"Lena Not the Only One": Representations of Lena Horne and Etta Moten in the Kansas City *Call*, 1941-1945

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"Why should Hollywood writers insist that Miss [Lena] Horne is the only good looking [black] woman in the U.S.A. who can act?" posed a wartime issue of *The Call* (Kansas City, Missouri).[1] Writers at *The Call*, the regional black newspaper, understood that this Hollywood tokenism, which framed Horne as exceptional, perpetuated white supremacy by substituting symbolic equality for tangible civil rights.[2] Throughout the war years, *The Call* challenged white popular culture's representation of Lena Horne as unique, proclaiming, "Lena Not the Only One."[3] First, with its weekly "Stage and Screen" coverage of black female performers, the newspaper asserted that "there are thousands of beautiful young Negro girls" with talent.[4] Second, *The Call* called attention to its own extraordinary hometown celebrity, Kansas-City-born Etta Moten, star of a *Porgy and Bess* revival. By focusing on Moten, *The Call* echoed a goal of the national civil rights movement, as set forth by NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White and symbolized by Horne: to expand African Americans' role in the entertainment industry and alter conventional images of African Americans. *The Call,* by presenting Etta Moten as a "home-town" counterpart to Horne, localized a national program of uplift and community formation through a specific role model that represented a new type of black female respectability—the glamorous middle-class entertainer.[5] Moreover, *The Call*'s representation of Horne and especially its portrayal of Moten, as "the gal from Kansas City" who "makes good," reflect the special character of Kansas City, Missouri, as well as editor

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Chester A. Franklin's newspaper itself, with its focus on local and regional events, community church news, local culture and activism, and affirmative portrayals of middle-class, or "distinguished," black Kansas Citians.[6]

Scholars, notably Richard Dalfiume, have long maintained the importance of understanding the World War II years as the "'forgotten years' of the [black] revolution," a watershed moment in black history, and the "years of transition in American race relations [that] comprise" the roots of the modern civil rights movement.[7] Historian Ronald Takaki has argued that World War II "became for [African Americans and other people of color living in America] what black intellectual leader W.E.B. Du Bois called the 'War for Racial Equality.'"[8] At the same time, white Americans would come to view World War II as a "good war" for the preservation of American equality and liberty; a war abroad in the name of democracy and Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms"—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.[9] Dissatisfied with the Jim Crow armed services of World War I, African Americans challenged America's ideological hypocrisy, a critique which described the current war as a mission to extend freedoms to "everywhere in the world" while discrimination and segregation persisted at home. At the same time, many blacks embraced the war effort, viewing Hilterism as a dire alternative to an unrealized democracy. In an attempt to support the war effort yet continue these demands for full civil rights reform, the black press mounted a "Double Victory" campaign in 1942. Yet the black press, mindful of suppression and censorship during World War I, were wary of being accused of sedition.[10] The *Pittsburgh Courier* initiated this program, with "The first V for victory over enemies without, the second V for victory over our enemies from within."[11] Sparked by a letter to the editor from James G. Thompson of Wichita, Kansas, the "double VV" was a collective refusal to "live half American."[12] The majority of black newspapers adopted Thompson's "Double V" initiative during World War II.[13]

Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), adopted the "Double V" slogan to fight racism on two fronts—abroad and at home. He viewed the derogatory representation of African Americans in the entertainment industry as a facet of domestic racism and sought to achieve a civil rights victory in Hollywood. In 1942, Walter White partnered with former Republican presidential candidate Wendell Willkie and traveled to Los Angeles to meet with studio executives. "Anxious to bend the color line in movies," White hoped to persuade the film industry to alter the one-dimensional portrayal of African Americans in Hollywood movies.[14] As I have discussed elsewhere, Walter White viewed Lena Horne as "an interesting weapon" in his attempt to coerce wartime Hollywood "to shake off its fears and taboos and to depict the Negro in films as a normal human being and an integral part of the life of America and the world."[15] For White, Lena Horne symbolized the notion of "the Negro . . . as a normal human being"—a notion shaped by class, status, colorism, and a desire for racial integration—and was a race representative. To use the words of theorist Richard Dyer, White believed that

exposing white and black audiences to glamorous African American entertainers, like Lena Horne, would affect "how [African Americans would] see themselves and others like themselves" as well as "how others see [African Americans] and their place and rights."[16]

While her name does not evoke the same recognition today as that of Lena Horne, Etta Moten was a notable concert, film, and operetta performer throughout the 1930s and 1940s. By 1941, Moten had performed bit parts in the Hollywood films *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933) and *Flying Down to Rio* (1933) and had sung for the President and Mrs. Roosevelt at the White House.[17] Despite Moten's decade of experience and publicity, Lena Horne would eclipse Moten in fame and visibility after 1942 as the only "sepia" star "under contract to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer."[18] After signing with M-G-M, the black press made Horne an "overnight" celebrity.[19] African American national news services, such as the Associated Negro Press, Calvin's Newspaper Service, the Negro Press Bureau, and the National Negro Press Association, provided *The Call* with countless stories featuring the first African American woman to "crash the film world."[20] Similarly *Call* columnists W. Bea Harmon, author of the regular column titled "The Gossipel Truth," and Ruby B. Goodwin, writer of the recurring "Hollywood in Bronze," frequently discussed "That Horne Girl."[21]

As Lena Horne dominated the entertainment pages of *The Call* between 1941 and 1945, the newspaper reframed her Hollywood image. Rather than representing Horne as exceptional, *The Call* portrayed her as one among a bevy of talented African American female entertainers by including comparable reportage on "native daughter" Etta Moten.[22] At the same time, *The Call*'s wartime portrayals of Lena Horne—drawn largely from national black wire sources and therefore similar to those found in other black newspapers of the era—referenced her exceptional visibility among white audiences and her role as an icon of the black middle class on a national scale. In many ways, *The Call'*s representation of Horne mirrors that of *The Crisis* and other African American newspapers, such as the *Chicago Defender*, the *New York Amsterdam News*, and the *Afro-American* (Baltimore).[23] These black publications, which relied on shared articles via African American wire services, primarily defined Horne by explicitly positioning her against Hollywood stereotypes of African Americans as well as their implicitly positioning her image against that of black working-class women. In its portrayal of Etta Moten, *The Call* tapped into this "national" lexicon surrounding Horne as well as a local reform context "that sought to promote a Kansas City that allowed African Americans to live up to their potential."[24] Although by the 1940s Moten lived primarily in Chicago, *The Call* viewed her as a "Kansas Citian" and symbol of a local black middle class; at the same time, the newspaper defined Moten's image against that of black female Kansas Citians of the working class or underclass and of black Kansas City as a vice-ridden metropolis.[25] Within the pages of *The Call*, Lena Horne and Etta Moten are constructed as glamorous middle-class entertainers, representatives of a new type of black female respectability, beauty, and sexuality, that mediate conventional representations of African

American women as asexual "race women" and hypersexual jazz singers. *The Call*'s representations of Lena Horne and Etta Moten created a space between the image of the stoic "race woman," who strategically denies her sexuality to uplift the race, and the stereotype of the tragic, hypersexual jazzwoman.[26] Ultimately, though, *The Call* under the leadership of "race man" C. A. Franklin situates Moten as a more relevant symbol for the black middle class in Kansas City than the nationally recognized Horne.[27] For the "conservative" Kansas City *Call*, which sought to offer "political news and items that affirmed the African American community" in Kansas City and reach its religious audience, Moten's performance of traditional middle-class values and connections to Kansas City's religious community proved crucial to its project of representing "local race men and women," as well as *The Call* itself, as tools of racial uplift and protest in Kansas City, Missouri.[28]

