URBAN MODULATION:

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE EFFECTS OF URBAN RENEWAL

ON CHICAGO'S SOUTH SIDE JAZZ COMMUNITY

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M.M. in Jazz Performance.
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By Dakarai Barclay

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at the effects of housing related urban renewal policies on Chicago's South Side jazz communities from 1940 to 1970. During this period, Black migration patterns reshaped neighborhood demographics throughout the city, specifically on the South Side. A rapid expansion of the South Side jazz community occurred, followed by a sharp and sudden decline towards the end of the period. Using a mixed-method approach that combines case study, historical analysis, and urban geography, this study provides both general and detailed analysis of the effects of urban policy decisions on the South Side jazz scene in Chicago. Interviews were conducted with seven participants to add to data collected from historical documents. Each participant was chosen based off their long-term status as a member of the South Side jazz community or their long-term status as a South Side resident, and in most cases, participants fulfilled both qualifications. Findings illuminate the extreme measures initiated by policy makers such as the Illinois Redevelopment Act of 1947, Relocation Act of 1947, and the Urban Community Conservation Act of 1953 that funded the destruction of residential and commercial spaces to curtail Black migration to predominately White South Side neighborhoods, and how these and similar measures directly and indirectly eliminated jazz venues and performance spaces within Chicago's South Side.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Introduction

In 2017 during my final semester of undergraduate study at Morehouse College, Professor Melvin Jones returned to campus and became my applied trumpet lessons instructor. During one of the lessons, Professor Jones shared with me the 1955 Clifford Brown and Max Roach recording *Live at the Bee Hive*. Engaged by the music, I investigated further and discovered that the Bee Hive Lounge was located quite close to where I grew up on the South Side of Chicago. After venturing to its location, I discovered that its physical structure did not exist anymore. Years later, a former high school teacher of mine—Jarrard Harris—invited me on bike ride that evidently became an unofficial tour of remains of various South Side music venues that are no longer in operation. This sparked my curiosity leading me to explore and uncover why and how these realities occurred.

Background

A thorough investigation into the history of Chicago's jazz community is complex. Chicago's early jazz scene begins at the turn of the twentieth century as musicians flocked from New Orleans, Louisiana and other southern cities and states to the "Midwestern Metropolis." As the Black population grew, the growth of Chicago's South Side jazz scene quickly followed. In its prime, the South Side jazz community showcased lively clubs that lined streets that now sit silent. When did this shift occur and what were the primary causes? These key points occurred

between the origin of jazz in Chicago and present day, and should be included in codified Chicago jazz history texts.

This paper's primary focus will be on the impact of housing related urban renewal within Chicago's South Side jazz communities of Woodlawn and Hyde Park between 1940 and 1970. The purpose of this paper is to address one central question: What caused the South Side's jazz scene to dwindle from its peak during the 1950s and 1960s? In addressing this question, I acknowledge the roles of the evolution in musical taste—via the introduction of other genres like R&B and rock—and the introduction of technology which made music accessible to the average consumer by lowering the barriers of entry to listen and be entertained. However, the focal analysis for the paper will be on the role that housing related urban renewal had on the South Side jazz scene.

Discussing the relationship of jazz and urban renewal requires clear definitions and context to help ground this exploration. If Chicago and its jazz community have been impacted by urban renewal, it will be of great benefit to first define "urban renewal." As neighborhoods age, it is common to have routine improvements to maintain safety codes and ensure that buildings and communities remain both viable and habitable. This description embodies the spirit of traditional urban development and general community "upkeep." Conversely, urban renewal is defined as "slum clearance," with an emphasis of the removal of old, decaying infrastructure with the expectation that newer infrastructure would replace it (Watt & Smets, 2017). It is common to see phrases such as "slum removal" and "blight removal" when referring to urban renewal. Historian Richard Rothstein makes it clear that when entities use the term "slums" or "blight," primarily as it relates to impacted areas that are inhabited by a large Black population, it should be interpreted as synonyms for "Black" (Rothstein, 2017). Urban renewal

by this definition is not routine improvements, but a more systematic change. This paper seeks to discover the systemic changes that occurred within the Chicago South Side neighborhoods of Woodlawn and Hyde Park and discuss how these changes shaped jazz history within these two communities.

There are two subthemes in this paper. While exploring the growth of Chicago and its jazz community, a heavy emphasis will be on physical and social mobility. The physical mobility aspects will discuss the movement of people to and from Chicago from their various origins. Social mobility underlies the notion of class and within class alludes to race. Class and race are factors in how neighborhoods were shaped historically within Chicago, and are underlying factors that determined where the jazz community initially found its first homes in the city.

An understanding of jazz history within Chicago is important but should be prefaced by an overview of Chicago history at large. Jazz, which originated in the U.S. South, makes its way to Chicago as musicians who played this music arrived to the Midwestern Metropolis. As urban areas throughout the Northern and Midwestern U.S. experienced growth and expansion, it begs the question: What made Chicago a viable destination for many migrants of both domestic and international origins? In addition, what brought musicians to Chicago to help create the first iteration of its jazz community? Chicago, and later its jazz community, grew exponentially, almost immediately. But why? Ultimately, this paper seeks to address how the city of Chicago's urban policy and contributing organizations impacted the growth and vitality of the jazz community during this time period. In addition, how did racial and class dynamics play a role into how the shift was experienced? There do exists work that explores a general idea of the history of the jazz community (Kenny, 1993; Semmes, 2006; Absher, 2014; Lewis, 2008; Sites, 2020) but with this paper, this history can be explained at a more detailed and granular level.

This paper serves as a case study. It is partitioned into five chapters. Chapter 2 provides an overview of relevant Chicago history from its inception until 1930. Chapter 3 gives an overview of Chicago jazz history from its inception until the 1960s. Chapter 4 traces historical events that established precedent for urban renewal within Chicago. In this chapter, legal proceedings, local legislation, and key events are discussed in detail to establish a framework discussing urban renewal activity in Hyde Park, Woodlawn, and other South Side communities. Chapter 5 details the impact urban renewal policies discussed in Chapter 4 had on the South Side jazz community between 1940 and 1970. Chapter 6 concludes with a summary of major findings, provides a brief overview of the South Side jazz scene post-1970, and points to areas that requires further study.

Problem Statement

While studying jazz history, one quickly understands the importance Chicago's South Side had of the development of this genre. Figures from Louis Armstrong and Earl Hines, to Sonny Stitt and Ahmad Jamal, established themselves in this city and pushed boundaries within this music. From one venue in 1906, the South Side jazz community rapidly expanded and evolved to become a powerhouse jazz scene that spanned multiple distinct neighborhoods during its peak. However, in the 1960s the South Side scene began to experience a "sudden decline and near-disappearance of the area's music venues" (Lewis, 2008, p.85). This paper will address two problems. First, scholars have not adequately explained the disappearance of jazz clubs on the South Side. There are many arguments that have been addressed regarding local business politics, preferences regarding live and recorded music, urban renewal politics, etc., but scholars have not concluded what was the overwhelming culprit of this jazz community's demise (Lewis,

2008). While multiple factors occurred that contributed to the downturn of the jazz scene, the focus of this paper highlights the specific housing related urban renewal and urban policies practiced and uncovers the specific impact that it had. Secondly, while scholars have discussed the impact of urban renewal on certain areas of Chicago, they only discuss its relationship with the city's jazz scene on a surface level (and rarely in relation to its art spaces as a whole). The goal of this paper is to address how significant policy changes—like the ones in Chicago—impacted jazz music, its audience, and those who played it.

Purpose Statement

This thesis presents historical scholarship that details the creation and expansion of jazz in Chicago (Lewis, 2008; Kenney, 1993; Semmes, 2006). It expands on the research of those works on the lives of musicians from the 1960s onward (Absher, 2014). In doing so, this paper seeks to add to current scholarship a more detailed analysis of how urban renewal had impacted jazz clubs and communities from a business, cultural, and societal perspective (Berry et al 1968). Lastly, this work will serve as a case study of urban renewal on the jazz community by adding to the works from historians who have dedicated their lives to this field of study (Hirsch, 1983; Drake and Cayton 1962; Grossman, 2011; Hunt, 2009).

Methodology and Procedures for Data Collection

My methods are a hybrid of historical scholarship and field interviews that detail Chicago-specific jazz history and urban renewal within Chicago's South Side. All interviewees have strong ties to Chicago's South Side, with all but one a Chicago-based jazz musician. As this paper is centered on issues of race and class, it is important to note that all but one of the

interviewees is a Black Chicagoan. The South Side jazz scene from its inception in the 1910s due to segregation and other factors was (and still is) comprised of Black musicians and residents. It is important to center their voices when investigating a topic that impacted them more directly. In addition, each participant when asked during the interview, identified as "middle class."

I performed seven interviews, conducted in either the home of each participant, at a local South Side law firm, or a location of their choice, with the following individuals: Mark Coulter, Bethany Pickens, Sue Barclay, Miguel de la Cerna, Ernest Dawkins, Michael Allemana, and Tyrone Hines. Each participant was chosen due to their direct and active involvement with the South Side jazz community or long-term status as a South Side resident. Each interview ranged from one to three hours in length, with follow-up correspondence as needed. Although the interviews in themselves are primary accounts of oral history, many of the interviewees' recollections of urban renewal in Chicago are secondary perspectives. These interviews provided additional insight into the impact of urban renewal on Chicago's jazz scene, adding clarity in my ability to frame and shape this paper.

CHAPTER TWO
CHICAGO HISTORY

Early Chicago History

At Chicago's origin, the young region was better represented as a "small prairie village" than the urban metropolis we know of it to be today (Drake and Cayton, 1962). Chicago, incorporated as a city in 1837 with a population of roughly 4,000 people, and quickly saw its population explode from 112,000 in 1860 to 503,000 by 1880 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961). The city's population doubled again during the next ten years, reaching 1.099 million by 1890, and eclipsing 2.185 million by 1900. Chicago's population rise was not by accident, but solely due to a rapidly developing economy and a geographical advantage over other budding North American economic hubs. Prior to Chicago becoming an official city, New York in the Northeast and New Orleans in the Central South were the two main U.S. trade cities (Salzmann, 2017). New York, off the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, had been advantageous for trade with Western Europe and other northeastern U.S. cities throughout its history. New Orleans, with its strategic positioning off the Mississippi River, allowed for trade and transportation to the vast percentage of the then western United States. Chicago sits at the cusp of Lake Michigan connecting it to the East via the network of Great Lakes and is also a short distance from the Mississippi River connecting it to the South. With the construction of the Erie Canal in 1825, which linked Chicago to the Atlantic Ocean (via the Hudson River) and later the Mississippi River with the construction of the Illinois-Michigan Canal in 1848, Chicago became the central connector between the Atlantic and Southern trading economies (Salzmann, 2017). In addition, private investment and speculation

further made Chicago marketable for business and allowed the city to integrate its local-regional economy onto the global stage, bringing a new national and global workforce to the region.

Agriculture, lumber, meat, raw material production and manufacturing became big sectors in the region, while skilled labor from Europe became the initial labor pool for these industries (Drake and Cayton, 1962). Transportation, first by water and later by rail, also became a focal industry in the region. The network of newly tracked rail lines form capillaries that allowed for the ease of movement needed for the newly established industries in Chicago and other budding cities (Salzmann, 2017). With new wealth brought in by Chicago, real estate speculation further fueled the city's growth with the transaction of land, parcels, and homes, attracting migrants from all over the nation and the world (Bachin, 2004).

Chicago's initial wave of non-U.S. migrants were primarily Irish who fled to escape famine and Germans who fled the democratic revolutions in the 1840s (Drake and Cayton, 1962). A constant flow of European migrants moved to Chicago with the hopes of making a better life for themselves and their respective families. By 1850, over half of all Chicago inhabitants were foreign-born, and by 1890, three-quarters of the population was either foreign-born or children of foreign-born residents. Migrant Europeans made up the majority of the households within the city, and this remained consistent up until the beginning of World War I. By this time, the city became a boomtown, filled with hungry, young, and boisterous newcomers who looked forward to the vast opportunities in this "land of promise" (Drake and Cayton, 1962, p.46).

At the genesis of Chicago's existence, approximately three hundred Black Chicagoans resided in the region (Drake and Cayton, 1962). Prior to the Civil War, the majority of the U.S. Black population still resided in the South as enslaved people, with only a small fraction either

free or able to escape enslavement as freedom seekers. By 1860, Chicago's Black population hovered around 1,000 people, roughly one percent of the city population. Within this subset, the vast majority escaped enslavement while seeking refuge in the city. It was not until after the Civil War that Black migration could be possible en masse, which opened the door for legal Black relocation. Even then, it was still uncommon and was not a viable option for most Black southerners. After the Civil War, the South went through Reconstruction—a time period that saw tangible social change that benefitted some Black southerners. This period was short lived, and many Blacks who tasted this freedom were unable to readjust to the social climate of Jim Crow (Drake and Cayton, 1962). As a result, a constant stream of Black southerners joined the flow of European migrants to come to Chicago between 1890 and 1910. By 1890, the Black population in Chicago hovered around 1.3 percent of the total population, equal to approximately 14,000 people. By 1910, this number had increased to over 110,000 people.

During World War I, with war on European soil, the pipeline that brought skilled European migrants to churn Chicago's economy dried up. Foreign-born men from Chicago and other cities returned home to participate in war efforts, leaving jobs in Chicago and other major U.S. cities unfilled and work undone (Drake and Cayton, 1962). Businesses within Chicago and throughout the nation's major economies needed to find a replacement workforce, as cities funneled resources over to Europe with the increased global demand for war supplies and food. This replacement workforce came in the form of Black southerners who were enticed by the chance to make significant wage increases and an opportunity to escape the racial oppression of the American South (Grossman, 2011). As Americans were drafted into the U.S. military in 1917, the hole left in the Chicago labor market widened, forcing businesses to heavily recruit and even beg Black southerners to migrate north to work in the city's factories. Between 1916 and

1920, an additional 50,000 Black southerners made the trip north to participate in the labor economy that desperately needed them (Drake and Cayton, 1962). Newly arrived Black migrants were given an opportunity to look past the plantation and obtain a portion of the profit that was being made in Chicago.

Housing Settlements in Chicago

As migrants arrived in Chicago, their race, ethnicity and class determined where they lived and as a by-product, their level of social mobility. Historically, when studying the growth of cities, two common facts emerge. First, as lower income residents gained wealth, trends show that they typically moved outward away from the city's core and working-class employment districts (Drake and Cayton, 1962). Secondly, foreign-born adults typically settled in race and ethnic clusters adjacent to working-class employment zones. Yet as they assimilated into both national and local customs and norms, they begin to move away from their clusters and share more social and cultural characteristics of native-born, non-immigrant residents. As incoming Black and European migrants first arrived to Chicago, they found settlement in neighborhoods that shared common languages and customs. As European migrants "Americanized," and made social-economic gains, they were able to disperse outward into the city. However, Black migrants did not have the privilege of being accepted into the general population because of their race and White supremacy. Even wealthier Black residents were unable to transition to wealthy, mostly White neighborhoods, but were instead forced to reside within segregated Black communities (Absher, 2014).

As more Black migrants arrived between 1890 and 1910, the city's racial and ethnic boundaries hardened. Pre-1890, there did not exist a single large concentration of Black residents, but by 1900 "residential confinement was nearly complete" (Hirsch, 1983, p.3).

