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For The Good of Association: The Call-and-Response Communication Ethics of the Early NAACP

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FOR THE GOOD OF ASSOCIATION: THE CALL-AND-RESPONSE COMMUNICATION ETHICS OF THE EARLY NAACP

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ABSTRACT

FOR THE GOOD OF ASSOCIATION: THE CALL-AND-RESPONSE COMMUNICATION ETHICS OF THE EARLY NAACP

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Dissertation supervised by Erik Garrett, Ph.D.

This dissertation is an exploration of the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), from the standpoint of communication studies. In particular, this dissertation is based on the research of several crucial, communicative artifacts, including: “The Call” penned by William English Walling; the addresses, speeches, and the panel discussion of the Negro National Conference; and the editorial of the first issue *The Crisis* magazine. The contention is that the communication of the NAACP was catalyzed by a communication ethic, nominated as call-and-response communication ethics. Therefore, this dissertation elucidates the four practices of call-and-response communication ethics: Provocation, convocation, evocation, and “polyvocation” and it announces the implications of call-and-reponse communication ethics for this current historical moment.

DEDICATION

It seems appropriate that this dissertation about the exemplary civil rights, social justice association is dedicated to an association—a familial association of the living and the dead. I dedicate this dissertation to: My father, William Francis Lyde, who died in my second semester of the Ph.D. program; to my grandmother, Geneva Lyde; to my mother, Janice Lyde; to my wife Jackie Lyde, and to my daughter, Jelisa and Jada Lyde.

I dedicate this dissertation to the dead who are a part of the familial association: My father and my paternal grandmother. My father was an incredible Christian, person, husband, father, brother, uncle, and friend. Throughout my life, I regularly sought his guidance. So, when I was considering whether to enroll in the program in 2019, I asked him, "Dad, what do you think?" He immediately replied, "I want you do it!" His quick and direct response surprised me because while he always supported me, he rarely if ever inserted his own desires. As such, I had to inquire. I said to him, "Dad, I can't remember a time when you were ever stated that you wanted me to do something." Then I asked, "Why do you say, 'I want you do it' Dad?" His reply is forever etched in my mind and on my spirit. He said, "I feel like if you get a Ph.D. then *I'll* have a Ph.D." My father graduated high school, took a few college courses at John Jay College, and was a New York City Police Officer, but now he has a Ph.D. His desire to get a Ph.D., if you will, pushed me through the program, even the semester when he died. So, I dedicate this dissertation to my father, William F. Lyde.

I dedicate this dissertation to my paternal grandmother, Geneva Lyde. Her name is literally etched on the side of the monumental statue of President Jimmy Carter, in

Atlanta, Georgia. She was recognized as playing a significant role in the election of President Jimmy Carter. She was recognized as playing a significant role because she was the local branch president of the Brunswick, Georgia chapter of the NAACP and also the state secretary of the NAACP of the state of Georgia in the 1970s. So, I dedicate this dissertation to my grandmother, Geneva Lyde.

In addition, I dedicate this dissertation to the living who are part of this familial association: My mother Janice Lorraine Lyde; my wife, Jackie; and my daughters, Jelisa and Jada. My mother exposed me to higher education, when I was the tender age of three years old. She took me to her college courses, when she was studying to get her degree in nursing from Medgar Evers College, and Historically Black College and University (HBCU) in Brooklyn, New York. It is ironic that I sat in college classrooms at a college named after Medgar Evers, the NAACP's first field secretary in Mississippi and famous civil rights martyr. It seems fitting that I would dedicate this dissertation to my wife and my daughters too. Because of their love, support, and sacrifice. In more ways than one, they did this dissertation with me and yet I could not do it without them. I remember I had to leave our summer vacation in Mexico, one day early, to get back to Pittsburgh early for the orientation for the program. In addition, my dissertation defense was on our twenty-seventh wedding anniversary. So, I dedicate this dissertation to my wife Jacqueline (Jackie) Elisa Lyde, my best friend and partner, the cream in my coffee, the sweet in my sugar, the spice in my hot sauce, the barbeque on my chicken, the gravy on my biscuit, and the à la mode on my apple pie.

And I dedicate this dissertation to my daughters, Jelisa and Jada. Though they are women now, they are "Daddy's little girls." My youngest daughter is Jada, and her first

word was, “Daddy.” At the time I write this, Jada is a student at University of Pittsburgh Nursing School. My oldest is Jelisa and she was born on my birthday. What is more, the two of us, Jelisa and I, are graduating together, on the same day, from Duquesne University of the Holy Spirit, from the McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts, from the Department of Communication and Rhetorical Studies. Jelisa with her Bachelor of Arts in Communication and me with my Ph.D. in Rhetoric. So, I dedicate the dissertation to my daughters.

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First, I give all honor and praise to God. To Dr. Erik Garrett, the chair of my dissertation committee, I thank you for guiding and pushing me through this project. To my first reader and the incomparable chair of our department, Dr. Janie Harden Fritz, mere words cannot fully express the gratitude I hold for you. Thank you for being a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. Throughout my time in the program, you have not only been an incredible instructor and mentor, but you also have been an incredible advocate and door opener. And I'll never forget your faith. When my father died, a few days into my second semester in the program, you said three things to me: The first thing you said was, "my deepest empathies." The second thing you said was, "we are praying for you." And the third you said to me was, "we will figure out a way forward." To my second reader, Dr. Anthony Wachs, I am forever grateful for the ways in which you challenged me, but especially the ways you challenged me to consider the extensive implications of this work. To Dr. Ronald C. Arnett, thank you. You are a scholar par excellence. But you are also incredible person. I enjoyed how much we could make each other laugh. You taught me in and outside of the classroom. Your impress upon me as a communication scholar is indispensable. Thank you for being what I call a "scholar-shepherd." I must also thank Dr. Richard Thames and Dr. Özüm Üçok-Sayrak. Dr. Thames you are living, breathing, teaching example of how scholarship intersects with life and how it interlinks with other scholarship. Dr. Sayrak, thank you for teaching Rhetoric and Philosophy of Crisis Communication in the Spring of 2022, because your teaching helped spark my interest in studying the NAACP.

In recognition of the unique ground I am situated in, I thank Dr. Brian Blount, my Princeton Theological Seminary professor and intellectual hero. Dr. Blount, thank you for your encouragement as a scholar and for your sterling recommendation. You have always been kind, gracious, and you have made yourself accessible. As a result, you taught me how instruction is a lifetime calling. As well, I would be remiss if I did not also acknowledge and appreciate the Baptist Temple Church, the church I am blessed to serve and lead. The Baptist Temple, the best church on this side of heaven, I thank you for your support and encouragement. I am so glad that you all appreciate and encourage education as you do.

To all of my colleagues in the program, I say thank you all for being a blessing. I especially want to acknowledge William Burgess for recruiting me and to Michael Kearney for being an inspiring collaborator. And I must thank the cohort within the cohort: Victor Grigsby, Richard Wingfield, Nathaniel Cox, and Andri Kosasih, my fellows in communication and in the clergy. To all of my frelative, but especially to John Welch and De Neice Welch, who also earned their doctorates from Duquesne University, I thank you for you timely encouragements. To my Pastor, Reverend Anthony L. Trufant, for being such a wonderful example. From the time, I became a committed Christian, you made me love and appreciate words. As such, you laid the groundwork for my love of rhetoric. To one my best friends in the world and the world's best interlocuter, Toby Sanders, thank you. Our conversations helped me clarify would I was learning and your enthusiasm about what I was learning reanimated me. To Dr. Chris White Taylor, my newest friend, thank you for your eyes, your ears, your abilities, your time, and your

counsel. To my brother Marc Lyde, who has been a wonderful example, especially because you returned to school later in life to study nursing.

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The Introduction: A Summary, The Outline, A Preface

The introduction This work fires from a fourfold research question: How was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an interracial organization, able to form and perform during the early twentieth century—a time period shaped by racialized segregation? Why was it that NAACP formed and continued when other civil rights organizations, like the Niagara Movement, formed and folded? What role did communication play in the formation and performance of the NAACP? And, in this moment plagued by the question of race, what can we learn from the development of the NAACP vis-à-vis communication?

In addition, this work developed out of a scholarly curiosity that based on my unfamiliarity and unawareness about the conception, establishment, and formation of the NAACP. My interest in this project was piqued when I realized I had never heard of the Negro National Conference, the conference wherein the NAACP was conceived; a conference that featured a variety of remarkable discourses. This work drew my attention when I realized that I did not know that the NAACP was shaped by an interracial group of people that included, among others, W.E.B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells, William Monroe Trotter, Mary Church Terrell, John Dewey, Mary White Ovington, and Jane Addams. In other words, it moved me that in a time of legal segregation, there was a group of people who managed to work through difference to form an exemplary civil rights, social justice organization. This subject matter caught my eye when I, for the first time, read the opening sentence of one of the discourses, the Resolutions of the Negro National Conference, "We denounce the ever-growing oppression of our 10,000,000 colored fellow citizens as the greatest menace that threatens the country" ("Resolutions"). It occurred to me that going public with such words, in that early twentieth century historical

moment, took resolve. Further, the words moved me because it was a chorus of voices, people who were Black and White, and who were public intellectuals, clergypersons, public servants, and activists. Further still, this work captured my attention when I realized that the endeavor that led to the NAACP was sparked by a call-to-action. The final words of "The Call" left an indelible impression upon me, "Hence, we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty" (Villard "The Call"). This spoke volumes; the NAACP was an outgrowth of call and response. As such, from the beginning the project was an occasion to learn about the NAACP and to learn from the NAACP.

A Summary

Writ large, this project is an exploration of the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). which was formed at the dawn of the twentieth century. Accordingly, this dissertation presents the findings to the following, threefold research question: In what way was the formation of the NAACP a response to the problem of the early twentieth century historical moment, what activated and animated the formation of the NAACP, and what can we learn from the formation of the NAACP in order to respond to problem of this current, twenty-first century historical moment? That said, this project has a particular focus—this work concentrates on communication. To be more precise, this work primarily and predominantly focuses on the communication ethics that catalyzed the discourses of the NAACP; that is, the discourses that sparked the formation of the NAACP and that were produced by the developing NAACP.

This work builds on extensive research of the "precedings" that lead up to the conception of the NAACP and the proceedings that ensue after the formation of the NAACP. At the heart of

the "precedings" and the proceedings was communication. In a real sense, the "precedings" concern the discourses and the communicative actions that precede the conception of the NAACP. The proceedings concern the discourses and the communicative actions that ensue from the Negro National Conference of 1909. So, this dissertation builds on the research of the communication artifacts and communicative actions that precipitated the formation of the NAACP and that promoted the aims of the NAACP. These discourses include but are not limited to: A call to action entitled "The Call" which was cosigned by sixty persons; the body of discourses (addresses, speeches, discussion, resolutions, and letters) from the Negro National Conference (NNC), the conference that precipitated the conception, formation, and incorporation of the NAACP; and certain content of *The Crisis,* the official publication of the NAACP. The chief assertion of this work is that each of these discourses were developed from the practices of a communication ethic—nominated as call-and-response communication ethics—which is comprised of four communicative practices: Provocation, convocation, evocation, and provocation.

Thus, this is a dissertation about how the NAACP, a multi-diverse association, was catalyzed by communication ethics. As such, as a research project this dissertation explores the formation of the NAACP attentive to three of the coordinates of communication ethics inquiry—the question of the historical moment, the negotiation of difference, and the promotion of a good (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell). Accordingly, the research pushed off of two preponderant recognitions. One recognition is that the NAACP, an association, was a response to an epochal problem, nominated as "the problem of disassociation" which is defined as the adverse undoing of association, a root cause incivility that led to blatant manifestations of marginalization and to the disunion of the body politic, such as segregation, exclusion, interdiction, and seceding. To put it

simply, a national association for advancement was a response to "the problem of disassociation." The second recognition is that the NAACP was activated and animated by an interplay of call-and-response and communication ethics. That is, the developing NAACP was a diversified response to a resonating call animated by call-and-response communication ethics—a communication ethic characterized by four communicative call-and-response practices: Provocation, the call and response to conscience; convocation, the call and response to gather(ing); evocation, the recall and reuse of memory and discourse; and "polyvocation," the call to co-respond and correspond. The chief insight garnered from the research is that the practice and coordination of these aforementioned practices led to the formation of a diverse, called, civic association. The expectation is that an attentiveness to the communicative practices of call-and-response communication ethics can be useful in generating productive responses to the problem of disassociation in this current, twenty-first century moment.

The Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is organized into five chapters—the foundation, the footings, the cornerstones, the framework, and the keystones. That said, the chapters not only divide the dissertation into main divisions, but importantly the headings of the five chapters double as organizing concepts for this inquiry. The main chapters are part of a conceptual schema that relates to building. The schema is meant to communicate the aspiration of this work; this dissertation seeks to build, to edify readers, and to develop effectual association through an elucidation of the communication ethics that catalyzed the conception, formation, incorporation, and performance of the NAACP. Further, the terms foundation, footings, cornerstone, framework, and keystones interrelate with one another: The foundation is the basis of the superstructure; the footings undergird the foundation; the cornerstone is the first stone of the

foundation, laid as a reference for alignment; the framework is substructure built onto the foundation, and it gives shape to the project; and the keystone is the key stone of an arch, which creates opening like bridges, passageways, tunnels, and windows.

Each chapter begins with an explanation of the chief organizing concept of the chapter and how it relates to the content of the chapter. That said, the chapter outline is as follows. Chapter one, The Foundation (chapter) has four sections: An overview (review and preview) of scholarship; the method, or the scholarly approach; the plan of research—the rhetorical analysis and constructive interpretation of certain discourses of the NAACP; and the overture to call-and-response communication ethics. These four parts serve as the base of the project. Chapter two, The Footings, has three sections: The elucidation of the communication ground; the elucidation of the communication ethics footing; and the elucidation of the call-and-response footing. These three parts undergird the foundation, and further situate the project into the ground of communication. Chapter three, The Cornerstones, has two sections: The Historical Moment, and the Problem of Disassociation. These two parts are "laid" to facilitate alignment of other building blocks. Chapter four, The Framework, has four sections: The Call and Response to Conscience (Provocation); The Call and Response to Gather(ing) (Convocation); Recall and Reuse of History and Discourse; and the Call to Co-Respond and Correspondence ("Polyvocation"). These four parts serve as the superstructure to build on. Chapter five, The Keystones, has three sections: The Conclusions; The Implications for Communications; and the Implications for this Current Historical Moment. These three sections serve as the keystones that create arches, which span an opening. As such, the keystones concern the conclusions, significances and implications of this dissertation moving forward.

A Preface: My Personal Call-and-Response Experience

What eventually became the NAACP was initiated by "The Call" penned by Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the *New York Evening Post* and endorsed by sixty cosignatories, including Du Bois, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, John Dewey, Jane Addams, Mary White Ovington, and William Lloyd Garrison. Suffice it to say, the NAACP was started by a call—a vocative, communicative appeal encapsulated in the statement, "we call upon all the believers in democracy" (Villard). The call and response that led to the conception, formation, and incorporation of the exemplary civil rights, social justice organization.

The call and response led to the organization that created and cultivated the space for the exploits of renowned figures like Thurgood Marshall, Rosa Parks, and Medgar Evers. The call led to establishment of the exemplary medium (*The Crisis*) that platformed a number of Black luminaries, laureates, and litterateurs, such as Jessie Redmon Fauset, Gwendolyn Bennett, Arna Bontemps, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, Alain Locke, Walter White, Mordecai Wyatt Johnson (Wilson). In fact, about the significance of *The Crisis,* George Schuyler wrote that contained in *The Crisis* was "the first literary contests, the first section devoted to Negro children, the first presentation of Negro artwork, the first feature stories about successful Negroes, the first full-fledged drive for Pan-Africanism, the first special numbers devoted to Negro educational advancement, the first articles on consumers cooperation. Here were scathing denunciations and flaming defense" (Schuyler 163). The call led to the formation of the legal arm of the civil rights movement—the Legal Defense Fund—which won of number of cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, such *as Brown vs. Board of Education*. This meaningful, open-door call catalyzed a manifold, open-ended response. The aforementioned account of the NAACP evidenced the impact of call-and-response in the formation and performance of the NAACP.

Notwithstanding, my interest in call-and-response preceded this particular research interest. My interest in call-and-response began with an experience that took place almost thirty years before this research project. It was a personal call experience. That said, this is not just a mere reflection, this preface has a purpose with respect to this dissertation. Broadly speaking, this personal reflection serves as a hermeneutic entry point for this project. It serves as a hermeneutic entry point not only because the NAACP was a response to a call, but also because certain aspects of my personal experience correlate with the development of the NAACP. That is to say, my personal call experience connects with the phenomenal development of the NAACP via a call-and-response link and via a communication ethics link. As such, in the paragraphs to follow is a preface to this dissertation.

The following preface has four intentions with respect to this dissertation. Firstly, to foster an appreciation how one particular call experience can be interpreted from a number of scholarly standpoints, such as from a standpoint within the discipline of theology and also from a standpoint within the field of communication. Secondly, to facilitate an appreciation of how communication ethics inquiry can enrich understanding of an experience or of a historical development. The third intention is to lay a groundwork for appreciating the potency and potential of call-and-response to move people into ways of being, doing, interacting, and communicating, especially as part of communicative responses to a given epochal problem. Finally, the fourth intention is to promote the importance of response and co-response to an open call.

My interest in call-and-response began with what I deemed as a call experience—a call by God. It was the third Monday of October in the year 1995, and I was in Washington D.C. to attend the Million Man March. Early in the morning, hours before any events of the day would

transpire, I sat in my hotel room alone reading silently. Then, amid the quiet, a sound broke the silence. It was an audible voice that said, “I am going to use you before many men.” Because I was alone, hearing the voice startled me. There was, however, no doubt about what I heard. In the words of religious and social ethicist Evans Crawford, what I heard was oral and aural (Crawford 33). Clear that the experience was real, even though not completely understandable, the meaning of the words themselves then captured my attention. And the experience inspired a litany of questions to come to my mind, most notably: What if it were true that I would be used before many men? After all, I was at the Million Man March, where there were in fact many men. Uncertain and full of self-doubt, at the speed of thought my mind raced as I contemplated and resisted the thought of why and how I might be used.

Strange as it may seem, that day I was not “used” per se, at least not in the way I supposed. Nevertheless, the words I heard still resounded in me. Consequently, in the time to come, I continued to replay that moment in my mind, trying to wrap my head around the real but enigmatic experience. Interestingly, what I read that day in the hotel room helped me construe the meaning of those words and the significance of the experience. At the time, I was about ten months into being a newly committed Christian, and as such I made a commitment to read the Bible in its entirety. At the time of the Million Man March, I was reading the book of Exodus chapter three (Exodus 3). In that chapter, God speaks to Moses in and through the proverbial unconsumed burning bush, in effect calling Moses to be an agent for a large-scale manumission and emigration from Egypt into the proverbial promised land.

Thinking it to be more than coincidence, I sought to make meaning of my experience. I did so by holding a spotlight on my experience in light of the scriptural Mosaic call narrative. This led me to draw a conclusion: My enigmatic experience at the Million Man March was part

of a calling. From that moment on, I have been interested in the ongoing elucidation of my call experience. Over time, my experience also sparked a concomitant interest, beyond my own personal one, an interest in the meaning and significance of any given call.

It is accurate to describe my experience at the Million Man March as religious. Accordingly, as a committed Christian and member of the Black church, it was the disciplines of "the divinities" that helped facilitate the discernment of the call—theology, practical theology biblical studies, and church history. Accordingly, I interpreted my experience from a standpoint within the African American church faith tradition by using theological hermeneutics. One of the first things I was charged to do by my pastor was to read *Listening Hearts,* a book in which I read this memorable statement about the purpose of the book. In *Listening Hearts* Suzanne G. Farham wrote, "this… is about discerning God's call within community…" (Farham 1). As such, I embraced the call as paramount, after all it was God's call. Indeed, a calling in the ecclesiastical sense refers to the insistent entreaty by a divine being. The experience was God's call to me and of me, wrapped within an experience. So compelling was that call that it has rapt my attention ever since.

However, in light of my journey as a communication scholar, I have come to recognize that to define the experience as only religious does not do it justice. Since 2019 I have been a communication studies scholar. This new position and perspective within the field of communication along with a new set of tools has inspired me reconsider the call experience in light of communication studies. As a result, I gained new insights. For one, there is a reason that kind of experience is described using a term relative to communication. The English word "call" and its cognates derive from root words that refer to speaking, talking, and saying. That is to say,

by etymological definition, a call is a form of communication. As such, this gave me inspiration to reexamine my experience.

