<sup>22</sup> Mark Robert Schneider, *"We Return Fighting": The Civil Rights Movement in the Jazz Age* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002), 127; Gurock, *When Harlem Was Jewish*, 147–48.

<sup>23</sup> *Age*, Dec. 23, 1915, 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1916, 1

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1917, 1; Nov. 29, 1917, 1.

<sup>26</sup> Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 153.

<sup>27</sup> *Age*, Jan. 6, 1918, 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, March 22, 1917, 1; Gurock, *When Harlem Was Jewish* 148–49.

<sup>29</sup> Gurock, *When Harlem Was Jewish*, 148, 167.

<sup>30</sup> *Age*, March 15, 1917, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Mary White Ovington, *Half a Man: The Status of the Negro in New York* (1911; repr. NY: Hill and Wang, 1969), 42.

<sup>32</sup> George Edmund Haynes, "The Negro at Work in New York City," *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* 49, no. 3 (1912): 74.

<sup>33</sup> Sammons and Morrow, *Harlem's Rattlers*, 110. According to this work, the average Harlem family earned \$1,300 annually in the 1920s.

<sup>34</sup> Osofsky, *Harlem*, 42.

<sup>35</sup> *Age*, Oct. 1, 1914, 1; Jan. 25, 1917.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, July 6, 1916, 4.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1918, 4.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1916, 5; Dec. 27, 1919, 1.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1917, 7; Jan. 19, 1918, 1; Oct. 19, 1918, 8; Nov. 9, 1918, 1; Feb. 8, 1919.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1919, 1; May 25, 1918, 2.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1916, 1.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1918, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Johnson, 157.

<sup>44</sup> Haynes, "The Negro at Work," 115.

<sup>45</sup> *Age*, March 23, 1916, 1; March 30, 1916.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, April 6, 1914, 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1914, 4.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1914; Henri, *Black Migration*, 159.

<sup>49</sup> *Age*, March 16, 1914, 4.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1916, 1.

<sup>51</sup> Haynes, "The Negro at Work," 117, 123.

<sup>52</sup> *Age*, Jan. 13, 1916, 1; March 9, 1916; March 16, 1916, 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, June 1, 1916, 1.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, April 26, 1919, 1.

<sup>55</sup> Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 163–64; Henri, *Black Migration*, 187.

<sup>56</sup> Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 166.

<sup>57</sup> Henri, *Black Migration*, 182.

<sup>58</sup> Schneider, *Civil Rights Movement*, 127.

<sup>59</sup> *Age*, July 19, 1917, 4.

<sup>60</sup> Osofsky, *Harlem*, 62.

<sup>61</sup> *Age*, Oct. 5, 1916, 8.

<sup>62</sup> Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,

1993), 39.

<sup>63</sup> Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 143–4.

<sup>64</sup> *Age*, March 3, 1917, 1; August 31, 1918, 2.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1916, 1; Oct. 5, 1916, 1; Oct. 12, 1916, 1; Dec. 28, 1916, 1; Dec. 21, 1916, 1; Nov. 23, 1916, 1.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1915, 1; Dec. 6, 1919, 8; March 22, 1917, 1; Nov. 1, 1917, 1.

<sup>67</sup> Osofsky, *Harlem*, 151.

<sup>68</sup> Ovington, *Half a Man*, 89.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 32–33.

<sup>70</sup> Haynes, “The Negro at Work”, 89.

<sup>71</sup> *Age*, March 29, 1917, 1; Dec. 4, 1915; March 3, 1917, 8; Nov. 15, 1917, 8.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 1917, 1; May 25, 1918, 8; June 18, 1917, 8.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1918, 2; Dec. 27, 1919, 4.

<sup>74</sup> YWCA membership in 1918 included 1,022 adults and 250 girls (*Age*, Oct. 19, 1918, 8).

<sup>75</sup> Chad L. Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 102.

<sup>76</sup> Weisenfeld, 1 *Black YWCA*, 46–48.