Publisher C. A. Franklin printed his first 2,000 copies of *The Call*, housed at the center of Kansas City's Eighteenth and Vine district, in 1919; by 1940, *The Call* sold 20,000 papers per week.[29] Just eight years later, *The Call*, billing itself as "The Southwest's Leading Weekly," achieved a circulation of more than 41,000 and circulated to cities and towns in Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Utah, and Texas.[30] Overall, *The Call* reflected the views of Franklin, who aimed to provide readers with images of "local race men and women," discredit stereotypes of African Americans living in Kansas City, Missouri, and create a racialized sense of community among a population divided by class and state lines.[31] This population and its wide-spread communities are notoriously hard to characterize. Statistics reflect a modest increase in Kansas City, Missouri's black population for the period, a growth of 34 percent between 1940 and 1950, from 41,574 in 1940 to 55, 682 in 1950. Still, migration meant that Kansas City, Missouri's black communities were most likely in constant flux. Many migrants viewed Kansas City as a waystation to the north while newcomers settled in and old residents moved on. [32] Historian Charles E. Coutler describes Kansas City, Missouri, as "'overchurched,'" with 101 churches for a black population of approximately 41,000 by the end of WWII; he argues that Kansas City's religious life offered "one of the few areas in which African American males could assert themselves as individuals."[33] Perhaps this explains *The Call*'s religious bent—its spotlight on local church news—unlike the more secular *Chicago Defender*. Additionally, scholars have struggled to capture the dynamics of the Kansas City communities separated by the Kansas-Missouri state line. Sherry Lamb Schrimer describes Kansas City, Missouri, as "claim[ing] a tenuous southern heritage" and documents its "spatial apartheid," while Kansas City, Kansas, located in a historically abolitionist state, was mostly integrated during this period. Franklin viewed himself as a leader of these Kansas City black communities and believed that black readers desired an optimistic newspaper that touted African American achievement, both locally and nationally. *The Call*'s image of Moten, as a successful "Kansas Citian," mirrored Franklin's aspiration to challenge black Kansas City, Missouri's reputation as a seat of vice and impropriety as well as to

model traditional values of respectability in hopes of creating a "growing 'race consciousness' of Negroes" living in Kansas City, Missouri.[34]

According to scholars, Kansas City acquired its "wild-and-wooly" character in the 1880s.[35] Its reputation as an open city spread under political boss Tom Pendergast, who controlled Kansas City politics from 1911 to 1939. Following the demands of the Society for the Suppression of Commercialized Vice and the Citizens' League that he rid Kansas City's white enclaves of immorality and degradation, Pendergast encouraged the association between black Kansas City and vice; according to Coulter, "staunch Republican" C. A. Franklin criticized "the crime and violence associated with Tom Pendergast's Democratic machine."[36] During prohibition and the 1930s, Kansas City, under the Pendergast machine's rule, established a national reputation as a corrupt, wide-open town in which the black community and jazz was part of the legend.[37] Kansas City-native Robert Altman recreated much of that world and the central role of the black community in his 1996 film, *Kansas City*. Much of the movie takes place in the Hey Hey Club in the Eighteenth and Vine district, the black community's main street, where Pendergast machine-associated vice—prostitution, gambling, bootlegging, and narcotics—found a home and attracted louche white patrons. The movie depicts the jazz clubs, home to not only vice but also the all-night jam sessions of jazz legends Count Basie, Lester Young, Ben Webster, and May Lou Williams. *The Call*, in keeping with its religious tone, advertised black-owned jazz clubs that promised African American listeners entertainment free from alcohol and "rowdyism" as reputable alternatives to seamy nightclubs.[38] Still, many African American club owners profited financially and politically by serving a white clientele with a taste for the carnal and the criminal. Many African Americans of the working class and underclass found solace from the everyday affects of racism and poverty in illicit nightclubs despite a desire among the black middle class to eliminate corruption and indecency.[39] Sherry Lamb Schirmer notes that "vice drove a wedge through the black population, making a united effort to eradicate it impossible."[40]

During the same period, white social workers and public officials, attempting to protect property values and segregation, linked the presence of African Americans living in particular areas of Kansas City, Missouri, with negative behaviors and characteristics.[41] White, middle-class Kansas Citians portrayed their black neighbors as indolent, criminal, and immoral. As Kevin Fox Gotham contends, "In essence, this linking of place, race, and behavior worked to racialize urban space thereby focusing public attention on the behaviors of [African Americans] as the cause of urban problems and, in effect, justifying their segregation from the white population."[42] White, middle-class Kansas Citians refused to recognize class differences among the African Americans living in Kansas City. Instead, they viewed their black neighbors as a monolithic group—disorderly, criminal, and immoral—in order to legitimize racial segregation and discrimination.[43]

The Call attempted to counter white associations of black Kansas Citians as criminal, neglectful parents, lazy, and immoral and to foster a local black consciousness through class uplift. Franklin, like many middle-class African Americans, believed that the performance of certain values, including regard for education, family, appearance, deportment, piety, and hard work more than income or occupation, determined a person's class; in fact, *The Call*, like most black newspapers and unlike most white newspapers, often omitted deceased peoples' occupations in obituaries, defining their life's worth and work by their family relationships, church activities, and community standing, rather than by their livelihood or socioeconomic status.[44] By modeling black, middle-class values in its pages, *The Call* sought to uplift black Kansas Citians and to win the respect of white Kansas City.[45]

The Call's representation of Moten reflected these objectives. Her image challenged the reputation of the Eighteenth and Vine district as a hotbed of corruption. Additionally, by portraying light-skinned Etta Moten and Lena Horne similarly, as successful, talented, mobile, respectable, and glamorous entertainers, symbols of middle-class African American values and civil rights, *The Call* linked all of black Kansas City to a national, middle-class agenda as articulated by Walter White and represented by Lena Horne. Furthermore, by celebrating Moten's education as well as her roles as mother, wife, Kansas City native, and daughter of a local African Methodist Episcopal pastor, *The Call* implicitly made Moten a more accessible role model for black Kansas Citians, than was distant Lena Horne, revealing a great deal about both Moten and *The Call* as a newspaper.

Throughout the war period, *The Call*'s representation of Horne as a groundbreaking film actress mirrors that of *The Crisis* and other black newspapers, such as the *New York Amsterdam News*, which described Horne as "the 'New Type' Sepia Movie Star."[46] *The Call* referenced this image of Horne, as a "'New Type'" of Hollywood star, representative of the black middle class, as did other black publications. At the same time it promoted its image of Etta Moten as a symbol of the Kansas City black, middle class. During the war, *The Call* referred to Lena Horne as the "sensational new colored singer recently signed to an M-G-M contract," "the new darling of the copy writers," and "the woman of the year in movie and singing circles."[47] *The Call* provided meticulous coverage of Horne's upcoming film performances, illustrated with publicity photographs for her newest picture. In particular, *The Call* devoted attention to Horne's role in "the advancement of Negroes in motion pictures during 1943" with its accounts of the much anticipated "Negro musicals" of that year, M-G-M's *Cabin in the Sky* and Twentieth Century Fox's *Stormy Weather*.[48]

In 1943, *The Call* announced, "Hollywood, in keeping with a suggestion made in Washington that certain heretofore restricted fields of industry be thrown open to Negroes, will produce pictures in which Negroes play leading roles."[49] Describing *Cabin in the Sky* and *Stormy Weather* as "initial experiments" in producing such pictures, *The Call* covered the films throughout their production and release.[50] Like their Hollywood predecessors, *Hallelujah* (1929), *Hearts*

in Dixie (1929), and *The Green Pastures* (1936), white men wrote, directed, and produced these 1943 musicals with black casts. The studios, intending to mollify the NAACP and meet government directives, assuaged some audiences and angered others that felt it perpetuated stereotypes of African Americans.[51] Although *The Call* reported that some "newspaper folks are beginning to attack [*Cabin in the Sky*] and refer to it as another 'Green Pastures,'" others viewed the film as fulfilling Hollywood's "promise to the N.A.A.C.P. that better and more varied parts would be written into future pictures."[52]

