Introduction

R. Drew Smith

In both popular and academic understandings of the American Civil Rights Movement, the emphasis has generally been on the heroic activism mobilized from the mid-1950s through the mid-1960s against the segregationist juggernaut of the American South. It was on this historical stage that black churches were spotlighted for their substantial role in the black freedom epoch unfolding at the time—and it was a role that shifted perceptions in the minds of many about the potential political significance of black churches. This association between black churches, civil rights activism, and the mid-twentieth century South has become mutually reinforcing. When mentioning black churches and civil rights activism, one thinks of the mid-twentieth century South; when mentioning civil rights activism and the mid-twentieth century South, one thinks of black churches.[1]

A related orthodoxy has been that where civil rights activism may have occurred in the North and the West it was "secondary to the real struggle taking place in the South."[2] Activists who resided in the North and West often felt their connection to "the movement" was established more by whether they were involved in the southern struggle arena and, specifically, whether they marched with Dr. King, than by their activism within their own northern or western home contexts. Moreover, in the same sense that northern and western civil rights activism was deemed less important than that occurring in the South, black churches were viewed as contributing less within northern and western contexts of activism than they did within the southern context. One noted scholar suggests, in fact, that black churches were less central to northern civil rights activism than to the southern movement and that the lesser role they played in the North may account in some way for "the more episodic,

relatively unfocused and physically explosive movement that developed in the North."[3]

While the conception of civil rights activism outside the South as less urgent, less central, and less effective has been strongly challenged by recent scholarship,[4] fewer studies exist that counter the view of black church civil rights activism as an almost exclusively mid-twentieth century southern phenomenon.[5] This volume adds to existing scholarship in emphasizing sociocultural and ecclesiastical factors specific to local contexts of civil rights activism in the North and West, while also examining ways local and national activism fed off each other within these contexts. With respect to the latter, as shown by an important study of black religion, not enough attention has been paid within scholarship on black churches to intersections between southern and northern black religious life, especially those occurring as a result of early- to mid-twentieth century black migration to northern cities.[6]

The volume also joins with other studies that have resisted a popular bracketing of the Civil Rights Movement which confines it largely to the South, from the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott to the passing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.[7] The chapters here do not treat the quest for civil rights in America only as an historical theme, but also as an enduringly relevant framing of social injustices yet to be worked out within American polity and social practice. What the chapters do is point to multiple directions the quest for civil rights has extended beyond the mid-twentieth century southern movement—into the North and West during the Movement, and into policy areas left unresolved by the Movement, including immigrant rights, gay rights, health care entitlements, and persistent denials of black voting rights and school equality. In exploring these issues the volume's contributors shed light on distinctive regional dimensions of African American political and church life that bear in significant ways on both the mobilization of civil rights activism and the achievement of its goals.

Regional Dimensions of Black Church Activism in the Early- to Mid-Twentieth Century

While widespread southern black conversionist piety correlated well in the southern context with social change strategies utilizing nonviolence and moral suasion, there was a more worldly quality to the black church activism of northern and western cities that did not synchronize as well with the conversionist propensities and nonviolent methods of the southern movement. Milton Sernett, for example, points out black church regional contrasts between the "instrumentalism" of northern, "Social Gospel"

clergy, and the "traditionalism" of southern clergy rooted in "old-time religion."[8] In this respect, black church life through the mid-twentieth century was commonly characterized by scholars as "other-worldly," especially the three-quarters of African American churches located in the South which Benjamin Mays and Joseph Nicholson referred to in a 1933 study as "uniformly" so.[9]

Meanwhile, scholars as early as W. E. B. Du Bois in his 1899 publication, *The Philadelphia Negro* have drawn attention to a stream of middle-class and secularizing black northern Christianity. Du Bois' analysis focuses mainly on the larger churches, which he describes as "the birthplaces of schools and of all agencies which seek to promote the intelligence of the masses," and as contexts where black audiences "quickly and effectively" received news and information and were introduced to celebrities, from bishops to poets.[10] Similarly, Mays and Nicholson pointed out that the urbanization of African Americans had led by the 1930s, especially in the North, to "definite demands upon the churches for a richer program" related to social and community services.[11] Both of these studies distinguished between more institutionalized black churches and a burgeoning sector of smaller black churches, which the Du Bois study characterized as "survivals of the methods of worship in Africa and the West Indies"[12] and the Mays and Nicholson study charged to combine into "fewer and better" churches attuned to the educational and economic imperatives of the context.[13]