To be sure, as an African American minister, I am familiar with call-and-response. I am familiar with call and response in the context worship experience (with respect to the call-and-response in preaching and with respect to gospel music). And I am familiar with call-and-response as a democratic expression, with respect faith-based, social justice, direct-action organizing. However, since becoming a communication scholar in 2019, I have come to an expanded sense of what call-and-response is. Geneva Smitherman's scholarship has been indispensable in helping me to understand and explicate call-and-response from the standpoint of communication studies. Smitherman writes that call-response is:

> [a] basic organizing principle of Black American culture generally, for it enables traditional black for to achieve the unified state of balance or harmony which is fundamental to the traditional African worldview. Since that worldview does not dichotomize life into sacred and secular realms, you can find call-responses both in the church and on the street" (Smitherman 104).

Smitherman's insights are instructive. First, Smitherman describes call-and-response as "call-response." Wording it as call-response implies there is a commonality between calls and responses. That is, there is a recognition that a given call is a response in some way, shape, or fashion. Likewise, there is a recognition that there is a call inherent in responses. In addition, Smitherman points out how call-response emerges from a worldview, an African worldview. As well, Smitherman referred to call-responses as spontaneous, indicating the volitional aspect of call-and-response. That is to say, the interactors and interlocuters of call-response engage in the interaction spontaneously or put another way out of their own accord.

Based on Smitherman, I recognize my experience not simply as a call experience, but as a call-and-response experience. In addition, I recognize the commonality between calls and responses. There is awareness and acknowledgement that call is response, and that there is call in response. Hence, the call-and-response in this project. God's call of me and to me was response to a condition and a circumstance. The call (by God) was a response to the reasons why a million Black men gathered at the nation's capital in October of 1995. It was to promote unity as a response to disunity, and collective responsibility in the face of sociopolitical irresponsibility. With regard to my personal experience, in my rolling response to the call, there were also a number of calls. The life of a minister is largely about responding to calls in that way that bids others.

Smitherman's insights led me to appreciate how call-response is extemporaneous, meaning that it emerges at the time or out of a temporal moment. In addition, Smitherman's insight led to appraise the fact that call-response can take place in a number of ways and means. This provided a framework for me to explore and interpret the conception, formation, and performance of the NAACP, which was activated by a call. That is, the NAACP was the product of call-and-response. As important as "The Call" was, the various responses were of great consequence with respect to the conception, formation, and incorporation of the NAACP. This renewed sense of response is an important aspect of the formation of the NAACP. The NAACP is a manifold response to a call, a manifold *response* by way of the endeavor and the enterprise of association.

Chapter One: The Foundation: Overview, Methodology, Plan of Research, and Overture

This chapter establishes and exposits the foundation of the dissertation. Every dissertation needs a foundation as does anything being built. This chapter, in so many ways, is about the groundwork of the dissertation; it establishes the basis of this work and it previews much of the substance (the idea structures, insights, precepts, concepts and metaphors) to be explained in subsequent chapters. As such, this chapter is broken down into four sections: An Overview of Scholarship; the Method; The Plan of Research; and the Overture to Call-and-Response Communication Ethics. The overview section contains two parts: A review of previous scholarship and a preview of scholarship to be used to elucidate the subject matter of this dissertation. As part of the methodology section of the chapter, we explicate the communication ethics-based approach. As part of the plan of research section of the chapter, we explore the plan to analyze and interpret the discourses of the developing NAACP, through rhetorical analysis, in order to highlight and interpret the communication ethics inherent in the discourses. Finally, the overture section of the chapter introduces call-and-response communication ethics, or more precisely the four communicative practices of call-and-response communication.

The term foundation is used as a chapter heading, an organizing concept for this dissertation, and a metaphor to promote meaningful understanding. As such, three questions are raised: Firstly, what is the meaning and significance of *a* foundation in construction? Secondly, how does foundation as a metaphor open up understanding? Thirdly, what comprises the foundation (chapter) of this dissertation and why? With regard to construction, the foundation is, generally speaking, the *concrete* ground floor on which a project or superstructure is based. Metaphorically speaking, recognizing the dissertation as the scholarly project or superstructure, the foundation is the solid base that supports the project. This dissertation builds on a foundation.

That said, one of the things that is critical to a given foundation is the ground underneath the foundation. In terms of building construction, the foundation is established on a ground. Both are kinds of grounds; the foundation is a concrete ground, and the actual ground is the solid surface of earth on which the concrete foundation is laid. In other words, the ground is the terra firma underneath a foundation. Accordingly, to understand the foundation of this dissertation, we must understand the ground of this project, which is communication, or which is the field of communication. Or put another way this dissertation is grounded on and in communication. The overview of scholarship, the communication ethics approach, the plan of research, and the overture is what grounds this work on and in communication. Accordingly, this exploration of the formation and formative impact of the NAACP is from a standpoint that is predominately attentive to communication and communicative action.

That said, understanding foundation as a chapter heading, an organizing concept, and as a metaphor that brings us to the question: What comprises the foundation (chapter) of this dissertation? The foundation is one chapter with four sections: An overview of scholarship; the scholarly approach of this dissertation; the plan of research; and an overture of the four core practices of the dissertation. Hence, in the paragraphs and sections to come will be an exposition of the foundation of this dissertation.

An Overview of Scholarship: Review and Preview

The term overview, in this dissertation, has the same function as what is traditionally called a literature review. This overview is part review and part preview. Meaning, it is a review of previous, related scholarship regarding communication and regarding the NAACP. In addition, this overview is also part of the preview of the scholarship that will be employed in this dissertation. There is a rich array of scholars included and scholarship employed in this project.

In general, this overview (review and preview), highlights and employs scholarship from the humanities; scholars and scholarship rooted in rhetoric, history, philosophy, cultural studies, and literature. As well, there is a range of perspectives offered, a number of which are perspectives of black figures and litterateurs.

Review of Related Scholarship

The aim of this review is to spotlight the scholarship that informed and shaped this project, to provide a ground of scholarship to build on, to lay the groundwork for the interpretation of the communication artifacts of the NAACP, and to call attention to the gap in scholarship that this dissertation seeks to fill. The review of related scholarship is honed by the focus of this inquiry—which concerns the NAACP, the problem disassociation, the constructive interpretation of the communication artifacts of the NAACP, the coordinates of call-and-response communication ethics, and the potency and potential of association.

To be sure, this project would not be possible without five particular works. The first is the article "The Race War in the North" by William English Walling. The second is "The Call" which is penned by Oswald Garrison Villard and cosigned by the Negro National Committee. The third work is *The Proceedings of the Negro National Conference 1909,* which is the transcription of the preface, the addresses, the speeches, the [panel] discussions, the resolutions, and the letters of the Negro National Conference. The fourth work is the first issue of *The Crisis,* which was published in November 1910. And the fifth work is the NAACP Articles of Incorporation, from May 25, 1911. While there are other discourses/artifacts, these are the primary sources and the central artifacts that will be examined and interpreted. As such, it seems fitting to document them here. Let us begin with a key excerpt of the "The Race War in the North:"

Either the spirit of the abolitionists, of Lincoln and of Lovejoy must be revived and we must come to treat Negro on an equal plane of absolute political and social equality, or Vardaman and Tillman will soon have transferred the race war to the North… Yet who realizes the seriousness of the situation and what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?" (Walling 534).

In addition, "The Call" in its entirety reads:

The celebration of the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln widespread and grateful as it may be, will fail to justify itself if it takes no note and makes no recognition of the colored men and women to whom the great emancipator labored to assure freedom. Besides a day of rejoicing, Lincoln's birthday y in 1909 should be one of taking stock of the nation's progress since 1865. How far has it lived up to the obligations imposed upon it by the Emancipation Proclamation? How far has it gone in assuring to each and every citizen, irrespective of color, the equality of opportunity and equality before the law, which underlie our American institutions and are guaranteed by the Constitution?

If Mr. Lincoln could revisit this country in the flesh, he would be disheartened and discouraged. He would learn that on January 1, 1909, Georgia had rounded out a new confederacy by disfranchising the Negro, after the manner of all the other Southern States.

He would learn that the Supreme Court of the United States, supposedly a bulwark of American liberties, had refused every opportunity to pass squarely upon this disfranchisement of millions, by laws avowedly discriminatory and openly enforced in such manner that the white men may vote and that black men be without a vote in their government; he would discover, therefore, that taxation without representation is the lot

of millions of wealth-producing American citizens, in whose hands rests the economic progress and welfare of an entire section of the country.

He would learn that the Supreme Court, according to the official statement of one of its own judges in the Berea College case, has laid down the principle that if an individual State chooses, it may make it a crime for white and colored persons to frequent the same marketplace at the same time, or appear in an assemblage of citizens convened to consider questions of a public or political nature in which all citizens, without regard to race, are equally interested.

In many states Lincoln would find justice enforced, if at all, by judges elected by one element in a community to pass upon the liberties and lives of another. He would see the black men and women, for whose freedom a hundred thousand of soldiers gave their lives, set apart in trains, in which they pay first-class fares for third-class service, and segregated in railway stations and in places of entertainment; he would observe that State after State declines to do its elementary duty in preparing the Negro through education for the best exercise of citizenship.

Added to this, the spread of lawless attacks upon the Negro, North, South and West -- even in the Springfield made famous by Lincoln -- often accompanied by revolting brutalities, sparing neither sex nor age nor youth, could but shock the author of the sentiment that government of the people, by the people, for the people; should not perish from the earth.

Silence under these conditions means tacit approval. The indifference of the North is already responsible for more than one assault upon democracy, and every such attack reacts as unfavorably upon whites as upon blacks. Discrimination once permitted cannot

be bridled; recent history in the South shows that in forging chains for the Negroes the white voters are forging chains for themselves. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand;' this government cannot exist half-slave and half-free any better today than it could in 1861.

Hence, we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty" (Villard "The Call").

To be sure, "The Call" is used because it is what activates the conception of the NAACP. In addition, "The Call" indicates the communicative practices of the NAACP.

Because *The Proceedings of the Negro National Conference 1909* is a 229-page work, it cannot be inserted here. However, worthy of note is that includes the following discourses of the Negro National Conference (NNC): the "Preface" by William Walling; the eight addresses of the NNC (by Charles Edward Russell, E.W. Moore, William Sinclair, John T. Milholland, Wendell Phillips Stafford, John Dewey, Edward R.A. Seligman, and William Haynes Ward; the sixteen speeches (by the likes of Livingston Farrard, Cecelia Parker Woolley, W.E.B. Du Bois, William Lewis Bulkley, William English Walling, Jenkins Lloyd Jones, John Spencer Bassett, J. Milton Waldron, Alexander Walters, Ida Wells-Barnett-Barnett, Albert E. Pillsbury, Oswald Garrison Villard, Joseph C. Manning, and William A. Sinclair); the Resolutions; the [panel] Discussion (including Waldron, Bannon, Stemmons, J. Morgan, William M. Trotter, Charles M. Russell, Barber, Benson, Miller, Ida Wells-Barnett-Barnett, Tridon, and Robinson); and the two letters by Brand Whitlock and William Lloyd Garrison. Worthy of note, the variety of discourses and the variety of communicators reflect the application of a communication ethic. In addition, the content of several discourses refers to the practices of call-and-response communication ethics.

That said, while we will examine a few representative addresses, speeches, and discussions points from the Negro National Conference. The Resolutions is discourse referred to a number of times for the way in which each of practices of call-and-response communication ethics is employed. The Resolutions reads as follows:

> We denounce the ever-growing oppression of our ten million colored fellow citizens as the greatest menace that threatens the country. Often plundered of their just share of the public funds, robbed of nearly all part in the government, segregated by common carriers, some murdered with impunity, and all treated with open contempt by officials, they are held in some States in practical slavery to the white community. The systematic persecution of law-abiding citizens and their disfranchisement on account of their race alone is a crime that will ultimately drag down to an infamous end any nation that allows it to be practiced, and it bears most heavily on those poor white farmers and laborers whose economic position is most similar to that of the persecuted race.
>
> The nearest hope lies in the immediate and patiently continued enlightenment of the people who have been inveigled into a campaign of oppression. The spoils of persecution should not go to enrich any class or classes of the population. Indeed, persecution of organized workers, peonage, enslavement of prisoners, and even disfranchisement already threaten large bodies of whites in many Southern States.
>
> We agree fully with the prevailing opinion that the transformation of the unskilled colored laborers in industry and agriculture into skilled workers is of vital importance to that race and to the nation, but we demand for the Negroes, as for all others, a free and complete education, whether by city, State or nation, a grammar school and industrial training for all and technical, professional, and academic education for the most gifted.

But the public schools assigned to the Negro of whatever kind or grade will never receive a fair and equal treatment until he is given equal treatment in the Legislature and before the law. Nor will the practically educated Negro, no matter how valuable to the community he may prove, be given a fair return for his labor or encouraged to put forth his best efforts or given the chance to develop that efficiency that comes only outside the school until he is respected in his legal rights as a man and a citizen.

We regard with grave concern the attempt manifest South and North to deny black men the right to work and to enforce this demand by violence and bloodshed. Such a question is too fundamental and clear even to be submitted to arbitration. The late strike in Georgia is not simply a demand that Negroes be displaced, but that proven and efficient men be made to surrender their long-followed means of livelihood to white competitors.

As first and immediate steps toward remedying these national wrongs, so full of peril for the whites as well as the blacks of all sections, we demand of Congress and the Executive:

(1) That the Constitution be strictly enforced, and the civil rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment be secured impartially to all.

(2) That there be equal educational opportunities for all and in all the States, and that public school expenditure be the same for the Negro and white child.

(3) That in accordance with the Fifteenth Amendment the right of the Negro to the ballot on the same terms as other citizens be recognized in every part of the country ("Resolutions")

The “Resolutions” reflects certain decisions about ways of thinking, communicating, being, and doing. Likewise, it reflects the corporate decision of a group—the Negro National Committee. In addition, the Resolutions are also the set of ideas and the course of action that forms the basis of future work and elaboration. Finally, Resolutions is like a physical platform. As is the function of a physical platform, the Resolutions are a kind of “platform” on which the people of the NAACP stand. And, like a physical platform, Resolutions is a kind of “set stage” for communication.

In addition, it is fitting to document the stated objective of *The Crisis*, the official publication of the NAACP, as articulated by W.E.B. Du Bois, who served as a co-founder of the NAACP, as the Director of Publicity and Research of the NAACP, and as the editor of *The Crisis.* In the first issue of *The Crisis* in November of 1909, Du Bois declared the objective of *The Crisis:*

> The object of this publication is to set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice, particularly as manifested today toward colored people. It takes its name from the fact that the editors believe that this is a critical time in the history of the advancement of men. Catholicity and tolerance, reason and forbearance can today make the world-old dream of human brotherhood approach realization: while bigotry and prejudice, emphasized race consciousness and force can repeat the awful history of the contact of nations and groups in the past. We strive for this higher and broader vision of Peace and Good Will.
>
> The policy of the Crisis will be simple and well defined: If will foremost be a newspaper; it will record important happenings and movements in the world which bear upon the great problem of interracial relations, and especially those which affect the Negro-American.

> Secondly, it will be a review of opinion and literature, recording briefly books, articles, and important expressions of opinion in the white and colored press on the race problem.
>
> Thirdly, it will publish a few short articles.
>
> Finally, its editorial page will stand for the rights of men, irrespective of color or race, for the highest ideals of American democracy, and for reasonable but earnest and persistent attempts to gain these rights and realize these ideals. The magazine will be the organ of no clique or party and will avoid personal rancor of all sorts. In the absence of proof to the contrary it will assume honesty of purpose on the part of all men, North and South, white and black (Du Bois "Editorial" 10).

As will be further elucidated, the stated objective of *The Crisis* evidences a communication ethic that promotes a good, that negotiates difference, and that attends to the problem of a historical moment, which are three coordinates of a given communication ethic.

In addition, it seems fitting to also document the Articles of Incorporation of the NAACP, or at least an excerpt of it. The article is important because it, via communication, officially establishes the Association. As such, because an association is an enterprise and endeavor of unity based on a common purpose. The articles begin, "The Association was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York on May 25, 1911." The second paragraph of the articles of incorporation reads:

> That the principal objects for which the corporation is formed are voluntarily to promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States; to advance the interests of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their

children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law (NAACP Articles of Incorporation).

The articles refer to what is the association is called, or named, "The corporate name by which the corporation shall be known is NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE… The territory in which the operations of the corporation are principally to be conducted shall be the United States of America." As such, the articles of incorporation, accordingly, indicate a call-and-response dynamic. The articles establish what the association is to be and do. Thus, the NAACP is to be the "The Association," a multi-member corporate body. As well, the articles call the Association to be a national organization, operating in the United States, and the articles strongly suggest that the Association is to about the advancement of people of color worldwide, and not just Black people in America.

The above mentioned in mind, all told "The Race War in the North," "The Call," the discourses of the Negro National Conference, the Negro National Conference Resolutions, the editorial content of *The Crisis,* and the NAACP Articles of Incorporation are foundational communication artifacts. That said, in addition to the primary sources reviewed above, there are also other works that are foundational to this dissertation. Among them are the treatments of the formation of the NAACP by historians Patrician Sullivan and Charles Flint Kellogg, who pen the most informative and detailed works about the formation of the NAACP. While they do not focus on communication per se, their works by their sheer magnitude touch on the communication artifacts. In *Lift Every Voice: The NAACP and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement,* Sullivan provides a fluid history of the NAACP, framing it as the oldest civil rights organization in America. And by expositing the NAACP as the exemplary civil rights

organization, Sullivan paved the way for understanding the NAACP as a precursory for the renowned mid-twentieth century civil rights movement.

In *NAACP a History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*, Charles Flint Kellogg writes a two-volume history of the NAACP. His work is an important work, for it focuses on the details of the early growth of the NAACP. As such, through his research of the NAACP's reports, Kellogg articulates the particulars about the meetings, and conference where the communication happened. In other words, he puts the communication in context. In addition, Kellogg's emphasis is an important one: That the NAACP was an interracial effort. It was, to be sure, influenced by the leadership of Du Bois, but in addition, it was aided by white leaders like Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villard, William English Wallings, and Morefield Storey. Sullivan and Kellogg are tremendous resources because of the size and intensity of the spotlight on the formation of the NAACP. They effectively, though inadvertently, spotlight the communication and communicative actions that catalyzed the formation of the NAACP. These works are important because they provide a chronological account of the formation of the NAACP, and because they reference the catalog of the communication artifacts of the NAACP.

An exposition of the period leading up to 1909, the year the NAACP was formed, is an important treatment. To be sure, there were dynamics and conditions that influenced the formation of the NAACP. One of the works that offers a solid treatment of that period and the development of that period is *An Army of Lions: The Civil Rights Struggle Before the NAACP.* African American Studies scholar Shawn Leigh Alexander outlines the history before the formation of the NAACP. In so doing, Alexander sets up a framework to interpret the significance of the NAACP. Alexander's historical account focuses on a crucial period of history

regarding black freedom, well-being, progress, and suffrage—the period from Reconstruction to the dawn of the twentieth century. One of the salient points made by Alexander is to highlight how the civil rights movement did not begin in the mid-twentieth century. Alexander centers the role of black activists. As a result, his work casts a light on the role of those who function as public communicators, such as T. Thomas Fortune, William Monroe Trotter, Frederick McGhee, Jesse Lawson, Lewis G. Jordan, Kelly Miller, George H. White, Booker T. Washinton, and others (xiii). Alexander also underscores the work of those like Bishop Alexander Walters, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, who labor before the formation of the NAACP and take part in the formation of the NAACP. As such, Alexander's work provides insight into the people and projects that influence the inchoate culture of the NAACP.

There are also works that offer an account of the NAACP during the mid-twentieth century. Teisha Dupree-Wilson and Thomas Bynum offer treatments with regard to the impact of the NAACP during the mid-twentieth century. Both point to the role of the NAACP in the period after the early twentieth century moment, during which the NAACP developed. In "Killing 'Dixie': The NAACP, the Black Press, and the Crusade to End Black Caricature Culture in Hollywood in Hollywood, 1950-1969" historian Teisha Dupree-Wilson writes about the function of *The Crisis* in one corridor of the social square, entertainment. Thomas Bynum provides a treatment of the role of youth in the NAACP. In *NAACP Youth and the Fight for Black Freedom, 1936–1965*, Bynum examines the direct action organizing of the NAACP youth, describing them as activists who contributed to the anti-lynching crusades in the 1930s and to the breakdown of racial discrimination. In addition, Bynum points to the other potential adjunct areas of scholarship—namely, the communication of the NAACP Youth, and the communication of direct-action organizing. As well, Bynum's work spotlights a woman, Juanita Jackson, who from

1935-1938 was the NAACP's youth director. As such, his work reminds us that the NAACP was not only interracial, but also the leadership included contribution of women and men. What is more, Bynum's work spotlights the gaps in scholarship that this project hopes to fill.

