

Preface

- 1 For the text of Rice's speech, see "Rice's Speech to Republican National Convention."
- 2 See Olasky, *Compassionate Conservatism*; and Hall, "How Compassionate."
- 3 Frederickson, *Dixiecrat Revolt*; and Feldman, *Great Melding*.
- 4 Richardson, "Seen and Not Heard."
- 5 Michelle Obama, *Speeches*.
- 6 Adichie, "To the First Lady."
- 7 Cathy J. Cohen, *Democracy Remixed*.
- 8 Lorde, *Sister Outsider*.

Introduction

- 1 See Barbara Ortiz Howard and Susan Ades Stone, "The Petition," Women on 20s, May 11, 2015, http://www.womenon20s.org/the_petition.
- 2 Rooney, "Female Finalists."
- 3 Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins," 1241–99; Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*; and Nash, *Black Feminism Reimagined*.
- 4 Democratic senator Jeanne Shaheen of New Hampshire also introduced legislation that urged the placement of a woman on the twenty-dollar bill and wrote President Obama in 2015 to advance the initiative. In 2016, treasury secretary Jack Lew announced the plan to place Tubman on one side of the twenty-dollar bill opposite Andrew Jackson by 2020, but the administration of Donald Trump has postponed the plan for the new bill until 2026.
- 5 Tillet, *Sites of Slavery*.
- 6 Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark*.
- 7 Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*.
- 8 On the fiftieth anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous speech delivered at the March on Washington in 1963, *Time* magazine released a special double "I Have a Dream" anniversary issue in August 26/September 2, 2013, featuring an image of Dr. King on the cover and framing him as a founding father in the nation.
- 9 See, for example, hooks, *Ain't I a Woman*; Dorothy Roberts, *Killing the Black Body*; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*; White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*; Giddings,

- When and Where I Enter*; Guy-Sheftall, *Daughters of Sorrow*; and Yaeger, "Circum-Atlantic Superabundance," 769–98.
- 10 Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe," 454–55.
 - 11 Snorton, *Black on Both Sides*.
 - 12 Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*.
 - 13 Toni Morrison, *Beloved*.
 - 14 Painter, *Sojourner Truth*; also see Sernett, *Harriet Tubman*.
 - 15 Larson, *Harriet Tubman*.
 - 16 Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*.
 - 17 Anna Julia Cooper, *Voice from the South*.
 - 18 Manning, *Slave in a Box*.
 - 19 For more on Aunt Jemima, see Witt, *Black Hunger*; Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus*; Diane Roberts, *Myth of Aunt Jemima*; Goings, *Mammy and Uncle Mose*; Patricia A. Turner, *Ceramic Uncles and Celluloid Mammies*; Manning, *Slave in a Box*; Wallace-Sanders, *Mammy*; Phil Patton, "Mammy"; James D. Anderson, "Aunt Jemima in Dialectics"; Cheryl Thompson, "I's in Town, Honey"; Fuller, "Are We Seeing Things?"; Holbling, Rieser-Wohlfarter, and Rieser, *U.S. Icons and Iconicity*; Martin and Sublette, *Devouring Cultures*; McElya, *Clinging to Mammy*; and Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie*.
 - 20 Christopher Robert Reed, "The Black Presence at 'White City': African and African American Participation at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, May 1, 1893–October 31, 1893," Paul V. Galvin Library Digital History Collection, Illinois Institute of Technology, last updated March 8, 1999, <http://columbus.iit.edu/reed2.html>.
 - 21 Wells, *Reason Why*. Also see Giddings, *Ida*.
 - 22 Borgstrom, "Passing Over."
 - 23 The film mirrored the reactionary narrative in mainstream historiography of the time, under the heading of the William Dunning school of thought, in propagating a nostalgic white supremacist narrative of the Civil War and Emancipation as having been historical changes that ravaged and destroyed the idyllic Old South as a land of peace and harmony, in which docile slaves had known their "place" under the supervision of their benevolent slave masters and caring mistresses, while empowering blacks in politics who were incompetent imbeciles during Reconstruction.
 - 24 Jean Williams Turner, *Collectible Aunt Jemima*.
 - 25 Patricia A. Turner, *Ceramic Uncles and Celluloid Mammies*, 11–12.
 - 26 Horwitz, "Mammy Washington Almost Had."
 - 27 For advertisements featuring these two slogans, see Quaker Oats (1917–1994), Boxes Q03 (1961–62) and Q04 (1963–65), J. Walter Thompson Company, Domestic Advertisements Collection, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University. For related materials, also see the J. Walter Thompson Company Chicago Office, Quaker Oats Account Files, 1945–1965, in this repository.
 - 28 Sharpless, *Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens*.

- 29 Berlant, “National Brands, National Body.”
- 30 In the 1934 film version of *Imitation of Life*, which is based on Fannie Hurst’s 1933 novel, the black woman character Delilah, who becomes the maid of the white model and saleswoman Bea Pullman as they raise their daughters, Peola and Jessie, respectively, and whose smiling image is later circulated on pancake boxes and emblazoned on a lighted marquee as Aunt Delilah to market her secret pancake recipe, ostensibly draws on the advertising legacy of Aunt Jemima. In 1939, the character Mammy portrayed by Hattie McDaniel in the film *Gone with the Wind* (1939), which was directed by Victor Fleming based on Margaret Mitchell’s 1936 novel, is perhaps the most famous embodiment of the mammy stereotype in Hollywood history, a performance that garnered the actress an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress, the first in history for an African American. On the other hand, early cinematic productions, such as *Birth of a Nation* and *Gone with the Wind*, idealized and romanticized southern white womanhood, propagating nativist and white supremacist notions of national identity premised on black women’s devaluation and subjection, which had roots in antebellum slavery and were cornerstones of the ideology of the Old South. Its logic stressed white racial purity and the purity of white women, propagated antimiscegenation sentiment, and exalted white womanhood on a mythic pedestal. In McPherson’s study *Reconstructing Dixie*, she discusses “lenticular” camera techniques that cinema routinely deployed to present a hierarchical juxtaposition of white and black feminine bodies, which mirrored the separatism of the southern segregated social order and was epitomized in the classic bifurcated imaging techniques of the characters Scarlett and Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*.
- 31 Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark*, 64.
- 32 Shimakawa, *National Abjection*.
- 33 Tipton-Martin, *Jemima Code*.
- 34 Richardson, *Black Masculinity and the U.S. South*.
- 35 Richardson, “Can We Please.”
- 36 “Aunt Jemima Image to Be Removed and Brand Will Be Renamed, Quaker Oats Announces,” *NBC Today Show*, June 17, 2020, <https://www.today.com/video/aunt-jemima-image-to-be-removed-and-brand-will-be-renamed-quaker-oats-announces-85216837957>.
- 37 See, for example, McPherson, *Reconstructing Dixie*; Jones and Donaldson, *Haunted Bodies*; Yaeger, *Dirt and Desire*; and Hunter, *To ‘Joy My Freedom*.
- 38 Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*.
- 39 Lubiano, “Black Ladies, Welfare Queens,” 323–63.
- 40 Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 76.
- 41 Williamson, *Scandalize My Name*.
- 42 Harris-Perry, *Sister Citizen*.
- 43 Braxton and McLaughlin, *Wild Women in the Whirlwind*.