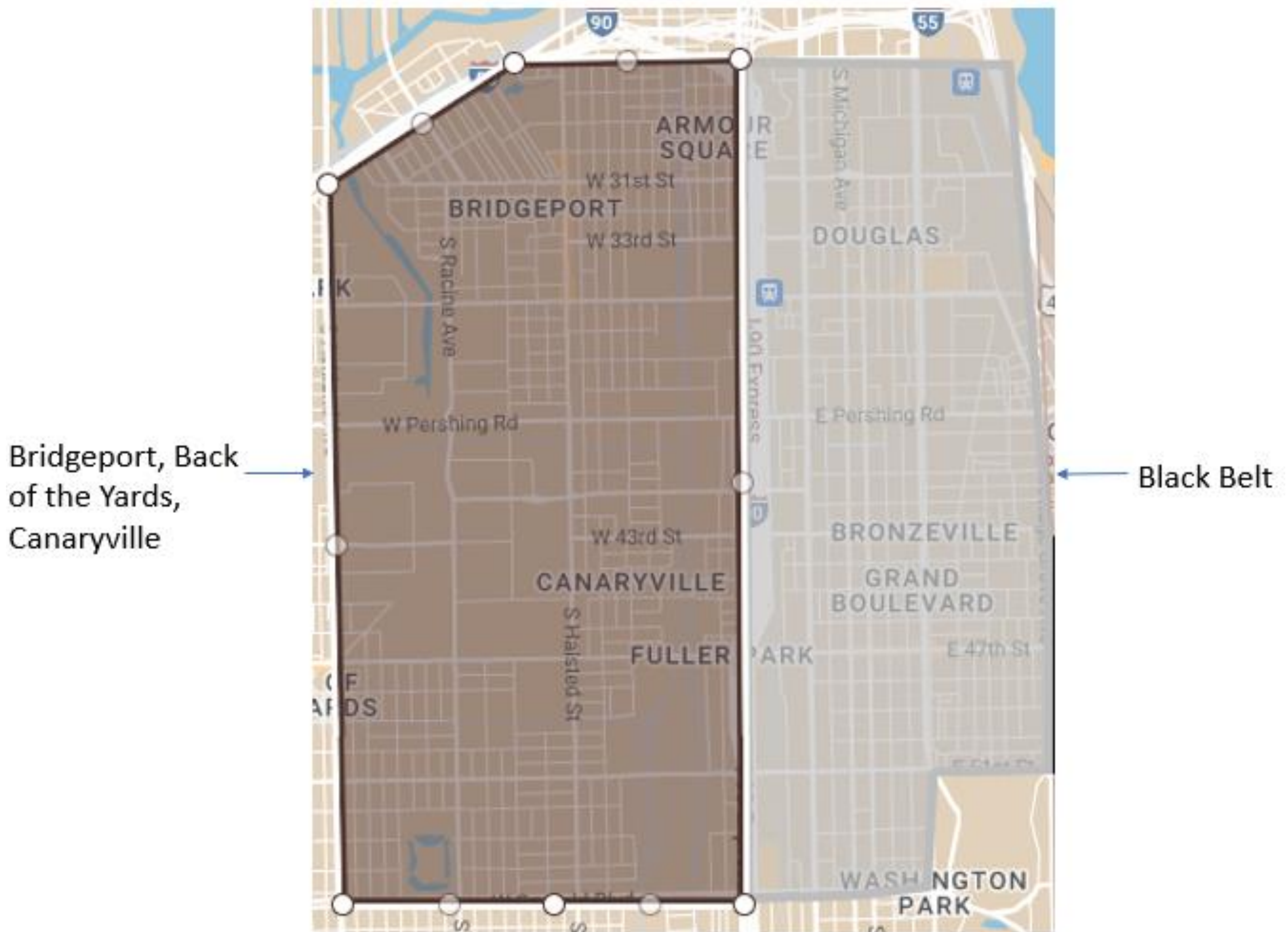
Negative and dehumanized attitudes towards Black people were intensified as fears spread that newly arrived Black migrants would suppress European migrant wages and impact job security, making it difficult for Blacks to be welcomed (Drake and Cayton, 1962). By 1920, with little alternative housing accommodations, eighty-five percent of all Black Chicagoan's lived in the 4-mile cluster that later became coined the "Black Belt" (Hirsch, 1983, p.3). The Black Belt—as a city within a city—became the primary residential and commercial corridor for the Black community and later the home for the first iteration of Chicago's South Side jazz scene. Amidst the practice of segregation, the boundary of the Black Belt was firm. Musician and South Side native Ernest Dawkins recalls even in the mid-1950s casual roaming outside of the Black Belt was uncharacteristic and could present a risk. Neighborhoods like Bridgeport and Canaryville—which are adjacent to the Black Belt—were communities that Black residents were wielded hate and animosity simply by entering (Hirsch, 1983). As seen in Figure 1, the Bridgeport and Black Belt communities are directly next to each other, which implies frequent yet unpleasant interactions for Blacks who dared traversing to the westward neighborhoods. Dawkins remembers when he was young:

> …back then, we couldn't cross the expressway to go west because that was Bridgeport. You took your life into your hands when you went into Bridgeport. You could go to Bridgeport only to go to the [White] Sox game. But then we had to come back over the expressway because the Expressway was built by then (Dawkins, personal communication, March 14, 2023).

Not being able to live outside of the Black Belt presented challenges. During World War I, Black migrants flocked to the area that was become the Black Belt due to cheap rent primarily caused by poor housing-stock (Drake and Cayton, 1962). When the supply of housing became

even scarcer due to more southern migrants moving in, rents were drastically increased due to increased demand and lack of supply. While Black migrants were able and eager to gain employment, they were limited to the city's worst housing due to systemic racism throughout the city and across its various communities.

Figure 1 *Bridgeport and Black Belt Neighborhood Map. Map by Google Maps, data annotated by Dakarai Barclay.*



“Vice” in Chicago pre-1910s

As Chicago grew rapidly, the city started to build a reputation for “crime” and “vice.” To the disapproval of many local residents and politicians, various “red-light” districts appeared that became home to a flurry of gambling halls, saloons, dance halls, brothels, and prostitution (Absher, 2014). Pre-twentieth century, the city’s main “vice district” named the Levee was initially located slightly south of the downtown area. Due to police surveillances and targeted raids, the “vice district” migrated further south away of the central business district to the commercial areas of 18th Street and 22nd Street. Beginning in 1900, Chicago political leaders increased police presence throughout the various “vice” districts, but also made conscious effort in 1911 to eliminate “vice” throughout the entire city. Ultimately these vice districts were never fully eliminated; instead, they were consolidated to the South Side—specifically to the Black Belt. Knowing that they could not fully eradicate “vice,” city leaders turned to racial segregation as a method to contain “vice” in the “least politically powerful part of the city” (Absher, 2014, p.19). This maneuver crystalized negative stereotypes and representations about Black Chicago, since now the vast majority of such activities occurred within the Black Belt. Black residents, due to lack of suitable housing alternatives, were unable to escape this false comparison of being “people of vice,” and tolerated this mythical label. Some Black entrepreneurs, given the limited amount of opportunities and capital available in “legitimate” fields, used the proximity of the “vice district” to their advantage. Many young, hungry entrepreneurs turned to the realm of entertainment and “vice” to achieve wealth (Stewart, 2006). Gambling and other forms of entertainment were used as a conduit to get people in theaters and entertainment spaces where ragtime and early jazz music were performed. The success of the earliest South Side venues encouraged entrepreneurs, both White and Black, to open additional venues throughout the city, specifically on the South Side.

CHAPTER THREE
JAZZ ON CHICAGO'S SOUTH SIDE

1900s to 1920s

The origins of jazz in Chicago began in the Pekin Theatre in 1906. Opened by Black entrepreneur Robert Motts at 2700 South State, the 1,200-seat venue showcased musical theater and ragtime which served the Black Belt community (Kenney, 1993). The Pekin differentiated itself by employing Black residents in all capacities, making it one of the few establishments to hire Black workers for non-menial, non-servitude work at that time. The Pekin was opened to all but catered to the desires of the Black middle and upper classes due to high admission cost that excluded many lower-incomed patrons (Absher, 2014). While Black elites were the target audience at the Pekin, White Chicagoans also frequented the Pekin and later other establishments inside the Black Belt. Interracial Black and Tan clubs such as the Sunset Café and Plantation Café targeted and catered to White entertainment seekers interested in seedier activities allowable within the Black Belt (Kenney, 1993).

Black audiences generally speaking had less disposable income than their White counterparts, thus Black entrepreneurs like Motts had to balance profit with racial interests (Kenney, 1993). Even as the decades pass this phenomenon still occurred. By the 1930s and 1940s it was common place to go to a Black Belt venue with the best seat in the house reserved for White patrons (Travis, 1981). Black audiences were still allowed, but they typically were designated unfavorable seating for clubs that followed these practices. Tangentially, while White Chicagoans could frequent venues inside the Black Belt, it was extremely unrealistic for Black residents to venture to predominately White communities to seek the comparable entertainment

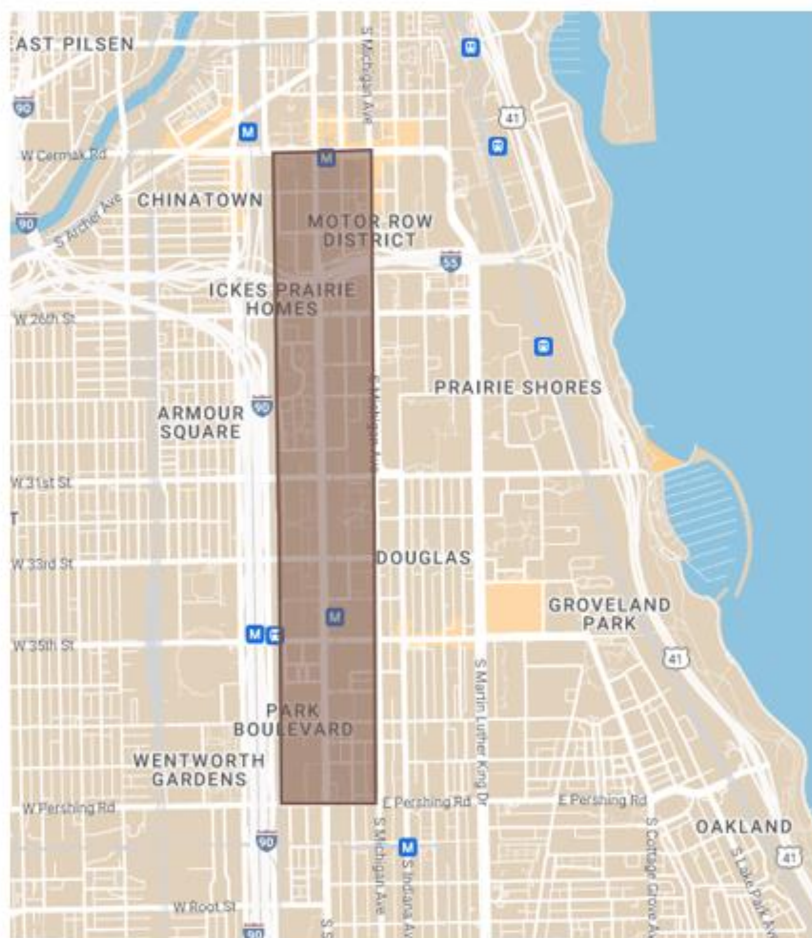
offerings during this time period due to extreme racial tension and segregation. Inside the Black Belt, White-owned clubs such as the Panama Café attracted and catered to White community members of the University of Chicago and downtown who were wooed by the high musicianship Black performers offered (Shack, 2001). However, Hugh Hoskins'—the club located on 32nd and State Street that shaped vocalist Alberta Hunter's career—segmented its target demographic by catering to an "exclusive black clientele." As a result, target audience was of deep awareness for many entrepreneurs who were determined to showcase the early iteration of this music, while remaining financially viable.

Between when the Pekin Theatre opened in 1906 and 1915, additional venues emerged within the South Side's Black Belt. As expansion occurred, most of the entertainment was concentrated—as seen in Figure 2—between 22nd Street and 39th Street on or near State Street, which included the budding early jazz and ragtime scene that became more colloquially known as "The Stroll" (Absher, 2014, p.22). Venues like Café de Champion, located on 41 West 31st Street and owned by the Black boxing champion Jack Johnson, arrived in 1912 (Kenney, 1993). In that same year, Thomas McCain's Pompeii Buffet and Café also opened on 31st Street, and became a mainstay for many musicians—most notably Jelly Roll Morton. The restaurant and bar Elite Café opened at 3030 South State Street in 1915 adjacent to the Old Monogram Theater. Black entrepreneur Henry "Teenan" Jones, after getting forced-out of running the Senate Buffet in the all-White neighborhood of Hyde Park, opened Elite Café #2 further south on State Street between 34th and 35th Streets in 1915. Rounding out the major additions of early jazz venues were Dreamland and Deluxe Café, which both respectively opened in 1914 and 1915 by Frank Preer and William Bottoms a few doors down from Elite Café #2. These venues became the premiere after-hours clubs that over time showcased musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Lil'

Hardin, King Oliver and Alberta Hunter (Kenney, 1993). These new additions expanded the boundaries of the South Side early jazz community to over one mile in length, cementing its presence in the community.

Figure 2 *"The Stroll." Map by Google Maps, data annotated by Dakarai Barclay.*

"The Stroll"

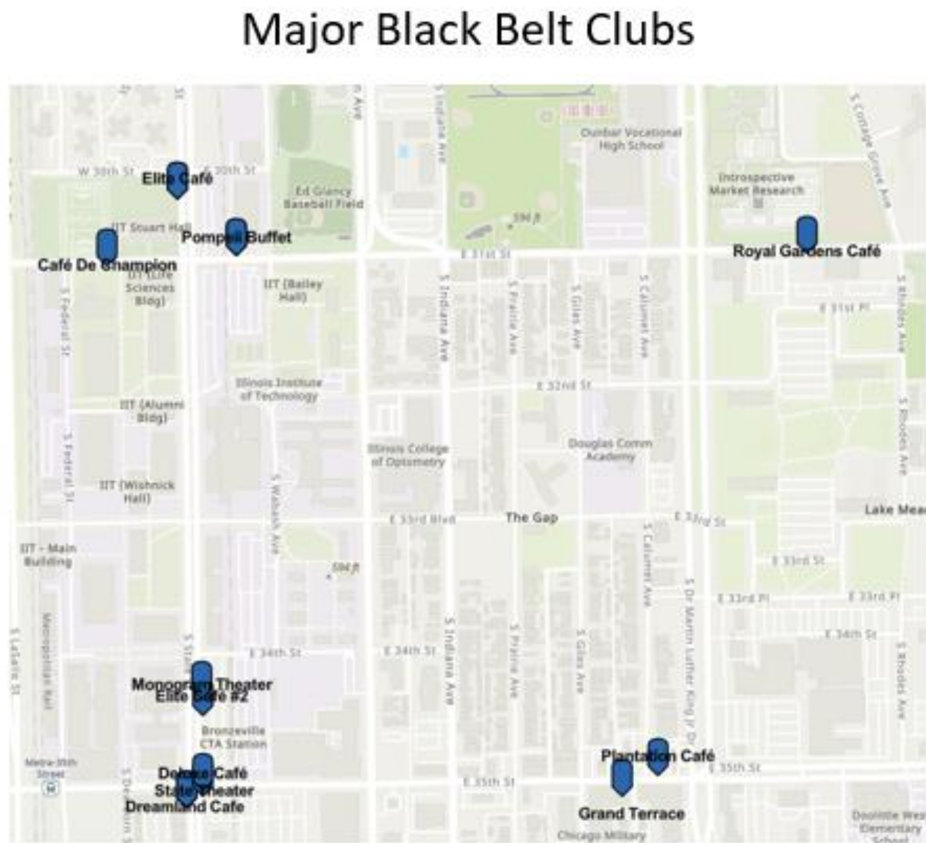


With the influx of new Black migrants to Chicago during World War I, the demand for entertainment was higher than ever. Many more musicians flocked to the city between 1917 and 1920 to help establish Chicago as a new home for early jazz music (Kenney, 1993). As southern Black migrants experienced financial gains when entering the traditional Chicago labor market between the 1910s and 1920s, southern Black musicians—especially early jazz musicians—also benefited. With increased demand for musicians and entertainment, even more musicians relocated to Chicago, pouring into Chicago's South Side. By 1921, the Black Belt alone had at minimum 55 jazz musicians, many of which relocated specifically from New Orleans at or near the conclusion of the First World War. Of those to migrate were native New Orleans migrants: clarinetist Sidney Bechet and trumpeter King Oliver in 1919, the aforementioned pianist Lillian (Lil') Hardin, who moved from Memphis in 1918, and pianist Clarence Williams from Texas also in 1918. The number of newly arriving Black musicians was only a small percentage in comparison to the 50,000 Black southerners who migrated northward to Chicago from 1916 to 1920, but enough to help establish the early jazz scene on the city's South Side.