Regionalist scholarship on early- to mid-twentieth century black church life, then, outlines a geographical black church repositioning from South to North and rural to urban, and a growing cultural receptivity to a mainstream secular mindset and its resistance to spiritualizations that could interfere with temporal problem solving. There were social class ramifications to this repositioning, with activism being more strongly associated with congregations possessing larger and more middle-class memberships.[14] These interlocking factors (along with the entrenched nature of black oppression in the South) favored the North as the center of black church activism, at least until the outbreak of the southern movement in the mid-1950s. In fact, it was in the early-twentieth century North and West that influential black pastors were counted among the most important political brokers in their respective cities, including Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. in New York City,[15] Archibald Carey, Sr. and Archibald Carey, Jr. in Chicago,[16] Marshall L. Shepard, Sr. in Philadelphia,[17] Rev. Wade McKinney in Cleveland,[18] and several pastors of Second Baptist Church in Los Angeles.[19] Black clergy also played crucial roles within early-twentieth century insurgent politics, including labor movement advocacy by San Diego's Rev. George

Washington Woodbey of Mt. Zion Baptist Church,[20] and Detroit's Rev. Charles Hill of Hartford Avenue Baptist and Rev. Horace White of Plymouth Congregational.[21]

Moreover, the North was where key African American institutions with regional and national reach were launched and based. The oldest (and most politically active) African American denominations were founded in northern cities—the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) denomination founded in Philadelphia in 1787 and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (A.M.E.Z.) denomination founded in New York in 1820. Also, the first black Baptist associations (precursors to the National Baptist Conventions) were organized during the 1830s and 1840s in northern states such as Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan.[22] The third oldest black Baptist Convention, the Progressive National Baptist Convention (PNBC), was founded in Cincinnati in 1961 (sixty-six years after the parent Baptist Convention from which it split). Unlike the predecessor Convention it broke away from and from which many of its member churches came (the National Baptist Convention USA, Inc.), the PNBC drew noticeably more on congregations outside than inside the South. Suggestive of the PNBC's geographic profile is that twelve of its eighteen presidents between 1961 and 2010 were pastors of prominent churches in the North, the West, or the District of Columbia.[23]

It is not surprising that politically active black churches through the mid-twentieth century would be concentrated in the North or West. With the primary black political organizations and post-Reconstruction-era black governmental leaders also in those parts of the country, there was strength in numbers and a greater sense of black political possibilities in those contexts than in the South.[24] The two preeminent black civil rights organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League (NUL), were both founded in the state of New York—the former in 1909 and the latter in 1911. The NUL expanded rapidly, with eighty-one paid staff members operating in twenty cities by 1919, increasing to affiliates in fifty-eight cities by 1943 and with an operating budget of $2,500,000 (a one-hundred-fold budgetary increase from its 1919 amount).[25] That NUL activities had a northern concentration is evident in the fact that forty-five of fifty-six NUL affiliates established between 1910 and 1950 were in northern cities.[26] The NAACP also experienced pronounced growth, achieving 62,000 members by 1919 and 600,000 members by 1946. Roughly half of its members in 1919 were located in the South, with NAACP branches chartered in every southern state.[27] Nevertheless, the NAACP's membership growth in the South did not appear to keep pace with its northern growth given that its southern membership was less than one-quarter of its national membership by the mid-1950s and declined noticeably more

in the next few years as southern states cracked down on NAACP activities during the Movement.[28]

There were other organizations located in the North of great importance to black civil rights, although with a less exclusively black focus and operations staff. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group formed in Europe in 1914, inspired the formation a year later of Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in the United States. Headquartered in the state of New York, the organization championed war resistance, civil liberties, and racial justice. Its racial justice work was primarily through its collaborations with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founded in 1942 by several of its Chicago branch members, and later through the Civil Rights Movement involvements of its staff member, Bayard Rustin, who helped guide the nonviolent resistance strategies employed in the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott and served as a principal organizer for the 1963 March on Washington. CORE, under the team leadership of University of Chicago students, James Farmer and George Hauser, focused initially on desegregating public housing in the North. In 1947, it initiated protests of segregated interstate bus travel in the upper South, devoting significantly more attention to this in the form of "Freedom Rides" during the early 1960s, and also became strongly associated with student sit-ins across the South during the movement. Nevertheless, by the mid-1960s it refocused its attention primarily on the North and West where two-thirds of its fifty-three affiliate chapters were located.[29]