- 44 Mohanty, Russo, and Torres, *Third World Women*; and Grewal and Kaplan, *Scattered Hegemonies*.
- 45 In France, while Marianne has historically functioned as a symbol of the French Revolution and values associated with it such as liberty, equality, and brotherhood, busts of her have been fashioned in the image of a range of famous French women, among them Brigitte Bardot, Catherine Deneuve, and Laetitia Casta.
- 46 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
- 47 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.
- 48 Shome, *Diana and Beyond*, 20.
- 49 Shome, *Diana and Beyond*, 27.
- 50 Shome, *Diana and Beyond*, 6, 27.
- 51 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*.
- 52 See Richardson, "Mammy's 'Mules,'" 59.
- 53 Yaeger has pointed out how southern women are repeatedly linked to dirt in *Dirt and Desire*. In *Cane* (1923), Jean Toomer upends romanticized and naturalized imagery sometimes associated with white femininity. In "Portrait in Georgia," he uses imagery linked to the white feminine body, such as "Hair braided chestnut like a lyncher's rope" and a "slim body, white as the ash," to invoke the myth of the black rapist who preyed on white womanhood, which was exalted and sacralized in the southern imagination, serving as the primary rationale for the lynching of black men in the region and fueling antimiscegenation sentiment, in which sexual relations between blacks and whites were regarded as taboo and prohibited by law.
- 54 Fleetwood, *On Racial Icons*, 1.
- 55 Fleetwood, *On Racial Icons*, 3.
- 56 Berlant, *Queen of America*.
- 57 Holloway, "Body Politic," 484–95.
- 58 Baker and Nelson, "Violence, the Body, and the South."
- 59 Baker, *Turning South Again*; Baker, *Critical Memory*; and Fossett, Gussow, and Richardson, "Symposium of New Souths," 569–611.
- 60 Carl Gutiérrez-Jones, "Reimagining the Hemispheric South," University of California Humanities Research Institute, accessed August 1, 2016, <https://uchri.org/awards/reimagining-the-hemispheric-south/>.
- 61 Gutiérrez-Jones, "Reimagining the Hemispheric South."
- 62 See, for example, Curtin, *Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*. Also see Handley, *Postslavery Literatures in the Americas*; Smith and Cohn, *Look Away!*; Greeson, *Our South*; and Glissant, *Faulkner, Mississippi*.
- 63 See, for example, Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*.
- 64 See Jones, "Southern Diaspora," 27–54; also see Gregory, *Southern Diaspora*; and Boyce-Davies, *Black Women, Writing, and Identity*.
- 65 Bobo and Hudley, *Black Studies Reader*.

1. Mary McLeod Bethune's "My Last Will and Testament" and Her National Legacy

- 1 The life story of Bethune has been addressed in several biographies. Among them are Sterne, *Mary McLeod Bethune*; Peare, *Mary McLeod Bethune*; Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune*; Massie, *Legacy of Mary McLeod Bethune*; Long, *Life and Legacy*; and Martin, *Mary McLeod Bethune*. Furthermore, see Collier-Thomas and Franklin, *Sisters in the Struggle*.
- 2 For an elaboration of this phenomenon, see the chapter "The Trope of the Talking Book" in Gates's *Signifying Monkey*, 127–69.
- 3 It is a narrative that by implication positions Bethune at the forefront of one of the earliest waves of the Great Migration to the urban North, even prior to the second decade of the twentieth century, when black mass migration to cities such as Chicago intensified in light of the growing need for black labor in northern industries during World War I and conditions such as lynching and poverty in southern states making life in the region increasingly unbearable and bleak. See Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 482–83. Also see McCluskey, "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible," 403–25.
- 4 See Dunbar, *Collected Poetry*.
- 5 Bethune, *Building a Better World*, xi.
- 6 Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*.
- 7 Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 161.
- 8 Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*, 230.
- 9 Bethune, *Building a Better World*.
- 10 Lindsey, *Colored No More*.
- 11 Bethune, "My Last Will and Testament," in *Building a Better World*, 59.
- 12 Elaine Smith, "Mary McLeod Bethune's 'Last Will and Testament,'" 105.
- 13 Bernstein, *Racial Innocence*.
- 14 John H. Johnson, *Succeeding against the Odds*, 157.
- 15 The Black Public Sphere Collective, *Black Public Sphere*.
- 16 Johnson, *Succeeding against the Odds*, 175.
- 17 Johnson, *Succeeding against the Odds*, 75.
- 18 Bethune, "My Last Will and Testament" (1955).
- 19 Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*.
- 20 McCluskey, "Representing the Race," 236; also see Elaine Smith, "Mary McLeod Bethune's 'Last Will and Testament,'" 109.
- 21 Franklin and Collier-Thomas, "Biography, Race Vindication," 164.
- 22 Johnson-Miller, "Mary McLeod Bethune," 337.
- 23 Johnson-Miller, "Mary McLeod Bethune," 340.
- 24 McCluskey, "Representing the Race," 237.
- 25 Elaine Smith, "Mary McLeod Bethune," 152–53, 163.
- 26 McCluskey, "Representing the Race," 236.

- 27 McCluskey, "Representing the Race," 237.
- 28 McCluskey, "Representing the Race," 243.
- 29 Benedict, Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
- 30 Bethune, "My Last Will and Testament," 59.
- 31 Locke and Rampersad, *New Negro*.
- 32 Bethune, "My Last Will and Testament," 60.
- 33 Hubbard, *Sermon*.
- 34 Bethune, "My Last Will and Testament," 61.
- 35 Bethune, "My Last Will and Testament," 61.
- 36 Hughes, *Collected Poems*.
- 37 Elaine Smith, "Mary McLeod Bethune's 'Last Will and Testament,'" 105.
- 38 Elaine Smith, "Mary McLeod Bethune's 'Last Will and Testament,'" 111.
- 39 Elaine Smith, "Mary McLeod Bethune's 'Last Will and Testament,'" 109.
- 40 The president had become disabled as a result of being stricken in his late thirties with a disease thought to be polio, and he used a wheelchair to get around.
- 41 Long, *Life and Legacy*, 30.
- 42 See the brief biography on Bethune that serves as the opening page of Earl Devine Martin's *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 55. The Mary McLeod Bethune Home, which is also known as the Mary McLeod Bethune Foundation, located on the Bethune-Cookman College campus in Daytona, was dedicated as a U.S. national historic landmark later that year, on December 2, 1974.
- 43 In *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, Elaine Smith significantly sets the record straight regarding the assertion that Bethune advised four U.S. presidents, arguing, "Bethune was an informal presidential adviser—in the sense of personal access to the chief executive—to two presidents: Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. Bethune's role as an adviser to FDR is generally known. And, Truman freely acknowledged that she counseled him" (338–40).
- 44 Height, *Open Wide the Freedom Gates*, 214.
- 45 In light of Bethune's presidency of the American Teachers Association in 1924, the National Education Association offered a special tribute to Bethune on the occasion of the monument's unveiling in the volume *Legacy of Mary McLeod Bethune*, which highlights sepia photographs covering various aspects of Bethune's story in juxtaposition with biographical paragraphs.
- 46 See Goode, *Washington Sculpture*; "BETHUNE, Mary McLeod: Memorial at Lincoln Park in Washington, D.C.," DC Memorials, last updated April 20, 2013, http://www.dcmemorials.com/index_indiv000230.htm; "LINCOLN Park: Emancipation Memorial (ca. 1876) at Lincoln Park in Washington, D.C.," DC Memorials, last updated April 20, 2013, at http://www.dcmemorials.com/index_indiv000222.htm; Kani Saburi Ayubu, "Mary McLeod Bethune Emancipation Memorial," *Black Art Depot Today*, September 7, 2011, <http://blackartblog.blackartdepot.com/features/african-american-monuments-statues/mary-mcleod-bethune-emancipation-memorial.html>; "Lincoln Park," National Park Service, accessed May 29, 2012, <http://www>

