

Sweet Home Chicago: From the Delta to Bronzeville

Notes

Part I. Delta Artifact to Urban Legend

Research for this essay began with reading the literature on Robert Johnson and the Mississippi Delta blues as well as listening to Johnson's music, its roots and that of his contemporaries. The plan was to follow the blues trail up to Chicago. Months into the project I realized that the starting point was the destination, the Black Metropolis/Bronzeville.

History is always subject to revision. The earliest commentaries on Robert Johnson were thin since little was known of his life. Later works added substantial information, insight, correction and dispute. I have added original publication dates for those interested in following the story of the search for Robert Johnson, his legend and his photographic image. Conceptualization of the *Black Metropolis* also has been subject to revision and new commentary with each reissue of the Drake and Cayton study.

Primary sources on the Great Migration and Bronzeville include: St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). The original text of this path breaking work was published in 1945 in two volumes by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. The 1993 edition includes the original introduction by Richard Wright, an introduction to the 1962 edition by Everett C. Hughes and a forward to the new edition by William Julius Wilson. The 2015 edition includes a new forward by Mary Pattillo. Alan H. Spears, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); Christopher Robert Reed, *The Rise of Chicago's Black Metropolis, 1920-1929*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011); and Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

Primary publications on Robert Johnson used here, in order of date of original content publication, include Gayle Dean Wardlow with Edward Komara (Ed.), *Chasing the Devil Music: Searching for the Blues* (San Francisco: Miller Freeman Books, 1998) a compilation of writing in various blues publications beginning in the mid 1960s; Robert Palmer, *Deep Blues*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1982); Peter Guralnick, *Searching for Robert Johnson* (New York: PLUME, 1998, text copyright 1982); Stephen LaVere, *Liner Notes to Robert Johnson: The Complete Recording* (Columbia Records, 1990); Elijah Wald, *Escaping the Delta: Robert Johnson and the Invention of the Blues* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004); Tom Graves, *Crossroads: The Life and Afterlife of Blues Legend Robert Johnson* (Spokane: Demers Books LLC, 2008).

Delta blues players who arrived in Chicago during the second wave of the Great Migration had a profound impact on mid century American culture. Thomas Dyja, *The Third Coast: When Chicago Built the American Dream* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2013) tells the story of Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf and Chess records along with that of Chicago gospel, architecture, city planning, television, theater and the politics that defined this post World War II era.

English blues writer Bob Groom quoted in Robert Palmer, *Deep Blues*, p. 125.

For "Sweet Home Chicago" as one of the most covered songs in history, see Noah Berlatsky, "From 'Sweet Home Chicago' to 'Yesterday,' the most-covered songs in history," *Salon*, July 26, 2014, available at http://www.salon.com/2014/07/26/from_sweet_home_chicago_to_yesterday_the_most_covered_songs_in_history/.

For the Axis of Life, see St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 385-394.

II. Building the Black Metropolis

On Robert Abbot and the *Chicago Defender*, see Alan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890-1920*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 81-82, 131-136, 168; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 59-61, 406-410; and Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p. 9, 38.

On making the Black Metropolis, see Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 174-213; Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 22-38. Spear writes "During the next decade, the black belt became the 'Black Metropolis.' The prosperity of the 1920s made the dream of a truly self-sufficient Negro city seem close at hand. The South Side's halcyon days had arrived." Spear, *Black Chicago*, p. 222.

For statistics on Chicago's black population, see Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 8.

On W. C. Handy selling "Northern Negro" newspapers, see William Christopher Handy, *Father of the Blues* (New York: Colliers Books, 1970), p 83.

On the Great Migration, see Spear, *Black Chicago*, p.129-146; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 58-64.

On conflict over housing and the creation of tenements, see Spear, *Black Chicago*, p. 147-150; and Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p.61, 202, 573, 576-577, 608, 660.

The 1919 race riot was a most violent episode during the first wave of the Great Migration to Chicago. There were 58 racially inspired bombings between 1917 and 1921. The 1919 riot was a major impetus behind the Chicago Commission on Race Relations which issued its report in 1922. See Spear, *Black Chicago*, p. 130, 211, 214-221. Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 65-76; Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 15, 35, 207.

For Oscar Micheaux and synopsis of *Within Our Gates*, see Gerald R. Butters, Jr., "From Homestead to Lynch Mob: Portrayals of Black Masculinity in Oscar Micheaux's *Within Our Gates*," *Journal of MultiMedia History*, Volume 3, 2000, available at <http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol3/micheaux/micheaux.html>. See also Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 147-151. One of the last surviving and restored copies of *Within Our Gates* is online at <https://youtu.be/h1E0NrcnwAE>.