Black nationalist organizations such as the Moorish Science Temple of America (MSTA), the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and Nation of Islam (NOI) were also forces within black politics during the first half of the twentieth century—and their strongholds were in the North and West. The MSTA, a racial uplift organization steeped in Islamic and Near Eastern mystical teachings, began in 1925 when Timothy Drew (a North Carolinian) founded its first temple in Chicago. By the late-1920s, Drew (who became known as Noble Drew Ali) had established seventeen temples in the North (including in Philadelphia and Detroit) as well as in the upper South, and had a membership of approximately 35,000 persons. The UNIA, founded by Marcus Garvey in Jamaica in 1914 as a global black unity initiative, organized a U.S. division in New York City in 1917 that attracted 3,500 members in its first three months and served as the base city from which it reached out internationally. By 1920, the UNIA was reported to have 1,100 divisions in forty countries and attracted 20,000 participants to its international conference held that year at New York's Madison Square Garden. The organization declined by the late-1920s and, in 1940, five years after Garvey's death, the organization relocated its headquarters to Cleveland under new leadership.

The NOI, a group committed to black self-determination, was founded in Detroit in 1930 by W. D. Fard Muhammad who disappeared in 1934 and was succeeded as leader of the group by Elijah Muhammad. In 1935, Elijah Muhammad relocated to the Chicago mosque, which was the second mosque established by the NOI, and it became the NOI national headquarters. By the mid- to late-1950s, NOI had a membership estimated at between fifty to one hundred thousand persons, and mosques in at least fifteen cities—only two of which were in the South (Baltimore and Atlanta).[30]

Organizational leaders such as Garvey, Farmer, Elijah Muhammad, Drew Ali, and others certainly influenced black political praxis in the early- to mid-1900s, but the black political leaders most able to broker public decision making and resources during this period were black Congressmen, all of whom were from the North or West. From the 1929 election of Oscar DePriest (R-IL), the first black elected to Congress after the Reconstruction era, until the passing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, eight African Americans were elected to Congress.[31] Several of these men gained a following nationally as a result of their advocacy on civil rights matters, including William Dawson (D-IL) who fought against poll taxes, Charles Diggs (D-MI) who was outspoken on civil rights matters and helped bring national attention to the murder of Emmett Till by attending the 1955 Mississippi trial of his accused killers, and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D-NY) whose protests against discriminatory practices within New York City and within the federal government and his ascendance in 1961 to the chairmanship of the House Education and Labor committee helped keep him in the national spotlight throughout his twenty-five years in Congress.

With the onset of the southern protest movement in the mid-1950s, black leadership momentum clearly shifted to persons and organizations in the South, including Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) network of activists, emergent activist organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), local activist networks in key struggle sites such as Birmingham and Nashville, and thousands of laypersons and clergy drawn from congregations across the South. In some respects, Dr. King's summons to lead this southern political movement after his years of graduate-level theological studies in the North symbolized a convergence at the heart of the movement between the South's relational, conversionist culture and a northern secular-humanism that privileges individual reason. Harold Cruse interprets the significance of the southern movement along these lines in arguing for the southern movement's usurpation of northern black leadership authority:

> Prior to King, the class interests of the civil rights spokesmen in Montgomery had coincided with the goals of the secular NAACP. When King mobilized the boycott, he also mobilized the church along with other sectors of black life. Thus, the NAACP, essentially northern-based, had to take a backseat to the new southern middle-class self-assertion.[32]

Cruse goes on to connect King's importance as the "standard-bearer" of the movement to his embodiment of an emerging "middle-class secularization of the black church" that emphasizes "moral" reasoning and social ministries in response to black social needs.[33]

Although King and other movement leaders in the South achieved national black spokesmanship status almost from the outset of the southern movement, and although King and SCLC networks and allies provided the activist church model with momentum that would reach far beyond the southern movement, the newly gained authority of southern movement leaders met with reversals beginning in the early 1960s via challenges from entrenched and emerging black leadership sectors throughout the North and West. Key black leaders in the North engaged in noticeable pushback against the authority of southern movement leaders such as Dr. King, with NAACP leaders Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins frequently criticizing King, and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. often referring to Dr. King contemptuously as "Martin 'Loser' King."[34] Moreover, black identity and black self-reliance politics, already enjoying a strong following, increased its support base in the 1950s and 1960s as a result of the leadership of Malcolm X. After Malcolm's death in 1965, "Black Power" activists such as Stokely Carmichael built upon Black Nationalism's emphasis on blackness, though pushing Nationalism further in the direction of a modern, rational politics and away from its more "mythological" aspects.[35] A related development in the late-1960s was the emergence of Black Theology, a critical reading of mainstream (read white) religion and culture. Black Theology, which was positioned as an intellectual heir to both the church-led Civil Rights Movement and the secular Black Power Movement, traces to James Cone, who like other of his contemporary Black Theology proponents, was based in and drew most support from northern ecclesiastical institutions and networks. By the end of the 1960s, then, southern black leadership authority was declining, giving up ground to new and resurgent black leadership sectors in the North and West. Nevertheless, black leadership sectors within all three regions (including the church sector) were well-positioned to vigorously compete for leadership authority and standing at the beginning of the 1970s.