- .nps.gov/nr/travel/wash/dc87.htm; “Lincoln Park,” Capitol Hill Parks, last updated February 21, 2019, http://www.nps.gov/cahi/historyculture/cahi_lincoln.htm. Notably, Berks has also created a bronze bust of President John F. Kennedy, which was installed at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, DC, in 1971.
- 47 See Stephen A. Morrison, “Lincoln Park,” 14.
 - 48 Douglass, “Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln,” 615–24.
 - 49 Wiegman, *American Anatomies*.
 - 50 Aishvarya Kavi, “Activists Push for Removal of Statue of Freed Slave Kneeling before Lincoln,” *New York Times*, June 27, 2020.
 - 51 Bethune, *Building a Better World*, xi.
 - 52 Height, *Open Wide the Freedom Gates*, 212.
 - 53 Butler, *Gender Trouble*.
 - 54 Getsy, “Acts of Stillness,” 8, 10–11
 - 55 Getsy, “Acts of Stillness,” 11.
 - 56 *Wolf Trap Farm Park and Mary McLeod Bethune Council House: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands and Reserved Water of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate*, 97th Cong., 2nd sess. (1982) (statement of Dr. Dorothy I. Height, President, National Council of Negro Women), 13.
 - 57 *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site and Land Conveyances in the State of Maryland, Hearing Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives*, 99th Cong., 1st sess. (1985) (panel consisting of Timothy Jenkins, Chairman, the Match Institution; and Nellie Longworth, President, Preservation Action), 85.
 - 58 Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 167.
 - 59 Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 167
 - 60 Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 218–19.
 - 61 *Wolf Trap Farm Park and Mary McLeod Bethune Council House* (opening statement of Hon. John W. Warner, a U.S. Senator from the State of Virginia), 2.
 - 62 *Wolf Trap Farm Park and Mary McLeod Bethune Council House* (statement of Hon. Mark O. Hatfield, a U.S. Senator from the State of Oregon), 11.
 - 63 *Wolf Trap Farm Park and Mary McLeod Bethune Council House* (statement of Vince De Forest, Afro-American Institute for Historic Preservation and Community Development), 42–43.
 - 64 *Wolf Trap Farm Park and Mary McLeod Bethune Council House* (statement of Sue Bailey Thurmond, Founder and Editor, National Council of Negro Women, *Afro-American Women’s Journal*, as presented by Dr. Bettye Collier-Thomas, Director, Historic Program, National Council of Negro Women), 39.
 - 65 *Wolf Trap Farm Park and Mary McLeod Bethune Council House* (statement of Joseph Burstein, Attorney, Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver, and Kampelman), 41.
 - 66 Burstein statement, *Wolf Trap Farm Park and Mary McLeod Bethune Council House*, 42.

- 67 *Wolf Trap Farm Park and Mary McLeod Bethune Council House* (statement of Ira J. Hutchison, Deputy Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior), 44.
- 68 Latimer, "Bethune Home."
- 69 *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site* (statement of Hon. Mary Lou Grier, Deputy Director, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), 16–17.
- 70 See Davidson, "Preface," 444.
- 71 Republican Party of Bexar County, "Bexar Republicans Saddened by the Passing of Mary Lou Grier," press release, February 23, 2013.
- 72 *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site* (statement of Hon. Mary Rose Oakar, a U.S. Representative from the State of Ohio), 17.
- 73 Oakar statement, *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site*, 20.
- 74 *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site*, 22–23.
- 75 *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site*, 48–49.
- 76 *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site* (panel consisting of Bettye Collier-Thomas, Executive Director, Bethune Council House National Historic Site; Richard Lyman, President, Rockefeller Foundation; and Roberta Anschutz, Vice President, National Council of Women), 51.
- 77 Panel discussion, *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site*, 50.
- 78 Panel discussion, *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site*, 50.
- 79 *Authorizing Funds for the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site* (statement of Hon. Lindy Boggs, a U.S. Representative from the State of Louisiana), 84.
- 80 Witt, *Black Hunger*, 187.
- 81 Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 203.
- 82 U.S. Congress, *Mary McLeod Bethune Council House*, 1.
- 83 U.S. Congress, *Mary McLeod Bethune Council House*, 1–2.
- 84 U.S. Congress, *Mary McLeod Bethune Council House* (statement of Denis Calvin, Associate Director for Planning and Development, National Park Service, Department of the Interior), 6.
- 85 Calvin statement, U.S. Congress, *Mary McLeod Bethune Council House*, 6.
- 86 U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, *Authorizing the National Park Service*, 2.
- 87 U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, *Authorizing the National Park Service*, 2.
- 88 Bettye Collier-Thomas and Committee to Save the National Archives for Black Women's History, "Save the National Archives for Black Women's History," press release, February 10, 2014.
- 89 Joseph, "Memo to Park Service."

- 90 Colbert I. King, “Dishonoring Bethune’s Legacy.”
- 91 In more recent years, historian Elaine Smith echoes Jenkins in explaining rationales behind the geographic establishment of the Council House in Washington, DC, and underscoring the importance of interpretive activities that emphasize Bethune’s relationship with the capital city. Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 335–36.
- 92 “100 Most Fascinating Black Women.”