In *Keep On Keeping On: The NAACP and the Implementation of Brown v. Board of Education in Virginia*, Brian J. Daugherity explores the efforts to implement equality in Virginia after the Supreme Court Brown v Board of Education decision. In so doing, Daugherity lays out the comprehensive, multilayered work of the NAACP at both the national, statewide, and local levels. Bynum blends social, legal, southern, and African American history. In that regard, his work is important because of its multidisciplinarity. In *Roy Wilkins: The Quiet Revolutionary and the NAACP*, Yvonne Ryan writes another work that speaks to the legacy of the NAACP. Similarly to the work of Daugherity, Bynum, and Dupree-Wilson; Ryan's biographical work points to the endurance of the NAACP as an organization, and what is more the growth and success of the NAACP under Roy Wilkins' leadership. Ryan's work focuses on the legacy of Roy Wilkins who spent twenty years leading the NAACP as the executive [field] secretary, and forty-six years overall in service with the NAACP.

There are some works that more directly deal with the communication of the NAACP and some works that deal with its rhetoric. For instance, Sondra K Wilson wrote *The Crisis Reader: Stories, Poetry, and Essays from the N.A.A.C.P.'s Crisis Magazine* about certain pivotal writings and artifacts published in *The Crisis*. Wilson curated a collection of essays, short stories and poems written during the Harlem Renaissance. As such, Wilson's book is indispensable in terms of elucidating "polyvocation" one of the practices of the call-and-response communication ethics. In "The History and Rhetoric of the NAACP: The Origins" the authors, Stephen Collins and Katherine Scott Sturdevant write about the origins of the NAACP noting that "the NAACP

had both a chronological history and a rhetorical history" (Collins and Sturdevant 12). Their point is you can trace the history of the NAACP by exploring the communication of the NAACP. In "Negro Intellectual Leadership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People" sociologist Wilson Record writes about the role of black intellectuals. He wrote about "the emergence and tempering of Negro intellectual leadership in the NAACP" and the role of that leadership in racial relations in America (375). In the article "Un-Presidented" Stephynie Chapman Perkins, from as standpoint at the intersection of communication and public relations, explores the NAACP's messages to mobilize minority voters during the 2000 Presidential Election.

In addition, there are a number of articles from the standpoint of rhetorical analysis. Diane M. Harney in "Laying the Groundwork for a Movement: *The Crisis* Editorials as Definition 1910-1911" explores the persuasive functions of the first-year editorials of *The Crisis*, the monthly magazine of the NAACP. Allison Prasch in "Toward a Rhetorical Theory of Deixis" analyzes Harry S. Truman's Address to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to advance a rhetorical theory of deixis—which is the practice of situating communication and action in time. Communication scholars Timothy J. Brown and Rita Rahoi-Gilchrest in "Postmodern Personas in Combat: The NAACP and the Reverend Benjamin Chavis" examine the organizational conflict in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Maxine Schnitzer Ferris in "The Speaking of Roy Wilkins" outlines how Roy Wilkins used ethos, pathos, and logos in his speeches as he and the NAACP addressed the mistreatment of Black levee camp workers under the Mississippi Flood Control Project. Kirt H. Wilson in "Interpreting the Discursive Field of the Montgomery Bus Boycott: Martin Luther

King Jr.' Holt Street Address" explores the Montgomery bus boycott as a rhetorical phenomenon, by analyzing the protest's first oration.

Research on Rhetoric of Civil Rights Address

In addition, in areas of inquiry adjacent to the study of the NAACP, are subjects like the Civil Rights Movement (CRM), the movement for social justice, and the New Negro Movement. In that vein, Paula S. Tompkins in "A Communication Ethics Exploration of Justice and Community" explores the tension between individualism and community in American society and how it raises issues of justice. Andre Johnson in "My Sanctified Imagination: Carter G. Woodson and a Speculative (Rhetorical) History of African American Public Address, 1925-1960" explores how Carter G. Woodson challenged the dominant (exclusively white) notions of public address and rhetorical praxis, by analyzing Woodson's introduction in the book *Negro Orators and Their Orations*. Further still, Stephen A King and Roger Davis Gatchet in "Marking the Past: Civil Rights Tourism and the Mississippi Freedom Trail," write about the narratives that shape understanding of Mississippi's civil rights history, by among other things focusing on the disconnections between the past and present.

Martin N. Freedman in "Social Movements: Rhetorical Acts and Strategies" examines the rhetoric of black leaders to black audiences, black leaders like Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Langston Hughes, Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., James Farmer, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and others, who successfully and unsuccessfully employed rhetoric to make appeals in the attempt to mobilize people for action. In the Department of Communication and Rhetorical Studies at Duquesne University, Fendrich R. Clark wrote a dissertation, "W.E.B. Du Bois and The Rhetoric of Social Change, 1897-1907" on the credibility, appeals, and logic of the social change rhetoric of W.E.B. Du Bois.

Heritage and Legacy of NAACP

Even informed students associate the NAACP with the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) of the 1950s and 1960s. This is because so many efforts, enterprises, and endeavors branch off from the NAACP stump. Particularly with respect to the way that other organizations and associations employ both communication and communication ethics. For example, the NAACP influences the New Negro Movement, written about by Alain Locke. Not to mention, the endeavors like the Montgomery Improvement Association and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and even the Legal Defense Fund furcate from the NAACP. Not to mention many leaders of the CRM of the 1950s, 1960s, and beyond were associated with the NAACP. Leaders such as: James Weldon Johnson, a key figure of Harlem Renaissance, composer of "Lift Every Voice and Sing" and executive secretary of the NAACP; Medgar Evers, a Mississippi field officer of the NAACP; Charles Hamilton Houston, the first general counsel of the NAACP; Thurgood Marshall who was the chief of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund as well as the architect of the Brown v Board of Ed Supreme Court Case; Rosa Parks, who led the youth division of the Montgomery branch of the NAACP; Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP for four decades; Julian Bond, board chair of the NAACP. There is a great deal of scholarship linked on the history of the NAACP. In this way, it is important to make mention of the scholarship of the Civil Rights Movement that is in some way attendant to the rhetorical and philosophical heritage and legacy of the NAACP.

Public Address in the Civil Rights Movement

Political Science scholar Mark Vail, like a number of scholars, studies the speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr. In particular, Vail examines King's "I Have a Dream Speech" as fitting for the rhetorical situation. Anne Kretsinger-Harries in "Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Second

Emancipation Proclamation: Reimagining Prudence through Commemoration" writes about King's issuance of a second emancipation proclamation through a series of public speeches delivered and through a 60-page appeal memorandum to President John F. Kennedy. She examines the historical moment to provide spotlight on how commemoration creates opportunities for advocacy. Haig A. Bosmajian and Hamida Bosmajian edited the book entitled "Rhetoric of the Civil Rights Movement" in which they analyze seven examples of rhetoric during the CRM circa 1962-1967, such as the *Letter from a Birmingham Jail,* the debate between Malcolm X and James Farmer, Roy Wilkins keynote address at the NAACP Annual Convention in Los Angeles, and Stokely Carmichael's pamphlet on *Power and Racism.* In addition, there is the work *We Want Our Freedom: Rhetoric of the Civil Rights Movement* by W. Stuart Towns, who studies a collection of speeches and in so doing studies the conditions that made the CRM necessary. He studies speeches that include the supporters of civil rights as well as the defenders of segregation, ultimately expositing that the CRM was able to succeed in its efforts.

Religion vis-à-vis The Civil Rights Movement

There are works that touch upon the heritage and legacy of the NAACP through the lens of religion. Kenyatta Gilbert, though a scholar of Homiletics, writes a compelling work, *A Pursued Justice: Black Preaching from the Great Migration to Civil Rights* a work that pivots off of the recognition that the CRM did not begin with Martin Luther King, Jr. in the 1960s. He traces the roots of King's prophetic oratory to an early moment in history, an epoch that began in the aftermath of the deconstruction of Reconstruction. In the two-volume series entitled *Rhetoric, Religion, and the Civil Rights Movement 1954-1964*, co-editors Davis W. Houck and David E. Dixon promote the idea that the success of the CRM was due to the use of rhetorical appeals grounded in the Judeo-Christian religious tradition.

Civil Rights Public Speech by Women

In addition, there are a number of works that cover the oratory and public address by women of the Civil Rights Movement. Maegan Parker Brooks writes in "Opposition Ethos: Fannie Lou Hamer and the Vernacular Persona" which offers a rhetorical analysis of the speeches of Fannie Lou Hamer, who was a leading figure during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. Richard Digby-Junger writes in "The Guardian, The Crisis, Messenger and Negro World about publication in the battle for civil rights. Anna Dudney Deeb, in "Activating Transnational Advocacy Networks: Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Mainstreaming Antilynching" writes about Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a founder of the NAACP, is a rhetor, arguing that Wells-Barnett's dispatches to and through the *Chicago Daily* evidence how rhetors can mainstream social justice through what is termed a transnational rhetorical movement. Marilyn Bordwell DeLaure, in "Planting Seeds of Change: Ella Baker's Radical Rhetoric" explores how Ella Baker adapted rhetoric to audience and context, employing persuasion, critique, listening, inviting, and fostering reciprocal engagement.

Preview of Scholars and Scholarship

As part of the overview of scholarship, this work also includes a preview of some of the scholars and scholarship to be used. First and foremost, this work bases on a rhetorical analysis of certain artifacts, such as "The Call," and such as the discourses of the Negro National Conference, and such as the content of *The Crisis.* Those primary sources speak volumes. In addition, there are a number of scholars whose work is pivotal in the constructive hermeneutic interpretation of the communication phenomenon. The key scholars are Geneva Smitherman (*call-response*), Leyla Tavernaro-Haidarian ("ubuntu communication ethics"), Brian Meeks (civism). José Ortega y Gasset ("disassociation"), and Arnett, Fritz, and Bell (communication

ethics). Also, this work features insights of a number of Black public intellectuals who describe the manifestations of the problem of disassociation around the time of the early twentieth century. Those persons are Frederick Douglass and W.E.B Du Bois (both concerning disassociation in terms of the color line), Ida B. Wells-Barnett (concerning disassociation that leads to pervasive lynching), Mary Church Terrell (concerning disassociation that leads to segregation, even in the capital of the United States), and Anna Julia Cooper (concerning disassociation that leads the double-pronged prejudice experienced by Black women). Further, there are other scholars whose work is not previewed, but figure prominently, nonetheless. Worthy of note is that many of the scholars were chosen for the following reasons: The first reason is the relevance to the focus of this project; the second concerns the privileging of the perspective of Black persons in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century epoch; the third concerns the interest in further situating certain scholars and in situating new scholars; and four, scholars that make salient significance of the NAACP..

Scholarship Regarding Communication Ethics

Additionally, there are a number of communication ethics works we will employ. First and foremost, we look to three works: *Communication Ethics Literacy* (Arnett, Fritz, and Holba), *A Relational Model of Public Discourse: The African Philosophy of Ubuntu* (Tavernaro-Haidarian), and *Culture, Politics, Race and Diaspora: The Thought of Stuart Hall* (Meeks). We look to the insights of Arnett, Fritz, and Bell for two predominant reasons. The first reason concerns how the authors frame communication ethics as an applied philosophy of communication. The second reason is because they make salient the coordinates of communication ethics, three of which anchor this inquiry. We look to the book *A Relational Model of Public Discourse* because describes what could be terms an "ubuntu communication

ethics." And we look to *Culture, Politics, Race and Diaspora* because Meeks nominates a term, *civism*, to describe the kind of civic mindedness that kindles communication and action.

Regarding the former reason, the authors refer to communication ethics as based on an interplay between applied communication and philosophy of communication. In a basic sense, applied communication refers to the function and effects of communication in interpersonal, social, public, professional, or organizational situations. Further, applied communication refers to communication as it relates to the addressal of issues (Carmack). Philosophy of communication, according to Arnett, Fritz, and Bell, refers to the "why" of communication action (27). Accordingly, Arnett, Fritz, and Bell describe communication ethics as the revealed or discerned understanding of the good applied in the interaction with others (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell 26). That is, communication ethics is the communication that emerges from the interaction between the "why" and "how" of communication.

This understanding of communication ethics is applicable to this inquiry of the NAACP. The discourses of the NAACP are kindled by communication ethics; they are forms of applied communication that emerge from a philosophy of communication. For example, the article "The Race War in the North" published in *The Independent* is a form of applied communication. The philosophy of communication is indicated in Walling's contention that the "spirit of the abolitionists… must be revived" and is indicated in his provocative question, "what large and powerful body will come to their [the Negroes] aid?" (Walling 534). In addition, "The Call" which was published in *The New York Evening Post* is a form of applied communication. The philosophy of communication of "The Call" is implied in the contention by Oswald Garrison Villard:

> Besides a day of rejoicing, Lincoln's birthday in 1909 should be one of taking stock of the nation's progress since 1865. How far has it lived up to the obligations imposed upon it by the Emancipation Proclamation? How far has it gone in assuring to each and every citizen, irrespective of color, the equality of opportunity and equality before the law, which underlie our American institutions and are guaranteed by the Constitution? (Villard "The Call").

The philosophy of communication refers to the inspiration and aspiration of communication. The inspiration of "The Call" was Lincoln's birthday, the aspiration of "The Call" was to prompt critical reflection of Lincoln's legacy. That is, "The Call" invites critical reflection in light of the centenary of Lincoln's birthday and seeks to inspire actions that base consistent with Lincoln's intentions.

In addition, *The Crisis* is a communication ethics publication; it is a publication and therefore a form of applied communication; and it derives out of a philosophy of communication. The communication ethics is alluded to be Sondra K Wilson, in the book *The Crisis Reader,* and also by W.E.B. Du Bois in the "Editorial" of the first issue of *The Crisis.* Historian Sondra K. Wilson wrote about how the brilliance and effectiveness of the writings of *The Crisis* presented "a principal objective of *The Crisis*: To break the stubborn stereotype that had misrepresented and malformed implicitly every external view of African American life (Wilson xx). That is, according to Wilson, one of the communication ethics "goods" animating *The Crisis* related to how literature of *The Crisis* inspired the "New Negro" ethic (Locke). According to Wilson, the connection between Black writers and White publishers, as evidenced in *The Crisis,* helped bring about the "New Negro" movement (Wilson xxi). That is to say, *The Crisis* gave rise to the early

twentieth century movement of self-definition and social redefinition by Black people through efficacious arts, literature, politics, scholarship, and music.

Du Bois also made plain the communication ethics of *The Crisis* in the "Editorial" section of the first issue of *The Crisis*. To be precise Du Bois wrote about the objective of *The Crisis,* however in real sense he inferred the applied philosophy of communication, or the communication ethics of *The Crisis*:

> It will first and foremost be a newspaper: it will record important happenings and movements in the world which bear on the great problem of interracial relations, and especially those which affect the Negro-American. Secondly, it will be a review of opinion and literature, recording briefly books, articles, and important expressions of opinion in the white and colored press on the race problem. Thirdly, it will publish a few short articles. Finally, its editorial page will stand for the rights of men, irrespective of color or race, for the highest ideals of American democracy, and for reasonable but earnest and persistent attempts to gain these rights and realize these ideals (Du Bois "Editorial" 10).

As per the stated objective, *The Crisis* was comprised of a number of forms of applied communication—a newspaper, a review, a journal, and an editorial. Each of these communication ethics-based means of communication.

For example, the work of Arnett, Fritz, and Bell make clear the coordinates of communication ethics. As such, can appropriate those coordinates to explain call-and-response communication ethics. In addition, we look to the insights of *Communication Ethics Literacy* because of how the authors makes salient the coordinates of communication ethics, such as *multiplicity of communication ethics, philosophy of communication, applied communication,*

narrative, historical moment, and the good. Three communication ethics coordinates anchor this inquiry: The negotiation of difference; promotion of goods; and attentiveness to the question of the given historical moment (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell). That is, is dissertation is attentive to the problem that early twentieth century moment, which is nominated as "the problem of disassociation." In addition, this dissertation is attentive to the way that difference is negotiation by forming association. The dissertation is attentive to the promotion and prioritization of goods amid the multiplicity of goods. In addition to using *Communication Ethics Literacy*, we also use *A Relational Model of Public Discourse: The African Philosophy of Ubuntu* (Tavernaro-Haidarian) and *Culture, Politics, Race and Diaspora: The Thought of Stuart Hall* by Brian Meeks.

In the book, Leyla Tavernaro-Haidarian writes about the approach to public discourse grounded in the African philosophy of ubuntu, employed in South African, after the dismantling of apartheid. In more ways than one, this application of ubuntu philosophy About the putative "ubuntu communication ethics" Tavernaro-Haidarian wrote that the communication drew "on the deep sense of relationalism that informed South Africa's post-apartheid reconciliatory stance and much of its public discourse… largely characterized by 'unifying words and symbols'" (14). As such Tavernaro-Haidarian exposits and promotes an ubuntu influenced way of thinking and communicating, promoting ways of communicating and acting that supports cooperation and harmony, in societal structures and in social interaction. The approach was rooted in the ubuntu philosophy described "a value that is both descriptive of the way we are inherently bound together and prescriptive for how one is to realize one's true self specifically in terms of communal, harmonious or cohesive relationships with others" (Tavernaro-Haidarian 14). Using the coordinates made salient by Arnett, Fritz, and Bell, it is apparent that Tavernaro-Haidarian

explained this "ubuntu communication ethics" as emerging out of the post-apartheid historical moment, as a means to negotiate the racial differences and tensions, and as a means to promote the good of unification and cohesive relationality.

While Tavernaro-Haidarian is referring to the potential applications of this "ubuntu communication ethics" this dissertation suggests that the framework can elucidate the communication ethics at work in the conception, formation, and performance of the NAACP. Tavernaro-Haidarian elucidates how an ubuntu-based approach toward public discourse inclines toward "harmony and complementarity" and suggests how the model could extend to many forms of media and discourse" (15). Tavernaro-Haidarian's insights are useful for two chief reasons: One, because call-and-responses communications effectuates association; and two, because "ubuntu communication ethics" can be used in a number of forms of discourse and media.

Worthy of note is that the call-and-response communications ethics of the NAACP effectuates association. Association, simply put, refers to the civic endeavor and enterprise that is based on the action of coming together for a common purpose. Tavernaro-Haidarian refers to the "cohesive attitude of ubuntu" and writes about how ubuntu philosophy facilitates "harmonious interactions between diverse individuals" (Tavernaro-Haidarian 16). Given this description, suffice to say that there is a nexus between association and ubuntu philosophy. In addition, keep in mind that "ubuntu communication ethics" can be used in a number of forms of discourse and media. The call-and-response communication ethics of the NAACP produces a variety of discourses and a variety of media that kindled the NAACP. Tavernaro-Haidarian's insights help us to examine the variety of discourses and media kindled by the call-and-response communication ethics of the NAACP. As such, we see how the ubuntu communication ethics

kindles the newspaper articles, the call, the addresses, the speeches, the letters, the resolutions, and the editorials. The discourses, in turn, effectuates the conception, formation, and performance of the NAACP. And the ubuntu-based communication ethics is also what drives the variety of media (magazine, newspaper, conference proceedings publications) that kindled the conception, formation, and performance of the NAACP.