Post-Movement Activist Geographies
and Leadership Camps

Regional tensions between black leaders over spokesperson status, political strategy, and ideology were pronounced by the 1960s,[36] but lessened in subsequent decades as barriers to black social cooperation across regional boundaries were struck down. In short, the geographies of black leadership authority begin to blur during the 1970s and 1980s. Where tensions did persist within post-movement contexts, two significant forms have been competition between electoral and protest leaders, and competition between activist churches and "new paradigm" megachurches.

With mass action civil rights protests dying down across the country by the late-1960s, black electoral activism was achieving a critical mass of its own on the heels of the electorally empowering 1965 Voting Rights Act. The numbers of black elected officials climbed from roughly 100 in 1965 to almost 1,500 by 1970, increasing again to almost 7,500 by 1990.[37] During the period dating from 1967–1990, this included one person elected to the U.S. Senate and thirty-three elected to the House of Representatives (joining six already serving in the House in the mid-1960s). Twenty-four of these thirty-three Representatives, as well as the Senator, were elected to Congress from states in the North or the West. Also, by 1973, forty-eight African Americans were serving as mayors (including mayors elected in recent years to cities such as Los Angeles, Detroit, Hartford, Gary, Atlanta, and Birmingham). By 1983 there were 223 black mayors, with the vast majority (143) located in the South.[38] As the comparisons between black Congressional and mayoral leadership suggest, black electoral politics was becoming national during the 1970s and 1980s in ways that included a newly mobilizing black electorate in the South.

Prospects for a national black electoral politics were tested by efforts during the 1970s to establish a National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and during the 1980s by Jesse Jackson's impressive presidential campaigns. Both of these initiatives also represented attempted convergences as well as sources of contention between black clergy activists, black elected officials, and Black Nationalists. The idea of an independent black political party was a matter of serious discussion as early as 1967, when Congressman Powell proposed it during a Black Power conference he convened in Newark, New Jersey. Political Scientist, Ronald Walters notes, "by 1971, the idea of a Black political party had become an expression of Black independence in electoral politics."[39] The formation of a Party was a primary topic of conversation at gatherings in 1972 and 1974 of what was called the National Black Assembly (a pre-party structure), and in 1976 the National Black Assembly took steps to field a black can-

didate for the U.S. presidency. When unsuccessful in recruiting Georgia State Senator, Julian Bond, as its candidate, the Assembly recruited an African American clergyman, Rev. Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick. The NBIPP was finally established at a 1980 Assembly meeting on a motion made by Rev. Benjamin Chavis and over the next year established forty-six chapters in twenty-seven states and a national office in Washington, DC. The entire initiative quickly stalled, leaving the NBIPP with little more to show for its efforts than fourteen years of symbolic accomplishments riddled with conflict between black elected officials, clergy, and nationalists.[40] Jesse Jackson's presidential candidacies attempted to appeal, at one level, to the same base of black elected officials, clergy, and nationalists the NBIPP was unable to hold together, while also reaching out to the Democratic Party's multi-racial constituency. His efforts produced an impressive coalition from across these various constituencies, resulting in 3.15 million votes and 400 delegates in the 1984 Democratic primaries and 6.6 million votes and 1,200 delegates in 1988. Jackson's candidacies also signaled that black clergy civil rights activists and their successors had been bridged, once and for all, into the growing black consensus around an electoral emphasis for black activism.