Similarly, one critic in *The Call* described *Stormy Weather* as "punctuated occasionally by a reversion to the stereotyped portrayal of Negro characters in which grins and bad grammar are major constituents," but ultimately praised the film as "a creditable effort on the part of its producers to provide a broader outlet for the talents of Negro motion picture stars."[53] In *In Person: Lena Horne*, Helen Arstein and Carlton Moss construct Lena Horne's attitudes toward *Cabin in the Sky* and *Stormy Weather* in this same vein; Arstein and Moss represent Horne as viewing these films as "indeed, a starting point" and as "head and shoulders above the primitive background in which previous Negro stories—*Hearts in Dixie*, *Hallelujah*, and *Green Pastures*—had been portrayed."[54]

In 1942, the same year it began extensive reporting of Horne, *The Call* increased its coverage of Etta Moten and her performances as Bess in the road company revival of Gershwin's folk opera of black life *Porgy and Bess*. Between 1942 and 1945, *The Call* portrayed Lena Horne and Etta Moten in similar ways. In doing so, *The Call* discredited the Hollywood idea of Horne as exceptional, spotlighted Moten as the home-town equivalent to Horne, and connected middle-class, black Kansas Citians to a national middle-class black agenda, explicated by Walter White, of representing the African American "as a normal human being and an integral part of the life of America and the world."[55]

For black newspapermen and women, Horne signified implicitly what Angela Davis terms "travel as a mode of freedom." According to Davis, for African Americans with a history of enslavement and a segregated present, unrestricted travel represents "tangible evidence of freedom" and images of "independent, traveling women enter into black cultural consciousness in ways that reflect women's evolving role in the quest for liberation."[56] Throughout this period *The Call* represented Lena Horne and Etta Moten as "traveling women" within the framework suggested by Davis.[57] Like other black newspapers, *The Call* represented Horne as a nationally mobile black vocalist who symbolized racial advancement through victory over discrimination at home and abroad; During WWII, the black press documented Lena Horne's transcontinental travels as a vocal headliner. *The Call*, like the *Chicago Defender*, the *New York Amsterdam News*, and the *Afro-American*, portrayed Horne as a highly praised actress and nightclub performer, who crisscrossed the nation with ease.[58]

The Call used this same vocabulary as a framework to construct a similar image of Etta Moten. The Kansas City newspaper used this national representation of Horne to fashion Moten as "the gal from Kansas City," who as a stage, screen,

and radio star traveled the country.[59] Like the blues women discussed by Davis, *The Call* depicted both Horne and Moten as black women who "troubled and destabilized" the logic of Jim Crow racism as well as "dominant gender politics within black consciousness."[60] Their mobility challenged gendered expectations that black women stay "territorially confined by the domestic requirements of family building" as well as symbolized a basic freedom denied African Americans during slavery and restricted during the 1940s.[61]

On September 4, 1942, *The Call* informed its readers that *Porgy and Bess* would end its Broadway revival to tour, citing "the grave transportation difficulties facing stage productions" as the motivation "to do its touring now while railroad accommodations are still available."[62] Several weeks later, on September 25, 1942, *The Call* proclaimed that *Porgy and Bess* would embark on a nationwide road tour with Etta Moten as the vehicle's star.[63] This announcement commenced *The Call*'s coverage of the folk opera company and its Kansas City leading lady as they traveled the Midwest, toured the west coast, played the Northeast, performed in the mid-Atlantic, and "invad[ed] the south."[64] *The Call* followed Horne's transcontinental travels as well, updating readers as to her whereabouts. The paper covered Horne's countless trips during the war years; articles publicized journeys from Hollywood to New York, and vice versa.[65] The dangerous conditions facing African American travelers during this period illuminate the significance of these black female travelers to *The Call*'s editors and writers.

According to Sherrie Tucker, white authorities and vigilantes "*criminalized* and *policed*" the lives of African American travelers as they journeyed throughout segregated America in the 1940s.[66] Black male entertainers faced bodily violence and lynching by white racists who perpetuated what Angela Davis has termed "the myth of the black rapist."[67]

Etta Moten and Lena Horne threatened white supremacist assertions that no woman with "ascertainable black blood" deserved the title of "lady."[68] Intimidation in the form of verbal insults, threats, and sexual harassment confronted African American female entertainers as they traveled through unfamiliar locales. Given this context, reports of Jim Crow encountered by Moten, the cast of *Porgy and Bess*, or Horne during their travels are conspicuously absent from the pages of *The Call*. In contrast, *Theatre Arts*, a white publication, commented that "in spite of war tensions the [first year of the *Porgy and Bess*] tour was completed without a single incident over hotel accommodations or Negro attendance at the theatre."[69] The following year, the *Afro-American* announced that "Baltimore's jim-crow policies landed a knockout blow" on the cast of *Porgy and Bess*. Etta Moten relayed that "she was called vile names" by white women on two separate occasions. Other members of the company told the *Afro-American* that performances in other cities were without incident as they denounced the local theater's discriminatory policy requiring African Americans to sit in the segregated upper balcony.[70] Recalling her travels with *Porgy and Bess* during an oral history interview, Moten remembers, "A number of interesting things happened, discrimination and that sort of thing, in places where you didn't expect it."[71] Mo-

ten's extensive travels outside of the segregated south resulted in unpredictable circumstances. Whereas discrimination and overt racism *were* expected in overtly segregated America, uncertainty surrounded Moten's reception in supposedly integrated areas of the country. At times, Moten found herself in unforeseen and degrading situations. For example, Moten recalls for her interviewer an incident in Pocatello, Idaho, where a white hotel manager refused her a room, forcing her to spend a "cold" night on the couch of a hospitable black family.[72]

Franklin's desire to provide African Americans with "positive" stories of black achievement resulted in a newspaper that privileged images of the mobile, independent "race women" over accounts of journeys hindered by Jim Crow. Like *The Crisis*, *The Call* championed Lena Horne's performance at New York City's Savoy Plaza as the "first time that a colored girl has been the featured entertainer at this swanky nitery" and announced uneventful travel from New York, after completing her commitment to perform at the Savoy, to Hollywood.[73] Horne reconstructed the experience differently in her autobiography; she writes, "The hotel would not let me stay there…. They gave me a suite where I could change and rest between shows, but I could not sleep there."[74] Like Moten, Horne's treatment, which violated New York's public accommodation law, reflects the uncertainty surrounding travelling black women in supposedly integrated locales like New York. *The Call* accounts did not mention the "swanky" hotel's policy of *de facto* segregation.[75]

Similarly, the newspaper focused on the talent of Etta Moten and the overall success of *Porgy and Bess,* despite some African American criticism that the operetta perpetuated debasing racial stereotypes. Many black viewers contested Moten's character Bess, a tragic figure described by one writer as embodying "three distinct types of women—sensuous and carefree, gentle and devoted, drug-crazed and irresponsible."[76] One African American audience member lamented, "I don't like that side of our life shown on the stage. . . . That is the way the other races label us."[77] In contrast, *The Call* shared the view of one newspaper writer, who recognized that the folk opera allowed audiences "to see something that is seldom seen on stage—exceptionally fine Negro actors and singers—in leading roles."[78] Additionally, by focusing on Moten's successes as an actress, rather than the type of role she played, *The Call* ignored comparisons of Moten to Bess, who represented the stereotype of the wanton black woman, a common stereotype of the black female Kansas Citian.[79] Such comparisons would have undermined *The Call*'s promotion of successful black female performers and churchwomen as seen in the newspaper's "Stage and Screen" and local church sections. Similarly, it favored Horne's image as "the first Negro girl" to break into Hollywood or perform at a white-owned venue.[80] *The Call* portrayed both women as traveling civil rights activists, breaking down racial barriers in the entertainment industry, and exemplars of racial uplift, exposing black and white audiences to a new type of African American performer that defied white supremacist representations of black women.