As the 1920s arrived, additional venues and more musicians were welcomed to the Black Belt which further expanded the presence of the area's early jazz community. By this time, the center of the early jazz community shifted farther south from its initial beginnings between 27th and 31st Streets, to between 31st and 35th Streets. Key new venue additions included the Apex Club and Royal Garden Café and due to the geographical compactness of the early jazz scene—as seen in Figure 3—skilled musicians were able to work two to three gigs per day (Kenney, 1993). Those musicians who possessed both the physical endurance and technical skillset could be seen working in the Black Belt venues such as the Dreamland from 9:30pm to 1:00am and might take another gig at an after-hours venue such as the Pekin Theatre from 2:00am to 6:00am.

Opportunities like this set a precedent that ensured a high demand for talented musicians as the supply of gig opportunities exponentially increased throughout the South Side.

Figure 3 *Major Black Belt Clubs. Map by ArcGIS, data annotated by Dakarai Barclay.*



Many factors enabled a vibrant presence in Chicago's early jazz community. Early entrepreneurs and institutions—both legal and underground—cultivated spaces and venues for this music to be heard. Money and foot traffic flooded the early South Side jazz community, incentivizing early Black musicians to migrate to Chicago for the first three decades of the twentieth century. Concurrently as early jazz and Black musicians began migrating to the Black Belt, the prohibition of alcohol became instituted on the federal level via the Volstead Act (1919) and the Eighteenth Amendment (1919). However, the then Mayor of Chicago, Bill Thompson, actively chose not to strictly enforce the act and the amendment within the boundaries of the Black Belt (Kenney, 1993). This lack of enforcement enabled alcohol consumption, as well as gambling, and other "illicit" activities to act as a catalyst for the demand of venues to host live jazz music.

In 1923 Mayor Thompson opted out of running for another term. The more conservative William Dever became mayor in that same year and used his time in office to shutter places of "vice" that doubled as spaces where early jazz was performed in the Stroll. Towards the end of Mayor Dever's term in 1926, Dever used mayoral powers to revoke liquor licenses, close venues of "vice," and encourage increased federal enforcement of the Volstead Act which halted activities in early jazz venues and clubs (Kenney, 1993). The South Side cabaret and theater scene and the venues throughout the Stroll were hit hardest by these efforts which resulted in two major impacts. First, these mayoral efforts left many top tier early jazz musicians without gigs leading many of them to explore new markets in areas both south of the Stroll, but even as far as New York City. Secondly, although Dever's mayoral policy flattened the cabaret and theater scene along the Chicago's Stroll, a new iteration of the jazz scene was emerging. Dance halls were able to distinguish themselves from their cabaret competitors to escape the threat of closure

by Mayor Dever and his administration. Investors funneled money to create new dance halls comparable to establishments such as Chicago's Royal Gardens and the Sunset Café that housed jazz music. Musicians who were accustomed to performing in the closing cabaret venues adjusted and found ample opportunities within the budding dance hall scene to stay employed.

Dance halls and upscale theaters emerged in Chicago 1.5 miles south of the Stroll on 47th Street and South Parkway, away from the targeted police raids to the north (Kenney, 1993). Of the spaces that opened, none were more instrumental to the musical landscape than the Savoy Ballroom and Regal Theater. Opened in 1927 and then 1928, the Savoy and Regal became destinations for local and major touring jazz and popular musicians to showcase their talent for Black audiences. Musicians such as Duke Ellington, Lionel Hampton, Dinah Washington, Nat King Cole, Louis Armstrong, and many others made perennial appearances to perform in the Regal, Savoy, and on some occasion both (Semmes, 2006). These venues offered lower admission compared to the elite-catering Stroll cabarets and theater, allowing the Regal and Savoy to withstand the post-1929 Great Depression era (Kenney, 1993). With the additions of these new spaces, the vibrancy of the jazz scene returned to the Black Belt, but not to the same degree as its original iteration, but enough to be competitive with New York's rising jazz scene. Anchored by these two venues, 47th Street became a hot spot for social entertainment from 1927 for decades to come.

South Side Jazz 1930s

The initial success of the Regal and Savoy occurred due to their immaculate architectural design, but also because of their social significance to the South Side landscape. In atypical fashion for the era, the Regal and Savoy were newly constructed Black Belt venues intentionally designed with high-quality standards comparable to those found in venues in Chicago's White

entertainment districts (Semmes, 2006). The Regal, Savoy, and other new buildings, as part of a larger neighborhood development plan on 47th street, were built for two purposes: to tap into an untapped market within the Black community, and more importantly, to help maintain the social order by preventing Black residents from relocating outside of the Black Belt. In 1928, a major department store and market named South Center also opened on 47th and South Parkway. What made South Center unique was it that it was one of the only White-owned establishments in Chicago that hired Black workers for non-menial employment. South Center fostered a symbiotic relationship as it both increased pride and loyalty amongst Black consumers and employees and financially benefitted White owners bottom lines. Another vital addition to 47th Street was the construction of the Rosenwald Garden Apartments in 1929. Rosenwald was a reasonably priced housing complex blocks away from the Regal and Savoy that served as a magnet for middle-class Black Belt residents who desired to leave the substandard Black Belt housing conditions. In aggregate, these construction endeavors were unequivocally the largest projects that Chicago's Black community had ever experienced. However, these projects—as a by-product—reinforced traditionalist status quo race and class views. By intentionally funneling capital towards flashy projects designed for the middle and upper-class, instead of allowing integration within White communities, investors promoted segregationist principles of "separate but equal" (Semmes, 2006).

The Regal Theater and Savoy Ballroom were both constructed on the front end of the Great Depression and in hindsight it is a feat that they endured with such longevity. What set these two venues apart from the other Black Belt entertainment spaces was that they were designed to be places of class, privilege, and prestige (Semmes, 2006). The Regal held 3,000 people at capacity in its main room and 1,500 people in its lobby. The Regal was littered with

intricate design that included a "wide ornate marble staircase leading to the mezzanine," bathroom attendants, elegant sculptures, and paintings that draped the hallways and walls. The Savoy offered similar amenities, operating with a capacity of approximately 6,000 people. Matching their posh design was the music, especially the Regal that modelled after Euro-centric orchestration and noticeably avoided early forms of jazz, which was deemed subpar and of lesser quality. Initially, these choices worked out well for these venues as patrons were lavishly entertained and genuinely enjoyed the overall experience. Prior to the economic downturn, the allure and newness of these venues made it easy for Black Belt residents to patronize frequently. However, as the Depression hits, newness waned, unemployment skyrocketed, and disposable income in the Black Belt, became scarce. New tactics were required to attract Black residents into Black Belt entertainment spaces. The Regal and Savoy eventually detached itself from Euro-centric orchestration and brought in trending travelling touring artists, many who played jazz and popular music. Musicians including but not limited to Earl Hines, Cab Calloway and Duke Ellington took the stage at both the Regal and Savoy as early as 1931, helping fill these venues during Depression era times (Semmes, 2006)

"All the Major Acts"—South Side Jazz From 1940s–1960s

The shift towards Black-centric music on 47th Street kept the Regal, Savoy and other venues afloat during the 1930s and crystalized 47th Street's status as the Black Belt's economic center and jazz hub (Semmes, 2006). Due to the diminishing effectiveness of racial restrictive housing practices during the 1940s, Black residents gained access to residential housing outside of the Black Belt. This shift expanded the boundaries of the Black Belt as Black residents were able to seek housing outside of its original boundaries. As a result of "White flight" from Black Belt adjacent neighborhoods (a topic that will be discussed in detail in the next two chapters),

White entertainment establishments began opening their doors to Black patrons as White clientele disappeared. Venues like the Trianon Ballroom which had always excluded Black patrons, dropped its "Whites-Only" policy in 1950 (Semmes, 2006). Black entrepreneurs were even able to purchase establishments outside of the Black Belt as White business owners had abandoned them. The 47th Street corridor anchored by the Regal and Savoy experienced more competition outside of the Black Belt, effectively loosening its influence on the Black community.

By the 1950s, the heart of the South Side's jazz scene had relocated farther south to the Woodlawn neighborhood on 63rd Street and Cottage Grove (Lewis, 2008). 63rd Street, which previously served as a border zone between the Black Belt and adjacent White community, became the Black Belt's economic center (Semmes, 2006). Tenor saxophonist Von Freeman noted that on 63rd Street, stretching a mile from State Street to Cottage Grove Avenue, existed "five or six taverns in every block," all with live music (Cromwell, 1998, p.131). The various venues that lined the South Side hub were not just filled with local talent but attracted national and globally important musicians alike. According to drummer Leroy Williams, 63rd Street was almost like 52nd Street in New York, with its high concentration of clubs and high energy atmosphere without being as cutthroat (Levy, 2022). 63rd Street venues such as the Kitty Kat Lounge, Crown Propellor, Stage Lounge, but most importantly the Pershing Hotel and Robert Show Lounge, served as a magnet that attracted performers, and entertainment seekers for decades to come. (Lewis, 2008).

Many current working musicians still carry distant but fond memories for the 63rd Street scene. From an interview with musician and South Side native Miguel de la Cerna, he recalls his time on 63rd between the late 1960s and early 1970s:

> I saw the last of the 63rd Street scene as it were…when I was really, really young; 63rd [Street] was very, very busy. And so, I did work in one of the places there, I don't know the name of it, but I worked there with Clarence Wheeler…Clarence Wheeler and the Enforcers. I got that gig. I don't know how I got the gig but we made $5 a night and it was on 63rd Street…I just wanted to be in the night clubs. I was telling this young guy, one of my students, that it wasn't the music. It was that atmosphere that I was attracted to, the night life, the people hanging out (de la Cerna, personal communication, January 20, 2023).

63rd Street and its surrounding venues served a dual purpose as an anchor for the South Side's budding jazz community and equally as important, its social scene during the 1950s and 1960s. In continuance with the legacy of the 1910s and 1920s Stroll, where according to Langston Hughes "midnight was like the day," 63rd Street in the 1950s was the place where elite musicians and celebrities could be seen either performing or roaming the streets into the wee hours of the morning (Kenney, 1993, p.15). According to Sonny Rollins—who resided in Chicago for multiple stints during the 1950s—he frequently saw musicians like Lester Young performing at various 63rd Street clubs, or walking home as late as dawn the next morning (Levy, 2022). White North Side musicians and spectators would flock to the South Side as the bands and audiences were at times integrated. From an interview with Chicago-based musician and South Side jazz historian Michael Allemana, he points out the importance of one venue on the edge of the 63rd Street scene named the Archway. Allemana shares:

> So, Teddy Thomas worked for a year, five nights a week. Check out this band. It was Teddy on drums and singing, Charles Stepheny on piano, Eddie Harris on tenor, and Donald Garret on bass. That was the band five nights a week for a year, it was at a club called the

> Archway, and the Archway was at 61st and King [Drive]. It was the most respected popular club on the South Side and there hasn't been a word written about it. There're photos of Duke Ellington there; Harry Belafonte there. Teddy used to hang out with Cassius Clay before he was Muhammad Ali and the waitress that that Teddy and the band were friends with and knew there, was Muhammad Ali's first wife Sonji Roi…So that club was owned by Killer Johnson, who was a boxer. Sugar Ray Robinson used to hang out there, Muhammad Ali used to hang out there. It was a boxing hang. And all these Black celebrities would come through, and then he said you get a lot of White celebrity chasers that would go to the clubs trying to meet some of the black celebrities, but it was a totally straight-ahead gig, they just played the tunes of the day and it's probably wasn't a listening joint (Allemana, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

Similar venues such as the Roberts Show Lounge served as a lightning rod for entertainment throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Miguel de la Cerna recalls:

> So, Robert's… Robert's Show Lounge had all the major acts. The way I remember it, there used to be two [Robert's]. There was the one that was on 66th [and South Park Way—now King Drive], and then there was the one that was west on 63rd where the school is—it's just west of King Drive. And this Roberts, if you can imagine, it had a drive-in…It was like a real motel, like the old-fashioned drive-in 60's motel. And Roberts—they had every major star had worked there. Sammy Davis Jr., Dianne Carol. I was at a wedding there, when I was a kid, and Muhammad Ali came in the wedding. He was drinking at the bar right there at 63rd, and he came into the wedding, took pictures with the bride and played like he was taking the bride away, the bride went with him…it was all so funny. Man, we used to see Muhammad Ali all the time, and this is the thing about Chicago for me, is that

> we had the most famous Black people in the world living here (de la Cerna, personal communication, January 20, 2023).

Jazz venues lined the streets of other neighborhoods beyond 63rd Street. Within the Black Belt on 55th Street between State Street and South Parkway existed many clubs including the Black-owned Rhumboogie Café, the Hurricane, Club 65, It Club, White's Emporium, and notably Club Delisa—which was known for having around-the-clock entertainment featuring musicians such as Fletcher Henderson, Vernel Fournier, a young William Blount (later Sun-Ra), and even Charlie Parker (Travis, 1990; Levy, 2022; Sites, 2020). Jazz historian and musician Michael Allemana whose research focuses on the life of Chicago tenor saxophonist Von Freeman, recalls the importance that South Side venues had on the community on and near 55th Street. Allemana shares:

> The Freeman's lived right at Washington Park at 55th and South Parkway, which is now King [Drive]. That's where the Freeman boys grew up. And so, George Freeman—the Rhumboogie was right there and George [Freeman] saw T-Bone Walker in 1942 sneaking in the window…He would have been 15…He was like I wanna do that [playing music in a club] …and then Von—the year previous to that [1942] …he spent the summer playing the Rhumboogie with Horace Henderson. He was in that band in that club. Right there, so he would just…I think they might have moved by that time, but I think he might have been walking across the street, but that whole strip had a whole bunch of places that cats would play. George said sometimes they'd sit on their porch and they could hear the music from one of the clubs on Garfield [which is also named 55th Street] and they used to hear Coleman Hawkins. He would come through and he would play. There was a place called…it was called White's Emporium. Joe Glaser used to book some of these cats, right.