It is not evident that the bourgeoning association is conscious, conversant with, and cognizant of ubuntu philosophy per se. It is evident that the early association employed ways of thinking and acting that were akin to the ways of thinking and acting employed in post-apartheid South Africa. Duma Mhlongo and Gregory Alexander write about ubuntu as a basis for collaborative engagement basis in "Sustaining a Democratic Culture through Collaborative Engagements for Citizens with disabilities, writing, "[a]ptly the word, 'ubuntu,' belongs to a group of Nguni dialects. It loosely means humanity,' yet it richly signifies and promotes a visible sense of political collaboration between members of a community (123). This way of thinking and acting is evident in the discourses of the NAACP. For instance, this ubuntu ethics is evident in the use of "we" in the Resolutions of the Negro National Conference. The Resolutions begin, "[w]e denounce the ever-growing oppression of our 10,000,000 colored fellow citizens as the greatest menace that threatens the country." The Resolutions continue:

> We agree fully with the prevailing opinion that the transformation of the unskilled colored laborers in industry and agriculture into skilled workers is of vital importance to that race and to the nation, but we demand for the Negroes, as for all others, a free and complete education, whether by city, State or nation, a grammar school and industrial training for all and technical, professional, and academic education for the most gifted

The Resolution continue, "[w]e regard with grave concern the attempt manifest South and North to deny black men the right to work and to enforce this demand by violence and bloodshed." The use of the pronoun "we" communicates how the discourses are the collective voices of many, rather than the speech of one. In addition, the use of the pronoun "we" communicated that the co-signers of "The Call" and the conferees of the Negro National Conference identified themselves in the problem and in the resolution of the problem. In addition, in the article "The Race War in the North" Walling calls for a "large and powerful body." In "The Call" Villard calls for all believers in democracy. The "body" is a metaphor that refers to organized group who have a common purpose, such as an association, organization, or corporation. Therefore, the "word" correlates with ubuntu philosophy. Concomitantly, the word "body" connects with other related metaphors, such organ which is what *The Crisis* magazine is, or members, which is what the associates of the association are. The

The similarities between apartheid in South Africa and Jim Crow in the United States is evident. Both involved systematic racial segregation and discrimination. Both were a codified system of racialized segregation and exclusion. In this way, according to Tavernaro-Haidarian, communication promotes courses of action that achieve diversity and find common ground.

Scholarship with Regard to the Problem of Disassociation

In this work, the problem being highlighted and explored is what is termed 'the problem of disassociation. Though this will be further elucidated in the next section of this chapter, the problem of disassociation is described as the work of undoing association and the state of undone association. The recognition of the problem rests on a threefold awareness. The first awareness is that that people are inherently parts of associations (of many kinds) and that this country is a cooperation of differing associations (organization, societies, unions, and group). The second

awareness is that associations have, at times, been undone, and in some cases are in the process of being undone. The third awareness is that problem of disassociation, in this dissertation, is deemed as a superordinate problem that encompasses a number of related, blatant sociopolitical problems such segregation, disqualification, disenfranchisement, disunion, alienation, division, and polarization.

As such, there are a number of scholars that have been selected to further describe the problem of disassociation are those who are kinds of public philosophers who effectively use communication. What are public philosophers? In *Public Philosophy: Essays on Morality in Politics*, Michael J. Sandel defines public philosophers as those who find in the social, political, and legal controversies of a time in history the occasion to bring applied ethics to bear in and through public discourse (Sandel 5). As such, elucidate the problem of disassociation, we look to function like public philosophers. Such as Jose Ortega y Gassett. Some of those are Black public philosophers who described the manifestations of the problems of disassociation around the time of the early twentieth century historical moment, such as Frederick Douglass, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Anna Julia Cooper, Mary Church Terrell, and W.E.B. Du Bois.

Scholarship with Regard to Call-and-Response

The conception and formation of the NAACP emerges from communication fostered by a communication ethic—call-and-response communication ethics. In the simplest sense, call-and-response communication is an interplay of call-and-response and communication ethics. Accordingly, an elucidation of call-and-response is necessary. To do so, we employ the following works: *Talkin and Testifyin: The Language of Black America* (Smitherman), the *Call of Conscience* (Hyde), and *Call: Eloquence in Service of the Truth* (Smith and Hyde).

The approach also includes an emphasis and elucidation on call-and-response. In this work, call-and-response refers to two primary things: The vocative appeal that inspires multi-vocational communicative action and communication; and the way in which something is called/named and the call/name it to be lived out or lived up to.

The Method: A Communication Ethics Approach to Inquiry

This dissertation employs a method or an approach to inquiry. In this part of the foundation, I explain the philosophical underpinning of the approach and outline my specific methodological choices. This part informs readers about the "how" (manner) of the study and the "why" of the study. This part of the foundation chapter will be a comprehensive description and justification of the methodological choices I made to study this phenomenon. This part of the foundation, concomitantly, outlines the method in such a way that it demonstrates how it builds on previous studies, previews the implications for further research, and indicates how interested parties can use this approach, and extend the insights.

This dissertation employs an approach grounded in communication ethics. As such, the concept of question or problem is central. In *Truth and Method*, Gadamer refers to the importance of a public question. According to *Communication Ethics Literacy* (Arnet, Fritz, and Bell), questions are indispensable. They wrote:

> A historical moment announces itself by the questions that require our attention; how we answer those questions shapes our lives and offers us identity. A brief, general historical outline provides an intellectual genealogy of some of these ideas of the good as they emerge as questions in given historical moments… In different historical moments, questions arise that propel thinkers to explore answers to these perennial questions (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell 11)

For example, the aforementioned article “The Race War in the North” elucidates the problem of racial violence. The aforementioned discourse “The Call” explores inequality, lack of opportunity, disenfranchisement, under education, and lawless attacks. According to the first editorial *The Crisis* emerged out of communication ethics, by attending to the problem, and by using a diversity of perspectives and modes of communication. In the first issue of *The Crisis*, in November 1910, Du Bois wrote that *Crisis* would be part newspaper, recording the problem of interracial relations, review books, articles, and important expressions of opinion that take up the race problem, part journal publishing articles, and part editorial that will stand for the rights of men, irrespective of color or race, for the highest ideals of American democracy, and for the attempts to gain these rights (Du Bois “Editorial”). This implies an applied communication ethics approach. The recognition of the importance of *The Crisis* is suggested in the mission statement of *The Crisis*, discourses that ranged from accounts of achievements to accounts about lynchings. In fact, in the first ten years of publication, *The Crisis* had whole issues devoted to a number of subject matters of that historical moment, from labor issues, to education, to Black enfranchisement to women’s suffrage.

As such, this work posits that the NAACP was formed by a particular kind of communication ethics—call-and-response communication ethics, rooted in civism. That said, this pushes off the recognition that there are a number of kinds of communication ethics. As such, this work looks to the work *A Relational Model of Public Discourse: The African Philosophy of Ubuntu* by Leyla Tavernaro-Haidarian. In addition, we use *Culture, Politics, Race and Diaspora: The Thought of Stuart Hall* by Brian Meeks. As well the work of James W. Chesebro, who wrote “A Construct for Assessing Ethics in Communication.” And finally, the work Arnett; Arnett, Arneson, and Bell). From Chesebro, we get the various kinds of

communication ethics, namely Democratic Communication ethics, Universal-humanitarian communication ethics, Contextual communication ethics, and Narrative communication ethics, dialogic communication ethics. From Arnett, Arneson, and Bell, we established communication ethics as an approach that is attentive to three coordinates: The problem of a historical moment, the negotiation of difference, and the promotion of goods.

Accordingly, in this work, we extend the work of the aforementioned scholars and scholarship, positing that there is also a call-and-response communication ethics—a communication ethic process that begins with a vocative appeal that provokes and convokes persons of different voices and vocations to co-respond to the question of a historical moment through discursive correspondence and communicative action. What is more, we posit that a way to describe the character of the discourse generated by call-and-response communication ethics is speak about it relative to what can be termed "ubuntu communication ethic" which is an approach to communication rooted in the African moral praxis of ubuntu, which according to Tavernaro-Haidarian is commonly understood by the phrase "I am because we are." Tavernaro-Haidarian described this communication ethic in three ways. The first way is as the post-apartheid reconciliatory discourse characterized by unifying words and symbols. The second way is as a way of communicating based on the values of Ubuntu which is recognizes how "we are inherently bound together" and how we realize self in terms of "communal, harmonious or cohesive relationships with others." And the third way Tavernaro-Haidarian describes this ubuntu communication ethic is that it is a way of engaging whereby "diversity flourishes" by favoring "relational approaches to governance and communication" (Tavernaro-Haidarian 9). Tavernaro-Haidarian offers a fresh way of not only characterizing communication ethics, but a

way of employing communication ethics in discourse. The argument is that a part of what animates the communication ethics of the NAACP is a version of ubuntu communication.

We learn from Tavernaro-Haidarian's work of the importance and role of communication. Tavernaro-Haidarian researches and exposits the public discourse in the post-apartheid, in a way that is not only descriptive, but also instructive. Tavernaro-Haidarian describes the public discourse in the time before the establishment of and during the functioning of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established to promote healing and reconciliation of the people of South Africa, by the revelation of the hard truths about the state-sponsored human rights violations and atrocities under the system of apartheid. Tavernaro-Haidarian explains how the effort leading up to the establishment of the commission was an effort of collaboration that navigated the tension between accountability and amnesty. The effort leading up to the decision to establish the commission including public discourse, discussion, and dialogue by representatives from more than fifty organizations, taking place over a year. The process took longer than a year leading to the landmark legislation that established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission—the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995.

As such, by virtue of Tavernaro-Haidarian's work, we learn of the importance and the role of communication. What is more, we learn of the import of communication ethics. Tavernaro-Haidarian, a communication studies scholar, describes ubuntu as a value, that trans

In addition to using the brilliant scholarship of Tavernaro-Haidarian, we also use the work of Brian Meeks. In *Culture, Politics, Race and Diaspora: The Thought of Stuart Hall* Meeks writes on the civism is described a project to rescue the idea of public interest, to restore the category of the citizen, and to promote the norm of civism as an autonomous citizen-based

activity for the common good (Meeks 189). Meeks' treatment of civism offers a concept to also explain the orientation of the call-and-response communication ethics of the NAACP. The NAACP is an association, but rather the Association is a civic association. As such, civism is a term that describes the civic constitution and inclination of the association. For that matter, it describes the orientation of every kind of gathering of that NAACP, the gatherings that lead to the conception, establishment, and performance of the NAACP, from the small group meetings, to the committee meetings, to the conferences. The gatherings of the inchoate NAACP are shaped by ethic civism.

That said, in addition to the aforementioned, there are a number of scholars and a great deal of scholarship that will be used to ground this project in communication ethics and will be used to facilitate the understanding of communication ethics. For example, we draw on the insights of Richard Johannesen in *Ethics in Human Communication*, as well as those of Melissa A. Cook and Annette M. Holba in *Philosophies of Communication: Implications of Everyday Experience.* In addition, we draw on the insights of Ronald C. Arnett, Pat Arneson, and Leanne Bell, in "Communication Ethics: The Dialogic Turn." Further, we draw on the insights in *Dialogic Civility in a Cynical Age* (Arnett and Arneson) and *Communication Theory Through the Ages.* We draw upon these works to help elucidate the communication ethics in the discourse of the emergent NAACP.

Johannesen, according to Cook and Holba, as well as others, wrote a comprehensive and constructive work regarding what is referred to as communication ethics. According to Cook and Holba, Johannesen's work is particularly helpful because in it, he provides an outline as well as treatment of communication ethics from a variety of perspectives. In *Ethics in Human Communication* Johannesen writes:

> "[p]otential ethical issues are inherent in any instance of communication between humans to the degree that the communication can be judged on a right-wrong dimension, that it involved possible significance on humans, and that the communication consciously chooses specific ends sought and communicative means to achieve these ends (2).

Johannesen's work is particularly helpful as we explore communication ethics in a unique communication phenomenon—the formation of the NAACP in the early twentieth century historical moment. While there are a number of discourses and artifacts associated with the formation and performance of the early NAACP, in light Johannsen's coordinates for communication ethics, read the official articles of incorporation of the NAACP, from May 25, 1911:

> That the principal objects for which the corporation is formed are voluntarily to promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States; to advance the interests of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law (NAACP Articles of Incorporation).

This document clearly articulates communication ethics. To be sure, as per Johannsen, the communicative discourse (the articles of incorporation) and the communicative action (forming an association) involved all of the coordinates outlined by Johannsen. It involved communication between humans--interracial and intra-racial communication, speech, and discussion. Further the articles of incorporation also involved significance—the imperilment, immiseration, and disenfranchisement of millions of African Americans at the turn of the twentieth century. Furthermore, the articles of incorporation involved the conscious and conscientious decisions

about particular ends and means; the ends relate to the establishment of an effectual multi-diverse civic association maintained to promote the full citizenship and equality of African Americans. Moreover, the means to achieve those ends are evident, and are certainly communication—they employ communicative discourse and communicative action to achieve those ends. All of this implies a communication ethics.

In addition, in the book *Philosophies of Communication: Implications of Everyday Experience*, Cook and Holba state that "communication ethics involves choices, duty, obligation, right and wrong and how one makes a decision and then articulates it to another" (xix). They add that "communication ethics is ethics in action (xxi). The point is an important one, because whether we explore the communication of the NAACP as interpersonal, or intercultural, or as organizational, or as corporate, or as public relations, two things are clear. One, it is clear that with regard to the NAACP, communication develops in the space "between philosophy of communication and communication ethics" (Cook and Holba xxii). Two, it is clear that with regard to the formation of the NAACP an ethical sensibility drives communicative action and the communicative practices.

In the article "Communication Ethics: The Dialogic Turn" (Arnett, Arneson, and Bell) outline the scholarship and the books that take up the subject of communication ethics. One such contribution they spotlight in the article is particularly helpful in explaining the communication ethics-based approach of this dissertation. It is the foreword to *Dialogic Civility in a Cynical Age: Community Hope and Interpersonal Relationship* (Arnett and Arneson). In the foreword, Julia T. Wood writes about how the authors "propose a model grounded in historicality, which is best understood as a willingness to meet the demands of a particular moment" (p. xiii).

The Plan of Research: A Rhetorical Analysis of Certain Communicative Artifacts of the NAACP

This dissertation follows a plan of research. Writ large, this dissertation is a study of the NAACP. Needless to say, there are a myriad of ways to research the NAACP. This project looks back at and into a point in history, the early twentieth century moment during which the NAACP was formed. However, the plan of research focuses on communication. It explores the formation of the NAACP from a standpoint that is attentive to the role of communication. It is research of what is referred to as discourses of the NAACP. This project explores and examines the discourses that develop the NAACP and that emerge from the NAACP. As such, this dissertation is an exploration of a historical development that is, to be sure, a communicative phenomenon.

To be more precise the plan of research is to use rhetorical analysis to examine and interpret certain discourses of the NAACP, including but not limited to the following "The Call" by Oswald Garrison Villard; the discourses (addresses, speeches, discussion, resolutions, and letters) of the Negro National Conference; certain content of *The Crisis;* and certain reflections on the significance of the NAACP and *The Crisis* by leading figures like Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, and James Farmer.

That said, the question is raised: Why study the formation of the NAACP? In short, it is for two reasons: One, because of the important applications regarding communication evidence in and by the formation of the NAACP; and two, because of the implications regarding communication for this current historical moment. In addition, the NAACP is a significant organization. Consider its significance with respect to other civic associations. The NAACP is older than the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which was founded in 1920. The formation of the NAACP preceded that of the National Urban League, which was founded in 1910. The NAACP was a forerunner to the Montgomery Improvement Association (founded in 1955) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (founded in 1957), two organizations

led by the renowned Martin Luther King, Jr. Not to mention, the NAACP succeeded where the Niagara Movement (1905-1909) did not. This dissertation also explores a pivotal point in history—the early twentieth century. An epoch in between the Supreme Court Plessy versus Ferguson decision of 1896 and the Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka Kansas decision of 1954.

In addition, another reason to study the NAACP is because it offers an opportunity to learn about and from the Negro National Conference 1909 (NNC). Although the NCC is a lesser-known occurrence and phenomenon, the NNC precipitates the NAACP. It was at the NNC that the NAACP was conceived. In addition, the vocative appeal entitled "The Call" summoned people to the NNC. communicative gathering, a conference, is noteworthy and significant. At the conference, there were a number of forms of communication: Addresses, speeches, discussions, resolutions, and letters. In addition, the NNC was attended by a select group of persons who were influential in the early twentieth century moment. Some of those persons have been situated in the field of communication, such as W.E.B. Du Bois, John Dewey, Mary W. Ovington, Jane Addams, Bishop Alexander Walters, and Ida Wells-Barnett.

The plan of research is based on a rhetorical analysis of discourses, in order to highlight the influence and significance of communication ethics. The section on method contains an exposition of communication ethics. However, given that rhetorical analysis is employed, it is helpful to offer a treatment of rhetoric. In this respect, rhetorical analysis is a tool, not to highlight rhetoric per se, but rather rhetorical analysis is employed to highlight communication ethics. What is meant by rhetorical analysis? Like all analyses, rhetorical analysis involves breaking down a whole. In this way, rhetorical analysis involves the breakdown of

communication, in order to explore, examine, and elucidate the significance of said communication.

In this dissertation, the following are some ways analysis will be used. Firstly, discourses are broken down—that is, words, metaphors, and texts are broken down. Secondly, the discourses are broken down in a number of ways—as calls, addresses, speeches, discussion, resolutions, letters, mission statements, and reflections. In addition, the discourses are broken down according to representative discourses; not every single discourse is analyzed, however exemplary discourses are analyzed. In addition, the discourses are broken down according to thematic excerpts that characterize the discourse and that indicate communication ethics. The fact that the development of the NAACP is regarded as a communicative phenomenon is evidence of rhetorical analysis. The fact the communication of the NAACP is broken down into forms of communication—like addresses, speeches, calls, and resolutions—is evidence of rhetorical analysis. The fact that discourses are excerpted and that those excerpts are used as thematic quotes is evidence of rhetorical analysis.

How else can we explain rhetorical analysis with respect to this dissertation? Though speaking more about rhetorical criticism or rhetorical analysis of literature, rhetorician Edward Corbett's explanation is a helpful one to explain rhetorical analysis in the way employed in this dissertation. In *Rhetorical Analyses of Literary Works,* Corbett explained that "[rhetorical criticism] is more interested in a literary work for what it does than for what it is. Because rhetorical criticism is more interested in a literary work as utterance than as artifact, as impression than as expression" (Corbett xxi). As per Corbett, rhetorical analysis is not theoretical. Rhetorical analysis aims to elucidate significance; the significance of a given discourse (written, oratorical, or other). The aim is to elucidate the effect of a discourse on a

given audience in a given situation. That is, rhetorical analysis has as an aim to explain (break down) how and how well communicators and interlocutors convey; it has as an aim to explain what is happening in the discourse and what the discourse is doing. In this work, rhetorical analysis is employed to highlight the significance of the discourses of the NAACP.

Again, rhetorical analysis is like a tool. Like every tool is employed for a purpose, rhetorical analysis is a tool with a purpose: To explore communication in the moments, in order to elucidate things, matters such as the values, or ethics that shape communication and how to experience such moments. Put another way, rhetorical analysis explores the function of communication in shaping an occurrence, a development, an experience, or a historical moment. That means that rhetorical analysis involves an attentiveness to the history, culture, and the social. In the attentiveness to history, culture, and the social, there is a more specific focus on communication and ethics.

The rhetorical analysis of the discourses of the NAACP will be based on an important relationship— between communication and ethics. This interaction corresponds to the relationship between rhetoric and philosophy. In "Doing" Susan Mancino writes that there is an ever-evolving relationship between philosophy and rhetoric" (5). Accordingly, it is fitting to employ rhetoric in order to highlight communication ethics. Mancino's approach follows the approach laid about by Robert Piercey. In *The Uses of the Past from Heidegger to Rorty*, Piercey is "doing philosophy historically (1). Mancino does philosophy and rhetoric historically. This project adapts Mancino's approach. This dissertation does communication ethics historically and does history with a bend towards communication ethics.

This work is pertinent given the challenges regarding difference, diversity, and division in this current moment. That said, we look back to the past, and by so doing we take a cue from

Charles Taylor. He asserts that to understand "we are pushed into the past" (Taylor 26). That is, as per Taylor, recognizing the connection between philosophy and history, we look back to and into history. Notwithstanding the look back in history, this is a study of communication. Similarly, the relationship between communication and ethics corresponds to the relationship between rhetoric and ethics. As per Mancino, this project explores the communication ethics of a momentous development in history—the formation of the NAACP—doing so with an appreciation of how ethics was and is integral to communication. \

The plan of research grounds on a constructive hermeneutic interpretation of the crucial communication discourses and communicative artifacts of the NAACP. For instance, there is a major theme of the speeches on day one of the conference. Eliot Rudwick wrote, "The conference opened by attempting to answer the basic whether or not Negroes were like other men. Many of those with a fervor redolent of the Eighteenth Century, sought one-to-one relationship between 'Science and Human'" (Rudwick 417).

In addition, there will be a rhetorical analysis of certain editorial and literary content of *The Crisis* magazine, the organ of the NAACP. The rhetorical analysis of the content of *The Crisis* pivots on the insights of Diane Harney who wrote:

> Editorials are an integral part of media communication. If a newspaper or magazine is to be the lamp of enlightenment, then its editorials should illuminate the course of progress for the community served. Editorials function as the gyroscope of a publication, maintaining balance for the readers. They may also be viewed as a means of prophesying, or of identifying good and evil (Harney 22).