2. From Rosa Parks’s *Quiet Strength* to Memorializing a National Mother

- 1 Durr, *Outside the Magic Circle*, 75.
- 2 Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*.
- 3 See McGhee, “Montgomery Bus Boycott,” 253. Also see Greenhaw, “Rosa Parks,” 8–15.
- 4 Quoted in “James F. Blake.”
- 5 Theoharis, *Rebellious Life*, 65.
- 6 Brinkley poignantly draws on Parks’s insights in describing Blake’s notoriety for mistreating blacks and for insulting black women: “Blake was a vicious bigot who spat tobacco juice out of his bus window and cursed at ‘nigras’ just for the fun of it. ‘He just treated everybody black badly,’ Parks remembered. . . . Black women were prime targets for his slurs of ‘bitch’ and ‘coon.’ Rosa Parks never could understand the depth of Blake’s malignity, but she knew evil in the Christian sense when she saw it.” Brinkley, *Rosa Parks*, 58.
- 7 For more on the ungendering of blacks within the system of slavery, see Hortense Spillers’s essay “Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe,” 203–29.
- 8 McGuire discusses the sexually charged view of southern black women and the routinized forms of violence and terror practiced against them during Jim Crow in *At the Dark End of the Street*. The story of how a white employer in Alabama attempted to coerce the eighteen-year-old Parks into a sexual encounter that she resisted and refused is included in a 1931 personal letter that was released to the public in 2011 as Guernsey’s Auctioneers and Brokers prepared for a sale of her belongings. The Howard G. Buffett Foundation, run by the son of billionaire Warren Buffett, bought the archive in 2014 and loaned materials to the Library of Congress for a decade.
- 9 See Jo Ann Robinson, *Montgomery Bus Boycott*, xiv.
- 10 McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street*, 43.
- 11 Theoharis, *Rebellious Life*, xv.
- 12 Theoharis, *Rebellious Life*, 16. Toni Morrison poignantly examines this problematic in fiction in her second novel, *Sula* (1973), in a scene on a train involving the character Helene, who has walked through a car designated for whites to get to the one for “COLORED ONLY” and smiles at a white conductor who had been abusive to

- her. According to the narrator, the mystifying moment troubles Nel and two black soldiers who are standing nearby. See Toni Morrison, *Sula*, 21.
- 13 See Carlson, "Troubling Heroes," 51.
 - 14 Hoose, *Claudette Colvin*.
 - 15 U.S. Department of Labor, *Negro Family*.
 - 16 See Brinkley, *Rosa Parks*, 207.
 - 17 Events such as the Children's Crusade, which is sometimes referred to as the Children's March, and the deaths of the four girls at 16th Street Baptist Church, helped to consolidate this narrative of the civil rights era. The Children's Crusade was held in Birmingham, Alabama, on May 2–4, 1963, and organized by Rev. James Bevel in protest of segregation. Numerous black children who stayed out of school to march downtown to appeal to the mayor were attacked with dogs and fire hoses. Many youth were arrested, in some cases repeatedly.
 - 18 Cooperman, Patterson, and Rigelhaupt, "Teaching Race and Revolution," 559.
 - 19 Parks, *Rosa Parks*, 55–70, 59. In the chapter titled "Marriage and Activism," Parks describes witnessing the work of her husband, Raymond Parks, a member of the NAACP and "the first real activist I ever met," on the case involving the Scottsboro Boys, who were falsely accused and jailed for raping a white woman as they rode a train through Alabama and faced the threat of execution. It was a case in which he was deeply invested and that he regularly attended secret meetings to discuss, though women were not allowed to attend the meetings, and he shared no information with his wife to avoid endangering either her life or his. Parks goes on to chronicle her efforts to register to vote after meeting Edgar Daniel Nixon, the president of the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in 1943, joining the organization, becoming secretary, and documenting cases involving racial abuses of blacks such as Recy Taylor, Elmore Bolling, and Jeremiah Reeves.
 - 20 Kuofie, Stephens-Craig, and Dool, "Overview Perception," read Parks as an "introverted leader" and situate her reserved temperament in relation to that of other leaders who have transformed their societies, such as Martin Luther King Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, Mother Teresa, and Barack Obama. Also see Parks, *Rosa Parks*, 59.
 - 21 Wade-Gayles, *Their Memories, Our Treasure*; and Wade-Gayles, Arnold, and sis, *Their Memories, Our Treasure*.
 - 22 Andrew Parker, *Nationalisms and Sexualities*.
 - 23 Myrdal, *American Dilemma*.
 - 24 Perry, *Looking for Lorraine*.
 - 25 Cleaver, *Soul on Ice*.
 - 26 Perkins, *Autobiography and Activism*, xv; and Ards, *Words of Witness*.
 - 27 For example, my colleague Locksley Edmondson uses Pan-Africanist frameworks and teaches Rosa Parks's writings in juxtaposition with those of other radical black women writers, such as Shirley Graham Du Bois and Amy Jacques Garvey, of the diaspora.

- 28 Braxton, *Black Women Writing Autobiography*, 9.
- 29 Braxton, *Black Women Writing Autobiography*, 9.
- 30 Keys, *Our Auntie Rosa*.
- 31 Whitt, "Presentation for the Smithsonian Panel."
- 32 Parks, *Quiet Strength*, 11.
- 33 Parks, *Quiet Strength*, 21.
- 34 Parks, *Rosa Parks*, 182.
- 35 Parks, *Rosa Parks*, 133; and Whitt, "Presentation for the Smithsonian Panel."
- 36 Parks, *Quiet Strength*, 37.
- 37 Parks, *Quiet Strength*, 36.
- 38 Parks, *Quiet Strength*, 80.
- 39 Parks, *Quiet Strength*, 83.
- 40 Parks, *Quiet Strength*, 88–89.
- 41 Parks, *Rosa Parks*, 170.
- 42 Cooperman, Patterson, and Rigelhaupt, "Teaching Race and Revolution," 558.
- 43 Parks, *Dear Mrs. Parks*, 15.
- 44 Parks, *Dear Mrs. Parks*, 23.
- 45 See Cooks, *Exhibiting Blackness*; and Susan E. Cohen, *Mounting Frustration*.
- 46 Harris-Perry, *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET*, 3, 6.
- 47 Boyd, "A Layover in Detroit," 39.
- 48 Richardson, "Framing Rosa Parks," 54–65.
- 49 Prior to the establishment of the Rosa Parks Library and Museum, the renaming of Cleveland Avenue as Rosa Parks Avenue and its library as the Rosa Parks Avenue Branch Library in 1999 were the primary ways in which the city of Montgomery had paid tribute and established public monuments to Parks.
- 50 Dove, *On the Bus*.
- 51 Stewart is best known for portraying the mother of the nine-year-old girl raped by two white men in the 1996 film *A Time to Kill*, which is set in Mississippi in the post–civil rights era. Stewart also portrayed Johnnie Rebecca Carr as a character in the 2002 film *The Rosa Parks Story*.
- 52 It is also noteworthy that the Cleveland Avenue Time Machine in the Children's Museum is complemented by a physical timeline stenciled along the walls upstairs, which features major figures associated with the Montgomery bus boycott, beyond its major players such as Parks and King. Furthermore, an interactive computer extends the wall timeline and highlights programs such as the arrest records of a range of citizens who were arrested during the boycott.
- 53 The ship has been a long-standing metaphor associated with movement in the African American experience. For analysis, see Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*.
- 54 See Mark Dery, "Black to the Future: Afro-Futurism 1.0," shared by Art McGee, Rumori discussion list, November 4, 2002, <http://www.detritus.net/contact/rumori/200211/0319.html>.
- 55 See *Social Text* 20, no. 2 (2002); Everett, *Digital Diaspora*.