> Mob connections, of some sort, but Coleman Hawkins would play there and they [the Freemans] would hear him (Allemana, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

One by-product of residential segregation is that the restrictions experienced by local Black Chicagoans also applied for traveling Black musicians. For example, Sonny Rollins, who was a long-term resident of the Central Arms Hotel on 47th Street during his time in Chicago in the 1950s, most likely met visiting musician and Arms Hotel fellow short-term guest John Coltrane for the first time at the hotel (Levy, 2022). In the interview with Michael Allemana, he shared the connection visiting musicians would have with the community. Allemana adds:

> …those cats would stay in the neighborhood. I can't find evidence of this yet…Just south of there…right off the corner of 60th and King, there's an empty lot on the south-west corner. That was called…I believe…I don't know if I have this right, but it was a hotel. I've heard Teddy Thomas and George Freeman call it the Arrow Hotel, but that may not be correct, but it was a hotel and that's where the Black musicians would stay since they could not stay downtown. So [the Freemans] would see the guys in the neighborhood all the time, and they would always play—a lot of times as part of a neighborhood outreach and partly probably for a marketing tool. Red Saunders would play baseball games against the visiting bands. So, Basie's band would go out to Washington Park right there where you first enter 55th where there's the baseball park and they'd play baseball there against each other and everyone in the neighborhood would come out and watch them play. Von has great stories of Lester Young pitching and being really bad and hitting homers off him (Allemana, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

Further east in the Hyde Park neighborhood, another enclave of jazz venues began appearing as early as 1948 and anchored by the Bee Hive Lounge and Nob Lounge on Lake Park

Avenue (Semmes, 2006; Samors & Dauber, 2019). A mile east of the Regal Theater, the Sutherland Lounge and Club Rodeo—the venue Billie Holiday performed at between Christmas and New Year's Eve in 1954—opened to Black patrons by the mid-1950s in the Kenwood neighborhood (Levy, 2022; Samors & Dauber, 2019). Musician, educator Chicago-native Bethany Pickens carries a special relationship to the Sutherland Lounge. Pickens shares:

> Well, first of all, my parents met at the Southerland. Joe Segal was having one of the jam sessions, so I think it was a Monday night, that's when he had them, and my mom was an aspiring vocalist and she heard him [Willie Pickens] and they decided maybe they link up to do some arrangements or whatever—I guess I'm the arrangement. I came three years later, fortunately. My dad moved here [from Milwaukee] in '58 and married my mom in '59 (Pickens, personal communication, January 17, 2023).

Musicians from Miles Davis to Freddie Hubbard to Sonny Rollins would make perennial appearances to the Sutherland Lounge making it one of the marquee venues to see music and to be social (Levy, 2022). Miguel de la Cerna shared views on the relevancy that the Sutherland held during its peak:

> The Sutherland, for example, 47th and Drexel—was a major place. Carmen McRae worked there for many years. In fact, she came here to Chicago in the 50's, and she was with this crazy comic, and you know I forget his name, but she was hanging out with him and he took all her money and left…his name is George [Kirby]…he's very famous. He left Carmen McRae. She was stuck here and she ended up at the gig at the Sutherland right there on 47th (de la Cerna, personal communication, January 20, 2023).

By the mid-1950s, the trajectory of the South Side's jazz scene was boundless. The genre's most respected musicians including but not limited to Booker Little, Sonny Rollins and

Lester Young called Chicago's South Side home and helped shape one of the nation's stronger jazz communities. The next two chapters will detail the efforts that would be instituted that helped undo this progress.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOUSING POLICY AND URBAN RENEWAL ON CHICAGO'S SOUTH SIDE

By the 1970s within many U.S. urban spaces, it was no longer a question of if urban renewal had occurred but rather how much impact it caused. According to the U.S. Housing and Home Financing Agency via a 1965 report which took into consideration businesses that were impacted by urban renewal, the cities of New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia accounted for one-third of all national urban renewal commercial displacement. New York led with 6,772 displaced businesses from 39 projects. Chicago was next with 2,866 from 30 projects, followed by Philadelphia with 2,492 from 36 projects respectively (Berry et al, 1968, pp. 2–3).

The change in housing policy has a direct relationship with urban renewal and to understood one, it is helpful to observe both simultaneously. Coupled with the loss of housing and the lack of replacement for both residential and commercial units, the dynamics provide an overview of the impact of these practices within urban spaces (Hirsch, 1983). The common justification for urban renewal in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, was that—as being some of America's oldest cities—they suffered extensive "blight" and deterioration that needed rapid curtailment (Berry et al, 1968). This chapter delves into what "urban renewal" meant to Black Chicagoans living in communities targeted for renewal as well as the social, political, and economic mechanics that gave birth to "urban renewal" policies by city officials. The focus for this chapter is on Chicago as a case study, one that nonetheless offers insight for exploring this research in other cities. This chapter provides an overview of the events that established the foundation for urban renewal in Chicago's Black Belt. The history of urban renewal in Chicago begins with a discussion of changes in housing policy. This chapter seeks to establish who and

what were the contributing factors to legislative and policy changes that impacted housing within and outside of the Black Belt for Black Chicagoans. Chapter five will detail how urban renewal impacted Chicago's jazz communities more specifically.

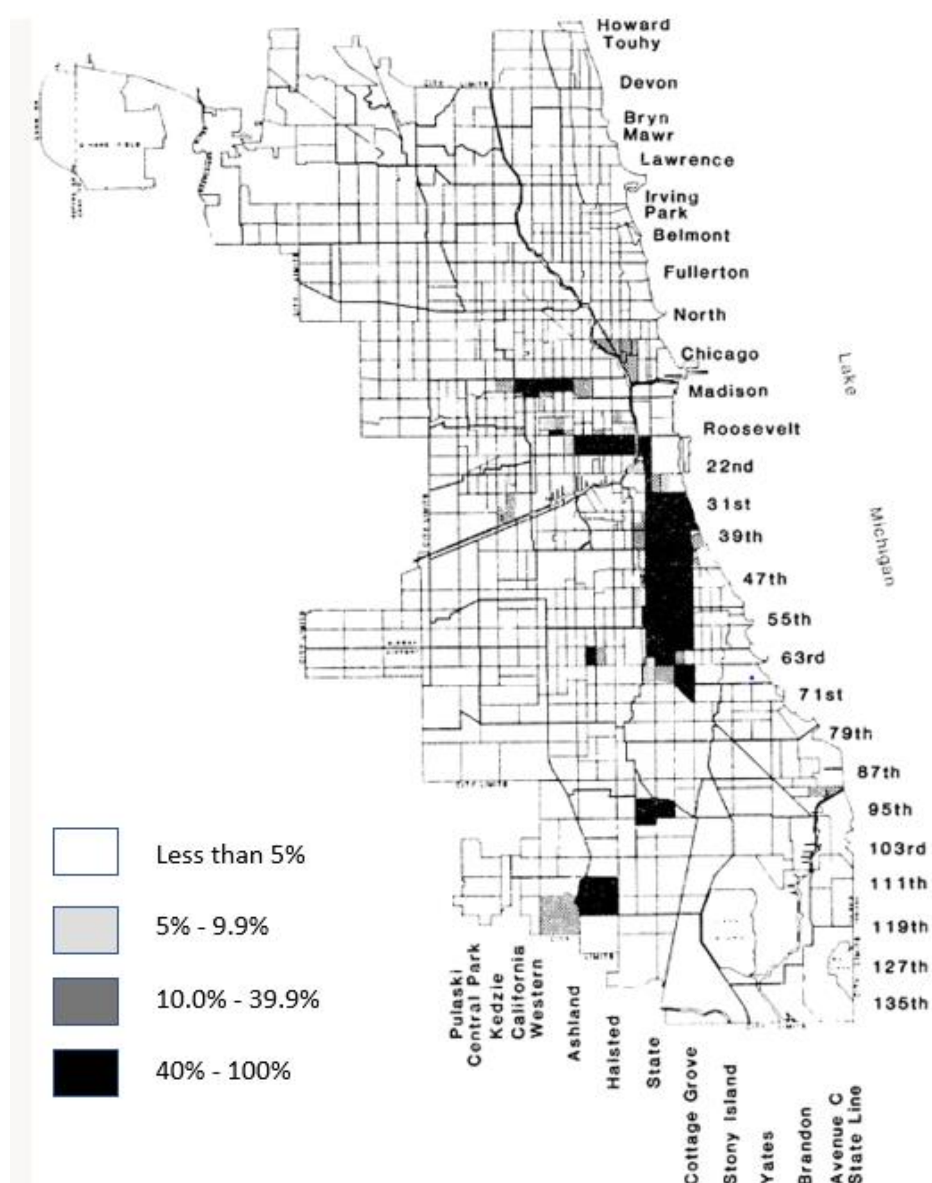
Housing Shortage for Black Chicagoans

While Chicago experienced a massive increase in its Black population during the early 1900s, Black migrants began to realize upon their arrival that the city was absent quality housing. "If Chicago offered the migrants work, however, the city was much less able to provide them with shelter (Hirsch, 1983 p.17)." Chicago's Black population exploded from 44,103 to 109,594 people between 1910 and 1920 respectively due to the First Great Migration from the South (Absher, 2014). As the population increased in volume, the geographic area that Black residents and migrants occupied stayed essentially constant forcing a rise in population density and overcrowding. As mentioned in previous chapters, settlements of Black migrants occurred initially between 22nd Street and 31st Street, but by 1920 had expanded south to 55th street between Wentworth and Cottage Grove Avenues to form the grand and immutable Black Belt. By 1920, eighty-five percent of the city's Black population lived within these boundaries. By the 1930 census, the Black Belt residents doubled to over 230,000 people, further exacerbating the density and overcrowding issues of decades prior (Hirsch, 1983). As seen in Figure 4, the Black Belt boundaries by 1940 remained fixed regardless of the substantial population gains experienced by the Black community.

It is important to repeat that Black migrants and residents lived in the Black Belt primarily because housing alternatives were non-existent due to race, ethnicity and class. Integrated neighborhoods, especially as the Black population rose in the city, became increasingly less common and a rarity after the Chicago Race Riot of 1919 (Absher, 2014). An

intentional drowning of a young Black swimmer by White beachgoers in Lake Michigan resulted in two weeks of violence in the city between parties of the two races. The Race Riot of 1919 weakened already waning efforts to maintain the little integration that existed in the city, and most certainly hardened the dividing lines between Black and White residential spaces.

Figure 4 *Percentage of black Population, in census tracks, city of Chicago 1940 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population and Housing Characteristics, 1960; Hirsch, 1983, p.6).*



Housing within the Black Belt had the tendency to be aged, deteriorated and overcrowded, yet was largely the only viable option for Black Chicagoans in need of living accommodations (Hirsch, 1983). As the Black population's volume increased with additional migration and internal growth, overcrowding became one of the primary issues to plague Chicago's Black community. A special post-Depression census conducted in 1934 noted that "that the average Chicago black household contained 6.8 persons compared to the 4.7 persons found in the average White household (Hirsch, 1983, p.18)." Specifically, within the Black community, overcrowding could be traced to two primary causes: the economic fallout from the Great Depression and racial restrictive covenants in housing.

The Great Depression and Housing Overcrowding

The untimely occurrence of the Great Depression exacerbated already overcrowding within the city's Black Belt. After a housing boom in the 1920s, the Great Depression largely halted all new housing construction projects in the city during the 1930s (Hirsch, 1983). This fact was felt most by poorer Chicago communities, inclusive of the Black Belt community that desperately needed new construction and housing to accommodate the influx of incoming migrants from the southern United States. The rate of relocation to Chicago by Black migrants did decrease during the Depression period which temporarily eased the intensity of the demand for housing. However, Black relocation would rebound during the 1940s with the Second Great Migration of the World War II period.

Black Chicagoans, unable to find quality housing in the Black Belt eventually sought alternatives in White adjacent neighborhoods. In fear of losing their homes, and potentially their place in the social hierarchy, White Chicagoans began utilizing various methods to maintain the racial status quo by curbing integration in primarily White neighborhoods. Nothing was off

limits, as violence and bombings had become common tools to keep Black residents, of all classes, from encroaching into White housing markets (Boyd, 2008). A more long-lasting and binding tool used to limit Black migration into White communities was the use of racial restrictive covenants.

Racial Restrictive Covenants

Racial restrictive covenants are "legally enforceable agreements against selling or renting housing to certain racial groups (Plotkin, 1999, p.xii)." In the context of Chicago, these restrictions applied primarily to Black residents, but the concept of legally restrictive housing policies originates well beyond its use in Chicago and to the exclusion of Blacks. On a broader scale, litigation on restrictive covenants began to appear in the California courts in 1880s thus it is widely accepted that this general moment marks its origin. The first mentioning of covenants in the U.S. Supreme Court was in *Gandolfo v. Hartman (1892)* when the court deemed it unconstitutional for Asian-Americans in California to be restricted to housing opportunities based on race. State courts would challenge this decision and by 1908, court enforcement of covenants become constitutional. Later in *Buchanan v. Worley (1917)*, the Supreme Court decided that it was unconstitutional for municipalities to have public-sponsored racial exclusionary zoning in Southern cities like Nashville, Baltimore, and Virginia. This decision garnered the attention of Northern states and private residencies and residential organizations, leading them to impose legally enforceable racial restrictive covenants (Plotkin, 1999). As long as private rather than public institutions initiated exclusionary restrictions within their deeds and titles, the legal decision of *Buchanan v. Worley (1917)* could be circumvented.

As Black migrants pushed into the boundaries outside of Chicago's Black Belt, White residents began using tools like racial restrictive covenants to prevent widespread access into

their communities (Boyd 2008). Racial covenants worked in two ways, first on an individual's residence by restricting the purchase or rental of a specific unit, but most prevalently with neighborhood associations that colluded to enact restrictions across communities (Plotkin 1999). Racial covenants first came to Chicago as early as 1914 in the far South Side Roseland community but reached the South Side Black Belt adjacent neighborhoods of Kenwood, Hyde Park, Woodlawn, Englewood, and others beginning in 1928. These covenants primarily discriminated against Black residents. "Black" specifically referred to "every person having one-eight part of more of Negro blood," yet this numerical threshold would be proportionally lowered to further limit "Black" residency in White spaces with time (Plotkin, 1999, pp. 26-29). Other racial and ethnic groups were also explicitly excluded including Jewish and Asian residents. In 1939, the Chicago Housing Authority estimated that eighty percent of the housing units within Chicago were covered by restrictive covenants that essentially barred Black residents from all housing opportunities outside of the Black Belt (Plotkin, 1999). Trapped in the Black Belt, Black residents and migrants were restricted to some of the worst housing stock and living accommodations in the city.

Simultaneously while racial restrictive covenants became standard practice on Chicago's South Side, new housing construction in the Black Belt essentially ceased in the 1930s with the Great Depression. Housing was already scarce due to the drastic reductions in new construction due to World War I (Boyd, 2008). Construction did recover towards the end of the decade peaking in 1926 with 42,932 new units but fell drastically again to 137 new units by 1933 due to the economic downturn (Hirsch, 1983). The Depression slowed the pipeline for southern Black migration to Chicago, which reduced the magnitude of the housing crisis faced in the Black community. However, 450,000 Black migrants would arrive to Chicago between 1910 and 1950,

only to experienced vacancy rates that reached historic lows near 0.9% by 1942. The rate of 5% was the danger threshold set by the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council (MHPC). Using "scarcity" to their advantage, absentee landlords concocted a "solution" by converting standard sized apartments into smaller-partitioned units more commonly known as "kitchenettes" (Hirsch, 1983, p.25). Landlords were able to squeeze upwards of three or more families into a unit designed to accommodate one, profiting handsomely from the lack of housing options for Black Chicagoans.

Housing Equality Legislation

While racial restrictive covenants were utilized in Chicago as early as 1914, efforts were made to challenge their enforceability. In 1932 some higher-earning Black residents moved slightly outside the Black Belt into racially restricted housing and were faced with resistance and eventual eviction (Plotkin, 1999). Additionally, more attempts were made during the mid-to-late 1930s to challenge racial restrictive covenant laws on the South Side. If Black residents were able to move in at all, their arrival generated White community-wide outrage and inevitable eviction, followed by lawsuits and possible appeals (Plotkin, 1999).