On the Negro Market and Negro business ownership rate, see Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 433-439.

Employment and distribution of city work, see Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 218-235; Spear *Black Chicago*, p. 151-158.

New Negro Consciousness, see Spear *Black Chicago*, p. 125-126, 137-138, 193; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 714-715; Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p.13-17, 41-44.

Daytime stroll and the city within a city, see Spear *Black Chicago*, p. 91-110; Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 33 (Map of the daytime Stroll), 34-38, 41, 65; Department of Planning and Development, City of Chicago. *The Black Metropolis-Bronzeville District: Preliminary Staff Summary of Information*. 1997.

On Overton, Walker and Joyner, see Spear, *Black Chicago*, p., 184-185; Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 54-90;

Bronzeville unemployment and the Great Depression, Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 217-223

Jesse Binga real estate and banking interests and collapse of House of Binga, see Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 84, 465-466; Carl R. Osthaus, "The Rise and Fall of Jesse Binga, Black Financier," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 58 (1), 1973; and Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 50, 47-48.

Depression Blues

Chicago as "northern Shangri-La," Elijah Wald, *Escaping the Delta: Robert Johnson and the Invention of the Blues* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), p. 118.

WPA blues lyrics from “Uncensored History of the Blues: Show 38 – WPA Blues,” available at <http://uncensoredhistoryoftheblues.purplebeech.com/2008/10/show-38-wpa-blues.html>. See also Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 353-355.

Policy Wheels (4-11-44)

4-11-44 designates a policy wheel station.

Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 470-494, provide a detailed discussion of policy and the policy racket.

“Nickels and dimes.” Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 45.

“500 policy stations”, “Odds of winning.” Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 470, 472.

“Country boy out of Georgia.” Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 47.

Blind Blake “Playing Policy Blues” at <http://www.americanbluesscene.com/2015/09/language-of-the-blues-policy-game/>.

Aunt Sally’s Policy Players Dream Book at <http://www.luckymojo.com/auntsallys.html>.

Policy blues from “Uncensored History of the Blues: Show 27 – Policy Blues,” available at <http://uncensoredhistoryoftheblues.purplebeech.com/2007/06/show-27-policy-blues.html>.

Baldwin discusses policy gambling and argues that Drake and Cayton only grudgingly acknowledge that policy was a significant financial underpinning of the Black Metropolis; see Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 45-51.

III. Jazz and Blues on the Stroll

“Female blues vocalists were the biggest performing and recording stars of the era...,” Sandra Lieb, *Mother of the Blues: A Study of Ma Rainey* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), p. xi.

On Bronzeville and the nighttime Stroll, see Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 44-52 (Map of the nighttime Stroll, p. 46); Davarian L. Baldwin, “Midnight Was Like Day’: Strolling through Archibald Motley’s Bronzeville,” In Richard J. Powell (Ed.), *Archibald Motley: Jazz Age Modernist*, (Chapel Hill: Duke University Press, 2014), 47-53, 63-70; and William Howland Kenny, *Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History, 1904-1930*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 3-60, 147-171.

Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* is the classic study of Bronzeville, the city within a city. While providing an in depth analysis of social, economic and political life, their study does not delve into the details of the communities' entertainment and leisure culture. Davarian L. Baldwin provides that research with his in depth analysis of Bronzeville culture production exemplified by the music and performance arts of the nighttime Stroll, entrepreneurs of beauty culture, urban film culture, Gospel music and the sporting life.

Elijah Wald's discussion of the music that Robert Johnson might have heard builds on the research of Alan Lomax, John Work, Fisk University Sociologist Lewis Jones and one of Jones' graduate students, Samuel Adams. Their research, conducted in 1941 and 1942, was sponsored by Fisk University and the Library of Congress. Jones' unpublished manuscript reports on interviews with generations of residents in Coahoma County which includes Clarksdale, Mississippi. Adam's master thesis reports on favorite songs heard locally and on the radio by older and younger informants as well as jukebox record titles from five of Clarksdale's black amusement places. See Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 86-102.

That Bright Light City

Eddie Condon, "so much music in the air." Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p 14.

Black and tan clubs, see Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p. 17.

Vetted by the Musician's Protective Union Local 208, see Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 164-165, 170.

Stroll venues and performers, Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 46-50 (Map of the nighttime Stroll, p. 46); Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p. 5-26; and Chicago Jazz Archives available at <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/cja/jazzmaps/maphome.htm>.