<sup>77</sup> *Age*, Aug. 2, 1919, 1.

<sup>78</sup> Weisenfeld, *Black YWCA*, 126.

<sup>79</sup> *Age*, April 12, 1917, 1; March 29, 1917, 1; April 27, 1918, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Sammons and Morrow, *Harlem’s Rattlers*, 46, 64; C. Williams, *Torchbearers*, 5; Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 233; Stephen L. Harris, *Harlem’s Hell Fighters: The African-American 369th Infantry in World War I* (Dulles: Brassey’s, 2003), 14.

<sup>81</sup> Arthur W. Little, *From Harlem to the Rhine: The Story of New York’s Colored Volunteers* (NY: Covici Friede, 1936; repr. Haskell House, 1974), 19.

<sup>82</sup> *Age*, July 27, 1916, 1; July 20, 1916, 4.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, April 5, 1917, 4.

<sup>84</sup> Sammons and Morrow, *Harlem’s Rattlers*, 115, 148; Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 232–33; Frank E. Roberts, *The American Foreign Legion: Black Soldiers of the 93rd in World War I* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2004), 7–10.

<sup>85</sup> *Age*, Oct. 18, 1917, 1.

<sup>86</sup> C. Williams, *Torchbearers*, 126; Henri, *Black Migration*, 304; Sammons and Morrow, *Harlem’s Rattlers*, 397.

<sup>87</sup> *Age*, May 25, 1918, 1.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1919, 1.

<sup>89</sup> Osofsky, *Harlem*, 171.

<sup>90</sup> Little, *Harlem to the Rhine*, 357.

<sup>91</sup> *Age*, March 15, 1917, 4; March 22, 1917, 4; May 17, 1917, 1.

<sup>92</sup> C. Williams, *Torchbearers*, 90–91, 126, 129, 190; Roberts, *American Foreign Legion*, 9; Henri, *Black Migration*, 304.

<sup>93</sup> Peter N. Nelson, *A More Unbending Battle: The Harlem Hellfighters’ Struggle for Freedom in WWI and Equality at Home* (NY: Basic Civitas Books, 2009), 2–4.

<sup>94</sup> Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 168–69; Mark Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 185.

<sup>95</sup> C. Williams, *Torchbearers*, 215; Sammons and Morrow, *Harlem’s Rattlers*, 390.

<sup>96</sup> *Age*, Feb. 22, 1919, 1.

<sup>97</sup> Roberts, *American Foreign Legion*, 4.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1919, 1.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1919, 4.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, July 28, 1917; Nelson, *Unbending Battle*, 27; Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 238.

<sup>101</sup> *Age*, August 2, 1917, 1.

<sup>102</sup> Arthur P. Davis, *Here and There with the Rattlers* (Detroit, MI: Harlo Press, 1979), 22.

<sup>103</sup> Sammons and Morrow, *Harlem's Rattlers*, 130.

<sup>104</sup> Little, *Harlem to the Rhine*, 361.

<sup>105</sup> Haynes, "The Negro at Work", 89.

<sup>106</sup> *Age*, Oct. 1, 1914, 1.

<sup>107</sup> C. Williams, *Torchbearers*, 100; Weisenfeld, *Black YWCA*, 144; Nikki L. M. Brown, "Your Patriotism Is of the Purest Quality": African American Women and World War I" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2002), 58–60.

<sup>108</sup> *Age*, May 10, 1917, 4.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, July 19, 1917, 1.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, July 5, 1917, 8.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1918, 1; Dec. 11, 1918, 1.

<sup>112</sup> Brown, "African American Women," 129.

<sup>113</sup> *Age*, Sep. 6, 1917, 2; Sep. 27, 1917, 8; Oct. 11, 1917, 8; Nov. 1, 1917, 1.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1917, 1.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, May 25, 1918, 5; Aug. 27, 1918, 1.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1915, 4.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1917, 4.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, May 25, 1918, 5.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1918, 1.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1917, 4.