In terms of *The Crisis*, the rhetorical analysis mainly focuses on the editorial vision of Du Bois and the literary editorial vision of Jessie Redmon Fauset. Therefore, this dissertation takes a look back into history.

Overture to the Communicative Practices of Call-and-Response Communication Ethics

The final portion of the foundation includes an overture of the practices of call-and-response communication ethics. This is an overture—it is an introduction that opens the way to a more detailed explication, which will be taken up in the fourth chapter. That said, as part of the call-and-response framework, the four nominated practices will be: Provocation, convocation, evocation, and "polyvocation." Provocation involves the call and response to conscience. It is the way in which people are provoked to consider and respond to the exigent problems of an epochal moment. Convocation involves the call and response to gathering. It is the practice that calls people to gather together in the same place for a common cause. Evocation involves the recall of reuse of memory and tradition, and discourse. How can evocation be explained? One way to understand the practice is to understand how the past is reused. In the article, "Interpreting the Past in the Present" author Faith Davis Ruffins wrote, "The past itself never changes; memory and interpretation do. Each generation asks 'history' to serve different purposes, looking to the past in light of the issues and controversies that give meaning and definition to its present" (Ruffins 130). Evocation is the practice by which something relevant from the past is constructively brought into the present. And "polyvocation" is the practice that involves the call to co-respond. It is the practice of coordinating multiple voices and vocations. As part of elucidating the four communicative practices of call-and-response communication ethics, we excerpt, examine, and elucidate certain, selected discourses of the developing NAACP. Important to rhetorical study and interpretation is understanding the aspect of "vocation" in each

practice. Each of the practices is based on the word element "vocation" which refers to callings, professions, and voice.

Having worked through Chapter one, "The Foundation," namely the overview of scholars and scholarship, the approach, the plan of research, and the overture of call-and-response communication ethics, we shift to Chapter two, "The Footings." As a reminder, in construction, footings undergird the foundation. As such, the "footings" of this dissertation, undergird the foundation of this dissertation. In Chapter two, we elucidate two footings—communication ethics, and call-and-response. As such, we further situate the project within the field of communication and within certain subfields of communication. That said, as the project is established across the field of communication and situated within a number of subfields, the emphasis will be on communication ethics and call-and-response.

Chapter Two: The Footings: Communication Ethics and Call and Response

This dissertation elucidates a particular kind of communication ethics—call-and-response communication ethics. The contention is that it was an interplay of call-and-response and communication ethics that activated the discourses of the developing NAACP; discourses that in turn animated the formation and early performance of the NAACP—an exemplary civil rights, social justice association. Hence, the interplay call-and-response and communication ethics is regarded as integral to the formation of the NAACP. This work calls attention to the potency and potential of call-and-response and communication ethics. Thus, call-and-response and communication ethics is regarded as indispensable in promoting responsibility, discernment, relationship building, collaboration, the development of community, and decision making. Therefore, just as an interplay of call-and-response and communication ethics was useful in responding to the problem of the early twentieth century moment, this dissertation contends that an interplay of call-and-response and communication ethics is potentially useful in responding the challenges of this current historical moment.

So important are call-and-response and communication ethics that they are regarded as "footings" for this dissertation. Hence, this chapter offers a twofold elucidation of these two footings. Footings as a term and concept is not as well-known as the term foundation or the term framework, however footings are important in the realm of building and architecture. In construction, footings connect to the underside of the foundation, and they are situated into the ground itself. As such, footings further establish a given building into the ground.

In terms of this dissertation, the footings of this dissertation—communication ethics and call-and-response—undergird the foundation and further establish this project within the ground (field) of communication. That said, footings are important for more reasons than one. With

respect to construction, footings are important in troublesome or unpredictable ground. Therefore, the footings of this dissertation are also important with respect to troublesome grounds of a given temporal moment. For instance, consider the following causes and effects that indicate the need for "footings" that undergird the foundation we are seeking to build on and that ground our foundations in communication. We are living in a time when finding common ground is made more difficult. In addition, we are living in a time when people are less likely to agree to and adhere to ground rules for productive communication. Further, we are living in times when many people find self-satisfaction in standing one's ground over and against looking for and walking the middle ground. Additionally, we are living in a time when many seemingly "bury their heads in the sand" ignoring the exigencies of a rhetorical situation. Doing so by choosing inopportune silence, by engaging in unethical communication, and by choosing inaction over engagement. Furthermore, there are communication-related factors affecting the social, political, public, and strategic "lay of the land" of this current moment, such as a pervasive breakdown of communication.

To be sure, this communication breakdown is apparent in communicative misconducts—the ill-manner in which communicators conduct themselves and conduct communicative interactions. These days, a considerable degree of our communication is, regrettably, marked by several communicative misconducts: Such as "dysaudia" or dysfunctional communication stemming from impaired listening; like calumny, or communication marked by the casting of aspersion on others and other's perspectives; and like contrariety, or communication that premeditatedly moves in inimical directions. As such, these misconducts trigger and contribute to the breakdown in communication; a problematic characterized by three issues: A de-moralizing of public, private, and social spaces of communication; by a cynicism toward

productive and cooperative discoursing; and by a disintegration of the discursive climates in and on every medium of communication. In reality, call-and-response and communication ethics was indispensable at the dawn of the twentieth century, a time when the residue of the Civil War affected the climate of communication and the action. As such call-and-response and communication ethics were important footings in the early twentieth century historical moment Together they stabilized the foundation on which the NAACP was built, and they grounded that foundation in communication.

The aforementioned notwithstanding, since call-and-response communication ethics is a neologism, an elucidation of call-and-response and communication ethics is necessary. The elucidations build off of three aspects: First, the elucidations are based on some simple working definitions of communication ethics and call-and-response; second, the elucidations are based on the application of related concepts, insights, and/or metaphors from certain scholars; and thirdly, the elucidations are based on constructive interpretations of certain discourses of the NAACP. The simple, working descriptions of call-and-response and communication ethics are as follows. Generally speaking, as will be further elucidated, call-and-response is a form of dynamic, contrapuntal communication initiated by a call and furthered by a response. It also refers to the communicative interaction among participants in communication that is initiated by a vocative entreaty and furthered by multivocal response. Generally speaking, as will be further elucidated, communication ethics concern the ethical ways of communicating and also the communication about what should be. In addition, it could also be said that communication ethics is applied philosophy of communication oriented by a set of ethics.

That said, pushing off of the abovementioned descriptions, we begin the elucidations with a treatment of communication as a ground. The field of communication also includes a number

of genres and subfields of communication. In terms of genre, communication ranges from public communication (public discourse and mass communication), to interpersonal communication, to small group communication, to intrapersonal communication (Sellnow et al 23). As a field, communication employs the implements and complements of a number of other fields and disciplines. In this regard, the field of communication is usually interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary. The subfields are many. They include political communication, public relations, integrated marketing communication, health communication, organizational communication, corporate communication, sports communication. There is also a nexus between communication and philosophy, hence why the field of communication includes the study of communication from the standpoint of philosophy of communication, communication ethics, phenomenology, and pragmatism. The areas in the field of communication can also be "walked into the marketplace" in areas of professions like nonprofit, media, education, business, public relations, government, and law.

That said, the question is raised: What is the act and activity of communication? In a real sense all humans engage in communication. Communication is best understood by its etymology. The English word, "communication" derives from the Latin word *communicare* which means to "to share (with), to take a share in, to make a sharer (in), to share out, to associate, to impart, to discuss together, to consult together, to bring into common use, make generally accessible" In fact, the Latin word *communicare* more literally means "to make common" ("Communicate"). As such, communication (or to communicate) involves sharing and imparting. To explore this phenomenon from a standpoint on the grounds of communication and within the field of communication, means that we consider the essentialness of sharing in the formation of the NAACDP. Meaning we appraise the action of partaking and part-taking, and imparting.

Regarding the essentialness of sharing in communication, in the book *It's All of Our Business: Communicating Competently in the Workplace* the authors write "Communication is a transactional process of sharing meaning with others" (Rothwell and Waters 9). As a kind of transaction, therefore, communication is an undertaking that involves agreement among people or parties dealing with one another. Interestingly, too, with regard to this project on the NAACP, the etymological root of the work communication also means to "associate." This lexical kindship between communication and association should be discounted. Meaning communication involves association and contrariwise association involves communication.

Along those lines, the authors of *Communicate!* offer a fine explanation of the action of communication, writing "Communication is the process through which we express, interpret, and coordinate messages with others" (Verderber, Sellnow and Verderber 4). In that regard, the act and activity of communication involves expression, interpretation, and coordination of messages in personal interactions, professional circles, in the public square, and in social spheres. As such, through the practice of communication, practitioners like public relations professionals, advertising specialists, political consultants, community affairs liaisons, public speakers, writers, and journalists construct, convey, and adapt messages to audiences, in context and within certain settings. Accordingly, the field of communication is the ground of this dissertation, in large part because communication is what catalyzes the formation of the NAACP. Grounding this project in the field of communication is what sets it apart from the other treatments of the NAACP, which stress the growth, development, and significance of the NAACP. This project attributes the growth, development, and significance to the co-action of communication, the interaction of call-and-response, and to the benefaction of applying a communication ethic.

The aforementioned notwithstanding, this treatment of the communication ground should also inspire consideration of the common ground necessary in communication ethics and in call and response. For instance, in *Dialogic Civility in a Cynical Age,* Arnett and Arneson offer how civility is and approach to interpersonal communication that establishes a common ground in the historical moment through the use of narratives.

The Elucidation of Call-and-Response

The next part of this chapter deals with the elucidation of call-and-response, which can be elucidated by using a number of scholars and by using a range of scholarship. However, primarily and predominantly, the elucidation of call-and-response pushes off of descriptions are based on its manifestations in Black and African cultures and are rendered by Black scholars. Two of the key metaphors we use in this dissertation to elucidate call-and-response is the metaphor "communication dynamic" and also *call-response* both offered by Geneva Smitherman in *Talkin and Testifyin* (Smitherman). Smitherman's conceptualization of call-and-response as a dynamic is important to understand the process associated with call-and-response and as mutual effect of call and response on each other. As well, Smitherman's exposition of call-and-response is encapsulated in the metaphor *call-response* which recognizes and appraises the correlation between "call" and "response." Two other insights are offered by Adisa A. Alkebulan, who writes about speaker audience participation and orature in the "Spiritual Essence in African American Rhetoric" (Alkebulan). The work of Alkebulan is helpful to elucidate call-and-response because it highlights the role of multiple audience members in the call-and-response interaction, and because, by spotlighting orature the door is opened to recognizing and appraising call-and-response phenomena as involving written discourses as well as spoken discourses.

Additionally, we use the metaphor the "imperative of voice" offered by Eric King Watts in *Hearing the Hurts* (Watts 153).

Beyond the brilliant work of these Black scholars, we appropriate an insight from the work of Craig R. Smith and Michael J. Hyde, who write on eloquence in *The Call: Eloquence in the Service of Truth.* Using Smith and Hyde, we refer to eloquence not only as fluency but also as outspokenness. In addition, we use the work of Michael J. Hyde wrote on "the call of conscience" in *The Call of Conscience* (Hyde). Hyde's insights regarding conscience are important because he illumines the relationship between the call of conscience and the practice of rhetoric. As such, as a part of elucidating call-and-response, we examine and interpret certain discourses of the developing NAACP that indicate call-and-response and for that matter communication ethics as well. Four of the discourses of the NAACP that illumine call-and-response and communication ethics are: "The Call" by Villard; the address by E.K Moore; the "Editorial" by Du Bois in first issue *The Crisis;* and the Resolution of the Negro National Conference.

Elucidating Call-and-Response

Building on the aforementioned works, scholars, and concepts, we go a bit more in depth about what "call-and-response" is, about what "call" is, and about what "response" is. To do that we first turn to Geneva Smitherman. To be sure, Smitherman's work, *Talkin and Testifyin: The Language of Black America* is a pivotal work. Among other things, it opened up understanding about communication, doing so by explaining and appraising the manifold art of communication as practiced by Black Americans. Further, Smitherman's scholarship was foundational in revealing how the art of Black communication is part Black culture and way of life, and how it is a reflection of African inheritances.

In *Talkin and Testifying: The Language of Black America*, rhetorician Geneva Smitherman wrote on "call-response" as a one of three broad categories of black modes of discourse (Smitherman 103). Smitherman, more precisely, defined call-response as "spontaneous verbal and nonverbal interaction between speaker and listener in which all of the speaker's statements ("calls") are punctuated by expressions ("responses") from the listener, as evidenced in the Black church preaching moment, in the performance of Black gospel music, and in the "street" (104). Smitherman adds, "call and response seeks to synthesize speakers and listeners in a united movement" which involves an "interactive network in which the fundamental requirement is active participation of all individuals" (108). That said, Smitherman refers to call-and-response as a "communication dynamic" (108). Smitherman's point is a manifold one. Smitherman connotes call-and-response as communication that is characterized by process, communication action, and iterative change. As such, to understand call-and-response in general, and to understand it in particular with regards to the development NAACP, we would do well to understand that call-and-response is dynamic—it catalyzes change in an ongoing process of communication. Concomitantly, suffice it to say the call-and-response communication dynamic is a part of the discourses of the early NAACP. We see call-and-response in the "Race War in the North" in "The Call" in the discourse of the Negro National Conference, and in the Du Bois "Editorial." As such, call-and-response as a "communication dynamic" means that call-and-response is fruitful communication. Call-and-response, therefore, is not a single, one-off, occurrence or act. Rather call-and-response is an ongoing activity and interactivity. Further, that call-and-response as a "communication dynamic" is a productive activity. That is to say, call-and-response not only activates communication, but it continually animates communication.

In addition, Smitherman writes about call-and-response from certain standpoint: One foot is planted on the recognition that Black culture is an originative context out of which call-and-response emerges; the second foot is planted on the recognition that call-and-response communication dynamic emerges out of culture. This is an important standpoint with regard to the conception, formation, and performance of the NAACP. Although the NAACP is formed by persons who were both Black and White, the effectual employment of call-and-response depended on reflecting of practices demonstrated within Black ways of life. In this way, the discourses of the early NAACP are situated in a liminal space, on two sides of a boundary. On one hand, the discourses are product of a Black and African communicative practice. On the other hand, with regards to the conception, formation, and performance of the early NAACP, call-and-response is practiced by an interracial group. This gives voice and credence to the impact of Black practice and culture in the improvement of America.

To be sure, "communication dynamic" is a helpful term, but Smitherman proffers another metaphor to promote understanding. Additionally, Smitherman explains call-and-response in this way: By inventing a metaphor, namely *call-response.* As such, Smitherman recognizes and appraises the correlation between "call" and "response." In *Talkin and Testifyin,* Smitherman writes that call-response is the "spontaneous verbal and non-verbal interaction between speaker and listener in which all of the statements ('calls') are punctuated by expressions ('responses') from the listener" (Smitherman 104). Smitherman, as such, makes a correlation between "call" and "response" suggesting that responses agree with the call, and responders agree with the speaker. Smitherman recognizes how "call" and "response" are linked. In fact, Smitherman extends that insight in the essay, "Word from the Hood: The Lexicon of African American Vernacular English." In that essay published in *African American English*, Smitherman wrote,

"[b]ut even outside of the church, whenever African Americans communicate, call-response abounds… The only wrong you can do in a Black conversation is not to respond at all" (Smitherman 208). Smitherman doubles down on the importance of response in call-and-response, inferring that response is good.

Basing on the insights of Smitherman there are three important recognitions that inform our understanding of call-and-response: One is the correlation between "call" in "response." That is to say, Smitherman's metaphor *call-response* indicates how every call is a response, and how in every response is a call of some kind. The second recognition is that there is an inextricable link between "call" and "response." Both "call" and "response" are involved in and integral to the twofold *call-response* phenomenon. And the third insight is that response emerges from a responsibility. Smitherman's metaphor *call-response* is a helpful one to understand call-and-response, particularly with respect to the conception, formation, and performance of the NAACP. In this way, we understand every discourse of the NAACP as a both a "call" and a "response." For example, the article "The Race War in the North" (Walling) is a response to the Springfield Race Riots. In addition, "The Call" is a response to Walling's article. The discourses of the Negro National Conference and the conference itself is a response to "The Call." The naming of the NAACP is a response to the second Negro National Conference 1910. In addition, in every response there is a call of some kind.

In addition, Adisa A. Alkebulan is helpful in understanding call-and-response. Alkebulan writes the chapter "The Spiritual Essence of African American Rhetoric" in *Understanding African American Rhetoric,* which is a collection of essays the offered treatments of a number of expressions of African American Rhetoric. Importantly, *Understanding African American Rhetoric* is it also is a complement if not a corrective to the Western-centric treatments of

Rhetoric. As such, "The Spiritual Essence of African American Rhetoric" like the other essays in this volume explains rhetoric from the African American standpoint, from the standpoint that African American rhetoric emerges from Black culture. As such, Alkebulan facilitates a renewed understanding of rhetoric. Moreover, *Understanding African American Rhetoric* examines and interprets a different set of artifacts, texts, and discourses, including some that are musical. As such, Alkebulan paves the way for this dissertation, which explores and examines discourses that are not ordinally used when exploring civil rights discourses. As well, Alkebulan paves the way for appreciating how the discourses of the developing NAACP were shaped by the Black persons at the table, such as William Monroe Trotter, W.E.B. and Ida B. Wells-Barnett. William Monroe Trotter, though was not a full-throated associate of the NAACP, was strident in his insistence that the NAACP counter the accommodationist approach of Booker T. Washington, a standpoint that is apparent in the Resolutions which in part read:

> We agree fully with the prevailing opinion that the transformation of the unskilled colored laborers in industry and agriculture into skilled workers is of vital importance to that race and to the nation, but we demand for the Negroes, as for all others, a free and complete education, whether by city, State or nation, a grammar school and industrial training for all and technical, professional, and academic education for the most gifted.

Trotter insisted that the NAACP prioritize full equality, full access to education, and full enfranchisement. In the Discussion (portion) of the Negro National Conference, Trotter declared, "We do want to get industrial opportunity, but if we are not to have our franchise, it certainly has been shown that we will lose industrial opportunity" (Trotter "Discussion" 112). Ida B. Wells, though the only African American woman to speak at the Negro National Conference, who apparently made sure that the NAACP challenged anti-Black lynching, as seen in the NAACP's

report, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States 1889-1918.* Du Bois, though the only Black director on the NAACP Board in the early years, was the most influential leader of the NAACP via his supervision of *The Crisis,* which had a readership of 100,000 by 1919, which addressed every facet of Black life (from education, to labor, to suffrage), and which was kindled the Harlem Renaissance.

In addition, Alkebulan writes about audience participation and orature. In the same chapter entitled "The Spiritual Essence of African American Rhetoric" Alkebulan refers to call and response as a defining characteristic of the oral tradition and rhetorical situations for Africans" (Alkebulan 37). Drawing on the scholarship of Bodunde (1992), Ogede (1992), Okpewho (1983), Asante (1990), Saakana (1993) and Knowles-Borishade (1991), Alkebulan adds how call and response necessarily involves audience participation in the speech, and as such the rhetor is not a singular voice, the audience is a co participant (Alkebulan 37). In fact, Alkebulan adds, that call-and-response is a reciprocal process (38). Through this insight of Alkebulan, we understand call and response as necessarily involving the coordinated interaction between caller and responder.

When we examine the discourses of the developing NAACP, we see a dynamic interaction between callers and responders. This insight is important in understanding call-and-response because it privileges the role and participation of responders as well as callers. Alkebulan's insight, also, points to the multiplicity of co-responders. This insight is key in understanding the discourses of the developing NAACP. That said, given the multiplicity of persons involved in the various discourses of the developing NAACP, it is safe to surmise that call-and-response communication ethics is characterized by co-responses. The effectiveness of the discourses of the early NAACP was based, in large part, on co-responses in and through

correspondence. The developing NAACP was a multi-diverse association. It was not only interracial, but the developing NAACP also had a diversified approach to addressing the problem of that moment. In addition, the NAACP synchronized a plethora of voices and coordinated a multiplicity of callings. Put another way, the diversity and unity of co-responders made the call-and-response communication ethics more efficacious.