"Black musicians were models of sophistication," Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p 37.

"The Stroll suffered financially in late 1920s" and Savoy as "most elegant, elaborate and expensive entertainment complex," Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p. 16,162.

Mayor Thompson and the Volstead Act, Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p. 151

Bessie Smith "No one wants to hear the blues no more, times is hard," quoted in Ken Burns, *Jazz, Episode 4: The True Welcome: 1929 to 1934*, (PBS, 2001).

Archibald Motley and the nighttime Stroll, see Baldwin, 'Midnight Was Like Day,' p.47-52, 63-70. Motley's paintings of the nighttime Stroll are displayed throughout Baldwin's chapter.

“Buffet flats and rent parties, with their soul food dinners and small fees, served as alternative sites of cultural production, leisure and labor on the Stroll,” Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 164-165; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 381-382; Angela Davis. *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), p. 133,137.

“16,000 Beer Flats...” Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p.153.

Dorsey playing in buffet flats, Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 165.

Blind Lemon Jefferson; Samuel B. Charters, *The Country Blues*, (Da Capo Press, 1975), p. 57-72. Biography and gravestone inscription, see by Joslyn Layne, “Blind Lemon Jefferson,” *All Music*, available at <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/blind-lemon-jefferson-mn0000050205/biography>.

Blind Blake; Samuel B. Charters, *The Country Blues*, (Da Capo Press, 1975), p. 52-55, 65, 120.

Black female blues singers, Mamie Smith and Mayo Williams, see Samuel B. Charters, *The Country Blues*, (Da Capo Press, 1975), p. 43-56; Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p. 121-126.

Flexibility to work with diverse group of vocalists, see Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p. 47.

Mayo Williams hired Dorsey, Parham and Austin; see Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p. 126.

Mayo “Ink” Williams nickname, Lieb, *Mother of the Blues*, p. 21-22.

Musician session payment, see Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p. 120 and August Wilson, *Ma Rainey’s Black Bottom: A Play in Two Acts* (New York: New American Library, 1985), p. 103, 105-106.

Lonnie Johnson, see, Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 26, 94, 116, 118; Kenny, *Chicago Jazz*, p. 124; and “Lonnie Johnson Biography,” at <http://www.musicianguide.com/biographies/1608004726/Lonnie-Johnson.html>.

I’m Going Home on the Morning Train

Development of gospel music in Chicago, see Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 156-192 and Robert M Marovich, *A City Called Heaven: Chicago and the Birth of Gospel Music*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), p 11-112.

“Low down music,” Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, , p. 611; “Stepping out of the show...,” Baldwin, ‘Midnight Was Like Day,’ p. 64.

Arizona Dranes, Sister Rosetta Tharp and Elder Lucy Smith, see Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 165-166, 169-170.

Rosetta Tharp was a favorite among young listeners in the Delta, Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 93.

Competing narratives of secular and spiritual; Angela Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), p. 3-15; Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 156-158, 163-164, 166-167.

W.C. Handy devil quote, Handy, *Father of the Blues*, p.11, 13.

Mahalia Jackson and Thomas Dorsey interviews, see Studs Terkel, *And They All Sang: Adventures of an Eclectic Disc Jockey*, (New York: The New Press, 2005), p. 184-188 and 177-183, respectively.

"Low down dirty blues," see Handy, *Father of the Blues*, p. 216.

"List of do's and don'ts," published in *Chicago Defender*, May 17, 1919, available at <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai3/migrations/text6/chicagodefender1919.pdf>.

Views among classes and dicty characterization, Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 610; Baldwin, 'Midnight Was Like Day,' p. 49-52.

Dorsey and attitudes toward proper church music, see Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 156-158;

The Gospel Nexus, Marovich, *A City Called Heaven*, p. 87-112.

Mahalia Jackson, "Precious Lord," quoted in Chicago Municipal Agency for Planning, *A Feasibility Study for Black Metropolis National Heritage Area*, 2013, p. 39.

IV. Blame it on the Blues

Thomas Dorsey, Ma Rainey and the Atlanta 81 Theater, see Robert M. Marovich, *A City Called Heaven: Chicago and the Birth of Gospel Music*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), p. 71, 75. See Marovich for biographical details of Dorsey's early life from his birth in Villa Rica, Georgia in 1899 to his use of song demonstrators including Mahalia Jackson after his 1928 success with recorded blues, p. 71-77. Also for Dorsey's early career, see Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, p. 164-165.