Additionally, *The Call* in its representation of Moten tapped into national representations of Horne as a black entertainer committed to combating racism at home and abroad by touring the country to entertain men and women in uniform.[81] The Kansas City newspaper highlighted Lena Horne's and Etta Moten's shows for black and white soldiers stationed at segregated training camps across the country. By emphasizing Moten's and Horne's performances for American troops, black and white, *The Call* provided uplifting examples of black patriotism and quality entertainment for black servicemen and women. Prior to and during World War II, the government often denied black troops first-rate entertainment; this denial marked one way that America's Jim Crow army continued to overlook and denigrate black contributions to the war effort. [82] *The Call* described Horne's performance with the cast of *Cabin in the Sky* for the African American men garrisoned at the remote and racially segregated Fort Huachuca, Arizona. The newspaper informed readers that "the pretty songstress" commended "the discipline, the morale and excellent conduct of the men and complimented them upon the fine appearance of their camp."[83] The following year, *The Call* reported that the men of Fort Huachuca, including Horne's uncle, Sergeant John B. Horne, named "the screen star" the "'Sweetheart of the 92nd Infantry Division.'"[84] In addition, the paper covered Horne's appearances at Southern veterans' hospitals as well as at "the famed Hollywood Canteen."[85] Similarly, *The Call* reported that "Etta Moten brought happiness to the members of the famous 25th Infantry regiment" assigned to Fort Huachuca when she "sang to a capacity house in the post theatre."[86] The paper also covered Moten's performances at Camp Livingston, Louisiana; Camp Davis, North Carolina; Fort Mammouth, New Jersey; the Stage Door canteen; and Camp Clipper for "thousands of colored soldiers."[87]

The Call pictured Moten signing autographs for African American soldiers following her performance at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri; the editors of *The Call* aptly titled the Army Air Force photograph "Glamour For Air Forces."[88] By focusing on Moten's performances for soldiers, as well as her work with the Inter-Racial War Bond committee—a war bond and stamp drive led by U.S. Treasury Department representative Frank Isby and attorney Charles Mahoney—*The Call* portrayed the *Porgy and Bess* star as an avid supporter of the "Double Victory" campaign during the war.[89]

In the battle to achieve a "Double Victory," *The Call* focused on the treatment of African American servicemen, asserting that black soldiers deserved the same entitlements granted to white soldiers. Similarly, *The Call* featured photographs of Horne as she autographed pictures for a sailor stationed at the U.S. Naval Training Center in Great Lakes, Illinois, and as she "captivate[d] Tuskegee Airmen" during her second tour of Tuskegee Army Air Field in Alabama.[90] The weekly also portrayed Horne as she spoke with "members of the 1550th Service Unit," a Women's Army Corps division at Fort Knox, Kentucky, and "on a Hollywood set" as she sold "Victory bonds to MGM executives."[91] Through their war effort work and performances, Moten and Horne represented black women who revered black soldiers' service in a war for democracy and racial equality.

Their concerts, which entertained blacks and whites, suggested that black troops deserved the same level of appreciation and respect afforded white servicemen.

Despite the similarities in *The Call*'s portrayal of Horne and Moten, its representations of them also diverged significantly. The weekly, nearly silent on Horne's status as a high-school dropout and divorced mother of two, focused instead on Horne's image as a woman, "whose dignity and personal charm [cast] a new light…on the entire Negro race," and as a "No. 1 pin-up" girl.[92] *The Call*, like other black newspapers, politicized the white press's representation of Horne as the first "dusky" glamour girl by imbuing it with "Double V" significance.[93] In contrast, *The Call* depicted Moten as a glamorous, educated, and family-oriented "native daughter," whose public identification with black bourgeois values made her a role model for black Kansas Citians; a portrayal that also acted as a self-representation of *The Call* as a black institution.[94]

Franklin's *The Call* portrayed Lena Horne as a "gorgeous and glamorous brownskin actress," a "pioneer in the exploitation of Negro beauty," and a popular pin-up girl among its readers; a woman considered beautiful by both blacks and whites.[95] Similarly, Moten's glamour and its appreciation by both black and white audiences is highlighted in prose and image. The perception of both Horne and Moten as glamorous and beautiful "brownskin" ladies is tied to their skin color and reflects the racism of dominant popular culture and the colorism of black culture. Historically, classical Hollywood filmmakers, restricted by the Hollywood Production Code, have struggled to cast light-skinned African American women. The Production Code, adopted in 1934, banned the portrayal of "miscegenation," romantic or sexual interracial relationships, and its mere suggestion. Fearful that white audiences might read light-skinned black actresses paired with black men as white and unable to cast them alongside white men, many studios cast light-skinned black women as Latinas. Like Lena Horne in *Panama Hattie* (1942) and *Broadway Rhythm* (1944), Hollywood had cast light-skinned Etta Moten as the Latina "'Carioca' Girl" in *Flying Down to Rio* (1933). Interestingly, the notion that black women could convincingly perform other racial identities seems to undercut the ideology of biological essentialism that the Production Code sought to uphold.

At the same time, *The Call*'s choice of Horne and Moten as respectable symbols of black beauty reflected the color consciousness of African American communities and complex attitudes about the connections between skin color, phenotype, respectability, and notions of beauty.[96] By highlighting Moten as a symbol of the Kansas City black middle class, *The Call* sought to supplant dominant stereotypes of African American women in Kansas City and to refashion the popular image of black Kansas City women as respectable ladies, yet in doing so the newspaper risked perpetuating a link between skin color and respectability that could marginalize dark-skinned women. Still, *The Call* and other black publications viewed pin-up images of light-skinned women like Horne and Moten as subversive, for they challenged racist notions that black was not beautiful.

Throughout WWII, the white press provided white soldiers with a plethora of white pin-up girls, who represented both dominant conceptions of beauty and hegemonic ideologies of gender, sexuality, race, and war. Within Hollywood, Lena Horne emerged as *the* black pin-up girl, yet another way that she was portrayed as exceptional by white image-makers. In her autobiography, Lena Horne rejected white constructions of her as *the* African American pin-up girl, writing, "I . . . chose not to accept my status as a pinup queen as a compliment. It was, rather, an afterthought, as if someone had suddenly turned to the Negro GIs and said: 'Oh, yes, here fellows, here's a pinup girl for you, too.'"[97] For *The Call* editors, Horne's pin-up status was far from an afterthought. In a social climate, to use the words of cultural theorist bell hooks, where "black men were murdered/lynched for looking at white womanhood" and, in the 1950s, the "white supremacist structure . . . murdered Emmet Till after interpreting his look as violation," pin-up images of Horne and Moten, among others, filled a void.[98] White southerners used lynching as a form of terror to enforce Jim Crow. When a black man looked at a white woman, Southerners widely construed it "as violation, as 'rape' of white womanhood," yet a white soldier could carry Horne's image in battle without fear of terror.[99] Horne's observation, that "'it was hardly safe" for African American soldiers to display the myriad of pin-ups featuring white women, illuminates the relationship between power and the gaze as well as the need for the production of black pin-ups.