- 56 Alondra Nelson, "Introduction," 6.
- 57 See Hegel, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*.
- 58 Benjamin, *Race after Technology*.
- 59 In recent times, Boni Wozolek has affirmed the value in linking black women leaders such as Bethune to Afrofuturism in educational contexts. See "Mothership Connection."
- 60 Brewington, "Thousands Pay Tribute."
- 61 A Concurrent Resolution Authorizing the Remains of Rosa Parks to Lie in Honor in the Rotunda of the Capitol, S.R. 61, 109th Cong., 1st sess. (2005).
- 62 See "Nation Hails Rosa Parks." Also see Janofsky, "Thousands Gather at the Capitol"; "U.S. Civil Rights Heroine"; Kurth, "Parks Will Lie in State"; Dvorak and Harris, "Washington Prepares"; Vaughn and Richter, "Nation Pays Tribute"; and "Thousands Attend Rosa Parks Funeral."
- 63 Orndorff, "Nation Bids Farewell."
- 64 See Millen, "In Her Debt."
- 65 Here I refer to the 1959 version of the film directed by Douglas Sirk and starring Lana Turner and Juanita Moore. The 1934 version was directed by John M. Stahl and starred Claudette Colbert and Louise Beavers. Both films are based on a 1933 novel of the same name by Fannie Hurst.
- 66 Hoffman, "Rosa Parks Honored."
- 67 Holloway, *Passed On*, 106.
- 68 Holloway, *Passed On*, 184.
- 69 Holland, *Raising the Dead*.
- 70 See Van Der Zee, Dodson, and Billops, *Harlem Book of the Dead*.
- 71 Theoharis, *Rebellious Life*, x, xii, 216.
- 72 Many political reactionaries questioned the value of posthumously honoring Parks at the U.S. Capitol building for very different reasons. For instance, neoconservative Jesse Lee Peterson argued in a *WorldNet Daily* editorial, "Using Rosa Parks," that "the legacy and name of Rosa Parks will continue to be used to advance the aims of the corrupt liberal elite, and specifically in the lead-up to the 2006 elections. Shame on them and their pretense of love for Rosa and for America." Re-posted by New Destiny on the Free Republic discussion forum, November 16, 2005, <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1523219/posts>.
- 73 Theoharis, *Rebellious Life*, x.
- 74 Notably, Parks was also enshrined on a bronze bust by Artis Lane at the National Portrait Gallery in 1991.
- 75 White House, "President Bush Signs H.R. 4145 to Place Statue of Rosa Parks in U.S. Capitol," press release, December 1, 2005, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051201-1.html>.
- 76 Southall, "Statue of Rosa Parks."
- 77 Canaday, *Straight State*; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*; Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*; Warner, *Trouble with Normal*; Conrad, *Against Equality*; Farrow, "Is Gay Marriage

Anti-Black?"; Duggan, *Twilight of Equality?*; and Abdur-Rahman, *Against the Closet*.

- 78 Littlejohn, "San Pedro Artist's Bronze."
79 See description on "Rosa Parks," Architect of the Capitol, accessed March 20, 2020, <http://www.aoc.gov/capitol-hill/other-statues/rosa-parks>.
80 Littlejohn, "San Pedro Artist's Bronze." Also see Radin, "Kensington Artist."
81 Flock, "Sculptor Gives Behind-the-Scenes Look."

3. America's Chief Diplomat

- 1 For more insights on this topic, see the special issue of *American Quarterly* edited by Clyde Woods, "In the Wake of Hurricane Katrina," published in June 2010. Also see his co-authored study with Laura Pulido, *Development Drowned and Reborn*.
2 Jessica, "Condi Spends Salary on Shoes."
3 Rush et al., "As South Drowns, Rice Soaks in N.Y."
4 Patricia A. Turner, *I Heard It through the Grapevine*.
5 Jessica Robertson, "Kanye West Blasts Bush."
6 Condoleezza Rice, "Interview with *Essence Magazine*," U.S. Department of State Archive, May 25, 2006, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/71813.htm>.
7 Rice, *No Higher Honor*, 396, 399.
8 See Tatsha Robertson, "Being Condoleezza," 187.
9 For insights on black women and politics, see Mitchell and Covin, *Broadening the Contours*.
10 King and Riddlesperger, "Diversity and Presidential Cabinet Appointments," 97.
11 Boushee, "RNC's California Experiment."
12 See Vagnoux, "Introduction," 2.
13 See Bamberger, "Changing Face of Shoal Creek"; Myers, "Rice to Chair Champions Major"; and "Augusta National Slowly Changing."
14 Rice, *Extraordinary, Ordinary People*.
15 I explore additional representations of Rice in popular culture and art in unpublished essays that examine David Hare's play *Stuff Happens* and Sebastian Doggart's "Condi Trilogy" docudrama.
16 Spillers, "Long Time," 149–82.
17 Rice, *Extraordinary, Ordinary People*.
18 Prisoek, "CEO of Self," 180.
19 See Bernstein, *Racial Innocence*; Wilma King, *Stolen Childhood*; Patton, *Spare the Kids*; and Nazera Sadiq Wright, *Black Girlhood*.
20 Kenney, "Condoleezza Rice Speaks to Grads."
21 Eugene Robinson, "Baghdad Isn't Birmingham."
22 Eugene Robinson, "Baghdad Isn't Birmingham."
23 Valerie Smith, "Remembering Birmingham Sunday," 180.

- 24 Valerie Smith, "Remembering Birmingham Sunday," 181. The ubiquity and recurrence of the narrative of "four little girls" to epitomize violence against blacks during the civil rights era also belies, for example, the individuality of the victims and does not have a rhetorical counterpart in the losses of "little boys" to racist terror and violence, including fourteen-year-old Emmett Till, who had been the same age as Addie Mae Collins, Carole Robertson, and Cynthia Wesley when he was lynched and mutilated in Mississippi in 1955. The narrative also obscures the injuries of others in the bombing, including Sarah Collins, the twelve-year-old sister of Addie Mae, who was blinded in one eye.
- 25 Mambry, *Condoleezza Rice*.
- 26 Rice, *Extraordinary, Ordinary People*, 5.
- 27 Berlant, *Queen of America*, 1.
- 28 Berlant, *Queen of America*, 28.
- 29 Prisock, "CEO of Self," 181.
- 30 Rice, *Extraordinary, Ordinary People*, 6.
- 31 The autobiography further registers the influence of a discourse on immigration, multiethnicity, and transnationality in relation to Rice in noting the Italian aspect of her ancestry on her maternal grandfather's side, which has inspired naming patterns across several generations, including her own name, which her mother chose based on Italian musical terms, such as *con dolce* and *con dolcezza*, a name that means "with sweetness."
- 32 Kaplan, Alarcón, and Moallem, *Between Woman and Nation*.
- 33 Royster, "Condi, Cleopatra," 103. Gilson makes similar observations about Hillary Clinton in "LOLZ with Hillz," 635.
- 34 Royster, "Condi, Cleopatra," 105.
- 35 See D'Ambruoso, "Norms, Perverse Effects, and Torture," 33–60.
- 36 Watkins, *On the Real Side*, 11.
- 37 Jackson, *Racial Paranoia*. The struggles in the comedy field, which led Chappelle to turn away from his successful comedy career because he felt mocked as a black person through his popular stage skits, are well known.
- 38 Wisniewski, *Comedy of Dave Chappelle*, 9.
- 39 The series of "Condi Comes to Harlem" skits also in effect speaks to Rice's potential to be a black radical. They are reminiscent of the portrayal of neoconservative Clarence Thomas as a closeted black radical in a skit on Keenen Ivory Wayans's popular television show, *In Living Color*, during the third episode of the third season. In the wake of Thomas's confirmation in 1991, in a skit entitled "Clarence Thomas's First Day," the actor David Alan Grier portrays Thomas acting like the obsequious Uncle Tom stereotype by serving the coffee of his compatriots and aligning with them against black interests as they review cases. Once he learns that his appointment is for life, he begins to speak in a radical voice that contradicts their perception of him as docile on race matters, describing himself as a true black