There is another point that is relevant to this dissertation. It pertains to the role of orature in call-and-response communication ethics. The discourse of the NAACP includes spoken discourses (like addresses, speeches, and panel discussions), written discourse (like articles, Resolutions, and letters). It includes literature (like novels, short stories, fiction, and memoirs). And in addition, the discourses include orature—which refers literary works that have an oral character. To that point we turn once more to the brilliant work of Alkebulan who wrote "the listener is as much part of the orature as is the orator" (36). Take note of the word orature because it is significant and indicative. The words are a portmanteau of two words: oral and literature. One way to look at orature is to understand it as oralized literature, like poems, folk music and folktale, and oral narratives. Another way to look at it is when certain oral discourses, such as sermons, prayers, songs, and poetry are transcribed, they become kinds of orature.

The fact that Alkebulan recognizes orature is critical. According to Alkebulan orature can be a call-and-response artifact. Certain pieces of orature in *The Crisis* were important call-and-response artifacts. An example is the poem "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" by Langston Hughes. It was the first published poem by Hughes, and it was published in June 1921 volume of *The Crisis*. In the poem Hughes traced Black history from the cradle of human civilization to the present, highlighting accomplishments like the Egyptian pyramids and tragedies like American slavery. Other examples are the following poems: To America" by James Weldon Johnson;

"Threnody for a Brown Girl" by Countee Cullen; "A Sonnet: To the Mantled" Georgia Douglas Johnson; "Negro Soldiers" by Roscoe Jamison; "Song of the American Dove by Lucian B. Watkins. These poems, published in *The Crisis*, helped fuel the proto civil right struggle of the early twentieth century, making the poems pieces of call-and-response orature. Yet another example of this is the role of the anthem "Lift Every Voice and Sing" written by James Weldon Johnson, and executive secretary of the NAACP. According to Imani Perry's impressive work on the history of the Black national anthem, *May We Forever Stand*, "Lift Every Voice and Sing" became the official song of the NAACP. In addition, it was published and nationally distributed by the NAACP. The anthem, in effect, was a kind of call-and-response discourse. About "Lift Every Voice and Sing" Perry wrote:

> It was a brilliant move, serving as an assertation that the NAACP was a black organization—that is, one that the popularity recognized black American anthem as its own. New chapters, new leadership, a robust publication, and a new song combined to commemoration enable the NAACP to refashion itself as an institution that would be controlled and developed by black political actors and black agency (Perry 32).

The NAACP called "Lift Every Voice and Sing" the Negro National Anthem year before "The Star-Spangled Banner" was the dubbed the national anthem, because the song resonated with the Black community. In *Completed Poems*, James Weldon Johnson wrote "the school children of Jacksonville kept singing it; they went off to other schools and sang it; they became teachers and taught it to other children. Within twenty years it was being sung over the South and in some other parts of the country" (Weldon 109). The song was not only a commemoration of history, but it was a powerful example of call-and-response orature. The verses of the anthem

recapitulated stories of overcoming amidst suffering, but above all else "Lift Every Voice and Sing" called for solidarity in the struggle for equality.

Alkebulan recognition of orature paves the way to further understanding call-and-response. That is to say, by extending Alkebulan, we come to appreciate how call-and-response is affected through spoken and written discourses. Alkebulan's reference to orature is also an inference of literature, and it paves the way to the appreciation of the role of *The Crisis* in call-and-response communication ethics. The discourse of the developing NAACP includes the content of *The Crisis.* In the first issue in November 1910, the editor Du Bois laid out the objective of *The Crisis.* About the second objective, Du Bois wrote about how *The Crisis* will review "opinion and literature" (Du Bois "Editorial" 10). Therefore, to understand call-and-response communication ethics, we must also understand the role of *The Crisis* and appreciate and interpret the content of *The Crisis* which includes orature and literature.

To that point, historian Sondra K. Wilson wrote about the poems, short stories, plays, and essays (the literature) published in *The Crisis*. In so doing, Wilson illustrated the magazines role as a "literary and intellectual outlet" and that the brilliance of the literature illuminated "a principal objective of the NAACP to break the stubborn stereotype that had misrepresented and malformed implicitly every external view of African American life" (Wilson xx). In fact, under the supervision of Du Bois and the literary editorship of Jesse Redmon Fauset, *The Crisis* was the platform for a number of Black luminaries and laureates, such as like Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Arna Bontemps, George Schuyler, Jean Toomer, Nella Larsen, Georgia Douglas Johnson, and Anne Spencer. These litterateurs, and others, contributed to an important movement that influenced the famed mid-twentieth century Civil Rights Movement—the New Negro movement. The "new Negro" was a concept/ethic that came to be in the late

nineteenth century, a time when Black Americans were hoping to represent themselves in new ways, in the social and political realms. The term "new Negro" marked the deliberate transition the educated and enfranchised Negro.

The discourses of the NAACP communicated a call that led to an ongoing response. The It led to the formation of the Crisis which led to the "new Negro" movement, which in turn led to the Civil Rights Movement. As such, the expounded on the nexus between the discourses of the NAACP and the "new Negro" ethic is helpful in elucidating call-and-response. As such, we turn to the work of Eric King Watts. The book *Hearing the Hurts* by Eric King Watts is an examination of the New Negro movement. His work bases on a recognition that New Negro Movement provoked public discourse about black identity and culture in the early twentieth century (Watts). At the heart of the New Negro Movement is a kind of call, an entreaty, to reject the impositions, illegalities, and indignities of Jim Crow. In a real sense, the "new Negro" ethic inspired Black Americans to remake themselves by replacing negative stereotypes, and by representing themselves in the public realm, according to a new Black imaginary, in and through poetry, scholarship, and music. In other words, the New Negro movement, also known as the Harlem Renaissance, was kindled by call-and-response.

One of the compelling parts of Watts' work is treatment of *voice*. In a real sense, Watts' treatment of voice correlates to call-and-response, and therefore is a helpful term to help elucidate call-and-response. What is more, Watts' treatment of voice also correlates to communication ethics, and therefore it is also a helpful term to elucidate communication ethics. Lexically, the word "voice" correlates to the word "vocation." Both words derive from the same Latin root word *vox*. Interestingly, the Latin word *vox* is literally translated as voice. In addition, *vox* is the root word of the Latin word *vocare*, which literally means "to call." As terms, voice

and vocation are akin. Accordingly, Watts' rich treatment of *voice* helps to explain the practices of call-and-response communication ethics—provocation, convocation, evocation, and "polyvocation" because each practice ends in the word "vocation." As such, suffice it to say, there is a nexus between voice and vocation. What connects the two is the sense of calling and ethics. In *Hearing the Hurt,* Watts writes that *voice*:

> [R]efers to a phenomenon that is brought to life through artistic and aesthetic practices that move audiences into a sensual relationship with discourse, impelling a public acknowledgment of the affective and ethical dimensions of speech. As such, voice registers the specific historical predicament of speakers and writers, their forms of speech, and the conditions in which their speech was invented, performed, embraced, or denounced.

In explaining *voice*, Watts touches on some important coordinates: Artistic practices; discourses; impelling; ethics; historical predicament; ethical dimensions of speech; and conditions of the speech. These coordinates correlate to call-and-response and communication ethics. The word impelling correlates to the urging inherent in a call. The word "discourses" and the phrase "artistic practices" relate to the call-and-response discourses of the NAACP. The terms "ethical dimensions of speech" and "historical predicament" relate to the coordinates of communication ethics. The phase and "the conditions" (for speech invention, performance, embracement, and denunciation) relates to the Negro National Conference and the other gatherings. In addition, Watts' treatment of *voice* offers another metaphor that helps facilitate understanding of call-and-response. More particularly, Watts writes about the "imperative of voice" which according to Watts calls for action (Watts 153).

The insights of Smitherman, Alkebulan and Watts offer coordinates that help with the elucidation of call-and-response communication ethics. The notions of "call-response" (Smitherman) "orature" (Alkebulan) and "voice" (Watts) are coordinates that point to the practices of call-and-response communication ethics: Provocation (call to conscience), convocation (call to gather), evocation (recall), and "polyvocation" (call to co-respond and correspond). For instance, one of the discourses of the first Negro National Conference (1909) was the Resolutions, which is printed in the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference.* Interestingly, in the section that contains the "Resolutions" is also a recapitulation of the conversations about the Resolutions. In that section it reads:

> We agree fully with the prevailing opinion that the transformation of the unskilled colored laborers in industry and agriculture into skilled workers is of vital importance to that race and to the nation, but we demand for the Negroes, as for all others, a free and complete education, whether by city State, or nation, a grammar school and industrial training for all. and technical, professional, and academic education for the most gifted 223).

The excerpt of the Resolutions indicates a call. This paragraph begins with an exposition of their position—they fully agree with the prevailing opinion about transforming the Black workforce in industry and agriculture. The paragraph includes the words "we demand" implies an insistence. The word demand derives out of the Lain word Latin *demandare* meaning to "charge with a commission." As such, a demand is a peremptory request. This is akin to a call, which is an insistence made out of a right of some kind. The conferees call for a free and complete education for Negroes. Similarly, the Resolution provides the right for the committee to issue a call. The Resolutions continue:

> The committee on permanent organization in its report proposed a resolution providing for "the incorporation of a national committee to be known as a Committee, for the Advancement of the Negro Race, to aid their progress and make their citizenship a reality, with all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto." It presented also a resolution calling for a committee of forty charged with the organization of a national committee with power to call the convention in 1910 ("Resolutions").

According to the aforementioned commentary on the resolution, The Resolutions call for a committee—the Committee for the Advancement of the Negro Race—and as a part of that call, the committee is endowed with the authority to issues calls, namely the power to call the convention in 1910. The language seems to imply a recognition of the power of call. In this case, call entails the power to call into being, in this case a committee. In addition, call implies an authority to convene.

Alkebulan, Wilson, Watts helps elucidate call-and-response, pointing to the coordinated co-action in the call and response act, and to the inextricability of call and response, and to the significance of orature and literature in call and response. Through the work of Alkebulan, Smitherman, as well as Watts, and Wilson, we gain a better understanding of the call and response that undergirds call-and-response communication ethics. With regard to this dissertation, the work of Smitherman, Alkebulan, Wilson, and Watts points to the significance of caller-responder co-participation. In addition, their work points to the inextricability of "call-response." Finally, their work points to the impact of the diversity of discourses and voices in the applied call-and-response communication ethics that catalyzes the formation of the NAACP.

In addition, this dissertation is based on a recognition of a correlation between the concept of *nommo* and call-and-response. To further elucidate call-and-response we turn to the

work of Molefi Asante, to the work Felicia R. Walker and Viece Kuykendell, to the work of Janice Hamlet, and to the work of Melbourne S. Cummings and Abhik Roy. Each scholar or tandem of scholars wrote about the African concept of *nommo*. To be sure, the concept of *nommo* is and has been defined in a number of ways, but the emphases made salient by these authors are helpful to explain call-and-response. That is, call-and-response is a productive power; call-and-response is an interactive discourse art; and call-and-response is a communicative interaction in context.

In the article "Manifestations of Nommo in 'Def Poetry'" Walker and Kuykendall wrote on the phenomenal art of performance poetry. Their work was founded on an appreciation for performance poetry but focused on what is deemed the communicative energy of the art form, *nommo*. They argue and exposit that *nommo* inspires the rhythm, repetition, lyricism, quality, improvisation, perspective, misdirection, and the call and response of performative poetry. Walker and Kuykendall's treatment of *nommo* is a helpful one to elucidate the efficacy of call-and-response. That is to say, to appreciate the discourses of the NAACP we should appreciate the creative power and process of call-and-response. Hence, a way to explain the call-and-response that activated and animated the NAACP is to use the term *nommo* in the sense described by Walker and Kuykendall. Put another way, call-and-response is an interactive discourse art, and as such *nommo* is way to explain the communicative energy of call-and-response. Hence, why the use of call-and-response is fruitful. In addition, *nommo* is productive; it is a power that is fruitful. We can say the same about the call-and-response power and process of the NAACP; call-and-response activates and animates the discourses of the NAACP; call-and-response activates and animates the communicative actions of the NAACP. By extending the

work of Walker and Kuykendall, we can deem the call-and-response as an interactive discourse art enabled by the productive power *nommo*.

Again, this dissertation is based on a recognition of a correlation between *nommo* and call-and-response. In the *Afrocentric Idea* Molefi Asante wrote about *nommo*, as did Cummings and Roy did in "The Manifestations of Afrocentricity in Rap Music." In both works, *nommo* was referred to as the generative power of the spoken word. According to Asante, *nommo* refers to the generative power of the word to create reality (Asante). As such, *nommo* is linked to a temporal phenomenon. What is more *nommo* is recognized as the creative power to create or recreate reality. This dissertation promotes that call-and-response does the same; call-and-response is, likewise, a communicative power to shape and reshape reality. Hence, call-and-response is regarded as something beyond persuasive; it is productive.

That is, call-and-response as inspired by *nommo* leads to ongoing advancement, achievement, and development. In that same vein, Cummings and Roy drew on the work of Janice D. Hamlet described *nommo as* the productive power to actualize life in and outside of African American community (Hamlet 91). This ongoing productive power is evident in the productiveness of call-and-response that kindles the conception, formation, incorporation, and performance of the NAACP. That is, call-and-response does not just activate the conception of the NAACP, call-and-response continues to animate the formation, reformation, and performance of the NAACP.

The very conception of the NAACP begins with call-and-response. In the article "The Race War in the North" Walling chronicled the details of the anti-black riot, the capital of Illinois that lasted over two weeks, resulted in the death of six people and forty black families displaced. In that article Walling issued an implicit call. He wrote:

> Either the spirit of the abolitionists, of Lincoln and of Lovejoy must be revived and we must come to treat Negro on an equal plane of absolute political and social equality, or Vardaman and Tillman will soon have transferred the race war to the North… Yet who realizes the seriousness of the situation and what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?" (Walling 534).

On the heels of that agitational question, three people met—Mary White Ovington, Henry Moskowitz, and William English Walling. After that three-person meeting, they consulted with W.E.B. Du Bois. In addition, they invited others to the table, like Black clergyman Alexander Walters and William Henry Brooks, like Black principal W.H. Bulkley, and civic activists Florence Kelly and Lillian Wald (Sullivan 6). Additionally, they also invited Oswald Garrison Villard to pen a call for people to gather. Garrison wrote "The Call" and published it in the New York Evening Post, which he edited. The call portion read:

> Hence, we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty. (Villard)

Villard, the grandson of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, published it on the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth date of Abraham Lincoln. This document was both a call and a response. It was in response to the Springfield Riot, which precipitated the consideration of the status of Black Americans. It was a call because Walling explicitly wrote, "[h]ence we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty" (534). Suffice it to say, "The Call" was not just a call, it is also a response. Hence, the call-and-response led to the Negro National Conference of 1909, the conference that precipitated the conception, formation,

and incorporation of the NAACP. Suffice it to say, the NAACP was kindled by call-and-response.

This treatment of *nommo* by Asante, Cummings and Roy, and Hamlet offers insights that elucidate call-and-response. Call-and-response is inextricably linked to context and the historical moment. Both *nommo* and call-and-response impacts on human action, upon historical movements, and life's circumstances. Accordingly, understanding call with respect to *nommo* promotes the recognition of "call" (and *nommo)* on human interaction and communicative action. We see the power of *nommo*, evidently, in two of the discourses of the Negro National Conference. One discourse was the speech "The Race Problem" by Jenkins Lloyd Jones. And the discourse is the address by E.W. Moore. Inferring an understanding of the power of call, Jones wrote the following:

> We should demand that the race theories born of ignorance and prejudice be revised by the latest science; that no illegitimacy of parentage be allowed to interfere with the divine legitimacy of children; that womanhood be protected by statute and public sentiment, whatever its complexion; that virginity be held as sacred in the colored as the white maiden and the violators thereof be held with equal severity by law and by public sentiment, whether they be white or black. We should call for impartial enforcement of statute rights of all citizens of any color. We protest against decreed distinctions and gradations of rights under the Constitution of the United States and declare there are no privileges according to the laws and constitution of the United States vouch-safed to the black man in Minnesota that are not decreed in Louisiana.

Jones evidently recognizes the exigency of call saying, "we should call for impartial enforcement of statute rights of call citizens of any color." Not only did Jones, a Unitarian minister, issue a

demand, Jones also issued a call. As part of the call-and-response Jones demanded a revision of political theories and practices that were grounded in racist pseudoscience. In addition, Jones called for the impartial enforcement of rights for citizens of all colors. This communicative act can be explained by the term *nommo*, communication that impacts upon human action, upon historical movements, and life's circumstances. Interestingly, Jones issued a call that resounds; the call for "impartial enforcement" echoes in other, subsequent discourses of the NAACP. As such, the term *nommo* is another term that helps to elucidate call-and-response. *Nommo* inspires discourse that kindles human interaction and communicative action.

This *nommo* power in call (the call for human interaction and communicative action) is also inherent in the address by E.W. Moore, pastor of the Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia. In his address to conferees, Moore issues a call:

> From those courts which have solemnly sworn to support the Constitution and that yet treat this provision of it with contempt, we appeal to the people and call upon our friends to remember our civil rights at the ballot box. On the point of the two equalities, we are determined to be understood.

First and foremost, Moore has a critique to bear against "the courts" who treat with contempt the Constitution they swore to uphold. Secondly, Moore issues a call. Interestingly, Moore makes an appeal and issues a call. Take note that the audience of the appeal is different than the audience of the call. Moore's appeal is made to "the people" however the call is issued to "friends." The call, issued to friends, is to "remember" the civil rights of Black people at the ballot box. This is a noteworthy rhetorical choice: The word "appeal" implies a suggestive undertone however the word "call" carries with it an insistent tone. The call is directed at friends, whereas the appeal is directed to people at large. According to Moore, call-and-response hinges on a relational context.

Moore's sense of call takes into consideration the relationship among those who are in friendship. This relates to the contextual aspect of *nommo* espoused by Asante, Cummings and Roy, and Hamlet. Call-and-response, according to Moore's address, considers the relationship between caller and responders.

The further elucidate call-and-response, we turn to the concept of eloquence in *The Call: Eloquence in the Service of Truth.* Importantly Authors Smith and Hyde described call in terms with respect to eloquence. And they offer two descriptions that are helpful in elucidating call-in-response. First, they wrote "truth must be made understandable, meaningful, and persuasive if it is to become a possession in common in the public realm. The task here necessitates the practice of rhetoric and its art of eloquence: discovering and using the right words, at the right time, and in the right way to move the public to accept the truth in question" (Smith and Hyde ix). The second thing they offer is that "[e]loquence lends itself to disclosing the truth (Smith and Hyde xiv). Their treatment of call with respect to eloquence is important: Call entails eloquence, and eloquence entails disclosure and discovery. In fact, the word "eloquence" not only refers to fluency of language, but the word denotes outspokenness. The word "eloquence" derives from the Latin word *eloqui* which means to "speak out" ("eloquence"). This lends credence to the abovementioned description of call by Smith and Hyde, who wrote about how call involves eloquence, which "lends itself to disclosing the truth." As per Smith and Hyde, call-and-response therefore involves a kind of eloquent outspokenness, or an eloquence that calls something to attention or calls someone into account.

Notwithstanding, Smith and Hyde go another step further. They continued, writing, "[t]his most essential call is heard as the objective uncertainty of the future calls human beings to demonstrate responsibility in being open to, acknowledging, and communicating to others as

perfectly as possible the truth of the presence of things that call for attention and acknowledgment" (xii). Smith and Hyde explain call and response in terms of responsibility to others; a responsibility to others especially with regard to communication with others about that which calls for attention. According to Smith and Hyde, call-and-response involves the responsibility to responsible communication.

Smith and Hyde's treatment of call-and-response as eloquence (outspokenness) and responsibility to communication is seen in the Resolutions of the Negro National Conference, which is printed in the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference 1909*. The Resolutions speak in no uncertain terms. The Resolution, in part, reads:

> We denounce the ever-growing oppression of our ten million colored fellow citizens as the greatest menace that threatens the country. Often plundered of their just share of the public funds, robbed of nearly all part in the government, segregated by common carriers, some murdered with impunity, and all treated with open contempt by officials, they are held in some States in practical slavery to the white community. The systematic persecution of law-abiding citizens and their disfranchisement on account of their race alone is a crime that will ultimately drag down to an infamous end any nation that allows it to be practiced, and it bears most heavily on those poor white farmers and laborers whose economic position is most similar to that of the persecuted race.

This discourse of the NAACP spoke volumes. The Resolution conveyed an attentiveness to the responsibility to communicate and a conviction to speak forthrightly about the conditions and circumstances. As such, this discourse indicates the application of call-and-response.