By titling images of Horne with captions like "Something For The Boys" and those of Moten with captions like "Glamour For Air Forces," *The Call*, sharing a similar approach with other black newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender*, the *New York Amsterdam News*, and the *Afro-American*, asserted that black women were beautiful and that black soldiers deserved to cherish the same dreams as white soldiers. Perhaps given their differences in marital status and age, Horne's viability as a sexy pin-up girl exceeded Moten's. Her photograph acted as a holiday love letter: "To the Boys Overseas and in the armed forces everywhere 'Merry Christmas' and shown above is the girl who can say it best—Lena Horne."[100] A widely circulated photograph of Horne, smiling, hands on her hips, wearing a strapless gown served as a valentine labeled, "The boys overseas and over here keep writing and asking us for pictures of Lena Horne…. Here she is again fellows. Here is our Valentine present to you."[101] *The Call*'s portrayal of Horne as the favored pin-up girl among soldiers, acted as an extension of their representation of the singer-actress in "Double V" terms. As with the newspaper's representations of Horne's performances for soldiers, images of Horne as pin-up girl championed the contributions of black soldiers to World War II.

A feature written by Conrad Clark, foreign correspondent for the Associated Negro Press, titled "Boys Like Lena In New Guinea Jungles," confirmed that Horne was an admired pin-up girl among men stationed abroad:

> Proof of Miss Horne's popularity over here [New Guinea] can easily be found by visiting the different tents, recreation hall

> and even taking an occasional ride in a jeep or truck. Out of every three to five vehicles I have ridden in, there is a picture of Lena Horne up somewhere above the driver's head.[102]

For black men fighting in a segregated army, Lena Horne represented a source of race pride and the promise of democracy; *The Call* faithfully delivered pride and promise with each image of "the girl who [could] say it best."

If Horne's fame surpassed that of Moten, *The Call*, while treating each respectfully, seemed to favor Moten as a role model. Although Lena Horne was a divorced mother of two and high school drop-out, *The Call* seldom discussed this side of her private life, choosing instead to concentrate on Horne's public image as a glamour girl. Unlike other black newspapers that carefully followed Horne's messy divorce, *The Call* rarely mentioned Horne's marital status, perhaps a reflection of its religious bent; the few times the Kansas City newspaper alluded to Horne's divorce it was in relation to gossip concerning Horne's possible marriage plans.[103] *The Call*'s silence regarding Horne's private life and education illuminates the newspaper's desire to image the middle-class, black mother as a married and educated woman. Etta Moten suited this image and her connections to Kansas City made her a fitting model. Moten embodied both the autonomous, mobile woman and the successful, family woman; unlike many African American women, who "remained territorially confined by the domestic requirements of family building," and many blues women, who "sometimes expressed regrets that they were unable to establish 'normal' family lives," Moten had both a successful career and family life.[104] Repeatedly, *The Call* touted Moten's family connections, positioning her as "daughter of Rev. and Mrs. F.F. Moten of Kansas City"—an especially important connection given *The Call*'s religious audience—"mother of three daughters," and "Mrs. Claude A. Barnett, wife of the nationally prominent director of the Associated Negro Press"—one of the wire services that provided *The Call* with many of its articles on Moten.[105] By characterizing Etta Moten as wife and mother, *The Call* asserted that "the preservation of family integrity" among middle-class African Americans was a political venture and flouted white representations of the African American matriarch as "a 'bad' Black mother" and black families as "disorganized."[106] Overall, this representation of Moten as a local "gal" reflected *The Call*'s approach in general.[107] *The Call* pictured Etta Moten and Etta V. Barnett, Moten's youngest daughter, in the Hotel Theresa, also known as the "Waldorf of Harlem," a black-owned hotel that accommodated many notable African Americans, especially entertainers performing at the Apollo, during their stays in New York City throughout the 1940s and 1950s. The accompanying caption informed *The Call*'s readers that two of Moten's three daughters attended Talledega College, a private, church-related historically black college in Alabama, and pursued graduate studies at the University of Chicago.[108] In an interview with the Associated Press, Etta Moten linked herself to the many African American mothers, throughout history and across class lines, who worked to send their daughters

to school; she said, "'Everybody I know is in [the theater] for a purpose—and it's generally economic. In my case it was my daughters. I want to take care of them and give them a good education. And I've done it.'"[109]

In addition to mentioning the academic feats of Moten's daughters, *The Call* nearly always cited Moten's own educational accomplishments. The paper reminded readers that Moten was a graduate of Western University, in Quindaro, Kansas, and a graduate of the University of Kansas, which presented her with a distinguished service citation in 1943.[110] *The Call*'s representation of Moten as a traveling performer, known as a university graduate and former Jackson Jubilee singer, reflects representations of other touring performers with college ties, such as the Fisk Jubilee singers, the Wiley Collegians, and the Prairie View Co-Eds. Like these educated entertainers, *The Call*'s image of Etta Moten acted as, in the words of Sherrie Tucker, "[a reminder] of the struggles of African Americans for education as a mode of resistance, freedom, and progress."[111]

In 1945, *The Call* printed an article, "'Bess' Retires," quoting Moten as saying, "'I have enjoyed this tour despite the arduous travel. . . . The 'Porgy and Bess' cast has been a delightful one to work with. Talented and cultured people all of them, they have created an impression and made friends for our group in the theater and the communities where they have appeared which will be important to the future of Negro people on the stage.'"[112] Similarly, in another article, "A Symbol-A Realist: Lena Horne Thinks of Race," *The Call* quotes David Hanna, *Daily News* reporter, on Horne. Hanna describes Horne as "a symbol to [her] race," who by "sing[ing] her song in the inimitable Horne manner and with a personality that is impossible to resist . . . is making her own quiet and effective contribution" to altering screen depictions of African Americans.[113]

As *Porgy and Bess* traveled the country and Horne's films opened in theaters across the nation, *The Call* represented Moten and Horne as "talented and cultured" entertainers, who disproved white stereotypes and epitomized a "Double V" mentality. Furthermore, by linking Moten to Horne—depicted as "a symbol to [her] race" in black newspapers across the nation—*The Call* tapped into a national black, middle-class agenda and adapted it to the needs of Kansas City's black communities. Furthermore, *The Call's* coverage of Moten reflects the character of the newspaper itself and its editor, C. A. Franklin. Moten "created an impression" that opposed the image of black Kansas City as vice-ridden and that represented, through her talent, mobility, civil rights advocacy, education, family life, and religious connections, an impression that *The Call* also sought to make as "an institution of uplift" for Kansas City's African American communities.[114]

Notes

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1. Lawrence F. LaMar, "Lena Horn [*sic*] as Carmen: Lena Not the Only One," *The Call*, March 10, 1944, 7.

2. See Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, "Blacks, Loyalty, and Motion-Picture Propaganda in World War II," *The Journal of American History* 73, no. 2 (1986): 383-406 and Megan E. Williams, "Imaging Lena Horne: Race and Representation in 1940s America" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Kansas, 2006), 1-30.

3. Lawrence F. LaMar, "Lena Horn [*sic*] as Carmen: Lena Not the Only One," *The Call*, March 10, 1944, 7.

4. *Ibid*.

5. "Native Daughter," *The Call*, January 22, 1943, 15.