For Ma Rainey as performer, see Lieb, *Mother of the Blues*, p. 4-5, 7-13, 16-17, 31-33. Lieb provides the first detailed biography of Gertrude "Ma" Rainey including a discography of her recordings.

“Prove It on Me Blues,” Lieb, *Mother of the Blues*, p. 17-18, 124-125 (lyrics); Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*, p. 39-40, 45, 238 (lyrics). Davis provides transcribed lyrics to all Ma Rainey recordings, p. 200-255.

Ma Rainey claimed to have first heard the blues in 1902 from a girl who began to sing about the “man” who had left her, quoted in Lieb, *Mother of the Blues*, p. 3. Handy claims to have first heard the blues around the same time; see Handy, *Father of the Blues*, p. 78. The (Yellow) Dog refers to the Yazoo Delta railroad that crosses the Southern railroad at Moorhead, Mississippi. Handy published the “Yellow Dog Blues” in 1922.

Dorsey played in juke joints and rent parties in Atlanta and later at buffet flats and rent parties in Chicago, Marovich, *A City Called Heaven*, p. 72; Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 164-165, 170.

Dorsey learned composition, arranging, and songwriting, Marovich, *A City Called Heaven*, p. 72-73; Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 171, 175.

“Riverside Blues,” performed by King Oliver, see Marovich, *A City Called Heaven*, p. 74.

“Loveless Love,” performed by Erskine Tate and Alberta Hunter, see Handy, *Father of the Blues*, p. 154.

Rainey hired Dorsey to lead her Wildcats Jazz Band, Marovich, *A City Called Heaven*, p. 75; Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, 171; Lieb, *Mother of the Blues*, p. 28-31, 35-37.

Dorsey wrote “Blame it on the Blues” for Rainey; Lieb, *Mother of the Blues*, p. 62, 67, 157-158. Lyrics in Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*, p. 204-205.

Dorsey marries Nettie Harper Marovich, *A City Called Heaven*, p. 75,

Seismic change in the world of jazz and blues, see Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 172-173. Decline and ultimate death of vaudeville, the T.O.B.A and the Classic Blues style, see Lieb, *Mother of the Blues*, p. 37-40.

August Wilson, *Ma Rainey’s Black Bottom: A Play in Two Acts*, (New York: New American Library, 1985), p. 79. For Rainey’s best hits in 1927-1928 and decline of career, see Lieb, *Mother of the Blues*, p. 39-41, 43-44, 46-47; Bessie Smith lines quoted in Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*, p. 95.

Dorsey and Tampa Red, Marovich, *A City Called Heaven*, p. 76; Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 175; Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p.37-38.

Dorsey’s gospel breakthrough, see Marovich, *A City Called Heaven*, p. 91-92, 102-108; Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 158, 177-186.

Leroy Carr, first blues “crooner,” Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 36-38. Carr and Blackwell styles, see Robert Palmer, *Deep Blues*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), p. 109-110, 112 (epitome of world weary sophistication).

Robert Johnson in early 1930s, see Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 121 (proud of first records), 127 (influenced by most prolific Chicago recording artists), 130-185 (influences on his recordings). Charlie Patton bought a new car every year; David Evans, *Charlie Patton Biography*, Part I, 2005, p. 13 available at http://paramountshome.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=76:charley-patton-biography-part-1-dr-david-evans&catid=45:new-york-recording-laboratoriesartist&Itemid=54.

Lineage of “Dust my Broom” and “Come on in my Kitchen;” Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 135-138, 142-145; Palmer, *Deep Blues*, p. 114-115.

Scrapper Blackwell and “Kokomo Blues;” see Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 133, 139.

James “Kokomo” Arnold; see Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 134-135, 168-169.

“Eleven light city;” see Paul Oliver, *Blues Off the Record* (The Baton Press. 1984), p. 105–106.

Robert Johnson swaps “Chicago” for “Kokomo,” see Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 138-139; Palmer, *Deep Blues*, p. 114; lyrics to “Sweet Home Chicago” in Stephen LaVere, *Liner Notes to Robert Johnson*, (Columbia Records,1990), p. 30-31.

Tweaking the refrain of “Sweet Home Chicago;” see Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 302-303 (fn. 6.) and Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes*, p. 14.

Charlie Patton’s trip to Grafton; see Palmer, *Deep Blues*, p. 82-83.

V. I’m a Steady Rollin’ Man

The spread of blues clubs in Chicago on the South and West sides is illustrated in a series of maps in the Encyclopedia of Chicago, Blues Clubs in Chicago, 1945-2000, available at <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1764.html>.