In the book *The Call of Conscience,* Michael J. Hyde offers a framework to understand call-and-response. He wrote, "the call of conscience requires the development of rhetorical

competency, of knowing how to evoke from others a response to a particular situation so as to engage them in collaborative deliberation" (Hyde 13). For Hyde, a given response to a situation is sparked by call, which entails a conscience pricked by rhetoric. The response to the situation involves "collaborative deliberation." Put another way, the response to a call involves a concerted conscientiousness by co-responders. That is to say, conscience plays a role in generating the call and in galvanizing the response. One of the premises of Hyde's work is that there is a connection between the "call of conscience" and "the practice of rhetoric." Another premise of Hyde's work is call-and-response is shaped by rhetoric. In *The Call of Conscience* Hyde stated that "rhetoric is at work whenever language is employed to open people to ideas, positions, and circumstances that, if rightly understood, stand a better than even chance of getting people to think and act wisely" (213). By invoking the practice of rhetoric in this regard, Hyde paves the way to exploring rhetoric in its variety of forms. For example, rhetoric as speech, rhetoric as text, and rhetoric as rhetorical action.

Another way to characterize the responses is as replies (spoken or written responses) and as reactions (responsive actions) spoken, some which are written. The replies include, for example, the discourses of the Negro National Conference—the addresses, the speeches, the discussion, the Resolutions, the letters. In addition, two reports issued by the NAACP were noteworthy replies. These reports though written were rhetorical. The reports functioned as call-and-response discourses, in that the reports sparked other responses.

One report was entitled "The Waco Horror" and the other report was entitled *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States 1889-1918*. In 1916, the Association (NAACP) creatively responded to the 1916 mutilation, burning, and lynching of a seventeen-year-old in Waco, Texas. The NAACP did so by generating a report entitled "The Waco Horror." It was a disclosive and

scathing report compiled by researcher Elisabeth Freeman, a report that was an eight-page supplement to the July 1916 issue of *The Crisis*. The report was subtitled, "an account of the recent burning of a human being at Waco, Texas." The report chronicled the horrifying lynching of seventeen-year-old African American Jesse Washington. Convicted of raping and murdering Lucy Fryer, Washington was chained by his neck, dragged, stabbed, beaten, and paraded in front of an estimated 10,000 people ("The Waco Horror"). Importantly, the decision was made to include pictures in the report. In that way the response communicated in writing and through semiotics of photography. In addition, "The Waco Horror" report was also widely disseminated. The NAACP circulated the report to its forty-two-thousand subscribers of *The Crisis*, to seven-hundred white newspapers, and to members of congress (Berman). In addition, the NAACP also generated another report *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States 1889-1918*, which was a comprehensive study of the 3224 people lynched.

As such, both "The Waco Horror" and *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States 1889-1918*, were part and parcel of the NAACP's response to lynching and to as a part and parcel of its newly established anti-lynching fund. Worthy of note, there was a call in the July 1916 issue of *The Crisis*. The call was concomitant to the lynching in Waco and it read, "Will you back us with your dollars, or just talk?" (149). On the heels of reporting, they issued an instigative question to provoke support and action. This is further evidence of the ongoing call-and-response phenomenon of the NAACP. The report was evidence of call-as-response and call-in-response. In addition, it is an example of a hybrid of reply-reaction. These aforementioned creative reply-reactions were rhetorical and communicative, speaking to the role and function of call-and-response communication. The membership of the NAACP and the circulation of *The Crisis* increased in the aftermath of these reports.

The Elucidation of Communication Ethics

The second footing of this dissertation is communication ethics. That is to say, communication ethics also undergirds the foundation of this dissertation. Communication ethics further situates this project in the field of communication. To elucidate communication ethics, we look to several works: Namely the work of Arnett, Fritz, and Bell who is *Communication Ethics Literacy* writes about the coordinates of communication ethics. In addition, we look to the work of Leyla Tavernaro-Haidarian, who in *A Relational Model of Public Discourse: The African Philosophy of Ubuntu* writes about what can be termed an "ubuntu communication ethics." Lastly, we look at the work of Brian Meeks who writes in *Culture, Politics, Race and Diaspora: The Thought of Stuart Hall* who writes about civism. In addition, we examine the discourses of the NAACP to illumine the communication ethics that animate them. All told, there are three concepts that help elucidate communication ethics approach that c: ubuntu, civism, the negotiation of difference.

To be sure, there are many definitions of communication ethics and many kinds of communication ethics. However, in this work communication ethics, in large part concerns how people interact with others. In *Communication Ethics Literacy* the authors wrote that "[c]ommunication ethics is the recognition that we take a given philosophy of communication, an understanding of the good, and apply it in interaction with others (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell 32). In this regard, communication ethics concerns how various, competing understandings of what should be and what is good are engaged, in public, private, and social discourses. In this dissertation, the three applicative coordinates of communication ethics are: The attentiveness to the problem of a historical moment, the promotion of a good/value, and the negotiation of difference. Paula S. Tompkins in *Practicing Communication Ethics* articulates how

communication ethics relates to practices that lead to the co-creation of relationships, such as those that are familial, professional, social, civil, and communal (Tompkins). As such, according to Tompkins, communication ethics concern how relationships are co-created, as in the case of the Association. In addition, Arnett, Fritz, and Bell wrote:

> Communication ethics in a time of disagreement finds temporal ground—a place to stand for the moment, recognizing that this ground of agreement may shift later—in the dialectical tension between identifying communication ethics positions as necessary for guiding a life and recognizing their necessarily persuasive nature. Acknowledging that our learning requires a dialogic openness to listening to another's point of view opens a space for finding common ground in postmodernity (17).

Arnett, Fritz, and Bell recognize how the praxis of communication ethics finds a place to stand. In the case of the early NAACP, we see the establishment, discovery, and acknowledgment of a common ground in the common sense about the good of association; a common sense about the association that is evident in a leaning into interracial communication and multi-diverse association.

For instance, The diversity of co-signatories indicates communication ethics. The group of endorsers was a multi-diverse group—a group that was not interracial, but it also multi-vocational. The group of co-signatories also represented a number of institutions, such as the American Missionary Society, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Unitarian Church, the Niagara Movement, the Afro-American Council, Hull House, the Henry Street Settlement, The National Urban League, Columbia University, Union Theological Seminary, Fisk University, Western Reserve University, *The New York Evening Post*, *The American Magazine*, and *The Independent*, just to name a few. That is to say, as per Arnett, Fritz, and Bell and

Tompkins, this diverse group of people, associated with a number of institutions, lifted up their collective voices to call forth "all believers in democracy" in a time of legalized and sanctioned segregation.

In *A Relational Model of Public Discourse: The African Philosophy of Ubuntu,* the author Leyla Tavernaro-Haidarian offers a term to grasp communication ethics. In the book, Leyla Tavernaro-Haidarian writes about the approach to public discourse grounded in the African philosophy of ubuntu, employed in South Africa after the dismantling of apartheid. In more ways than one, this application of ubuntu philosophy. Tavernaro-Haidarian wrote that the communication drew "on the deep sense of relationalism that informed South Africa's post-apartheid reconciliatory stance and much of its public discourse… largely characterized by 'unifying words and symbols'" (14). As such, Tavernaro-Haidarian explained ubuntu as "a value that is characterized by communal, harmonious or cohesive relationships with others" (Tavernaro-Haidarian 14). As such, Tavernaro-Haidarian's work explained an ubuntu-based philosophy influenced way of communicating in post-apartheid South Africa. Importantly, there is a correlation between the putative "ubuntu communication ethics" and the communication ethics coordinates made salient in *Communication Ethics Literacy* (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell). That is to say, Tavernaro-Haidarian explained how this "ubuntu communication ethics" emerged out of the post-apartheid historical moment, as a means to negotiate the racial differences and tensions, and as a means to promote the good of unification and cohesive relationality.

In addition, we also use *Culture, Politics, Race and Diaspora: The Thought of Stuart Hall* by Brian Meeks. Meeks writes on the term *civism*. And in this dissertation, we extend Meeks' description of civism to describe the particular kind communication ethics. That is the call-and-response communication ethics that catalyzed the NAACP and was characterized by

civism. Meeks described *civism* with respect to a project to rescue the idea of public interest, to restore the category of the citizen, and to promote the norm of *civism* as an autonomous citizen-based activity for the common good (Meeks 189). As such, we are to understand the communication ethics of the NAACP as inspiring and involving public interest and the pivotal role of the citizenry. Put another way Meeks' treatment of civism offers a concept to explain the orientation of the call-and-response communication ethics of the early NAACP. The early NAACP was an association marked by civism. Or put another way, the NAACP was a civic association. As such, civism is a term that describes the civic constitution and inclination of the association. For that matter, it describes the orientation of every kind of gathering that leads to the conception, establishment, and performance of the NAACP, from the small group meetings to the committee meetings, to the conferences. The gatherings of the developing NAACP were shaped by an ethic civism.

This coordinate made salient by Arnett, Fritz, and Bell are evident in *The Crisis.* That is, the coordinates made salient by Arnett, Fritz, and Bell help us to better understand the formation and performance of *The Crisis* magazine, the official organ of the NAACP. For example, communication ethics is indicated in the very title of *The Crisis,* the official publication of the NAACP. The title pointed to the historical moment, the problem of the historical moment, and to the response of the problem. All of that is encompassed in the title *The Crisis.* The title conveyed a critical moment in history, it conveyed a predicament that demanded a response, and it conveyed effort to create a turning point.

In the "Editorial" of the first issue Du Bois wrote the following, "[i]t takes its name from the fact that the editors believe that this is critical time in the history of the advancement of men" (Du Bois, "Editorial" 10). Du Bois alludes to an important aspect of communication ethics—that

the title was a response to "critical time in history." In addition, the title of the periodical corresponded to the application of communication ethics as well. The reference to the "critical time" is also an allusion to the historical moment, which according to Arnett, Fritz, and Bell is one of the coordinates of communication ethics. Hence, at heart, the very title (or calling) of the publication reflected an attentiveness to communication ethics and call-and-response. This is akin to the fact that the ubuntu-based philosophical approach to communication in South Africa emerged at a critical moment in historical when apartheid was dismantled.

In addition, communication ethics is inferred in the "The Call" as well. "silence" connoted in "The Call" could infer a public denunciation of noncommunication. That "The Call" denounces silence might explain the objective and the title of *The Crisis,* the official publication of the NAACP. This connects, *The Crisis,* the publication of the NAACP, is a means to communication. To that point, the Du Bois prefaces his articulation of the objective of *The Crisis* with the following preamble, "The object of this publication [*The Crisis*] is to set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice, particularly as manifested today toward colored people" (Du Bois "Editorial" 10). Seemingly "The Call" implicitly called for a counteraction to silence, in a way that is evident in the publication of *The Crisis.* For example, the subtitle is "A Record of the Darker Races." In general, a subtitle provides additional information and context about the theme of the of a work. In particular, the fact that *The Crisis* is a "record" speaks volumes. Suffice it to say, a record counteracts silence through the recounting of events. In addition, declaring "silence under these conditions means tacit approval" is also, in effect, a critique of quiescence, which connotes the absence of activity or action. That is, "The Call" calls for communicative action. The aforementioned in mind, "The Call" and *The Crisis* affirmed the role of communication, and evidenced call and response communication.

The Negro National Conference was the "national conference" referenced in "The Call." Among the discourse associated with the Negro National Conference was the Preface to the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference 1909.* The Preface, in part, read:

> Every available means should be adopted for this purpose, not only investigations of the situation in all of its manifold forms and in every section of the country, but also conferences, public meetings, speeches, and articles by members of the organization and all others interested, cooperation with other organizations and the furnishing to the public press of news hitherto suppressed or difficult to obtain.
>
> By all these and other means it is hoped and believed that the so-called Negro question, in its broader aspects, will become more and more a subject of daily interest to all classes of the American people, until the nation is at last in a mood to deal with this momentous evil of race discrimination in the thoroughgoing spirit with which alone it can be successfully handled (Walling 7).

In this excerpt of the Preface Walling also confirmed the role of communication—promoting and prioritizing conferences, public meetings, speeches, and articles. What is more, Walling promoted a diversity of kinds of community, as part of the response to the question of that moment, the "Negro question" as it was called. Ultimately the conferences, meetings, speeches, and articles were called for in order that "Negro question" would become the concern of "all classes" American people, and not just Negroes. As such, the Preface, also, points to an application of communication ethics as part of a call and response phenomenon.

These outlooks on the formation of the NAACP point to an interrelationship between call and response and communication ethics. The interplay of communication ethics and call and response was crucial. This is evident in the communication and action of the inchoate

association, as they responded to calls and issued calls, and as they convened in conference, engaged in discourse, incorporated the NAACP, and published *The Crisis*. The process of call and response was vital during that early twentieth century historical moment in that it moved people into accountability and promoted dialogic engagement. Communication ethics promoted the negotiation of difference and constructive communication.

In this particular section of the chapter is the elucidation of the communication ethics footing. As a reminder, just as footings situate in the ground, the communication ethics footing situates in the ground of communication. That said, with regard to the formation of the NAACP, communication ethics are situated in an important, particular kind of ground. In a real sense, a communication ethics footing situates in a common ground of association. What is the significance of the common ground? In a metaphorical sense, with respect to the developing NAACP, the common ground is a place for associates and communicators to stand. In a practical sense, finding and cultivating common ground is important. If for no other reason, the common ground is a place to understand others. Also, the common ground is a place to stand with others who have other, complementary stances.

Writing about eleven years before the conception of the NAACP, co-founder Jane Addams wrote about the importance of common ground in an 1898 essay entitled, "Why the Ward Boss Rules" published in *Outlook,* a weekly magazine out of New York City. Addams wrote concerning the sociopolitical conditions and context of the Nineteenth Ward in Chicago, where in the 1890s there were "fifty thousand people of twenty different nationalities, all jammed into a few square miles of flimsy, depressing tenement house" (Davis 248). She offers a critique of the Alderman of the ward. Her critique? Essentially, she criticized his charity-based approach to politics. She critiqued the fact that the Alderman continually reacted to the

impecunious circumstances of the residents instead of working to change the conditions that created the circumstances of impoverishment. As such, she wrote to encourage civic communication and action, writing, "if we would hold on to our political democracy, some pains must be taken to keep on common ground in our human experiences, and to some solidarity in our ethical conceptions" (Addams 124). In so doing, Addams promoted a common ground, based on humanitarian principles.

Communication ethics is an indispensable approach in an environment of difference and diversity. What is more, communication ethics is especially important in times characterized by and shaped by premeditated divergence, such as the current historical moment in which we are living. Notwithstanding, the question is raised: What is communication ethics? Though Arnett, Fritz, and Bell offer a good one. As aforementioned there is no one, universal definition.

In the introduction of *An Encyclopedia of Communication Ethics: Goods in Contention* the editors offered a helpful description. Arnett, Holba, and Mancino explained what contributes to the essence of communication ethics—an interdependent relation among self, other, and historical context, which calls forth human responsibility. As we situate the communication ethics footing, it is important to acknowledge the co-presence and mutuality of self and other. Interestingly, their definition also uses a term relative to call and response; they assert that interdependence calls forth human responsibility (1). According to Arnett, Holba, and Mancino, communication ethics entails a provocation.

They continued, writing the following, "communication ethics…explicates and guides from a unique standpoint as one navigates a world of narrative and virtue contention. Communication ethics perspectives respond to the demands and questions of specific historical moments…" (1). In that way, they make salient five important coordinates of communication

ethics: Self, other, historical context, the questions of a historical moment, and human responsibility. Communication ethics footing is based on the interplay of these five coordinates. As we explore the discourses of the NAACP, whether the discourses of the Negro National Conference, or the discourses from *The Crisis,* we search for and highlight these coordinates. That said, there is more to communication ethics.

In addition, to the five coordinates illumined in *An Encyclopedia of Communication Ethics: Goods in Contention,* we pivot to *Communication Theory Through the Ages* by Igor E. Klyukanov and Galina V. Sinekopova. In a real sense, the authors present a theory of communication study, however their work points to communication ethics. In *Communication Theory Through the Ages*, Klyukanov and Sinekopova explain communication in terms of generational questions and generational response. In a nutshell *Communication Theory Through the Ages* is a journey through pivotal points in history. They write, "one must engage in communication and move toward understanding an issue through questions and answers" (46). Notably, their work reinforces the importance of questions. The theory of study they present centers around the construal of the epochal questions that are asked by generations and the epochal responses learned from generations. Their theory is that the fulcrums of every chapter in history are the crucial questions. As such, Klyukanov and Sinekopova promote approaching the study of communication (and of history) according to pivotal, epochal questions. Their approach, accordingly, syncs with one of the chief coordinates of communication ethics—the question of historical moment. However, Klyukanov and Sinekopova go one step further, promoting an attentiveness to the critical answers to the crucial question. That is to say, in situating communication ethics footing, we also attend to the answer, to the solution and resolution, and to the response.

Difference is another important coordinate of communication ethics. To situate communication ethics, it is important to highlight the multi-diversity that influenced the development of the NAACP. This project interprets certain discourses of the NAACP, from a standpoint attentive to communication ethics. As part of the effort to further situate the communication ethics footings, we establish how, writ large, communication ethics is a catalyst for constructive communication in a given historical moment, and we elucidate how the discourses of the NAACP emerged out of communication ethics. To further situate the communication ethics footing, we look to a number of scholars, and we further examine the discourses of the NAACP in light of certain communication ethics understandings.

It is important to clarify that there are a number of descriptions, meanings, and understandings of communication ethics, some elucidated above, others to be elucidated below. Communication ethics is inherent in the variety of the communicative discourses of the NAACP. For example, in the Preface to the *Proceedings to the Negro National Conference* Walling writes the following:

> It was realized that no organization then existed, composed of colored and white people alike, that was making its main object the preservation of these rights, now threatened from so many quarters. It was considered highly important to establish a relation between organizations already in existence as well as among individuals who while working for the colored population primarily in some other direction, were also firmly decided to stand for the Negro's political and civil rights, but were unable to do so effectively on account of the absence of such an established relationship.
>
> The same unanimity that prevailed in regard to the main objects of the new organization extended also to its choice of methods. It was decided that a series of

> conferences would be the best means at once to attract the attention of all those who might become interested in the proposed organization, to put the present situation of the Negro in its entirety in the foreground of public interest and to establish a basis of fact, reasoned policy and even of science for its future conduct (6).

In this excerpt Walling states the subject and objectives of the conference. In so doing, he indicates the attentiveness to a number of coordinates of communication ethics. He remarks on the interracial makeup of the conference, he the relation among organization and individuals unanimity, he alludes to a common sense of good—standing for the Negro's political and civil rights he touches upon a plan of communication to create awareness, he refers to problem of that historical moment—the present situation of the Negro. The Preface confers credibility on the discourses of the Negro National Conference by making the case why readers should heed the discourses. In addition, Walling describes the delegations and renders a judgment about the success of the conference. He wrote:

> The character of the delegations composing the Conference and its final action proved the possibility of securing harmony between half a dozen different currents of opinion favoring the Negroes, already existing among the white population, and a similar number of diverging I movements among the colored people themselves.
>
> It is confidently believed that the proceedings of the first Conference of 1909 and the resolutions passed will serve as a convincing appeal for public support, that they will bring not only a large increase in the number of those attending the conference but also new forces which will strengthen it for the work it has already undertaken, broaden its scope and define still more clearly the friendly attitude of all public-spirited and democratic citizens (7).

Walling's statements here also indicate an awareness of communication ethics. He refers to the character of the delegations and the harmony between different currents of opinions. The fact that there are a number of delegations speaks volumes. The fact that there was a harmony of different opinions speaks volumes. In addition, Walling also speaks of the diversity of the workforce (for the cause) that helped facilitate a broadened scope of work. This is an effect of an applied communication ethic. Walling discloses the quality of the interrelationship among those who gathered (friendly).