- radical and their worst nightmare. The theme song to the blaxploitation film *Shaft* plays as the skit ends.
- 40 As Malcolm X famously commented in his 1964 speech “The Ballot or the Bullet,” “Stop talking about the South. Long as you south of the—Long as you south of the Canadian border, you’re south.” See Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks*, 23–44.
- 41 I consider this problematic in the fourth chapter of my first book, *Black Masculinity and the U.S. South*.
- 42 See Jennie Livingston’s 1990 film *Paris Is Burning*. See related discussions by hooks, *Black Looks*; Butler, *Bodies that Matter*; and Steven Thrasher, “Paris Is ‘Still’ Burning.” Also see Bailey, *Butch Queens up in Pumps*.
- 43 Baraka, *Somebody Blew Up America*.
- 44 Nas, *American Way*, Sony Urban Music/Columbia, 2004.
- 45 Manning Marable remarks, “In the field of foreign affairs, the leading race traitor, hands down, is Condoleezza Rice, Bush’s national security adviser.” See *Great Wells of Democracy*. One of the most sustained discussions of the black public sphere as a concept is available in the Black Public Sphere Collective’s edited volume *Black Public Sphere*. Also see Habermas, *Structural Transformation*.
- 46 See Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus*; and Witt, *Black Hunger*.
- 47 Clayton Bigsby provided another useful illustration of the routine conflation of Rice with food when he remarked that “Condoleezza Rice, sounds like a Mexican dish. Maybe we should put her on a plate and send her to Mexico so the Mexicans will eat her” on the first episode of the first season of *Chappelle’s Show* in 2003. More broadly, this phenomenon accords with the ideological identifications of African American women with food that have been analyzed by Witt in *Black Hunger*.
- 48 Latinx contexts are important to acknowledge, too, given Rice’s background as provost at Stanford, California’s premier private university. She spearheaded budgetary reductions and faculty and staff reductions that affected ethnic studies and garnered controversy on the campus. Her firing of Cecilia Burciaga, a Chicana dean of students and the top ranking Latina/x administrator, led to protests. See Barabak, “Not Always Diplomatic.”
- 49 Kipnis, “Condi’s Inner Life.”
- 50 See Gilsdorf, “Luc Tuymans.” Also see David Cohen, “Couch-Potato Painter”; and Knight, “Luc Tuymans.”
- 51 Glenn Kessler notes in his study of Condoleezza Rice that Jim Wilkinson, one of Rice’s aides, “decided to move Rice’s news conferences with foreign officials upstairs to the ornate rooms of the seventh and eighth floors of the State Department. Rice would be photographed in front of a fireplace or walking fifty feet to a microphone evoking the spirit of presidential sessions in the White House.” See Kessler, *Confidante*, 22.
- 52 See Malone, Allen, and Bentley, “I Love Her Very Much.” Rice reports herself in *No Higher Honor*, the 2011 sequel to *Extraordinary, Ordinary People*, that during her

visit to Libya in 2008 as secretary of state, Gaddafi had shown her a slide show featuring photographs of her with various world leaders set to a song entitled “Black Flower in the White House,” called her “Leeza,” and given her gifts that included a diamond ring, a locket with an engraved photo of himself, and a lute. Rice, *No Higher Honor*, 702–3.

- 53 Patricia A. Turner, *Ceramic Uncles and Celluloid Mammies*.
- 54 Rice holds a book here inscribed with “Iraq,” another salient artistic use of text in juxtaposition with image, as is the case in the images of Lloyd and Moor.
- 55 Boyce-Davies, *Black Women, Writing, and Identity*; also see Boyce-Davies, “CON-DI-FI-CATION”; Boyce-Davies, “Con-di-fi-cation.”
- 56 Rooks, “Black Fashion,” 4.
- 57 Rooks, “Black Fashion,” 4.
- 58 Hannity, “Interview with Sean Hannity.”
- 59 Greer, “This Is the Age of Power Pearls.”
- 60 Givhan, “Condoleezza Rice’s Commanding Style.”
- 61 Lisa Thompson, *Beyond the Black Lady*.
- 62 Givhan, “Condoleezza Rice’s Commanding Style.”
- 63 Givhan, “Condoleezza Rice’s Commanding Style.”
- 64 Nadia E. Brown, *Sisters in the Statehouse*.

4. First Lady and “Mom-in-Chief”

- 1 Mundy, *Michelle*, 4. In general, Michelle Obama has been the subject of exclusive features or special issues in countless magazines, including *Essence*, *Vogue*, *Oprah*, *Today’s Black Woman*, and *Life*. She has been the subject of several biographies and, as the nation’s First Lady, has also emerged as a topic of great interest in genres ranging from style manuals to children’s books. A number of texts on Michelle Obama and the Obama phenomenon are beginning to appear. Other works include Lightfoot, *Michelle Obama*; Michelle Obama, *In Her Own Words*; Michelle Obama, *Speeches*; Christopher P. Anderson, *Barack and Michelle*; and Slevin, *Michelle Obama*. The book by Anderson underscores the profound influence of Michelle Obama on her husband’s thinking and the importance of her opinions to him, a point that has been recurrent in aspects of black feminist theory that have looked at the unacknowledged and obscured influence of the wives of major black leaders on the thinking of their husbands, as evident, for example, in Beverly Guy-Sheftall’s project on Coretta Scott King, the wife of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., and Ula Taylor’s project on Amy Jacques Garvey, the wife of Universal Improvement Association leader Marcus Garvey. Within the growing body of publications on Michelle Obama, Nevergold and Brooks-Bertram’s anthology *Go Tell Michelle* is important to mention in light of my interests in the national reach of Michelle Obama as a model of black femininity and the emphasis on black

women's voices in this project of national scope, along with the volume's inclusion of letters and poems honoring the First Lady and the articulation of issues of specific social and political concern related to black women.