Death certificate of Robert Johnson, Wardlow and Komara, *Chasin’ that Devil Music*, p. 86-90.

Ramblin’ on my Mind

Biographical source on Robert Johnson used here (which are at times in disagreement over the facts of Johnson life) include, Elijah Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 105-125; Graves, *Crossroads*,

p.13-47; Guralnick, *Searching for Robert Johnson*, p. 1-68; and LaVere, *Liner Notes to Robert Johnson*, p. 5-22.

“Johnson boys” and Johnson referring to himself as R.L.; LaVere, *Liner Notes to Robert Johnson*, p.12; Guralnick, *Searching for Robert Johnson*, p. 20.

Johnson travels to Hazlehurst; Ward, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 106-109.

Traveling alone and with Johnny Shines; Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 113-119; Palmer, *Deep Blues*, p. 205 (on Lockwood).

Recording with H.C. Speir and ARC records; Ward, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 119-121; Guralnick, *Searching for Robert Johnson*, p. 32-39; Importance of H.C. Speir, see Wardlow and Komara, *Chasin’ that Devil Music*, p. 131-149 .

Relatively little is known about Robert Johnson; Palmer, *Deep Blues*, p. 117 (“made his guitar sound...”); Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 111-118 (Shines quotes).

Recorded repertoire; Pete Welder, “Hell Hound on his Trail: Robert Johnson, *Down Beat*, 1966, p. 74; Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 118.

It is interesting to consider the version(s) of “My Blue Heaven” Johnson might have heard. It was a Count Basie favorite. Crooner Gene Austin had a best-selling hit with it in 1928. Jimmie Lunceford recorded a version in 1935 that would have appealed to Johnson (<https://youtu.be/zuVna91Zv4Q>). Artie Shaw’s version was released in 1941 and on the jukebox at Lucky’s in Clarkdales in 1941-42, but too late for Robert to have heard it. See Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 98, 279.

Delta blues innovators; settlers preparing for a move to Chicago; Chicago only city mentioned; Ward, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 85, 90, 102.

Generation that came of age in 1920s to 1940s; see Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 87-91.

Robert Johnson’s generation that moved to Chicago; see Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 86, 90.

Me and the Devil Blues

Demonic terms; see for example Pete Welder, “Hell Hound on his Trail: Robert Johnson,” p. 73-74.

Story of Son House and selling soul to devil; Pete Welder, “Hell Hound on his Trail: Robert Johnson,” p. 103. Son House reportedly would wave away requests to repeat the story.

Tommy Johnson story and Legba; see Guralnick, *Searching for Robert Johnson*, p. 18; Ward, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 271-272; and Palmer, *Deep Blues*, p. 60. For extensive discussion of Legba and African deities, see Henry Louis Gates, Jr, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); summarized in <http://mason.gmu.edu/~stichy/685gates.htm>.

Tommy Johnson cartoon; by Robert Crumb, *Charlie Patton*, available at <http://www.celticguitarmusic.com/patton1.htm>.

Speculation on devil story and Puritans; see Greil Marcus, *Mystery Train*, (New York: Penguin Group, 1990), p. 22, 28.

Tommy Johnson story in *O Brother, Where Art Thou*. Robert E. Oermann writes in Liner notes to *O Brother* CD that the Tommy Johnson character has sold his soul to the devil “just like his Depression-era namesake Robert Johnson supposedly did.” The *New York Times* review is quoted in Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 272.

“My old evil spirit can catch a Greyhound,” noted in Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 177-178. Johnson “saved;” see Waldlow, *Chasin’ that Devil Music*, (San Francisco: Miller Freeman Books, 1998), p. 201.

Michael Mabry painting of the crossroads; from <http://www.msvisualarts.org/artist-search/detail/micheal-mabry>. Clarksdale claim that this is the crossroads, see <http://www.roadsideamerica.com/tip/26919>.

Highways 61 and 49 in Clarksdale and Mississippi tourism promotion of the site where “Robert Johnson sold his soul to the devil,” see Stephen A. King, *I’m Feeling the Blues Right Now: Blues Tourism and the Mississippi Delta*, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001) p. 94-95.

If I had Possession

Don Law on Johnson first recording session; see Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 120-121; Graves, *Crossroads*, p. 32-35.