This cycle continued for years, until one Black family fought an eviction, took their case to the Supreme Court via *Hansberry v. Lee (1940)*. In 1937 a wealthy Black activist and businessperson, Carl Hansberry purchased a 3-unit building outside of the Black Belt in the restricted Woodlawn community with the help of a White intermediary buyer (Plotkin, 1999). A few weeks after, White Woodlawn residents led by Ana Lee drafted a lawsuit insisting that Hansberry had violated the neighborhood's restrictive covenant that aimed to prevent Black residents from owning or living in the community. The initial ruling upheld the legality of

restrictive covenants, forcing the Hansberry's to vacate their Woodlawn home in December of 1938 (Plotkin, 1999). Hansberry then appealed the decision all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which via a technicality overruled the decision from the lower courts. With this ruling, the Hansberry's were allowed to legally move into Woodlawn however, the decision failed to provide a blanket reversal of the enforcement of racially restrictive covenant laws more broadly. Such reversal would not occur until 1948 with another landmark Supreme Court case, *Shelley v Kramer (1948),* in which justices decided that such covenants violated the Fourteenth Amendment (Hirsch, 1983). Racial restrictive covenants were nonetheless still used by White Chicago homeowners, homeowners' associations and real estate companies' post-1948 to attract White ownership in White neighborhoods, as *Shelly v Kramer* ultimately only eliminated the enforceability—and not the creation or usage—of racially restrictive covenants (Plotkin, 1999).

The immediate result of these two legal proceedings created an alternate reality that in theory allowed for more housing options for Black Chicagoans and neighborhood diversity within historically non-Black communities. Yet within White communities, these court decisions increased not only fears of encroachment from Black residents, but fear that the neighborhood power structure would change. As some Black residents began migrating outside of the Black Belt, an increasing rate of White community members relocated to outer ring White communities and suburbs, opening the door for more Black people to relocate (Tax, 1959). Mass exodus, caused in part by fear that White communities would start to resemble the neglect and neighborhood deterioration commonly found within the overcrowded Black Belt perimeter, resulted in a major shift in racial demographics.

Leaders of White South Side neighborhoods called for an intervention to reverse the flow of Black migration. For frustrated White community members and institutions, the acceptance of

rapid White flight and Black migration was considered as an unacceptable conclusion. Frustrated White community members and institutions who feared the loss of exclusive enclaves would attempt to control Black migration into White neighborhoods. White South Side property holders and politicians began lobbying City Hall to effectively revert mass integration and White flight (Hirsch, 1983).

Prior to addressing Black relocation into White neighborhoods, local city officials sought to solve the deterioration of housing via “blight removal” within the Black Belt to slow Black relocation. Private funds were too small to achieve this endeavor, thus local officials determined that public funds were necessary (Hirsch, 1983). Their goal was to use eminent domain and other tools to acquire areas of “blight” within the South Side and redevelop to spur investment and re-attract a wealthier population. Yet acquiring “blighted” dwelling units anywhere in the city—but especially in the Black Belt—meant removing ultra-scarce housing from Black residents who could ill afford to be unhoused or forced to seek housing alternatives. Local White leaders understood that such a move could be deemed as “inhumane.” They therefore believed that to proceed with “blight removal,” Chicago must couple its plan with new public housing initiatives. Illinois state politicians, who were personally unaffected by acute urban Chicago-related concerns, were very much against adding public housing to the state’s annual budgetary expense. Yet state officials were convinced by local Chicago politicians that the investment in “blight removal” and public housing would be better than a more pervasive and uncontrollable “blight” crisis in the future. State and local municipality officials thereby created a compromise via the creation of the Land Clearance Commission, whose sole purpose was to acquire, clear, and sell land to private institutions and buyers for ownership and operation. The formation of the commission was followed by the passing of the Redevelopment Act of 1947—a hallmark

legislation that permitted the acquisition of “blighted communities” in Chicago’s South Side. The act was the first major legal grounding for “urban renewal” in the city (Hirsch, 1983, p.112).

White community members felt that more needed to be done to prevent “blight” that occurred not just outside their neighborhood, but also within. The Redevelopment Act of 1947 also paved the way for urban renewal efforts to occur in Chicago’s White South Side neighborhoods that feared Black migration with the limitations of racially restrictive covenants. One caveat from the act was to allot funds for “blight removal” and “slum clearance” for communities who had already experienced extended periods of disinvestment. However, more affluent communities without “slums” were unable to access these funds (Hirsch, 1983). The White neighborhood of Hyde Park, which sits directly east of the Black Belt had 573 Black residents in 1940. By comparison, the total population of Hyde Park in the same year was 50,550. By 1950, Hyde Park’s Black population had risen to 1,757, with the vast majority of new arrivals coming post-1948 when restrictive covenant laws became unenforceable in the city. This numeric shift rattled the status quo convincing many that White neighborhoods experiencing Black migration would eventually face the same fate as the Black Belt in the previous two decades (Hirsch, 1983).

Urban renewal efforts began to shift from Black Belt slum removal to White neighborhood conservation to “preserve” changing and “threatened” neighborhoods (Hirsch, 1983). This shift can be seen with the passing of the Urban Community Conservation Act of 1953. This act allowed government funds to be used for eminent domain for slum prevention. Vested community members like the University of Chicago, Michael Reese Hospital, and Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) became the primary champions of the 1947 and 1953 acts as they equated the new proposals with the ultimate survival of their institutions (Hirsch, 1983).

Neighborhoods without a history of "blight" and deterioration would not be able to access funds to preserve their property from becoming "blighted." These laws were utilized as racial restrictive covenants became less effective in preventing Black relocation into White neighborhoods.

Urban Renewal on Chicago's South Side

The effectiveness of racial covenants had waned and the scale that held "racial balance" had toppled. Newer policies had been put into place to remove "slum" and "blight" from Black neighborhoods, but additional urban renewal initiatives were added to ensure neighborhood conservation in White communities. Three projects were created to reshape the landscape of Chicago's South Side Black and jazz community; the expansion of the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) and development of Lake Meadows—a middle-class housing development; University of Chicago sponsored urban renewal projects within the Hyde Park neighborhood; and the construction of high-density public housing in the Black Belt. Each project had a unique impact on the South Side's jazz community, as they collectively altered the trajectory of the scene.

Lake Meadows

By 1937, efforts were being drafted to begin urban renewal projects in the Black Belt. Two major organizations of the Black Belt—Illinois Institute of Technology (formerly the Armour Institute) and Michael Reese Hospital—believed that substantial change was crucial for their longevity within the community (Bluestone, 1998; Hirsch, 1983,). Centered at 33rd Street and Federal Street, IIT felt troubled by the increasing Black population and developed a plan to acquire and clear residential dwellings and land to serve as a buffer between themselves and the Black community (Bluestone, 1998). As early as 1919, the then Armour Institute faced the same

"concern" and moved to demolish 131 apartment units that it converted into school facilities, offices, labs, and classrooms. By 1937, the Armour Institute's plans expanded, this time to quietly acquire and clear from 31st to 35th Streets from State Street to Clark Street. "Nearby property was purchased as it came on the market, and lacking the benefit of legal or financial aids, the university 'virtually bled itself white' in doing so" (Hirsch, 1983, p.116). From 1940 onward, as nearby buildings became available, IIT took on a massive self-inflicted financial burden in order to acquire and clear "slums," enabling the school to expand its campus from 7-acres to 110 acres (Hirsch, 1983).

Following the earlier example set by IIT, a joint community initiative was drafted in 1946 from Michael Reese Hospital, IIT, the South Side Planning Committee (SSPB) and Metropolitan Housing Planning Committee (MHPC), for a new land clearance plan, believing that "a healthy island could not coexist long in a sea of blight" (Hirsch, 1983, pp.116–117). With anticipation of the passage of the Redevelopment Act of 1947 and its allocation of public funds for "blight removal" and armed with the confidence provided by IIT's "self-funded" land acquisitions and clearance, investors began seriously assessing efforts to redevelop more of the Black Belt. By 1948, the insurance company New York Life agreed to become the primary financer for additional urban renewal projects in the Black Belt (Hirsch, 1983). Funded by way of the Redevelopment Act of 1947, structures from 31st and 35th Streets between South Parkway Avenue from the east and the Illinois Central Railroad to the west were acquired and cleared, enabling New York Life to fund the construction of Lake Meadows—a multi-residential, middle-class housing complex (Reinberger, 2021).

As a result of the Lake Meadow construction alone, 3,500 families consisting of 12,000 people were displaced and forced to relocate outside of the Black Belt (Reinberger, 2021). The

construction of Lake Meadows was the country's first major urban renewal project and it set a precedent for more such projects to occur within Chicago and throughout the nation. In the coming years additional projects would further explicitly impact the South Side community.

Hyde Park, Woodlawn, and Kenwood

As a result of the IIT campus expansion and Lake Meadow development, Black migration was expedited to adjacent White communities like Hyde Park. By 1940, 573 Black residents lived in Hyde Park; by 1950, that number rose to 1,757 (Hirsch, 1983). Similarly, in 1940, Kenwood maintained a Black population of 278 yet by 1950 saw that number reach 3,453 (Tax, 1959). In both cases, the bulk of the population change occurred post-1948. Hyde Park property owners led by the University of Chicago—the neighborhood's largest real estate owner—believed that housing discrimination against Black residents was a requirement to reduce Black relocation and White flight (Tax, 1959). Between 1933 and 1947, the university itself had already invested more than $110,000 defending the use of racially restrictive covenants in Kenwood and Hyde Park. With the later weakened enforceability of such covenants, the university and its allies needed another method to curb Black relocation (Hirsch, 1983). In 1952, under the guidance of the university, Council of Hyde Park Churches, and South East Chicago Commission (SECC) was formed to be the visible arm behind the neighborhood's urban renewal designs (Hirsch, 1983). In 1949, prior to the creation of the SECC, the university had already performed an initial survey to determine what should be done to "resolve" the "Black migration" and "blight" issue. Via this assessment, the university determined that between 63rd and 67th Streets, and 60th and 61st Streets between Cottage Grove and Dorchester Avenues, "forces of deterioration have been much greater than efforts of the University and a small group of property owners to stabilize conditions (Hirsch, 1983, p. 148)." The assessment recommended that the

University of Chicago acquire and clear this area to serve as a buffer between itself and the "deteriorating" neighborhood to the South. The acquisition of this area was later included in a more comprehensive plan of land acquisition and clearance by the SECC. The SECC, led and funded by University of Chicago and chaired by its president Lawrence Kimpton, continued as efforts to address Black migration patterns and "blight" had long been underway. By focusing the issue of "blight," "vice," and "crime" instead of the systemic issues of race and class, the University of Chicago via the SECC was able to get additional community support for future urban renewal designs (Hirsch, 1983).

Unlike with the Lake Meadows project, the SECC was unable to use the Blighted Areas Redevelopment Act of 1947 since the surveyed areas did not meet the "blight" qualifications and could not secure public funding. The SECC used this moment as an opportunity to re-write urban renewal legislation (Hirsch, 1983). The Metropolitan Housing Planning Committee (MHPC)—in its support of the University—created the Conservation Act of 1953 to both amend the Blighted Area Redevelopment Act and formally allow the public financing of "slum prevention." The approval of the Conservation Act of 1953 enabled three major Hyde Park and Kenwood construction initiatives—the Hyde Park A and B plan; the creation of the South West Hyde Park Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation; and the development of a master urban renewal plan for Hyde Park and Kenwood (Hirsch, 1983).

In late 1953, the Chicago Land Clearance Commission completed a survey of Hyde Park and declared two swaths of land as "blighted," qualifying them for redevelopment (Hirsch, 1983, p.152). Both sections lay between 53rd and 57th Streets, with Part A sized at 42.7 acres and Part B at 4.6 acres. Outlined in the Hyde Park A and B plan was the removal of "badly deteriorated" sections of the Hyde Park community and the construction of a shopping center and new housing

(Hirsch, 1983, p.152). Centered at 55th Street and Harper Street, land clearance occurred from 1955 to 1956 (Berry et al, 1968). With this plan, 892 families were forced to relocate and 194 businesses—which include 23 taverns—were removed (Hirsch, 1983, p.169; Berry et al, 1968, p.23).

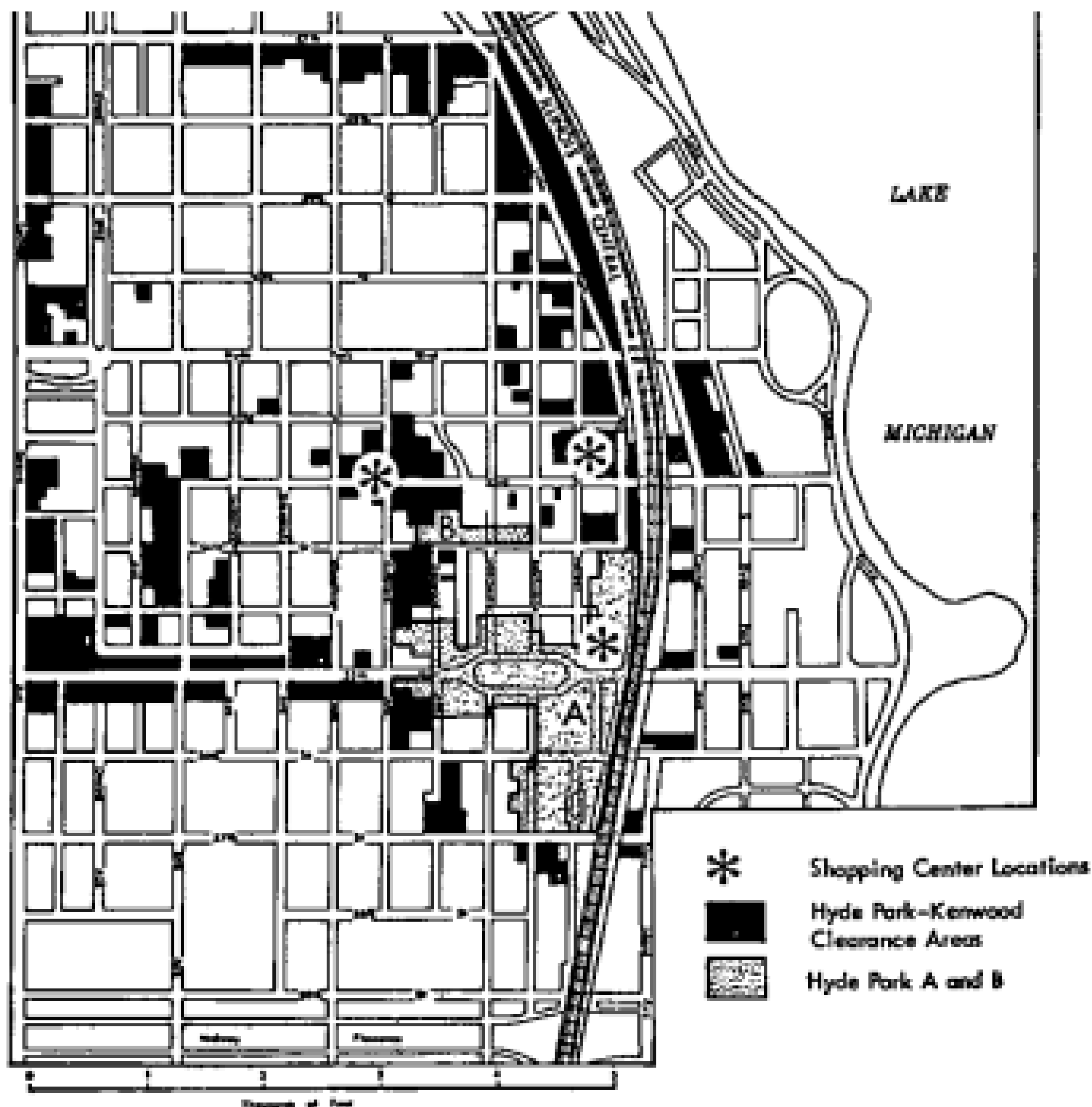
The Hyde Park A and B projects were used to show "progress" to help mitigate further White flight in Hyde Park and Kenwood (Hirsch, 1983). Once the public saw that efforts were made to address "blight," it helped ease "fears" and boosted morale within the White community. Part two of the SECC's urban renewal plan was targeted to address southwest Hyde Park. The SECC created the South West Hyde Park Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation in 1954, which served as the SECC's arm responsible for urban renewal within the south west section of Hyde Park. SECC planners believed that the area North of 55th Street and between Cottage Grove Avenue and Ellis Street "[were] becoming 100% Negro so fast that [they] wondered if the whole urban renewal [project] would not be endangered." This boundary was later extended four full blocks—both in the southward and eastward direction—from 55th to 59th Streets and Cottage Grove Avenue to Woodlawn Street. Since this region did not meet the requirements to be designated as "blighted," in order to utilize the newly enacted Conservation Act of 1953, 60% of the region's homeowners needed to sign off on the site's redevelopment plan. The University of Chicago who owned 40% of the property in this area, was able to contact enough landlords and absentee homeowners to sign off on the petition which fulfilled the necessary requirements for site clearance (Hirsch, 1983, p.159–160).