A form of black clergy activism tapping historic black emphases on entrepreneurialism and community-based social development began blossoming in force in the early-1990s. A cadre of talented black clergy who came of age after the Civil Rights Movement and who, in many cases, were resistant to black church reliance on outmoded, top-heavy denominational structures and on black community dependence on government largess began transforming preexisting and newly founded congregations into socially and religiously dynamic megachurches. By embracing innovative approaches to worship style, preaching, teaching, utilization of technology, programmatic service delivery, and church administration and governance, these congregations developed into user-friendly, multi-dimensional, high-growth ministries. Based upon recent estimates, there are between 100 and 150 congregations headed by African American pastors where weekly attendance averages 2,000 or more persons (the widely accepted numerical designation for "megachurch").[41] The largest concentrations of black megachurches are in metro-Atlanta and in two metro areas bordering the South: Washington, DC and Dallas.[42] The denominational ties of many of these congregations have been weak or nonexistent, the political alignments of their high-profile pastors have tended to be conservative and Republican as much as liberal and Democrat, and the activism promoted by these churches has been inspired more often by economic growth principles than by social justice principles. The combination of these factors has created competition and conflict between

black megachurch pastors and civil rights clergy activists over strategy and support bases.

Post Movement Ideological Context

Calls for the ideological broadening of civil rights activism were increasingly heard by the latter-1960s from black activists concerned with the inadequacies of a politics of racial integration and black empowerment in addressing forms of discrimination and oppression related to economics, gender, and sexual orientation. Martin Luther King, Jr. became one of the forceful critics of the Civil Rights Movement's inability to account for the economic oppression of blacks and others. Campaigns to end poverty in America (and to end U.S. military and human rights atrocities in southeast Asia) were his primary concerns toward the end of his life. Black nationalists such as Malcolm X and Black Power advocates such as Stokely Carmichael, though framing black struggle in ways strongly emphasizing discriminatory racial practices, did not necessarily promote racial integration as the desired solution.

Racial framings of civil rights activism have certainly been challenged, with some arguing that the black civil rights agenda, as emanating from the U.S. Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment, has run its course. As one prominent scholar on American race and politics states: "Civil rights justice, for all intents and purposes of the United States Constitution, has been won; there are no more frontiers to conquer; no horizons in view. . . ."[43] The argument in this instance pertains to the absence of additional legal remedies, within our existing constitutional framework, for social inequalities plaguing blacks and others in the years since Civil Rights Movement legislation was passed to address urgent social inequalities. Accordingly, contemporary denials of equal rights and opportunities (addressed within the scope of the Constitution and subsequent civil rights legislation)[44] are technically addressed through the courts. Thus, while referencing "civil rights" paradigms may attract attention to ongoing denials of rights in these instances, "civil rights" paradigms are of little relevance where social deprivations are not addressed by the Constitution (as in the case of economic opportunity). Consequently, as the argument goes, we are in a "post-civil rights era."

The term "post-civil rights era" may be accurate as a way of capturing exhausted constitutional possibilities, but it seems far from an accurate description of the African American mindset. In a 2004 Gallup poll, 84 percent of African Americans still express strong concerns about civil rights issues. In a 2006 Associated Press/Ipsos poll, 32 percent of African American respondents felt there has not been significant progress

toward Martin Luther King's dream of racial equality.[45] Thirty-one percent of African American clergy surveyed in a 1999–2000 Black Churches and Politics (BCAP) survey indicated that their congregations were involved with civil rights issues, which was among the highest percentage of involvement from among a list of high profile social policy issues. Congregational involvements on two other policy issues with civil rights dimensions were also relatively high: affirmative action policies were cited by 24 percent of the clergy and criminal justice policies were cited by 23 percent. When asked about congregational involvement with advocacy organizations, 16 percent of these clergy indicated that their congregations were involved with the NAACP, which was twice the frequency of any other organization.[46] Also, when asked in an open-ended question about the most important issue facing their community, 11 percent of BCAP survey respondents indicated they believed racial justice to be the most important issue.[47] While the policy concerns of African Americans, and of African American churchgoers, do not center exclusively on race-related civil rights, that category of issues continues to represent a significant policy priority—even outside of the South.

Meanwhile, American feminism was gaining strength as a social movement and a critical discourse, challenging gender roles and assumptions with unprecedented sweep. African American women, whose gender empowerment had given way historically to male-brokered racial empowerment claims, were repositioning in light of 1960s and 1970s feminism and 1980s black womanist scholarship. Black womanist writings directly indicted the idea that black empowerment agendas carried forward from the 1960s were necessarily inclusive of an empowerment agenda for black women.[48] Advocacy and critical discourse on the empowerment of women, and concurrent advocacy and discourse on social tolerance and the legal rights of non-heterosexuals, gained increasing traction within black church contexts, challenging what black churches meant by civil rights and the extent to which they could claim to champion such rights. Black church alignments with civil rights ideals were also called into question on matters related to discrimination against illegal immigrants and religious minorities, especially in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks. The expansion of civil rights activism beyond concerns with racial exclusion, and tensions and debates over how black churches have or should position around these matters, are central foci of the present volume.