6. Nell Dodson, "Etta Moten a Broadway Star: Acclaimed For Role of 'Bess,' Had Only 10 Rehearsals With 'Porgy' Cast" *The Call*, June 19, 1942, 14. Throughout this essay, my understanding of the descriptor "middle class" is drawn from the work of such scholars as Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham and Martin Summers on the "politics of respectability" and the black middle class. Therefore, my use of "middle class" is meant to suggest the performance of certain "respectable" values, including regard for education, family, appearance, deportment, religious piety, and hard work, rather than socioeconomic status. See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); and Martin Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents: The Black Middle Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). Rather than using "aristocrats of color," "black elites," "the emerging black middle class" or Darlene Clark Hine's term "black professional class," Charles E. Coulter uses "distinguished leaders," the words of educator J. Silas Harris, to describe Chester A. Franklin's cohort of religious, educational, medical, and journalistic leaders in black Kansas City, Missouri. Charles E. Coulter, *"Take Up the Black Man's Burden": Kansas City's African American Communities, 1865-1939* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 86-87.

7. Richard M. Dalfiume, "'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution." *The Journal of American History* 55, no. 1 (June 1968): 90-91.

8. Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2000), 7.

9. *Ibid*., 6-7.

10. As Patrick S. Washburn documents in *A Question of Sedition* the wartime government investigated editors of the black press, often more critical than the mainstream press of United States policy and officials, for "'"sedition" and "interference with the war effort"' (6)." Critics viewed programs like the "Double V" as unpatriotic and threatened suppression. Fearing possible indictments, Walter White of the NAACP called a 1943 conference of editors of black newspapers; *The Call* was among the newspapers represented at the conference. According to Washburn, White "urged [editors] to tone down their publications in order to avoid government prosecution (147)." Although no charges of sedition occurred during the war, the threat of these charges resulted in what Washburn describes as "an unofficial form of censorship (6)." See Patrick S. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

11. James G. Thompson, *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 31, 1942, quoted in Takaki, *Double Victory*, 20.

12. *Ibid*.

13. "'Porgy' Stars Aid Bond Sales," *The Call*, October 30, 1942, 15.

14. Lena Horne and Richard Schickel, *Lena* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1986), 121.

15. Horne and Schickel, *Lena*, 121; Walter White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 201. See Megan E. Williams, "The *Crisis* Cover Girl: Lena Horne, the NAACP, and Representations of African American Femininity, 1941-1945," *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism, and Bibliography* 16, no. 2 (2006): 200-218.

16. Richard Dyer, *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 1.

17. Etta Moten was the first African American invited to sing at the White House. Blankinship, "Screen Names," *The Call*, October 17, 1941, 14-15; "Sumner High Prepares for Moten Concert," *The Call*, January 16, 1942, 15.

18. "She's The Exception," *The Call*, February 4, 1944, 13.

19. "Lena Horne Returns to Hollywood for Movie: Will Be Featured in Picture, 'Stormy Weather' With Bill Robinson," *The Call*, February 5, 1943, 15. See also Lawrence F. Lamar, "Lena Horne in Picture: MGM Signs Her for a Role in 'DuBarry Was a Lady' Adaptation," *New York Amsterdam News*, February 28, 1942, 17, and Lawrence F. LaMar, "Lena Horne Gets Long Contract with Metro Goldwyn Pictures," *Chicago Defender*, March 14, 1942, 13, annotated in Charlene B. Regester, *Black Entertainers in African American Newspaper Articles, Volume 1: An Annotated Bibliography of the* Chicago Defender*, the* Afro-American *(Baltimore), the* Los Angeles Sentinel *and the* New York Amsterdam News*, 1910-1950* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2002), 425-426.

20. Dolores Calvin, "Seeing Stars: Lena Horne Scores on Radio Show," *The Call*, November 24, 1944, 7.
21. Ruby Berkley Goodwin, "Hollywood in Bronze: That Horne Girl," *The Call*, June 11, 1943, 15.
22. "Native Daughter," *The Call*, January 22, 1943, 15.
23. *The Crisis* featured Lena Horne on its cover twice between 1941 and 1945. Articles featuring Horne appeared a total of 227 times in the *Chicago Defender*, the *Afro-American* (Baltimore), the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, and the *New York Amsterdam News* combined between 1941 and 1945. See Regester, *Black Entertainers*, vol. 1. According to my calculations, *The Call* published 220 issues between 1941 and 1945; the newspaper disseminated at least 95 articles or photographs featuring Horne.
24. Coulter, *"Take Up the Black Man's Burden,"* 99.
25. "In 'Porgy and Bess' Again," *The Call*, September 24, 1943, 14; significantly, 50 percent of the time an article or photograph featuring Moten appeared in *The Call*, the newspaper also published an item regarding Horne in the same issue. During this period, Horne, Moten, or both were featured in 53.6 percent of *The Call*'s issues.
26. Hazel Carby, "It Just Be's Dat Way Sometime: The Sexual Politics of Women's Blues," *Radical America* 20, no. 4 (1986): 12; Also see Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
27. Coulter, *"Take Up the Black Man's Burden,"* 99.
28. Coulter, "*Take Up the Black Man's Burden*," 109, 111; Sherry Lamb Schirmer, *A City Divided: The Racial Landscape of Kansas City, 1900-1960* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 148.
29. Coulter, "*Take Up the Black Man's Burden*," 109.
30. Frank Driggs and Chuck Haddix, *Kansas City Jazz: From Ragtime to Bebop—A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 29; Armistead S. Pride and Clint C. Wilson II, *A History of the Black Press* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1997), 148.
31. Schirmer, *A City Divided*, 148.
32. The total population of Kansas City, Missouri, grew from 399,178 in 1940 to 456,622 in 1950. See Table 1.4 in Kevin Fox Gotham, *Race, Real Estate, and Uneven Development: The Kansas City Experience, 1900-2000* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 17. Schirmer, *A City Divided*, n. 7, 99.
33. Coulter uses "overchurched," the language of sociologists St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, to describe Kansas City by the end of World War II; he also notes, "The dominant occupation—at least numerically—for the African American professional class in Kansas City in the 1920s was as a member of the clergy." Coulter, *"Take Up the Black Man's Burden,"* 199, 87.
34. "In 'Porgy and Bess' Again," *The Call*, September 24, 1943, 14; *The Call*, November 1, 1919, quoted in Schirmer, *A City Divided*, 148.
35. Driggs and Haddox, *Kansas City Jazz*, 6. Also see Nathan W. Pearson, Jr., *Goin' to Kansas City* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 78.
36. Schirmer, *A City Divided*, 126; Coulter, *"Take Up the Black Man's Burden,"* 99, 114.
37. Driggs and Haddox, *Kansas City Jazz*, 5-7.
38. Schirmer, *A City Divided*, 125; *The Call*, December 29, 1922, March 25, 1927, quoted in Schirmer, *A City Divided*, 125.
39. Schirmer, *A City Divided*, 130-131.
40. *Ibid*., 131.
41. Sherry Lamb Schirmer, "Landscape of Denial: Space, Status and Gender in the Construction of Racial Perceptions among White Kansas Citians, 1900-1958" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 1995), 23.
42. Gotham, *Race, Real Estate*, 36-37.
43. Schirmer, *A City Divided*, 3, 8, 145.
44. Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents,* 6.
45. Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent,* 196.
46. Bill Chase, "Meet Lena Horne, the 'New Type' Sepia Movie Star," *New York Amsterdam News*, June 20, 1942, 16, annotated in Regester, 429.
47. "'Cabin in the Sky' Into Production at Metro," *The Call*, September 4, 1942, 14; "New Darling," *The Call*, November 20, 1942, 15; "The Year 1942 Brought These Three Girls a Bit of Fame and Fortune," *The Call*, January 1, 1943, 13.
48. Bette Davis, Rex Ingram, Lena and Dooley Wilson Honored for Unity Work," *The Call*, April 21, 1944, 7; "Would Use More Negroes in Movies," *The Call*, February 19, 1943, 14.
49. *Ibid*.
50. *Ibid*.
51. Harry M. Benshoff and Sean Griffin, *America on Film: Representing Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality at the Movies* (Malden, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 81.
52. "It Had Better Be Good," *The Call*, March 12, 1943, 15; "'Cabin' Has Cream," *The Call*, September 11, 1942, 15.