Lastly, a more comprehensive SECC sponsored urban renewal plan was proposed and approved in 1958. As seen in Figure 5, this plan covered 855.8 acres from 47th to 59th Street between Cottage Grove and the Lake (Hirsch, 1983, p.161). Included in this plan was the

demolition of 638 structures [6,147 dwelling units], with a proposal to construct 2,100 new homes within a five-year period (Hirsch, 1983, p.161).

In total, all three urban renewal projects displaced 641 businesses, and only 233 of were still able to stay in business post-1966 (Berry et al, 1968, p.77). As a property owner, if your property was taken away via a land clearance project, there was no guarantee that compensation would be provided for those who were forced to vacate. Additionally, as buildings were razed for clearance, the spaces in Hyde Park and Kenwood that remained became less attractive to continue to do business as the income and revenue drastically decreased (Berry et al, 1968). Business owners were left stuck in a tough situation: without a place to operate their business and no compensation to relocate, rebuild, and rebrand. If they were lucky, and were able to continue operate their business, its operations saw less clientele and a drastically different physical landscape.

Figure 5 *Hyde Park clearance areas and locations of new retail centers in accordance with the Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Plan. (Berry et al, 1968, p. 26).*



South Side Public Housing

As the companion to the Redevelopment Act of 1947, Illinois policy makers instituted the Relocation Act of 1947 as a framework to supply housing to those displaced from the “blight” removal projects (Hirsch, 1983). The removal of scarce housing in Chicago without a proper replacement plan, made the Relocation Act of 1947 a requirement for the Redevelopment Act to

gain approval. A prioritization was given toward vacant land to avoid displacing those whose homes were targeted for clearance. In 1949, the Chicago Housing Authority's drafted a 6-year pilot proposal that blueprinted 40,000 units of public housing (Hunt, 2001, p.99). 25,000 units would be constructed in "slums" and the remaining 15,000 units on vacant land away from the city's core. Land acquisition and clearance in the Black Belt would perpetuate housing insecurity for those in needed it most. To combat this issue, vacant land existed on the periphery of outer White neighborhoods, but those communities vehemently rejected various proposals to bring housing projects and inevitably Black residents to their neighborhoods (Hirsch, 1983, p.226). After utter compromise, the final proposal, named the Duffy-Lancaster plan, outlined the construction new housing in seven sites in the Black Belt. The Duffy-Lancaster plan was named after the alderman John Duffy—chief opponent of new public housing in White neighborhoods—and Housing Committee member William Lancaster. This new plan proposed the construction of 10,500 units on "blighted land" and 2,000 units on vacant land. This plan uprooted 12,465 families while only providing relocation for 2,112 families (Hirsch, 1983, p.226).

Both Black and some White leaders expressed extreme disapproval of this new compromise but were unable to convince local leaders to modify or kill the plan (Hirsch, 1983, pp.227–228). In 1950, with the reluctant backing from the Chicago Housing Authority, the city council approved the plan to construct new public housing in sites in the Black Belt. By 1951, the funding for an additional 9,000 units was provided (Greetham, 2013, p.46). By 1962, construction only resulted in a total of 14,800 units of new housing in the Black Belt area, far beneath the CHA proposal of 25,000 units (Hunt, 2001, p.100). Funding for these projects led to the creation of South Side housing projects that would include: State Street projects such as

Dearborn Homes (constructed in 1950), Harold Ickes Homes (1955), Stateway Gardens (1958)—as seen in Figure 6—and the largest of them all, Robert Taylor Homes (1962) (Greetham, 2013, p.94). These construction projects became notorious for being an objective public housing failure and would eventually be torn down by 2000 (Hunt, 2001, p.99).

Figure 6 *Demolition and construction of Stateway Gardens from 35th and 39th Streets in 1959. (Hirsch, 1983, p.243).*

CHAPTER FIVE

URBAN RENEWAL AND JAZZ ON CHICAGO'S SOUTH SIDE

The three prominent communities that fostered thriving jazz scenes on Chicago's South Side prior to 1970 each experienced urban renewal in unique and varying ways. The peak of The Stroll and 47th Street Jazz scene pre-dates the newer legislation that would establish urban renewal, but even these communities inevitably felt the impact of urban renewal with time. Hyde Park and eventually Woodlawn would each experienced their own encounter with housing related urban renewal which directly altered the trajectory of the direction of each neighborhood's jazz scene.

Urban Renewal's Effect on the Stroll

Largely due to the political interference and the development of the 47th Street scene, The Stroll had significantly scaled down by February 1928 (Kenney, 1993). In 1927 White mobsters—who already maintained strong ties within the early Black Belt entertainment sector—developed a stronger grip on the remaining Stroll district. Making matters worse, these strongholds led to the bombing and immediate closure of the Plantation Café and Royal Gardens (renamed Café-de Paris by 1927) in that same year. The Royal Gardens would reopen as the Lincoln Gardens and along with the Sunset Café and Dreamland Café, would be the only major Stroll-era clubs to survive past the 1930s (Kenney, 1993).

The tactics used by IIT in the 1940s to acquire and clear land within a short radius of 33rd and Federal Street effectively eliminated all remaining spaces that once served as clubs around the then 7-acre campus (Hirsch, 1983). By 1940, most of the structures that housed State Street

jazz clubs from 31st Street to 35th Street had been vacant for nearly a decade. Those that remained in this area were the ones that lined 35th Street and while most ceased operation during the 1930s, their physical structures were still left standing by the 1960s and beyond. Ernest Dawkins—saxophonist and former resident of 33rd and State—recalls that in his early years, he could see the remnants of early venues that once lined the Stroll on 35th Street. Dawkins shares:

> …I would come out the house, and I would see all the old theaters, the vaudeville theaters and the show theaters, and some of them still had the old placards up. So and so's band, the Benny Goodman Orchestra, the this, the that. And I saw that as a kid, as a child. When I was coming up, when I was pretty much a baby, I saw the remnants of the change right there happening. And then when you went further south into the community, 35th street had music, 39th street had a couple of venues—they had one on 39th and King Drive. It was in a hotel there. I forgot the name of the venue. They also had one on 39th street, right off the Lakeshore Drive (Dawkins, personal communication, March 14, 2023).

As remember by historian and musician Michael Allemana, at least one of the aforementioned structures still exists today. Allemana recalls about the Sunset Café (Grand Terrace):

> [The Grand Terrace]…so that was later an Ace hardware [and now a hair care products store]. One day I went there with George Freeman and Steve Coleman and the owner saw us out there and asked us who we were and he just showed us everything. They still have the mural there…that's before he sold it to the hair products store that's there. And he already got it designated as a historical landmark, so they can't tear it down—they have the Grand Terrace mural there. And it turned out that my father had a sales business from

> when I was growing up, that my grandfather started, and that was where my dad had his first sale (Allemana, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

While IIT's initial urban renewal efforts were self-financed, the construction of Lake Meadows led by Michael Reese Hospital received funding from the Illinois Redevelopment Act of 1947. Outside of the nearly 10,000 families that were removed for the construction of the Lake Meadows towers, Allemana shared that the Lincoln Garden (formerly the Royal Gardens) was also acquired and cleared for the new development (Hirsch, 1983, p.206; Allemana, personal communication, March 13, 2023). Although the primary focus of this paper is towards the impact of urban renewal on Chicago's later jazz spaces, earlier iteration of urban renewal set a precedent of what was to come in future generations. As IIT acquired and cleared the surrounding area, it validated the minds of investors to fund the Lake Meadows developments (Hirsch, 1983). Lake Meadows as the nation's first publicly funded urban renewal project not only set the precedent for all future urban renewal projects that occurred in Chicago, but throughout the United States more broadly.

Urban Renewal's Effect on the Hyde Park's Jazz Community

Coinciding with the rise of new South Side music spaces was a seismic demographic shift in the Black Belt's residential population. By 1950 Chicago's Black population had expanded to 492,000 and reached 813,000 in 1960 (Hirsch, 1983, p.17). As housing restrictions loosened many Black Belt residents relocated to various communities throughout the city. By 1960, neighborhoods like the West Side's North Lawndale community would become home to nearly 13% of the city's Black population (+100,681 Black residents from 1950) while adjacent Black Belt neighborhoods such as Englewood, Greater Grand Crossing, and Woodlawn each

experienced net increases of 40,000–50,000 Black residents from the 1950 census (Paral, 2023). In this same time period, the Kenwood and Hyde Park neighborhoods also observed a drastic increase in their Black population. Kenwood experienced the makeup of Black residents increase from 10 percent to 85 percent of the neighborhood's total population from 1950 to 1960 figures, while Hyde Park's saw Black population totals increase from 1,757 to 17,163 in the same period. Conversely, Grand Boulevard, Douglas, Washington Park—the proper neighborhoods that made up the Black Belt—all experienced substantial population decreases and general demographic changes during this same span. Grand Boulevard (-33,837 residents), Douglas (-28,390) and Washington Park (-12,868) each experienced a near 20% to 30 % reduction of their respective Black populations, largely due to the departure of residents from ages 18–64 (Paral, 2023; Semmes, 2006, p.173).

As a result of Black relocation outside of the Black Belt, the amount of patrons near the 47th Street jazz scene plummeted. Patrons who formerly frequented the Regal, Savoy and other adjacent venues on the 47th Street corridor were greeted with a host of other entertainment alternatives at their disposal such as the Sutherland, and 63rd Street's Mckie's, Robert's Show Lounge, and the Pershing Hotel clubs (Semmes, 2006). The decline of the Black Belt's population resulted in a decline in the financial support for establishments like the Regal and Savoy, which cemented the "changing of the guard" from 47th Street to the adjacent neighborhoods south and east of Black Belt venues.

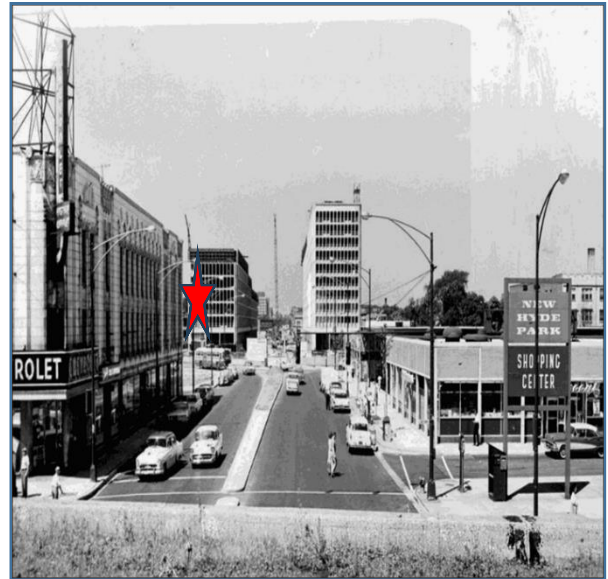
Further southeast in Hyde Park, blatant examples of urban renewal directly impacted the surrounding jazz community. Under the Conservation Act of 1953—the act used to impose eminent domain for slum prevention—Hyde Park was given the tools to erase venues and residences that "incited" White flight and attracted Black Chicagoans to the neighborhood.

Journalist Ruth Moore details that the University of Chicago shut down close to twenty bars mainly along 55th Street through municipal lobbying and acquisition (Nast, 2000, p.241). According to Moore, the only establishment that was allowed to stay was Jimmy's, which as of 2023, is still operating under the name Woodlawn Tap on 1172 East 55th Street. Long time Hyde Park resident and pianist Bethany Pickens recalled: "My parents said that there were some clubs in the [19]50s along 55th Street near Woodlawn Tap, where the park was—[be]cause there was an apartment building there, which is where my parents were before I was born (Pickens, personal communication, January 17, 2023)." Clubs like the Bee Hive, Cadillac Lounge, Nob-Hill Lounge, and Lee's Loving Hi Hat were the venues that Bethany Pickens parents were referring to that no longer exist due to these community responses to black migration in the neighborhood. Figure 7 provides a snapshot of the removal of the Bee Hive Club as suggested by Pickens. According to Chicago Defender records shown in Figure 8, the last advertisement for the Bee Hive was on May 26, 1956 and it is safe to assume that this and other surrounding clubs were closed shortly after ("Erskine Hawkins," 1956). It is a safe assumption that the remaining lesser-known Black bars might have also showcased jazz which in theory allows for a higher count of shuttered Hyde Park jazz clubs. Ultimately, Hyde Park under the University of Chicago's influence, achieved its "goal" and by 1958, sees its total population decline from 75,000 to 40,000 and its Black Population percentage decline from a 38% to 30% of the neighborhoods total share (Nast, 2000, p.241). As a substitute for the venues that once held jazz, became newly constructed suburban style shopping centers and less dense housing—both of which are still in existence today (Hirsch, 1983). Michael Allemana shares his opinion on the root causes of these proceedings:

> ...it was urban renewal and it was racism because from what I understand…the Hyde Park "powers that be" …I don't know if that was the alderman or the neighborhood councils, they were like it's getting too black here, so we're tearing this all down. Which is weird 'cause we think of Hyde Park as this well integrated place. But at that point it was not like that (Allemana, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

What separates the examples of urban renewal found in Chicago's Hyde Park versus what was experienced in the areas that now surrounds IIT and the former Michael Reese Hospital, is that Hyde Park's jazz scene when urban renewal commenced was arguably at its peak. The May 26th Chicago Defender article that advertised Hyde Park's ultra-popular Bee Hive Lounge promoted evening performances from groups led by world-renowned tenor saxophonist Dexter Gordon and trumpeter King Kolax ("Erskine Hawkins," 1956). The Bee Hive Lounge had a history of recruiting named musicians from Charlie Parker, to Max Roach and Clifford Brown, and Bud Powell which are and were arguably the most famous names in the art form ("Turkey Day Weekend," 1953; "Chicago Nighteries," 1955; "Ivory Joe," 1955). Being able to consistently book elite named acts for both long- and short-term engagements, especially in a highly competitive market, only emphasizes the significance of top tier clubs like the Bee Hive for thriving and serving as a catalyst for other local venues in the Hyde Park area.