- 2 Mundy, *Michelle*, 18.
- 3 Such scripts of Michelle Obama seem designed to assuage anxieties for some African American sectors that Barack Obama is "not black enough" given his birth in Hawaii and status as an interracial man born to a white mother from Kansas and a black father from Kenya. They also speak to anxieties in the national mainstream that he is "not American enough" given his father's Kenyan origins.
- 4 Crouch, "On Lady Obama."
- 5 Gwendolyn Brooks famously explored the feminine dimensions of the South Side through her title character's kitchenette apartment in her 1953 novella *Maud Martha*. The same is true of Lorraine Hansberry's 1959 play *A Raisin in the Sun*, in its characterizations of Lena, Beneatha, and Ruth Younger.
- 6 Jacqueline Jones, "Southern Diaspora," 27–54.
- 7 Allen, introduction in "Black/Queer/Diaspora," 211–48.
- 8 The release of the landmark television miniseries *Roots* in 1977, based on the epic book by Alex Haley, which traces his paternal lineage to his ancestor Kunta Kinte in West Africa, fueled the interest among African Americans in studying genealogy in the final decades of the twentieth century. In recent years, scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr., director of the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Research and the Alphonse Fletcher University Professor at Harvard University, has stood at the forefront in popularizing the study and teaching of genealogy through projects such as his book *Finding Oprah's Roots* and by hosting television series such as *African American Lives* (2006), *African American Lives 2* (2008), *Faces of America* (2010), and *Finding Your Roots* (2012). On the other hand, the research of scholars such as Alondra Nelson has also critiqued the popular contemporary fascination with genealogy and emphasized the limits and drawbacks entailed in the prevailing approaches to scientifically based methods of genetic testing in *The Social Life of DNA*. DNA testing has been among the research strategies that have been used in recent years to trace the family histories of both Barack Obama and Michelle Obama.
- 9 See Barack Obama, *Barack Obama's Speech on Race*.
- 10 Since the 1930s, the property has been owned by Frances Cheston Train's family, who turned it into a hunting preserve for rich northern tourists. Glanton and St. Clair, "Michelle Obama's Family Tree."
- 11 Swarns and Kantor, "In First Lady's Roots." Also see Swarns, "From Slavery to the White House."
- 12 Swarns and Kantor, "In First Lady's Roots."
- 13 Walsh, *Family of Freedom*, 209–10. Walsh describes the involvement of slaves in the construction of the White House from 1791, when its chief planner, Pierre L'Enfant, drew on slave labor in digging the building's foundation, and other slaves

- in Virginia quarried stone used for its walls. According to him, “The slaves, along with free men, worked six days a week, twelve hours a day, from dawn to dusk, with a one-hour midday break for a meal, usually of salt pork or mutton, hoe cakes, and grease sandwiches. The slaves were not chained, but they were closely supervised” (7).
- 14 Swarns, *American Tapestry*.
 - 15 Swarns, *American Tapestry*, 299.
 - 16 Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*.
 - 17 Lusane, *Black History of the White House*.
 - 18 Hancock, *Race and the Naming of the White House*.
 - 19 In a 2009 interview with Oprah Winfrey, Obama discusses her approach to supervising the East Wing of the White House: “So in the first few days, I gathered my East Wing team and the residence staff—the folks who clean the chandeliers, the people in the kitchen, everyone—and thanked them for helping us transition through the move. Then I talked about our vision for this house: that it would be filled with life, that we’d have people in and out, that the kids would roam around. I want the kids to be treated like children, not little princesses. I told everyone that they should make their beds, they should clean their plates, they should act respectfully—and that if anyone on the staff sees differently, they should come to me. So the girls help set the table, they help bring the food out, they work with the butler staff, and they’re in the kitchen laughing and making their toast in the morning. And everyone has adjusted to the rules.” Winfrey, “Oprah Talks to Michelle Obama,” 144.
 - 20 Jeffries, *Paint the White House Black*, 120.
 - 21 Michelle Obama, “Feed Your Children Well,” 40.
 - 22 Michelle Obama, *American Grown*.
 - 23 Loizeau, “First Lady but Second Fiddle,” 6.
 - 24 Michelle Obama, *Becoming*, 284.
 - 25 Michelle Obama, *Becoming*, 320.
 - 26 Black feminist analysis that has considered the race and class politics of the Cult of True Womanhood has been provided by a range of scholars, including Guy-Sheftall, *Daughters of Sorrow*; Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*; and Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*.
 - 27 This now infamous image appeared on the *Daily Kos* blog, May 19, 2008. It has since been removed from the site but as of June 2020 is still available at <http://littlegreenfootballs.com/weblog/pictures/20080519DailyKosSouthernScreen.jpg>.
 - 28 Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*; and Lomax, *Jezebel Unhinged*.
 - 29 Knuckey and Kim, “Evaluations of Michelle Obama.”
 - 30 Richardson, “Kara Walker’s Old South.”
 - 31 Harris-Perry, “Defeating History’s Demons,” 72.
 - 32 Feagans, “Georgian Recalls Rooming with Michelle Obama.”
 - 33 Feagans, “Georgian Recalls Rooming with Michelle Obama.”
 - 34 Feagans, “Georgian Recalls Rooming with Michelle Obama.”

- 35 Even without knowledge of her roommate's reaction, the introduction to Michelle Obama's senior thesis had conveyed the sense of unbelonging that she felt sometimes at Princeton: "My experiences at Princeton have made me far more aware of my 'Blackness' than ever before. I have found that at Princeton no matter how liberal and open-minded some of my white professors and classmates try to be toward me, I sometimes feel like a visitor on campus, as if I really do not belong." Michelle La-Vaughn Robinson, "Princeton-Educated Blacks and the Black Community," 2. The project, which focused on the university's black alumni's feelings about race and commitments to black community and notions of giving back, also anticipated her ongoing commitment to the South Side in her career work and public service.
- 36 For more on black southern migration to Chicago and the South Side community, see, for example, Grossman, *Land of Hope*; and Wilkerson, *Warmth of Other Suns*.
- 37 *Michelle Obama: South Side Girl*, video, 6:28, uploaded by BarackObamadotcom, YouTube, August 25, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Utt-6HumUU>.
- 38 Craig Robinson, *Game of Character*, 35.
- 39 In a speech in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on February 18, 2009, Michelle Obama remarked, "For the first time in my adult lifetime, I'm really proud of my country . . . not just because Barack has done well, but because I think people are hungry for change. . . . I have been desperate to see our country moving in that direction and not just feeling so alone in my frustration and disappointment." See "First Time Proud" in Michelle Obama, *Speeches*, 49–50.
- 40 Barack Obama, *Audacity of Hope*, 330.
- 41 This satirical political image, produced by Barry Blitt for the July 21, 2008, cover of the *New Yorker*, is entitled *The Politics of Fear*.
- 42 See the text of "One Nation," which was originally presented at the DNC on August 25, 2008, in Michelle Obama, *Speeches*, 79–88.
- 43 The official White House site profiling First Lady Michelle Obama notes, "The Robinsons lived in a brick bungalow on the South Side of Chicago. Fraser was a pump operator for the Chicago Water Department, and despite being diagnosed with multiple sclerosis at a young age, he hardly ever missed a day of work. Marian stayed home to raise Michelle and her older brother Craig, skillfully managing a busy household filled with love, laughter, and important life lessons." "Michelle Obama," White House, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/first-ladies/michelle-obama/>.
- 44 Krissah Thompson, "Leading Lady," 133.
- 45 Winfrey, "Oprah Talks to Michelle Obama," 143.
- 46 Talley, "Michelle Obama," 431.
- 47 Cheyfitz, *Disinformation Age*.
- 48 McDonald, "Racial Equity in the Farm Bill"; and Daniel, "African American Farmers," 3–36.
- 49 Shabazz, *Spatializing Blackness*.
- 50 Harper, *Sistah Vegan*.