The legal feud over ownership of the two confirmed photos of Robert Johnson (the Hooks Brothers and “dime store” photographs) is discussed in Graves, *Crossroads*, p. 87-96. A fuller discussion of the agreement between LaVere and Carrie Thompson and subsequent disputes over ownership of Robert Johnson’s songs and the photographs is provided in the Estate of Carrie Thompson et al. versus Stephen C. LaVere et al. before the Supreme Court of Mississippi; available at <https://courts.ms.gov/images/HDLList/..%5COpinions%5CCO92269.pdf>.

“An anomalous court decision.” Benjamin Gemperle provides a critical analysis of the copyright issues involved in the 2000 case of ABKCO versus LaVere. See “Can’t Get No Satisfaction: How Abkco v. Lavere Bowed to Pressure from the Music Industry.” *Loyola of Los Angeles Entertainment Law* 85(2001). Available at: <http://digitalcommons.lmu.edu/elr/vol22/iss1/3/>. For suit against R. Crumb, see Frank Digiacomio, “Searching for Robert Johnson” *Vanity Fair*, November, 2008. Available at <http://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2008/11/johnson200811>. Robert Crumb has done drawings of hundreds of other blues and jazz players, some of which grace the décor of Chicago’s Old Town School of Folk Music. Guralnick describes the McCormick photos of Robert Johnson in *Searching for Robert Johnson*, p. 64-68.

For legal dispute as to whether Claud Johnson is son and heir to the estate of Robert Johnson and testimony of Eula Mae Williams, see *In RE: the Estate of Robert L. Johnson, Deceased*, before the Supreme Court of Mississippi, available at <http://caselaw.findlaw.com/ms-supreme-court/1439960.html>.

For legal disputes over “Sweet Home Chicago,” see Steve Knopper, “Sweet Home Chicago’ leaves sour taste for some,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 30, 2002.

The discovery of the purported third photo of Robert Johnson is described in Frank Digiacomio, “Searching for Robert Johnson” *Vanity Fair*. For forensic analysis of the photo, see Bruce M. Conforth, “A New Analysis of the Two Accepted Photos of Robert Johnson and the Alleged New 3rd Photo,” available at https://www.academia.edu/13591934/A_NEW_ANALYSIS_OF_THE_TWO_ACCEPTED_PHOTOS_OF_ROBERT_JOHNSON_AND_THE_ALLEGED_3RD_PHOTO. Conforth’s analysis is discussed in John Nova Lomax, “49 Experts Agree: That Third Photo of Robert Johnson Is Not Authentic.” *Texas Monthly*, May 29, 2015. Available at <http://www.texasmonthly.com/the-daily-post/49-experts-agree-that-third-photo-of-robert-johnson-is-not-authentic/>.

The third photo is available on the Getty Images website with the following description: “Legendary American blues singer-songwriter and guitarist Robert Johnson (1911-1938), left, with fellow blues musician Johnny Shines (1915-1992), circa 1935. This image, one of only three known photographs of Johnson, has been extensively retouched. (Photo by Robert Johnson Estate/Hulton Archive/Getty Images).”

On the cover of *Escaping the Delta*, Elijah Wald adds a cigarette to the Hooks Brothers photo of Johnson.

VI. Back to that Same Old Place

“Sweet Home Chicago” recordings; early versions include Tommy McClennan (1939), Walter Davis (1941), Junior Parker (who had a hit in 1959 that included the lines “back to that same old place, sweet home Chicago”); see Wald, *Escaping the Delta*, p. 139.

Second wave of Great Migration, population growth and spatial expansion; see Mary Pattillo, “Forward by Mary Pattillo,” in St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); p. xxi-xxxiv (maps of black majority census tracts in Chicago and Cook County, 1940-2010), xxxiii-xxxiv.

Ida B. Wells homes as haven for lower middle class; see Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p. 660.

On the Robert Taylor Homes, see D. Bradford Hunt, “What went wrong with Public Housing in Chicago? A History of the Robert Taylor Homes,” *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society*, 94(1), 2001: 96-123.

On Robert Taylor; see Chicago Municipal Agency for Planning (CMAP), *A Feasibility Study for Black Metropolis National Heritage Area*, 2013, p. 43.

Chicago Housing Authority, Plan for Transformation, mixed use communities; see D. Bradford Hunt and Jon B. DeVries, *Planning Chicago*, (Chicago: American Planning Association, 2013), p 151-165.

Bronzeville housing units and the Plan for Transformation; see CMAP, *A Feasibility Study for Black Metropolis National Heritage Area*, 2013, p. 16.

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Trick you one time, sure gon' do it again

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