53. D.H.D., "Grinning Crapshootin': 'Stormy Weather' Fine Musical; Cast in Same Roles, However," *The Call,* June 4, 1943, 15.

54. Helen Arstein and Carlton Moss, *In Person: Lena Horne* (New York: Greenberg Publisher, 1950), 216.

55. White, *A Man Called White*, 201. "Native Daughter," *The Call*, January 22, 1943, 15.

56. "Native Daughter," *The Call.*

57. *Ibid*.

58. For examples from the *Chicago Defender*, the *New York Amsterdam News*, and the *Afro-American*, see "Popularity Is a New Word for Word—Lena," *Chicago Defender*, February 6, 1943, 12; "Lena Horne Packing Bags for Trip East," *Chicago Defender*, October 2, 1943, 11; "In Hospital for 'Check-up,'" *Chicago Defender*, November 13, 1943, 1; "Between Trains in Chicago," Chicago Defender, November 27, 1943, 1; "Lena Horne Flits Through City on Way to Coast," *Chicago Defender*, November 27, 1943, 1; "Lena Horne Back for New Pictures," *New York Amsterdam News*, January 15, 1944, 11; "$10,000 in the Bag," *Afro-American*, November 11, 1944, 1; "Sends Greetings to the Billikens," *Chicago Defender*, August 11, 1945, 1; annotated in Regester, *Black Entertainers*, 447, 466, 470, 471, 474, 488, 505.

59. Nell Dodson, "Etta Moten a Broadway Star: Acclaimed For Role of 'Bess," Had Only 10 Rehearsals With 'Porgy' Cast," *The Call*, June 19, 1942, 14; "Sumner High Prepares for Moten Concert," *The Call*, January 16, 1942, 15.

60. Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*, 67.

61. *Ibid*., 68.

62. "'Porgy and Bess' To Travel," *The Call*, September 4, 1942, 14.

63. "'Porgy and Bess' Begins Nation-wide Road Tour: On Broadway 281 Times With Etta Moten and Anne Brown as Stars," *The Call*, September 25, 1942, 15. I should note that the 1942 run was not a continuation of the original 1935 premiere run. Approximately forty minutes shorter than the original, with the recitatives omitted, the more streamlined 1942 version of the folk opera featured fewer musicians in the pit and fewer actors on stage. As Hollis Alpert writes, Moten, who replaced Anne Wiggins Brown in 1942, had auditioned for the original part but George Gershwin "rejected her for the role because her voice range was not high enough." By 1942 Moten had added to her range and with some adjustments made to the part of Bess, she got the role. In the words of Alpert, "The superbly trained and educated young woman balked, however, at the use of one word in the libretto—'nigger.' She refused to sing it, and the word was eliminated." Hollis Alpert, *The Life and Times of* Porgy and Bess*: The Story of An American Classic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 139.

64. Between 1941 and 1945, *The Call* reported that Etta Moten toured, either as a solo performer or as Bess in *Porgy and Bess* in 24 states, including the Deep South. In an article titled "'Porgy and Bess' Tours the South," *The Call* announced that the folk opera's southern tour, but did not mention specific venues or locations (November 26, 1943, 13).

65. See "Lena Horne Opens Savoy Plaza," *The Call*, November 27, 1942, 15; "Lena's Musical Advisor to N.Y.: Joins Singer at Savoy-Plaza," *The Call*, December 4, 1942, 15; "Lena Horne To Hollywood," *The Call*, January 22, 1943, 15; "Lena's Tonsils Out," *The Call*, November 19, 1943, 13.

66. Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: "All-Girl" Bands of the 1940s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 136-137.

67. See "Rape, Racism, and the Myth of the Black Rapist" in Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Random House, 1981), 172-201.

68. Ellen Tarry, "Etta Moten Fought Her Way To Fame; Broadway Star," *Amsterdam New York Star-News*, August 1, 1942, Box 427, Folder 4, Claude A. Barnett Papers (Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois); D.H.D, "'Stormy Weather' Fine Musical; Cast in Same Roles, However," *The Call*, June 4, 1943, 15; Lawrence F. LaMarr, "Jimmy Lunceford, Lena Horne Score In L.A.'s Orpheum Theater Show," *The Call*, June 16, 1944, 7; "Lena In Chicago," *The Call*, October 20, 1944, 7; Tucker, *Swing Shift*, 137.

69. "*Porgy and Bess* on Tour," *Theatre Arts*, undated, 667-678, Box 427, Folder 4, Claude A. Barnett Papers (Chicago Historical Society).

70. "'Porgy, Bess' Cast Taste Baltimore J.C.," *Afro-American*, October 16, 1943, 8, Box 427, Folder 4, Claude A. Barnett Papers.

71. "Interview with Etta Moten Barnett," in *The Black Women Oral History Project*, ed. Ruth Edmonds Hill, 137-233 (Westport: Meckler, 1991), 2:190-192.

72. *Ibid*.

73. "Lena Horne Returns to Hollywood for Movie: Will Be Featured in Picture, 'Stormy Weather' With Bill Robinson," *The Call*, February 5, 1943, 15.

74. Horne and Schickel, *Lena*, 147.

75. "Lena Horne Returns to Hollywood for Movie," *The Call*, February 5, 1943, 15.

76. Bud Kissel, "Show Shop: William Franklin Proves Success As 'Porgy' in Operetta," *The Columbus Citizen*, January 7, 1944, Box 427, Folder 4, Claude A. Barnett Papers.

77. Quoted in M.R., "'Porgy and Bess' Draw Crowd; Many Comments," undated, Box 427, Folder 4, Claude A. Barnett Papers.

78. *Ibid*.

79. For examples of articles that praised Moten's acting talents in *The Call*, see Willie Bea Harmon, "The Gossipel Truth: Just For The Record," *The Call*, January 1, 1943, 13; "Native Daughter," *The Call*, January 22, 1943, 15; Willie B. Harmon, "'Everybody is Crazy About Etta Moten': Naida King, 15, Child Actress in 'Porgy, Bess' Makes Observation," *The Call*, February 12, 1943, 14; Willie Bea Harmon, "Duncan's Singing, Etta Moten's Action Superb in Folk Musical," *The Call*, February 12, 1943, 14; "Hollywood in Bronze: Praises Etta Moten as 'Bess' and Ethel Waters in 'Cabin in the Sky,'" *The Call*, May 28, 1943, 14.

80. Carter, "Lena Horne, New Star," *The Call*, November 20, 1942, 15.

81. See "Lena Horne Scores at Victory Affair," *Chicago Defender*, May 23, 1942, 11; "Movie Group at Huachuca," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 3, 1942, 17; "Lena Horne, Bill Robinson to Entertain Europe AEF," *Chicago Defender*, January 16, 1943, 1; "La Horne Sings in the Desert," *Afro-American*, September 4, 1943, 8; "Anything for Fighting Men, Says Lena," *New York Amsterdam News*, November 20, 1943, 9; and "Lena to Open Theater in Her Honor at Ft. Huachuca," *Afro-American*, June 3, 1944, 8; annotated in Regester, *Black Entertainers*, 428, 436, 445, 464, 470, 483.

82. Tucker, *Swing Shift*, 123.

83. "'Cabin in the Sky' Stars Entertain at Huachuca," *The Call*, October 9, 1942, 15.

84. "Sweetheart of 92nd Division," *The Call*, September 10, 1943, 1.

85. "Lena Horne Swarmed in Forced Stopover at Jackson, Miss.," *The Call*, December 22, 1944, 7; "Lena, Lucky Entertain GIs," *The Call*, February 2, 1945, 7.