- 51 Michelle Obama, "Feed Your Children Well," 40.
- 52 Michelle Obama, "Feed Your Children Well," 40.
- 53 Michelle Roberts, "Child and Teen Obesity."
- 54 Julie Hirschfeld Davis, "Closer."
- 55 Witt, *Black Hunger*.
- 56 Tipton-Martin, *Jemima Code*.
- 57 Hayden, "Michelle Obama, Mom-in-Chief," 14; also see Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*.
- 58 Hayden, "Michelle Obama, Mom-in-Chief," 16.
- 59 Grey, "Contesting the Fat Citizen," 566.
- 60 Michelle Obama, *American Grown*, 10.
- 61 Braxton, *Black Women Writing Autobiography*, 9.
- 62 Michelle Obama, *American Grown*, 19.
- 63 Ryan, "Changing the Conversation," 76.
- 64 Ryan, "Changing the Conversation," 86, 87.
- 65 Hayden, "Michelle Obama, Mom-in-Chief," 24
- 66 Cheyfitz, *Disinformation Age*.
- 67 Confessore, "How School Lunch Became the Latest Political Battleground."
- 68 Jansen, "Beyoncé Lends Star Power."
- 69 Kantor, *Obamas*, 42.
- 70 Talley, "Michelle Obama," 504.
- 71 Winfrey, "Oprah Talks to Michelle Obama," 143.
- 72 Freeman, *Wedding Complex*.
- 73 Stockett, *Help*.
- 74 Patricia A. Turner, "Dangerous White Stereotypes."
- 75 "An Open Statement to the Fans of *The Help*," Association of Black Women Historians, August 12, 2011, http://www.abwh.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2%3Aopen-statement-the-help.
- 76 Silverstein, "Going to See *The Help*."

Conclusion

- 1 Iton, *In Search of the Black Fantastic*.
- 2 Beyoncé and Joseph, *Lemonade*.
- 3 Jamil Smith, "New Beyoncé Video."
- 4 For the full transcript, see Piers Morgan, "Interview with Beyoncé," *Piers Morgan Tonight*, aired June 27, 2011, <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1106/27/pmt.01.html>.
- 5 "At Last" was written in 1941 by Mack Gordon and Harry Warren. It was initially popularized by the Glenn Miller orchestra and by Nat King Cole in 1957 before being adopted by James in 1961. It was reported widely that veteran singer Etta

James lashed out at Beyoncé in the wake the performance of the song at the inauguration and was upset that she was not invited to perform at the event. During a performance at the Paramount Theatre in Seattle, Washington, on January 28, 2009, James reportedly commented to the audience, “You guys know your president, right? You know the one with the big ears? Wait a minute, he ain’t my president. He might be yours; he ain’t my president. But I tell you that woman he had singing for him, singing my song—she’s going to get her ass whupped.” Furthermore, James is reported to have snidely commented, “The great Beyoncé . . . I can’t stand Beyoncé. She has no business up there, singing up there on a big ol’ president day, gonna be singing my song that I’ve been singing forever.” Michaels, “Etta James.” In an interview a few days later with the *New York Daily News*, James underscored that her comments were a joke. Melago, “Etta James Truly Miffed.”

- 6 Morgan, “Interview with Beyoncé.”
- 7 Morgan, “Interview with Beyoncé.”
- 8 Morgan, “Interview with Beyoncé.” In this interview with Morgan, Beyoncé further underscores the struggles that her parents endured by remarking, “My mother worked thirteen hours a day and I never heard her complain. She worked until her feet were calloused. . . . My father was an incredible entrepreneur and whatever he said he was going to have he worked until he had it.” She also notes that she “grew up with a family that was successful but not born successful.” Mathew Knowles also discusses the pain of Jim Crow in his memoir, *Racism from the Eyes of a Child*. I interviewed him at Cornell University alongside Harvard University scholar Marla Frederick in “A Conversation with Dr. Mathew Knowles,” September 27, 2019. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oUHMyS7odOI&t=2238s>.
- 9 Easley, *Beyoncé*, 1. Easley goes on to say, “A true product of the American South, he [Mathew Knowles] saw at first hand segregation and the hatred from whites in a changing, troubled America. In his youth, the country was a cauldron of uncertainty and change, yet outwardly, it was almost impossible to notice. The world image of the country was one of a happy, smiling, white suburbia” (1). For additional biographical perspective on Beyoncé, see Arenofsky, *Beyoncé Knowles*; and Taraborrelli, *Becoming Beyoncé*.
- 10 Morgan, “Interview with Beyoncé.”
- 11 Morgan, “Interview with Beyoncé.”
- 12 Baker and Simmons, *Trouble with Postblackness*.
- 13 Morgan, “Interview with Beyoncé.”
- 14 See Richardson, “Beyoncé’s South and a ‘Formation’ Nation.” Also see Richardson, “Forgetting Farrah.”
- 15 See Halperin, “Beyoncé Delivers.”
- 16 Halperin, “Beyoncé Delivers.”
- 17 Moore, *How to Be Beyoncé*.
- 18 See, for example, Trier-Bieniek, *Beyoncé Effect*; Chambers, *Queen Bey*; and Brooks and Martin, *Lemonade Reader*.

- 19 See Johnson, *Sweet Tea*. Similarly, his *Black. Queer. South. Women.* has amplified the voices of black queer women in the South.
- 20 Mock, “My Feminist Awakening.”
- 21 The post of the letter can be accessed directly at “Michelle Obama—The Ultimate Example,” Beyoncé website, April 11, 2012, <https://www.beyonce.com/article/michelle-obama-2/>.
- 22 Beyoncé and Michelle Obama have been most prominently linked in the national arena through the First Lady’s Let’s Move! campaign, which was launched on February 10, 2010, and designed to combat childhood obesity by encouraging healthful eating in schools throughout the nation. The song “Move Your Body,” which was composed by Beyoncé and hip-hop artist Swizz Beatz, was developed to promote the campaign and to encourage exercise; the video features Beyoncé dancing with children in the cafeteria at a school. Her support of this initiative draws on her celebrity and reinforces Beyoncé’s visibility in the national political arena, providing her with a platform that will help make a difference in the lives of youth.
- 23 Beyoncé’s letter to First Lady Michelle Obama picks up and mirrors the impulse that many African American women have had to reach out with missives to the First Lady, as evidenced in the rich compilation co-edited by Nevergold and Brooks-Bertram, *Go Tell Michelle*.
- 24 See Michelle Obama, Twitter, April 13, 2012, 12:04 PM, <https://twitter.com/MichelleObama/status/190847977152188416>.
- 25 See Steptoe, “Beyoncé’s Western South Serenade,” 183–91.
- 26 Baker and Nelson, “Violence, the Body.” Baker’s work, like my own and that of newer scholars in the field, has advanced critical reflection on black southerners. For example, see Zandria Robinson, *This Ain’t Chicago*.
- 27 See Caramanica, Morris, and Wortham, “Beyoncé in ‘Formation.’”
- 28 See Caramanica, Morris, and Wortham, “Beyoncé in ‘Formation.’”
- 29 Neal, *What the Music Said*.