Structure of the Volume

Each section of the book explores ways the struggle for civil rights was broadened and functioned conceptually to mobilize black church activism

as it moved geographically and chronologically beyond the Jim Crow South. The first section examines mid-twentieth century civil rights activism in northern and western cities, where black grievances were expressed and heard within contexts somewhat less singularly absorbed with race matters than in the South. Chapters in this section outline challenges black clergy and lay leaders had in adapting civil rights activism to local arenas of struggle in Chicago, New Haven, Philadelphia, New York, and the Bay Area. Several of these chapters emphasize black church concerns over what they perceived to be ideological or methodological radicalism by activist leaders who advocated black power, economic development, socialism, disruptive protest, female leadership, and close collaborations with government.

The second and third sections of the volume explore black clergy responses to various public policy concerns within the post-Civil Rights Movement context that extend and broaden conceptions of civil rights prevailing within the Movement. The four chapters within section two explore expectations about the extension and enforcement of rights within a post-movement context marked by expanded black and minority claims on government capital. As these chapters point out, those expectations of government, and of a continuous and systematic pursuit of rights by black churches, have produced achievements along with many frustrations. This mixed assessment comes through clearly in the chapters on educational fairness, on voting rights, and on health reform, while the chapter on religious groups' hiring rights points to tensions in some instances between conceptions of social rights and conceptions of religious freedom.

That "civil rights" is not a completely uncontested idea, even in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, is at the heart of the analysis in chapters within the final section of the volume. The chapter on black church burnings, for example, draws attention to continued racist assaults on civil rights symbolism in the form of black church buildings. Most of the chapters in this section though document black church reluctance and sometimes refusal to embrace civil rights causes which they view to be at cross-purposes with their religious convictions or with African Americans' historic race-centered civil rights agenda. Examples of this covered within the chapters include immigrant rights, gay rights, rights of religious minority groups, and concern for persons with HIV/AIDS.

Chapters throughout this volume show that there are critical social justice issues within the post-Movement context where the potential or, at least, the need, exists for persons of all racial groups, faith traditions, and political perspectives to find common cause. Although the discussions here will make evident that there is yet distance to travel toward the goal of commonly applied inalienable rights, a supposition and hope underly-

ing this volume is that pointing out persistent social justice needs and potential for responsiveness increases prospects for realizing our common cause.

Notes

1. Some scholars have certainly argued effectively against too close an association between black churches and civil rights activism, e.g., Gary Marx, *Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community* (Harper Torchbook, 1967); and Adolph L. Reed, Jr., *The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon: The Crisis of Purpose in Afro-American Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

2. For this critique, see Jeanne Theoharis, "Introduction," in Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard (eds.), *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles Outside the South, 1940–1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

3. Vincent Harding, *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 87.

4. Angela Dillard, *Faith in the City: Preaching and Radical Social Change in Detroit,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007; Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Randal Jelks, *African Americans in the Furniture City: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Grand Rapids* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*; (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Matthew Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005; Douglas Flamming, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005; Jeanne Theoharris and Komozi Woodard (eds.), *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America* (New York: NYU Press, 2005); Richard Pierce, *Polite Protest: The Political Economy of Race in Indianapolis, 1920–1970,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005; Theoharis and Woodard (eds.), *Freedom North,* op cit.; Gretchen C. Eick, *Dissent in Wichita: The Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest, 1954–72* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Quintard Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District, from 1870 Through the Civil Rights Era* (University of Washington Press, 1994); James R. Ralph, Jr., *Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

5. Important studies of civil rights activism by black churches in the North and West include, Dillard, 2007; Jelks, 2006; Eick, 2001; and Ralph, 1993.

6. This point is effectively argued by Milton Sernett, *Bound for the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migration,* Durham: Duke University Press, 1997, especially pp. 3–4

7. Some have argued, for example, that the Movement dates from the black union strikes, or other forms of protest, during the interwar years (e.g., Beth Tompkins Bates, *Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America,*

1929–1945, (Chapel Hill, UNC Press, 2001); Jeanne Theoharis, "Introduction" in, *Freedom North* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) edited by Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard), while others have argued that the black freedom struggle needs to be viewed along a longer continuum, dating from abolitionism and culminating in mid-twentieth century mass protest activities (Vincent Harding, *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (Harvest/HBJ Books, 1993). It has also been argued that the Movement did not effectively end until the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. or that it has not ended at all and continues through the present.