86. "Etta Moten Sings at Army Post: Famed Singer To Sing in K.C. On February 3," *The Call*, January 30, 1942.

87. "Entertains Soldiers at Camp Davis, North Carolina, With Songs," *The Call*, March 6, 1942, 14; "'Porgy and Bess' Begins Nation-wide Road Tour," *The Call*, September 25, 1942, 15; "Victory Committee Does Good: Etta Moten, a Visitor on Coast, Acts in Show," *The Call*, August 20, 1943, 15.

88. "Glamour For Air Forces," *The Call*, February 12, 1943, 15.

89. "'Porgy' Stars Aid Bond Sales," *The Call*, October 30, 1942, 15.

90. "Lena Signs Autographs at Great Lakes," *The Call*, September 1, 1944, 7; "Lena Horne Captivates Tuskegee Airmen," *The Call*, January 5, 1945, 1.

91. "Lena Horne Visits With WAC's [*sic*]," *The Call*, January 26, 1945, 1; "Stars Sell Bonds," *The Call*, November 16, 1945, 7.

92. "Bette Davis, Rex Ingram, Lena and Dooley Wilson Honored for Unity Work," *The Call*, April 21, 1944, 7; "Sweetheart of 92nd Division," *The Call*, September 10, 1943, 1; Conrad Clark, "Boys Like Lena In New Guinea Jungles," *The Call*, September 1, 1944, 7.

93. "Song Seller," *Newsweek*, January 4, 1943, 12. For examples of other black newspapers' representations of Horne as a pin-up and glamour girl, see "Its Staff Sergeant Lena Horne, Now," *Afro-American*, February 27, 1943, 8; "La Horne Gives Heart to 92nd," *Afro-American*, May 29, 1943, 10; "What the Army Thinks of Sultry Lena Horne," *Afro-American*, November 20, 1943, 8; Pvt. C. Melvin Patrick, "Lena's 'Pin-Up Girl' of Second Brigade," *New York Amsterdam News*, December 4, 1943, 9; "Pin-up Girl," *Afro-American*, December 11, 1943, 10; "La Horne 8th on Mlle. Award List," *Afro-American*, January 15, 1944, 8; Conrad Clark, "Lena Horne New Guinea Favorite," *Afro-American*, August 19, 1944, 8; "Lena's Box Office Draw Labels Her 'Golden Girl,'" *Afro-American*, October 14, 1944, 8; "Lena Named 'Ideal' by GI's in France," Afro-American, January 13, 1945, 8; annotated in Regester, *Black Entertainers*, 449, 456, 471, 472, 474, 485, 488, 491.

94. "Native Daughter," *The Call*, January 22, 1943, 15.

95. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993) ,186; Lawrence F. LaMarr, "Jimmy Lunceford, Lena Horne Score In L.A.'s Orpheum Theater Show," *The Call*, June 16, 1944, 7; Carter, "Lena Horne, New Star," *The Call*, November 20, 1942, 15; Clark, "Boys Like Lena In New Guinea Jungles," *The Call*, September 1, 1944, 7. Among white feminists, images of white women as pin-up girls are contentious. Maureen Honey argues that pin-up images "undercut egalitarian themes in American society fostered by the war," whereas Maria Elena Buszek asserts that the pin-up girl may be read as "a subversive icon for the sweeping changes in gender roles and sexual mores that developed during WWII." See Maureen Honey, "The 'Varga Girl' Goes to War," Essays on the Occasion of the Exhibition "Alberto Vargas: The Esquire Pinups" (2001), Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, http://www.spencerart.ku.edu/ vargas/honey.htm (accessed April 28, 2006) and Maria Elena Buszek, "Pin-up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, and the Pin-up, 1860 to the Present," (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 2003), xxvii.

96. For more on color consciousness and the complex connections between racism, colorism, skin color, phenotype, hair, class status, gender, and beauty see Marita Golden, *Don't Play in the Sun: One Woman's Journey Through the Color Complex* (New York: Doubleday, 2004) and Kathy

Russell, Midge Wilson, and Ronald Hall, *The Color Complex: The Politics of Skin Color Among African Americans* (New York: Anchor Books, 1992).

97. Horne and Schickel, *Lena*, 172.

98. bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 118.

99. *Ibid*.

100. "Something For The Boys," *The Call*, December 22, 1944, 7.

101. "A Valentine," *The Call*, February 9, 1945, 7.

102. Clark, "Boys Like Lena In New Guinea Jungles," *The Call*, September 1, 1944, 7.

103. See "Lena Horne, Movie Star, Sued For Divorce, Asks Division of Children," *The Call*, August 20, 1943, 15; Harry Levette, "Gossip Of The Movie Lots: Gossip Man Says Lena Horne May Marry Soon; Etta Moten to East," *The Call*, September 3, 1943, 14. For treatments of Horne's divorce and possible marriage plans in other black newspapers, see "Charged with Willful Absence," *New York Amsterdam News*, August 21, 1943, 1; "Sued for Divorce," *Chicago Defender*, August 21, 1943, 1; "Lena Asks Court to Dismiss Mate's Plea," *Afro-American*, November 6, 1943, 8; Lawrence F. LaMar, "Lena Horne's Divorce Action May Boomerang," *Afro-American*, November 27, 1943, 10; "Hubby May Settle Property Out of Court," *Afro-American*, March 18, 1944, 6; "Loses Hubby, One Child," *Afro-American*, June 24, 1944, 8; Harry Levette, "Lena Would Marry Again If Right Man Came Along," *Afro-American*, August 5, 1944, 8; Louis Lautier, "Lena's Next Husband May Be Returning War Veteran," *Afro-American*, November 4, 1944, 8, annotated in Regester, *Black Entertainers*, 463, 469, 470, 479, 484, 485. Given *The Call*'s commitment to uplift and middle-class respectability, it rarely mentioned divorce.

104. Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*, 68, 72.

105. "Outstanding Cast Brings 'Porgy and Bess' to Kansas City House," *The Call*, February 5, 1943, 14; Willie B. Harmon, "'Everybody is Crazy About Etta Moten': Naida King, 15, Child Actress in 'Porgy, Bess' Makes Observation," *The Call*, February 12, 1943, 14; "Etta Moten Honored By University of Kansas; Receives Achievement Award," *The Call*, May 21, 1943, 14.

106. Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, From Slavery to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 107; Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 75; Schirmer, *A City Divided*, 4.

107. Nell Dodson, "Etta Moten a Broadway Star: Acclaimed For Role of 'Bess,' Had Only 10 Rehearsals With 'Porgy' Cast" *The Call*, June 19, 1942, 14.

108. "Charming Couple," *The Call*, October 16, 1942, 14.

109. Jones, *Labor of Love*, 96-97; Moten quoted in "'Porgy and Bess' Star Doubles As Wife and Mother," undated, Box 427, Folder 3, Claude A. Barnett Papers.

110. Harmon, "'Everybody is Crazy About Etta Moten,'" 14; "Will Sing In Topeka: Etta Moten Guest Artist December 17," *The Call*, December 11, 1942, 14; "Etta Moten Honored By University of Kansas," 14.

111.Tucker, *Swing Shift*, 119, 165.

112. "'Bess' Retires," *The Call*, February 2, 1945, 7.

113. "A Symbol-A Realist: Lena Horne Thinks of Race," *The Call*, June 9, 1944, 7.

114. Charles C. Coulter describes Kansas City's chapters of the NAACP and the National Urban League as well as local YMCA/YWCA programs as "institutions of uplift." I believe that this is a fitting description of how C. A. Franklin viewed *The Call*. Coulter, *"Take Up the Black Man's Burden*," 127-176.