Figure 7 *55th and Lake Park, Chicago, Illinois. Pre-Urban Renewal, Post Urban Renewal* (Davis, 2021).



Note: Upper Left, Bottom Left—Westward view of 55th Street and Lake Park Avenue in 1955. Upper Right—Bee Hive Jazz Club located at 1503 East 55th Street. Bottom Right—Westward view of 55th Street and Lake Park Avenue after the transformation of urban renewal. The Red Star denotes the location that used to house the Bee Hive Lounge which was removed via urban renewal procedures.

Figure 8 *Last Chicago Defender article advertising the Bee Hive Lounge on May 26th, 1956. ("Erskine Hawkins," 1956).*

Erskine Hawkins Hits Chicago Nitery 'Stem'
The Chicago Defender (National edition) (1921-1967); May 26, 1956;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers Chicago Defender
pg. 17

Erskine Hawkins Hits Chicago Nitery 'Stem'

The night club stem took on a Broadway look this week as Erskine Hawkins moved into the Crown Propeller for a limited stay.

The Bee Hive counters with Dexter Gordon and King Kolax and the Stage lounge offers a dual socko starring Arthur Prysock and Sarah McLawler.

The Sutherlnd lounge has Johnny Pate trio plus Kokomo Wellington and Dave Green all ace performers. The 08 club presents the tuneful music and chirping of 4 Aces, Howling Wolf and Joe Carter. Howard Thomas combo plus Jerry Mitchum carry on at the popular Basin Street on Cottage Grove and the C and C lounge is terrific, musically with the C and C All stars.

BATES IS TOPS

Lefty Bates and Prince Cooper trio will be seen and heard at Duke Slater's popular Vincennes hotel lounge. The Partners Frolic Room, 204 E. 58 street is presenting the popular Jerry "Talent Scout" Jones and his guests.

And over on Oakwood the Flame lounge is groovy with the floor show and music menu directed by Dr. Jo Jo Adams. There is also music and gayety at the Kitty Kat club on 63 street that is groovy at all times. Club 411 offers organ music by Calvin Bostic and there is plenty happening musically at Harry's Cocktail lounge where Leon Abbey and his trio are in charge.

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Note: Bee Hive Lounge would be torn down shortly after as a result of urban renewal efforts in Hyde Park.

Urban Renewal's Effect on Woodlawn's Jazz Community

Many of the other 55th Street Clubs west of Hyde Park closed for more conventional reasons beginning in the late 1940s. The Joe Louis owned Rhumboogie—the first main anchor of 55th Street's scene—ceased operation due to a fire in 1947. Club Delisa—which also anchored the 55th Street scene—would close its doors in 1958 after the sudden death of its owner (Semmes, 2006, p.163). It later reopened in the mid-1960s but by this time it was clear that 63rd had become the main entertainment thoroughfare of the South Side (Sites, 2020).The clubs on the 63rd Street scene unlike with Hyde Park and the Stroll, were not physically removed as a result of urban renewal. Urban renewal within the neighborhoods surrounding the 63rd Street scene, as a by-product of policy and societal decisions, were the overwhelming causes for the altered jazz scene in this location. Primarily, the creation of housing project developments within and near Woodlawn and inside Black Belt boundaries played an important role in Woodlawn's jazz scene being impacted. Equally as important, the impact of rapid White flight and Mass relocation patterns in the area must be acknowledged. By explaining each subtopic in isolation, it will add clarity and show the holistic impact urban renewal had within Woodlawn's jazz community.

The functional design of public housing beginning in 1959 had shifted from versions prior. After years of debates and against the wishes of both the more progressive-minded Elizabeth Wood—former executive director of the Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA)—and the more conservative Mayor Richard J. Daley administration—who both advocated for low-rise, lower density public housing, CHA and the federal Public Housing Authority (PHA) reached an agreement for new high-rise public housing within the South Side Black Belt (Hunt, 2009, pp.132–140). To address cost concerns, the agreement guaranteed that 9,000 new high-rise

public housing units be constructed for under $17,000 per unit on the cleared and acquired land primarily inside the Black Belt borders. This agreement would include 4,400 units designated for the Robert Taylor Homes that went from 39th–51st Streets, 1,400 units for the Washington Park Homes, which were scattered between the 55th and 63rd Street corridor, and the remaining units became the Cabrini-Green and Henry Horner project expansion near the loop and West Side.

In addition to upholding the requirement that new projects post-1959 be high rise apartments, CHA constructed 72 percent of the new additions to be three-, four-, and five-bedroom units (Hunt, 2009). Prior to 1959, earlier iterations of public housing were primarily comprised of one- to two-bedroom apartments, even if larger families resided in them. The idea with post-1959 public housing was to prioritize larger families, a demographic that experienced extreme hardship securing comparable accommodations in the private market prior to the creation these complexes. A consequence of housing large families is that with large families, there exists a large quantity of young children. Public housing in the earlier years possessed a youth-to-adult ratio of 1.0, nearly double the city average of 0.53 in 1960, and by 1965, the Robert Taylor Homes—Chicago's largest public housing complex, by far—experienced a youth-to-adult ratio nearly six time the city's average—of 2.86 (Hunt, 2009, pp.147–151).

Discussing public housing projects is tricky because one must acknowledge their bias. Public housing in the United States—especially when discussing high density modernist housing found in Chicago—is largely viewed unfavorably; however this was not always the case. What public housing provided at its genesis, even in its most eventually notorious examples was improved housing to a community that desperately needed an upgrade in its then current housing stock. The poor management, undesirable site locations, poor design and bad policy, are the attributes that deserves critique, not the then-new housing itself (Hunt, 2001). From talking to

Tyrone Hines—saxophonist, music educator and former Black Belt housing project resident—he shared that moving to and growing up in the Harold L. Ickes projects initially was a very pleasant experience. He adds:

> We said, man, this is fantastic. They had three bedrooms in the apartment and a beautiful kitchen. I said, oh! We loved it. [That] was our place. We stayed there probably from [when I was] three years old to [when] I was in third grade (Hines, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

In addition, from talking to pianist and long-time Black Belt (Bronzeville) resident Miguel de la Cerna, he also shared generally positive memories of Woodlawn's first housing project—63rd Street's Parkway Gardens. He recalls:

> Parkway Gardens…that was one of the original projects, but in our day, the projects were not a bad place…That was one of the first ones, but it wasn't what you think of today. It was totally family-oriented, even the Robert Taylor [Homes]. I was there all the time. I walked up in the projects all the time (de la Cerna, personal communication, January 20, 2023).

Within a year of opening however, high rise apartment complexes experienced vandalism due to the high density of youth who lived there. In Robert Taylor, it was commonplace for youth to damage light bulbs and fixtures, abuse the two elevators that serviced each building's 16-floor structure, and tag walls and stairwells with obscenities (Hunt, 2009). The extreme density of youth, coupled with the lack of funding for adequate security and regular maintenance made high-rise apartment living unattractive overtime.

Additionally, income limits, which were used to ensure that the city's most vulnerable received priority for CHA housing were implemented in 1950 (Hunt, 2009). Although this practice had good intentions, it disincentivized families from reporting their true income and/or making more money, else they face the possibility of eviction from the CHA. In practice, hiding one's income might be the voluntary removal of a parent in the home, especially if one parent had an income that would surpass the income restriction threshold. By 1959, income limits were set for an annual income of $3,800 per a family of four which equated to 80 percent of the median average for non-White families and 52 percent for White families. Most blue-collar workers were barred from CHA housing as they generally made "too much" money. For context, unionized custodian employees for CHA, the lowest paid jobs at the agency, paid an annual salary of $4,320—which eliminated even them for CHA housing consideration (Hunt, 2009, pp.187–188).

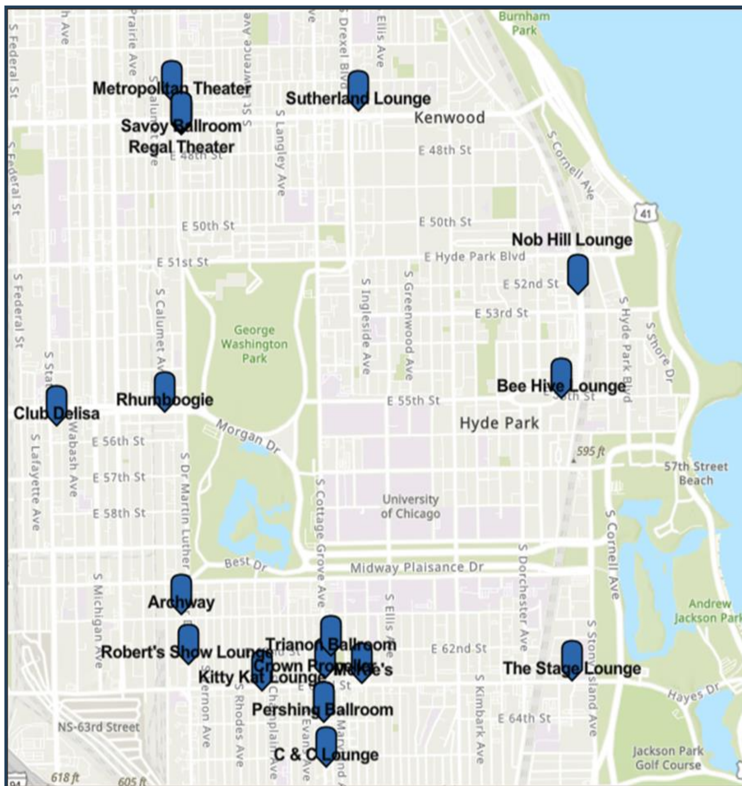
Robert Taylor and Washington Park Homes operated a bit differently as CHA offered a fixed rent price to attract working-class, larger families in those apartments. However by 1970, public housing options became less attractive to working-class Black families as housing scarcity that had been experienced for the entire century by the Black residents, began to ease. Fueled by White relocation to the surrounding FHA subsidized suburbs, Black and working-class families experienced an increase in housing options outside of the traditional Black Belt ghettos and at a reduce cost (Hunt, 2009). CHA housing backlogs and waitlists still existed, but now these lists were filled with much lower income families.

As a result of an expansion in the housing market for Black residents, White flight to suburban Chicago, and a degradation of public housing within newly constructed high-rise public housing complexes, Washington Park and Woodlawn's population would decrease by half from 1960 and 1980 (Hunt, 2009). The demographic of these communities shifted from one that reflected a robust night scene to one that housed large families—which were largely concentrated by low-incomed youth. The relationship that these events had with the jazz scene is that the neighborhood no longer had the draw nor the income to sustain a jazz community the way it had in previous generations. Neighborhood youth, who had largely replaced the previous demographic of jazz enthusiast and socialites, were not old enough to go to the bars and clubs, and those residents of age who could saw a reduction in their overall median disposable income. From 1963 to 1970, Black families living in the Black Belt housing projects experienced real wages decline from $12.7k to under 10.0k (in 1984 dollars) even while the city median average increased from roughly $25.0k to 28.0k (Hunt, 2001, p.108; Hunt, 2009, p.191). This trend continued its downward trajectory for at least another decade which is consistent with the loss of clubs and venues within Woodlawn's jazz community. Spaces like the Pershing Hotel and its three jazz venues, which according to William Sites was the face of the 63rd Street scene and where Ahmad Jamal recorded his rendition of "Poinciana," would close and be demolished by 1964, largely as a consequence of aforementioned neighborhood changes (Sites, 2020; Demlinger and Steiner, 2003). Certain venues did survive, but very few in comparison to 63rd Street apex. For example, the Robert's Motel and the C&C Lounge became fixtures within the community for many more years, but the neighborhoods quantity of the neighborhoods' venues were a fraction

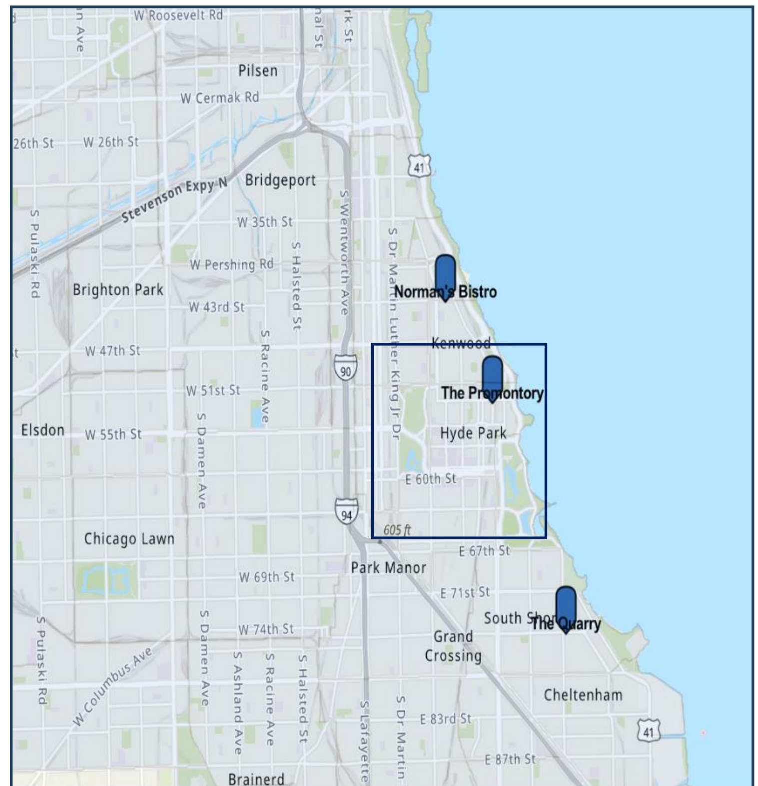
of what was experienced in generations prior. As seen in Figure 9, the figures as of 2023 are even more dismal.

Figure 9 *South Side Jazz Scene Past and Present. Map by ArcGIS, data annotated by Dakarai Barclay.*

Key South Side Jazz Venues between 1940–1960



South Side Jazz Venues as of 2023



Note: Left—Key South Side jazz venues between 1940 and 1960. Right—South Side venues where jazz is performed as of 2023. Rectangle is the boundaries that held major Woodlawn, Kenwood clubs from 1940s and 1960s.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSIONS

“Cultural Genocide”—the Social Impact of Urban Renewal

The decline of Chicago’s South Side jazz community was not the result of arbitrary events or lack of engagement, but a consequence of a more systematic phenomenon that centered on housing related urban renewal. Not only were jazz venues uprooted, families were torn apart from the communities that they once called home, largely with little to no compensation in return. Michael Allemana details that in addition to the jazz clubs that once existed in the Stroll, musicians were effected on a more intimate level. Allemana shares when talking about the Lake Meadows high rise developments:

> That's all those towers that are there, that took out Teddy Thomas's neighborhood. Teddy Thomas—his street doesn't exist anymore, where he grew up. He lived, he called it little Vernon, there was a small stretch of Vernon that was over there. And he, Norman Simmons and Victor Sproles all lived on the same block. It was like, all of these musicians were living right there (Allemana, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

The elimination of spaces that housed musicians also occurred in other neighborhoods outside of the Stroll. Further down in Hyde Park, was the Gay family home that served as a refuge for a homeless Sonny Rollins as he re-integrated back in the Chicago performance scene while he kicked his drug habit. The former Gay family home—located at 5639 South Cottage Grove Avenue serves as the current address of the University of Chicago Hospital but also falls within the boundaries of the South-West Hyde Park urban renewal project (Levy, 2022, pp.140–

142; Hirsch, 1983). While many of the impacted parties will forever remain nameless, these events have affected many people that have made an impact on Chicago's music scene. Michael Allemana's opinions on urban renewal toward Chicago's jazz communities suggest that this period of urban renewal was more damaging than people think. He shares:

> It's such a complicated issue because when you get into this idea of what urban renewal did, which is personally just my own opinion…I call it cultural genocide. It was purposely meant to destruct—that was what [Chicago historian] Timuel Black would say. Timuel Black would say if you want to get to the core of people's being, destroy their culture. For us that meant destroy the arts, urban renewal, and take culture out of schools, now you get to people's core…And speaking with the elders, speaking with the experienced musicians, what's really hard to communicate to people is it's not something as simple as like, "Oh, that club used to be here," and you get these sort of bullshit like, "Oh, you know the business, there was no business here. Hey, you know that's what happened…" no no—It's way deeper than that (Allemana, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

Post Urban Renewal

After the decline of the 63rd Street jazz scene, three noticeable occurrences happen within Chicago's jazz community. First, as Black Chicagoans relocated to other parts of the South Side, newer venues within these communities replaced those that were previous lost—albeit in a much lesser magnitude. Secondly, South Side jazz musicians found a fresh voice via the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM). Lastly, South Side musicians began performing outside of the South Side—in the downtown area and on the city's North Side—at a higher frequency.