8. Sernett, 1997: 4.

9. Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933), 230, 249.

10. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study,* (Philadelphia: Published for the university, 1899), 207.

11. Mays and Nicholson, 119.

12. Du Bois, 220.

13. Mays and Nicholson, 227.

14. Du Bois, 1899; Mays and Nicholson, 1933; Sernett, 1997.

15. Adam C. Powell, Sr. was pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem from 1908 to1936 during which time the congregation became one of the largest black churches in the country. Adam C. Powell, Jr. succeeded his father as pastor of Abyssinian and represented Harlem in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1945 to1970.

16. Archibald Carey, Sr. was an A.M.E. Bishop who held several appointive positions within Chicago politics. Archibald Carey, Jr. served as pastor of Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church in downtown Chicago from 1949 to 1967, served as a Chicago alderman from 1947 to 1955, an alternate U.S. delegate to the U.N. from 1953 to 1956, and a circuit court judge from 1966 to 1978. See Dennis C. Dickerson, *African American Preachers and Politics: The Careys of Chicago* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2010).

17. Rev. Marshall Lorenzo Shepard Sr., pastor for forty years of Mt. Olivet Tabernacle Baptist Church, was a three-term state representative, city councilman, and recorder of deeds.

18. Rev. Wade H. McKinney, who was pastor of Antioch Baptist Church from 1928 to 1963, headed multiple clergy associations, helped organize several important civic groups, and served on the mayor's committee. See Mittie O. Chandler, "Black Clergy Electoral Involvement in Cleveland," in R. Drew Smith and Fredrick C. Harris (eds.), *Black Clergy and Local Politics: Clergy Influence, Organizational Partnerships, and Civic Empowermen*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 137–38.

19. Especially the nationally connected Rev. H. D. Prowd (pastor from 1915–1920) and Rev. Chester Anderson, who twice served as the Moderator of the Western Baptist Association. See, Flamming, 2005: 111–12.

20. Philip Foner, "Reverend George Washington Woodbey: Early Twentieth Century California Black Socialist," *Journal of Negro History*, 61/2, April 1976.

21. Angela Dillard, "Religion and Radicalism: The Reverend Albert B. Cleage, Jr. and the Rise of Black Christian Nationalism in Detroit," in Theoharis and Woodard, 158, 160

22. C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

23. Dr. T. M. Chambers, Los Angeles; Dr. Gardner C. Taylor, Brooklyn; Dr. Earl L. Harrison, Washington, DC; Dr. L. Venchael Booth, Cincinnati; Dr. Thomas Kilgore, Jr. Los Angeles; Dr. William A. Jones, Brooklyn; Dr. Charles W. Butler, Detroit; Dr. Marshall L. Shepard, Philadelphia; Dr. J Alfred Smith, Oakland; Dr. Charles Adams, Detroit; Dr. Bennett W. Smith, Buffalo; and Dr. Major L. Jemison, Oklahoma City.

24. Scholars refer to this as "political efficacy." See, for example, Elizabeth Ananat and Ebonya Washington, *Segregation and Black Political Efficacy,* Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2007; and Lawrence Bobo and Franklin Gilliam, Jr., "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment," *American Political Science Review,* 84/2, June 1990.

25. National Urban League, *The National Urban League: 100 Years of Empowering Communities*, 2010, 8.

26. New York (1910), Richmond, VA (1913), Detroit (1916), Chicago (1916), Brooklyn (1916), Cleveland (1917), Newark (1917), St. Louis (1918), Englewood, NJ (1918), Columbus, OH (1918), Pittsburgh (1918), Westchester County, NY (1918), Boston (1919), Milwaukee (1919), Springfield, MA (1919), Kansas City, MO (1920), Atlanta (1920), Fort Wayne (1920), Los Angeles (1921), Louisville (1921), Canton, OH (1921), Tampa (1922), St. Paul (1922), Baltimore (1924), Akron (1925), Minneapolis (1925), Springfield, IL (1926), Buffalo (1927), Omaha (1928), Toledo (1928), Seattle (1930), Warren, OH (1930), Massillon, OH (1936), Little Rock (1937), New Orleans (1938), Washington, DC (1938), Providence (1939), Anderson (1940), Cincinnati (1940), Memphis (1943), Flint (1943), Grand Rapids (1943), Miami (1943), Elizabeth (1944), Morris County, NJ (1944), Phoenix (1944), Gary (1945), Portland, OR (1945), Oklahoma City (1946), San Francisco (1946), Denver (1946), Jacksonville (1947), Dayton (1947), Winston Salem (1948), Muskegon (1949), Pontiac (1950). See National Urban League, op cit.

27. See Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909–1969* (London: Routledge, 2004), 21–22.

28. NAACP membership in the South was reported to be 128,716 in 1955, declining to 79,677 in 1957 (http://nedv.net/community/blackhx/stanford-mlk-chronolgy.html).

29. CORE, "The History of CORE," (http://www.core-online.org/History/history.htm).

30. Mosque No. 1 (Detroit), Mosque No. 2 (Chicago), Mosque No. 3 (Milwaukee), Mosque No. 4 (Washington, D.C.), Mosque No. 5 (Cincinnati), Mosque No. 6 (Baltimore), Mosque No. 7 (New York), Mosque No. 8 (San Diego), Mosque No. 9 (Youngstown), Mosque No. 11 (Boston), Mosque No. 12 (Philadelphia), Mosque No. 13 (Springfield, MA), Mosque No. 14 (Hartford), and Mosque No. 15 (Atlanta).

31. Oscar DePriest (R-IL), 1929–1935; Arthur Mitchell (D-IL), 1935–1943; William Dawson (D-IL), 1943–1970; Adam C. Powell, Jr. (D-NY), 1945–1970; Charles Diggs (D-MI), 1955–1980; Robert Nix, Sr. (D-PA), 1958–1979; Augustus Hawkins (D-CA), 1963–1991; John Conyers (D-MI), 1965–present.

32. Harold Cruse, *Plural But Equal: Blacks and Minorities in America's Plural Society* (William & Morrow, 1988); Peter Paris, *The Social Teachings of Black Churches* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985); and Manning Marable, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (Boston: South End Press, 1983), 228–29.

33. Ibid, 242–43.

34. "Adam Clayton Powell," a documentary directed by Richard Kilberg, (1989).

35. On mythological aspects of black nationalist teachings, see Herbert Berg, "Mythmaking in the African American Muslim Context: The Moorish Science Temple, the Nation of Islam, and the American Society of Muslims" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion,* 73/3, September 2005; R. Drew Smith, "Black Religious Nationalism and the Politics of Transcendence," *American Academy of Religion,* 66/3, 1998: 533–547; and E. U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

36. See, for example, Theoharis op. cit., 2003; Dillard, op. cit., 2003; and Adolph Reed, Jr., *The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon: The Crisis of Purpose in Afro-American Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

37. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1990, p. 260; *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1992, p. 267.

38. "Taking Over City Hall," *Black Enterprise Magazine,* June 1983: 155–160.

39. Ronald Walters, *Black Presidential Politics in America: A Strategic Approach* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 143.

40. Walters, 142–150.

41. A 2005 study by Hartford Seminary places the number of African American megachurch pastors at roughly 100, and a 2011 study by Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs places the number at 149. See Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, *The Black Mega-Church: Theology, Gender, and the Politics of Public Engagement* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2011).

42. Tucker-Worgs, op. cit.

43. Cruse, 385.

44. Key pieces of civil rights legislation include: the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1962, 1964, 1968, and 1991; the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988; and the Voting Rights Acts of 1965, 1975, and 1982.

45. Associated Press/Ipsos poll was conducted by Ipsos-Public Affairs. Jan. 9–12, 2006. N = 1,242 adults nationwide (margin of error ± 3), including, with an oversample, 312 blacks (MoE ± 5.5).

46. The BCAP Survey was conducted by Morehouse College's Public Influences of African American Churches Project, 1999–2000. N = 1,956. For further details about the BCAP survey and these specific variables, see R. Drew Smith, "Assessing the Public Policy Practices of African American Churches," in *Long March Ahead: African American Churches and Public Policy in the Post-Civil Rights Era* edited by R. Drew Smith (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 12–13.

47. R. Drew Smith (editor), *New Day Begun: African American Churches and Civic Culture in Post-Civil Rights America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

48. See Alice Walker, *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983); and Jacquelyn Grant, *White Women's Christ and Black Women's Jesus: Feminist Christology and Womanist Response* (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1989).