Due to continuous White flight from the late 1950s to early 1970s, Black Belt adjacent neighborhoods like Park Manor, Greater Grand Crossing, South Shore, and Chatham saw a change in their communities' demographic make-up (Paral, 2023). Residential and commercial areas that were once occupied by White residents were being reoccupied by Black families who desired improved housing conditions that these neighborhoods offered. In addition to housing, new taverns and venues would begin to host jazz music. In the mid-1970s, two Greater Grand Crossing venues began hosting jazz on a weekly basis. Led by tenor saxophonist Von Freeman, the 75th Street's El Matador and the Enterprise Lounge became mainstays for jazz on the South Side beginning in the 1970s (Allemana, 2020). Both would close by the early 1980s, but would be replaced by neighboring New Apartment Lounge where Von Freeman would hold a four-decade residency for his quartet from 1982 until 2011. Additional venues like The Other Place, High Chaparral, and Toast of the Town were new staples that served as the next generation of South Side jazz spaces ("Jazz rock," 1974; Semmes, 2006; "Pub crawl," 1990)

Chicago's South Side jazz scene in its former years consistently attracted the world's top musicians. Perennial appearances from the Jones Brothers (Elvin, Hank and Thad), Clifford Brown, Max Roach, Roy Haynes, Ben Webster, Art Blakey, John Coltrane, Sonny Rollins—just to name a few—made the South Side a marquee destination for jazz (Lewis, 2008, p.20). However, "by 1967, "there did not exist on the South Side of Chicago a single club that booked nationally established jazz talent on a consistent basis (Lewis, 2008, p.85)." Additionally, more clubs outside of the South Side would begin to welcome elite and local Black musicians and audience members with greater frequency.

AACM

Birthed from the decline of playing opportunities on the South Side was the creation of a new Chicago-specific jazz subgenre. The Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) was founded in 1965 as a rebuttal to the challenges of being a Black musician in Chicago's changing environment (Lewis, 2008). Its primary goal was to provide creative and original compositions and to showcase cultural artwork for the community—independent of the South Side's club scene. Muhal Richard Abrams —former president of the AACM shared:

> No, no, we're not working for club owners, no clubs…This is strictly concerts. As far as this organization is concerned, we're not working taverns, because we believe we can create enough work in concert. See, there's another thing about us functioning as full artistic musicians. We're not afforded that liberty in taverns. Everybody here knows that (Lewis, 2008, p.106).

Still around and relevant today, the AACM has lived up to its design and continues to serve as Chicago's most prominent example of creative and original jazz. Musicians like Roscoe Mitchell, Jodie Christian, and Anthony Braxton via the AACM served as a catalyst for the restoration of the South Side jazz community's spirit.

Jazz in Non-South Side Communities

The primary focus of this paper is on Chicago's South Side jazz scene, however dance halls and jazz venues existed throughout the entire city as early as the 1910s (Kenney, 1993). Venues downtown and on the city's North and West Sides were reserved for White entertainers, but occasionally black bands performed for all-White audiences. While residential segregation remained throughout the city, commercial segregation began to break apart by the early-1950s

(Semmes, 2006, p.142). Post-World War II, “maturing capitalism, which brought increased competition for consumer dollars, created more access for Blacks to downtown and [North Side] entertainment venues” (Semmes, 2006, p.132). By the early 1950s, top-tier musicians like Oscar Peterson, Ella Fitzgerald, and Max Roach began regularly appearing in Chicago’s downtown halls and venues such as the Civic Opera House and the Balaban and Katz Chicago Theater.

Still, Miguel de la Cerna remembers that residential segregation still prevailed and dictated the common persons’ ability to traverse the city’s streets and boundaries even in the late 1960s and early 1970s. De la Cerna shared:

> We couldn't go into White neighborhoods at all. Literally they would throw rocks at us. You can't even imagine. One time I took the wrong train and we were going up North. We just jumped on the train, not thinking, and I knew the train system pretty well, so I may have been 9/10 years old. We were up North and my cousin and I were like, “oh my, we passed Wrigley Field.” We were just talking and then we see Wrigley field and we say, “Hey, what’s all these White people on the train. Hey, we're on the wrong train.” We get off and just praying, really praying that we can get back to the South Side because it just was a different time. We just did not venture into uncharted territories. There's a music store on 79th street West. And we took the bus over there and they would shout the N-word to us as we walk in down the street (de la Cerna, personal communication, January 20, 2023).

Hostility toward African-Americans still existed post-1960s but by the mid-to-late 1960s, more modern mainstream jazz artists and celebrities began appearing more regularly in North Side clubs in the Old Town and Lincoln Park communities which served as one of this period’s main thoroughfares for jazz in Chicago. In turn, as the height of the South Side’s scene began its

descent, more jazz musicians began venturing out to explore the North Side offerings. Tyrone Hines recalls going up to a North Side club attempting to listen to John Coltrane and Miles Davis in April 1967:

> [They] were at what they call the Plugged Nickel. It's another club, jazz club on [Wells] street…So I went up there [because] I wanted to hear John Coltrane. I said, he's the best saxophone player I ever heard. He was in my head. So, I went up there, but of course, I'm too young to get in, so man, I went up there and I propped open the door, and I looked in there. I said, oh, damn. They're warming up. Miles [Davis] and John Coltrane. Miles is playing against the wall, and Coltrane is playing. I said, oh shit. They were getting ready to play shortly after. I said, man, maybe I can get in here. I stood in the doorway for a second, then the [bouncer] came out.
>
> [Bouncer] "Yeah, [are] you 21?"
>
> [Hines] "No."
>
> [Bouncer] "Yeah. You have to kind of wait out there."
>
> So even though I waited outside, I kind of propped open the door a little bit so I can hear the sound, man, I can't even think of the tune they played. I can't remember. But anyway, I'm listening to Coltrane taking that first solo. I said woah. That was my only time hearing John Coltrane live right there in the doorway (Hines, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

As South Side Black musicians began exploring non-South Side venues for live music, North-Side and downtown musicians, promotors, or journalists did not reciprocate to the remaining venues on either the South Side 63rd scene, newer spin-off scenes in adjacent neighborhoods (Sites, 2020). Historian and musician Michael Allemana—who was a White

college student at Northern Illinois University in the late 1980s, recalls his first encounters on the South Side music scene:

> Fareed [Haque] was the one who introduced me to Von [Freeman]. Fareed in his first year as a field trip took us to the New Apartment Lounge…And I heard Von, I was like, "What the fuck is this shit?" And it's I like this whole community that was built around the scene there…
>
> And it was his piano player, John Logan, who actually took a liking to me first before Von, and he's like, you should [keep coming]. And it was me, and I don't know if you know this pianist town Tom Vaitsas. John actually liked Tom first, he said yes to come to my other gig and should sit in, so I went with Tom, and then me and John Logan became quick like mentor/apprentice relationship, it happened fast. To this day, George Freeman [and I] talk about this…'cause George and John had played a lot together over the years, and he told me he's like, John, loved you, and he used to always call me his eldest son. It's a great story.
>
> So, I'm at a club, it was a place that was at 69th and King is called the Leather Lounge. It was the best, and he says…And John says on the microphone he says, "Now, I'm gonna bring up this wonderful guitarist to sit in with us…he's my eldest son." And some guys at the bar is like "He's so old he turned White"…And his nickname for me was the White boy, so I would go in to the club and back then in the [early] 90's…It was pretty rare for Whites, for North Siders to go down to the South Side to these clubs. So generally, I was the only White cat there. Michael Rainer, who was Von's drummer, was the other one who was there cause he was in Von's band.

> There was a few of us of the White cats who…rejected this separation and suburban culture…We're going to these club and it was like, you're told all this stuff that you brought up, this is a scary place to go…Be careful, you're gonna get mugged and all of that bullshit. And almost the structures, all of a sudden became really apparent to me like I was super aware (Allemana, personal communication, March 13, 2023).

Still to this day, Chicago's jazz community largely remains segregated and divided. The sentiments explained by Michael Allemana from the 1980s largely remains true—largely as a consequence of urban renewal.

Further Study

This paper shows the effects of urban renewal on the Chicago jazz scene, but so much more can be explored in future related studies. Due to scarcity of time and narrowing my scope, I was only able to interview seven participants. If an opportunity to extend this work becomes available, having more participants and interviews would expand my findings and would result in a more comprehensive work. This paper's primary focus is on housing related urban renewal projects, but future studies could look into the effect of de-industrialization or highway implementation on Chicago's jazz community. Benjamin Barbera discusses this in his thesis when observing the effects of urban renewal on Milwaukee's jazz scene, and I am confident that these factors also impacted Chicago jazz communities in some capacity. Additionally, as this paper details the effect of urban renewal on Chicago's South Side, theirs a heavy focus on Chicago's Southeast community. Future study would allow for the observation of the effect of urban renewal of Chicago's other neighborhoods art communities, including the North, West, and Southwest Sides of the city.

Chicago is just one community that experienced urban renewal during the 20th century and is also just one city that cultivated a robust jazz scene during the same time. New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and many other large U.S. cities have all experience a combination of urban renewal and jazz during the previous century, and as illuminated via this text, there is a potential for intersection. The exploration of jazz and urban renewal does not have to stop with just U.S. cities, but could observe cities within Canada, Europe, and other international locations that experienced larger quantities of urban renewal in their history. If other locations are considered, it might help to explore other genres outside of jazz, or even outside of music altogether. The study of the impact of urban renewal in art and cultural spaces would open the door for one to explore a whole new suite of possibilities.

Historian Benjamin Barbera explains it succinctly when discussing the effects of urban renewal projects on the neighboring jazz community in Milwaukee, Wisconsin during the 1950s–1970s. “In the end the jazz community was forever changed by these projects, but it improvised and lived on (Barbera, 2012, p.166).” The effects of urban renewal on Chicago’s South Side jazz community were intense and meticulous but were not a death sentence. As Chicago’s jazz scene continues to evolve, hopefully it can take the lessons from previous generations and learn from them.

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APPENDIX A:

MAJOR SOUTH SIDE CLUBS AND VENUES

BRONZEVILLE/BLACK BELT

Location	Address	Source
Apex Club	330 East 35th Street	(Kenney 1993, p.14)
Café De Champion	41 West 31st Street	(Kenney 1993, p.8)
Club Delisa	5521–23 South State	(Semmes 2006, p.196)
Deluxe Café	3503 South State Street	(Kenney 1993, p.10)
Dreamland Cafe	3520 South State Street	(Kenney 1993, p.17)
Elite Café	3030 South State Street	(Kenney 1993, p.5)
Elite Café #2	3445 South State Street	(Kenney 1993, p.10)
Grand Terrace	3955 South Parkway, 315 East 35th Street.	(Semmes 2006, p.57)
Lincoln Gardens Royal Gardens Café	459 East 31st Street	(Kenney 1993, p.19)
Metropolitan Theater	4644 South Parkway	(Semmes 2006, p.39)
Monogram Theater	3435 South State Street	(Semmes 2006, p.40)
Pekin Theater	2700 South State Street	(Kenney 1993, p.5)
Plantation Café	338 East 35th Street	(Kenney 1993, p.21)
Pompeii Buffet	20–22 East 31st Street	(Kenney 1993, p.9)
Regal Theater	4719 South Parkway	(Semmes 2006, p.24)
Rhumboogie	343 East 55th Street	(Semmes 2006, p.120)
Savoy Ballroom	4713 South Parkway	(Semmes 2006, p.21)
State Theater	3509 South State Street	(Travis 1987, p.84)
Sunset Café	315 East 35th Street	(Travis 1987, p.83)

HYDE PARK, WOODLAWN, KENWOOD

Location	Address	Source
Archway	364 East 61st Street	(Semmes 2006, p.196)
Bee Hive Lounge	1503 East 55th Street	(Semmes 2006, p.155)
C & C Lounge	6513 Cottage Grove Avenue	(Semmes 2006, p.196)
Club Rodeo	1240 East 47th Street	(CD, 12/25/1954)
Cotton Club	6249 South Cottage Grove Avenue	(CD, 11/14/1953)
Crown Propeller	868 East 63rd Street	(CD, 2/23/1952)
Kitty Kat Lounge	611 East 63rd Street	(Semmes 2006, p.196)
McKie's	6222 Cottage Grove Avenue	(Semmes 2006, p.196)
Nob Hill Lounge	5228 South Lake Park Avenue	(Semmes 2006, p.155)
Pershing Ballroom	6400 South Cottage Grove Avenue	(Semmes 2006,196)
Robert's Show Lounge	6222 South Parkway	(Semmes 2006, p.196)
Sutherland Lounge	4659 South Drexel Avenue	(Semmes 2006, p.196)
The Stage Lounge	1524 East 63rd Street	(CD, 10/8/1955)
Trianon Ballroom	6201 South Cottage Grove Avenue	(Semmes 2006, p.196)

*CD = Chicago Defender Newspaper

VARIOUS NEIGHBORHOODS

Location	Address	Source	Neighborhood
Jazz Showcase *	636 South Michigan Avenue Many other locations *Currently at 806 South Plymouth	CD, 8/27/1990	Downtown
Green Door Lounge	450 West 63rd Street	CD, 6/6/1957	Englewood/Gresham
Green Bunny	7710 South Halsted	CD, 4/13/1974	Englewood/Gresham
New Apartment Lounge	504 East 75th Street	(Allemana 2020, p.160)	Greater Grand Crossing
The Other Place	377 East 75th Street	CD, 8/27/1990	Greater Grand Crossing
The Enterprise	639 East 75th Street	CD, 12/05/1979	Greater Grand Crossing
High Chaparral	7740 S Stony Island Avenue	(Semmes 2006, p.196)	Jackson Park/South Shore
El Matador	69 East 75th Street	CD, 12/05/1979	Jackson Park/South Shore
Toast of the Town	7040 South Stony Island	CD, 4/13/1974	Jackson Park/South Shore
Jazz Bulls	1916 North Lincoln Park West	CD, 8/27/1990	Lincoln Park
Andy's *	11 East Hubbard Street	CD, 12/05/1979	River North
Club Alhambra	1321 South Michigan Avenue	(Semmes 2006, p.196)	South Loop
Grass Hut	2826 East 75th Street	CD, 12/05/1979	South Shore
Sunset Café	315 East 35th Street	(Travis 1987, p.83)	Bronzeville
Fifth Jack Lounge	3340 W Jackson	CD, 1/17/1961	West Side

CD = Chicago Defender Newspaper

*Still in operation