Walling also disclosed the shared civic orientation of those who gathered (the public-spirited and democratic citizens). This orientation gave shape to the practice of communication ethics. In fact, Walling alludes to a kind of communication ethic. That raises a question: Are there descriptions of communication ethics or examples of communication ethics? In the article "A Construct for Assessing Ethics in Communication" James W. Chesebro makes clear that there are a number of kinds of communication ethics. In the article, Chesebro writes about ethical considerations and judgments in certain speeches that were deemed contemporary or fitting for the time. In the article, Chesebro employed Kenneth Burke's *dramatism* to describe how ethical standards applied, for example, in the rhetoric of the Vietnam War, and the rhetoric of the Black Power movement. In the article, Chesebro articulates the various kind of communication ethics, such as dialogic communication ethics, narrative communication ethics, contextual communication ethics, universal-humanitarian communication ethics, and democratic communication ethics (Chesebro). This dissertation extends Chesebro, pushing off of the recognition that there are differing kinds of communications. That said, what emerges from this look oat the Preface is that communication ethics of the NAACP was kindled by *civism* (Meeks; Dynneson; Langher, Marinelli, Groterath). Civism, first used during the French

Revolution, refers to the practices and attitudes of a good citizens. Civism is also akin to civicism, which refers to the commitment to civic interests and to civic mindedness. While there are elements of the dialogic, narrative, contextual, universal-humanitarian, and the democratic in the communicative discourses of the NAACP, the communication ethics of the NAACP is oriented by *civism*—the ethics of good citizenship and civic engagement. Or, put another way by Africana Studies scholar Brian Meeks, civism is the "autonomous citizen-based activity for the common good" (Meeks 189). Situating the communication ethics footing vis-à-vis the discourses of the NAACP means recognizing the import of civism.

This is evident by an important distinctive NAACP—the association, and the role of association. Those that eventually form the association are not elected, nor those who embrace a similar philosophical outlook, nor are the people already in dialogue. They engage in the associative practices that eventuate in association. They become an association by being an association in the making, via conference and corporation. The enterprise and endeavor of association is rooted in a communication ethic that is kindled by a praxis of civism. With that in mind, to further situate the communication ethics footing, an introductory exposition of association is crucial. Though a further elucidation of association will be offered in the next chapter, we turn now to the work of Gamm and Putnam.

In *The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America, 1840-1940*, Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam wrote about the significance of association. The exposit about the rise of association during the same time period that NAACP is conceived and formed. They wrote, "Next to the mass political party, probably no aspect of American democracy has been more celebrated than the longstanding proclivity of Americans to join voluntary associations… In mastering the associative way, they have mastered the democratic way" (511). As such, the

NAACP is both an association protecting and promoting the interests of the associates, or members and it promotes and protects the concerns of the citizenry. The NAACP, an association, was formed to serve a greater good, by focusing on the interests of others—namely the equality, enfranchisement, education, and employment of Black Americans.

Association has an attendant communication approach—the approach responds to the question of a moment, it protects and promotes a good, and it seeks to associate difference. The association is catalyzed by communication ethics. As such, the communication ethics of the NAACP does a number of things: It enlists and networks people, it appreciates and associates difference, it draws connections between ideas, and it promotes commitment to a common goal. This is apparent, for example, in the NAACP Articles of Incorporation, which begins with a statement that conveys a communication ethic kindled by civism. It reads, "We, the undersigned, being of full age and desirous of associating ourselves together…" In this way, the privilege the good of association, a value based on the action of unity and goal of unity. This is significant given the diversity of those that cosigned the Articles of Incorporation. The signatories on the NAACP Articles of Incorporation are a different configuration of callers than those who signed on to "The Call." The incorporators are, also, different that the forty who make up the Negro National Committee.

In a sense, the communication ethics seen in the organizing of the NAACP. This is akin to organizational or corporate communication ethics. Or put another way, this is akin to communication ethics between and among stakeholders, who are "any persons or groups" who "have a stake" (Heath) in intraorganizational collaborations, interactions, and operations what is suffice it to say that communication. For instance, there is an intramural collaboration of partaking workgroups. The NAACP is made up of co-partaking delegations—the callers, the

NNC committee, the NNC incorporators, and the editorial board of *The Crisis*. Each of these delegations have certain duties delegated to them individually and yet they also function collectively.

In addition, there is also diversity within each partaking group. This too indicates a communication ethic at work, a communication ethic at work in the dynamic within each workgroup. It bears repeating that there is a diversity of persons who cosign the "The Call" and the diversity of persons who make up the Negro National Committee, and a diversity of persons who make up the Negro National Conference. There is also a diversity of people who signed the Articles of Incorporation. The cosigners included: Walter E Sachs, and banker who became a partner at Goldman Sachs; Joel E. Spingarn, an educator; Adam Clayton Powell, pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, New York City; Charles E. Bentley, a dentist and a founder of the Niagara Movement; William A Sinclair, a doctor, pastor, and field secretary of the Constitution League; and Albert E. Pillsbury, Attorney General of Massachusetts. This implies an idiosyncratic application of communication ethics within each stakeholder workgroup and between stakeholder workgroups. How the NAACP delegations or stakeholder workgroups negotiate diversity indicates an applied communication ethics. This applied communication ethics is seen in the *civism* of association and in intraorganizational stake-holding.

In addition, worthy of note is that in some respects the NAACP was a consociation, an organization formed from separate groups or bodies. In "Debating Consociation" O'Leary explained how consociations are characterized by three things: Power sharing among representatives of communities; proportional representation and allocation; and self-government, in cultural domains (O'Leary). The NAACP, to a degree, is an incorporation of persons and groups. In addition, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the NAACP was influenced by other

organizations, or by the philosophies of other organizations. Among those who cosign the Articles are those who were also part of the Niagara Movement and the Constitution League. The incorporation of persons involved an incorporation of the applied communication ethics of other predecessor organizations. Meaning the NAACP shows us how a manifold of values, voices, and vocations can be negotiated and associated. The association (the NAACP) was a unity of diversity.

The question is raised: What kind of communication promotes the endeavor and enterprise of association? What manner of communication leads to what Walling called "harmony between half a dozen different currents of opinion favoring the Negroes, already existing among the white population, and a similar number of diverging movements"? We turn the article, "The Race War in the North" by William English Walling. The response to the Springfield Race Riot was encompassed in the article, however the gist and aim of the article was encapsulated in the final sentence of the article, which was framed as a question. As Walling, calls for a revival of abolitionism, he asked, "Yet who realizes the seriousness of the situation and what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?" Walling's instigative question was not a rhetorical question per se, but it was part of rhetorical discourse to enlist citizens in order to effect change. The question was, evidently, rooted in a communication ethic. The question is not only a response to the exigent question, but also promoted action by a body. Importantly, the question was posed to those who would self-identify as members of a "body of citizens." The question was to instigate a diverse civic body. Thereby the response was oriented by and toward *civism*. This was an open question meant to activate a body of citizens with many kinds of members: Including journalists and editors; teachers, academics, and administrators; lawyers, attorneys, and legal scholars; and social workers and clergy. This

communicative question indicates the application of a communication ethic that is based on an appraisal of diversity, and a means to associate difference.

Walling's article was a form of public communication rooted in a communication ethic. To be more precise, his article, particularly his closing rhetorical discourse encapsulated in the form of a penetrating interrogative sentence, was rooted in a communication ethic. That is to say, his article raised the question of that historical moment, and it attended to the question of that early twentieth century historical moment—the imperilment and exclusion of Black citizens. Additionally, his article was a means to negotiate differences, especially in that the article promoted the coordination and coaction of a members of a body. Further, it was rooted in a communication ethic that promoted a good, namely the good of association oriented by and toward *civism*. That said, likewise the NAACP Articles of Incorporation also employed and applied a communication ethic, one that was oriented by and toward *civism*. The Articles of Incorporation were created on May 25, 1911, two years after the conception of NAACP. The Articles of Incorporation officially established the NAACP as legal corporation. The Articles of Incorporation, in part, read as follows:

> That the principal objects for which the corporation is formed are voluntarily to promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States; to advance the interests of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law.

Given the use of the term corporation, the Articles of Incorporation were an applied communication ethic.

Taking into account Walling's article, "The Call" and the NAACP Articles of Incorporation, the NAACP is to be understood as a body of citizens that become an association. This is achieved via communication and is the result of an applied communication ethic. Worthy of note is that Articles declared that the corporation would promote equality. Promoting the good of "equality" indicates communication ethics. Protecting and promoting a good is a coordinate of communication ethics (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell). In addition, the objectives were to "advance the interests of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law." In addition, the Articles indicated an attention to the problem of that historical moment. This is evident in the objective to "eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States." This indicates a communication ethic; one of the coordinates of communication ethics is an attentiveness to the problem of a given moment. According to the Articles of Incorporation, the objectives are to be achieved via association. According to the Articles of Incorporation, the association was a corporation.

According to the Articles of Incorporation, the corporation was an association. The Articles of Incorporation, philosophically, pivoted on a dialectical tension between corporation and incorporation. This tension between corporation and incorporation is a way to elucidate association. Corporation implied incorporation. The fact that the corporation was an association implied an incorporation of associates. That is to say, on one hand, via the Articles of Incorporation, the NAACP became a corporation—a body of citizens mobilized for a civic purpose. On the other hand, the incorporation of the NAACP based on the action of incorporation—the inclusion of things into a whole. This correlates to association, which is an

organization that bases on the act of unifying for a common purpose. The Articles of Incorporation announced the incorporation of various members of a body of citizens into an association.

As such, the act of incorporation is to be seen as a means of negotiating difference, which is another coordinate of communication ethics (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell). The notion of corporation and the metaphor of body correlates communication ethics, in that each implies the coordination of multiple members. In addition, according to the Articles of Incorporation, the corporation is based on the incorporation of persons into a whole, namely a corporative association. The Articles of Incorporation established volunteer-based corporation. We learn from the co-signers of "The Call" and co-incorporators that the NAACP was manifestly an association of different persons and professions. The work of this corporation implied an orientation by and toward *civism*.

That fact that a body of citizens formed a volunteer-based corporation in order to promote constitutional values implies an applied communication ethic; a communication ethics oriented by and toward *civism*. In addition, we look to the work of John Dewey. According to Lindsay Miller and Omar Schwartz, in "John Dewey: Democratic Sensibility" Dewey had a democratic sensibility. For Dewey, morality interrelated with values of democracy, and morality linked with communication (Miller and Swartz 129). As such, for Dewey there is a connection between ethics, communication, and democratic thought and action. This is an important understanding that further situates the communication ethics footing. This reading of Dewey paves the way to the rhetorical study of the discourses with an eye toward what can be termed civic communication and participation. Conceptually, civic communication is a kind of communication ethic. It pertains to how citizens communicate within a community concerning

public affairs. Dewey's work is helpful, for an element of the discourses of NAACP had a civic dimension. In a real sense, the aforementioned discourses of the NAACP can be construed as discourses that derive out of civic communication ethics, for it is characterized by the interaction of citizens concerning public affairs. That said, the discourses of the NAACP go beyond the interaction among citizens. Therefore, we turn to rhetorician Gerard Hauser, who explains rhetorical communication and in so doing echoes *civism*. He writes, "rhetorical communication… attempts to coordinate social action. Its goal is to influence human choices on specific matters that require attention…" (Hauser 3). Hauser makes reference to an important obligation, the responsibility of citizenship.

In addition to supporting the foundation and facilitating the establishment of the framework (the communicative practices of call-and-response communication ethics), this chapter, also facilitates the establishment of the cornerstones (chapter 3) Positioning communication ethics and call and response lays the groundwork for the cornerstones—the historical moment and the problem of disassociation. Why are communication ethics and call-and-response (the footings) important precursors to cornerstones? Because the communication ethics approach and the call-and-response mode orients this work in three ways: One, toward an understanding the historical moment; two, towards acknowledging the problem of historical moment; and three, toward examining the negotiation of difference. As mentioned, three chief coordinates of communication ethics relate to context, question, and ethical response in and through communication (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell). In addition, understanding call-and-response dynamic is an important way to understand the problem-response dynamic. The call and response dynamic is akin to the problem and solution dynamic. In the case of the developing NAACP, the call to association counteracts the problem of disassociation. Put simply, the "calls"

call attention to the problem of a moment. In addition, the “calls” inspire people to associate difference into a unity of diversity. And “calls” call people to co-respond. As per the Latin word *respondere*, a response is a pledge or promise in return. Importantly, communication ethics and call-and-response are expressed and worked out through communication. For the aforementioned reasons, among others, the footings are important to the project: They facilitate the establishment of the cornerstones and the framework.

Chapter Three: The Cornerstone(s): The Historical Moment and the Problem of Disassociation.

This chapter offers an elucidation of the cornerstones of this dissertation: The historical context and the problem of disassociation. Having elucidated the foundation and the footings, it is fitting to pivot to the cornerstones. This chapter presents an exposition of early twentieth century historical moments, a period shaped by the influences and the inheritances from the latter half of the nineteen century. These cornerstones serve as a substructure for this project, and particularly for the framework—the call-and-response communication ethics—of this dissertation. To elucidate the cornerstones, we exposit the term as a metaphor, we look to a few representative discourses of the NAACP that illumine the historical moment and the problem of disassociation, and we employ the work of a number of philosophers and communicators, particularly those who offer accounts of those affected by the problem of disassociation in that historical moment.

The fact that the body of conferees decided to transcribe the discourses of the Negro National Conference indicated their recognition of the importance of the historical moment. That oral discourses can be transcribed points to the quality and transcribability of the discourses. That the discourses were published in the same year of the conference (1909), implies a recognition of the magnitude of the moment and the constructiveness of the discourses. Put another way, the body turned the constructive discourses into fecund artifacts. In addition, by composing the Preface, Walling set forth the context of the conference. He wrote:

> It was the opinion of all the members of the preliminary committee, * and I believe also of every one of those since interested in the Conference, that the most neglected side of

> the Negro's welfare is his right to civil and political equality, recognized for nearly half a century in this country and clearly expressed in the Constitution.

Walling's prefatory remarks point to the magnitude of the historical moment. He not only introduced the subject, scope and aims of conference, Walling drew attention to the moment, namely, the "neglected side of the Negro's welfare is his right to civil and political equality." The transcription of the discourses of the Negro National Conference alludes to the consequence of the historical moment. The preface speaks to the significance of the historical moment.

Concomitantly, the content of the discourses of the Negro National Conference pointed to the problem or question of that historical. It bears repeating that one of the key coordinates of communication ethics is the question of the historical moment (MacIntyre; Taylor; Arnett, Fritz, and Bell; Arnett, Mancino; and Holba). We see this attentiveness the question of a given historical moment in the projects and praxes of public intellectuals like W.E.B. Du Bois, a co-founder of the NAACP, John Dewey, founder of the NAACP, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, another co-founder of the NAACP, Hannah Arendt, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Martin Luther King, Jr., Dorothy Day, Paulo Freire.

That said, the attentiveness to the question of the early twentieth century historical moment is evident in the discourses of the Negro National Conference, such as "The Race Problem" (speech) by Jenkins Lloyd Jones, such as the speech "Is the Southern Position Anglo-Saxon?" by John Spencer Bassett, such as the "Evolution of the Race Problem" (speech) by W. E. B. DuBois, such as "The Problem's Solution" (speech) by J. Milton Waldron, such as the speech, "Civil and Political Status of the Negro" by Bishop A. Walters. In fact Professor of Anthropology Livingston Farrand writes about the "general problem of race" differentiation" (Farrand) and William English Walling writes in the Preface "In view of the resolutions adopted

in 1909 it is scarcely necessary to state that it is the deep conviction of all that not only the ultimate solution of the problem but the crying necessities of the moment will be best met not by any suppression or postponement of the fullest and freest possible discussion of the question in all its aspects, but by bringing it into the very foreground of public attention" (Walling "Preface" 6). Further, in the speech entitled, "Race Reconciliation" Celia Parker Woolley wrote:

> The color problem does not pertain to this country alone, still less to a particular section of the country. The cry so often heard, "This is a southern problem," "The South alone understands the Negro," "Leave this matter to us" is but a repetition of the old cry which we heard before the war. The same human passion and sectional pride, the same sense of special ownership and right of final appeal inspires the latter as the earlier cry. The color question is a national prob (Woolley)

That is to say, given the subject matter of a cross section of the discourses, the discourses of Jones, Bassett, DuBois, Waldron, Walters, Farrand, Walling and Woolley, the problem of the historical moment is evident in the topics and subject matter of the discourses of Negro National Conference

Cornerstone as a Metaphor and as an Organizing Concept

Before turning to the elucidation of the historical moment and the problem of disassociation, an exposition of the term "cornerstone" is helpful. The term is an organizing concept for the dissertation and this chapter. It is a term that not only is a part of the building schema, connecting to the term's foundation, grounding, and footing, in addition it is meaningful metaphor. With the aforementioned in mind, another clarifying question is raised? What are cornerstones? Today, many cornerstones are ceremonial, however originally cornerstones served an important purpose in building. In construction, the purpose of cornerstones is manifold. First

and foremost, the cornerstone is the first stone laid. Notwithstanding the foundation and the footing, technically the cornerstone is the first part of the actual superstructure or building. Therefore, cornerstones are the primary building blocks, or are literally the basic parts of the building. Accordingly, as the first stones laid, all other stones are set according to and in alignment with the cornerstone(s). As such, cornerstones facilitate alignment, position, and direction of a building project.

The aforementioned in mind, there are three other purposes for cornerstones. In terms of building construction, cornerstones form corners of a building. For the most part, cornerstones join walls, which are themselves supportive structures. In terms of building construction, the main supports are walls and frameworks which are part of the framework. Put simply, cornerstones adjoin and therefore make sturdy supports like wall and frameworks. As such, the cornerstones of this dissertation help connect and made sturdy the framework of this dissertation—the four communicative practices of call-and-response communication ethics. Thirdly, cornerstones also mark location. Depending on the style of architecture, cornerstones might have been set in a certain geographic location. As such, cornerstones gave buildings a certain orientation. As such, the cornerstones of this dissertation orient this project toward communication ethics. Lastly, in some cornerstones were "cavities" in which deposits could be held for discovery by others. Another way to put is that some cornerstones had cavities in which to place time capsules or containers to hold artifacts of historical significance. Accordingly, the cornerstones of this work contain information that is of significance. The cornerstones serve an implicative function.

The significance of the cornerstones (of this dissertation) is manifold: It is a precursor to the mid-twentieth century moment, the era of the Civil Rights Movement. The cornerstones also

contain insights about the consequence of the problem of disassociation, a genus of problems under which are problems like segregation, interdiction, and disentitlement. This dimension of the cornerstone promotes an awareness of that which is a superordinate problem. These are important insights for this current moment marked by a tension between diversity and division, a current moment marked by divergence between elected officials, a current moment marked by the ostensive disunion of the United States and the rhetoric of disunion.

Finally, the response of the association is significant. As mentioned above, in building construction sometimes cornerstones contain time capsules, which contained information for a future audience. As such, as part of the cornerstones of this project, time capsules become a helpful metaphor. Cornerstones contain a trove of information meant to be helpful. The cornerstones and time capsules offer an analogy into the value of the NAACP. In addition, sometimes time capsules are placed in cornerstones.

In *Time Capsules: A Cultural History,* Jarvis examines the history and significance of time capsules, writing that time capsules were a "collection of an era's information to be deliberately preserved and sealed for long-term retrieval" (Jarvis 155). In addition, Yablon explains the "why" using a synonymous term, time vessel. In *Remembrance of Things Present*, Nick Yablon also wrote about time vessels, describing them as a means to construct usable pasts to influence how future generations would remember the present (Yablon 9). Further Assman writes about the philosophy communication behind the time capsule. In *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization* Jan Assmann calls them "prospective memories" which are records meant to preserve the present in the cultural memory to come (Assmann 72). Time capsules, time vessels, and prospective memories convey a sense about a people's ethical obligations to future generations.

Accordingly, the notion of the time capsule is a metaphor for communication ethics. The metaphor helps to elucidate the "why" behind the discourses of the Negro National Conference—there is a sense of duty that inspires people to record and impart. This is evident, for example, in the decision to document and publish the discourses of the Negro National Conference in *The Proceedings of the Negro National Conference 1909.* In fact, in the "Preface" of the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference* William English Walling gives indication of a communication ethic. He wrote:

> It is confidently believed that the proceedings of the first Conference of 1909 and the resolutions passed will serve as a convincing appeal for public support, that they will bring not only a large increase in the number of those attending the conference but also new forces which will strengthen it for the work it has already undertaken, broaden its scope and define still more clearly the friendly attitude of all public-spirited and democratic citizens… [I]t is hoped and believed that the so-called Negro question, in its broader aspects, will become more and more a subject of daily interest to all classes of the American people, until the nation is at last in a mood to deal with this momentous evil of race discrimination in a thoroughgoing spirit with which alone it can be successfully handled" (Wallings "Preface" 7).

It is apparent by the "Preface" that certain decision-makers of the inchoate NAACP believed that spoken and written discourses would be of value. The "Preface" conveyed three aims: One, that the proceedings and resolutions would serve as a convincing appeal for public support; two the hope for "new forces" involved in the effort to strengthen the work; and three that "the nation" would be in a mood to deal with race discrimination. The "why" of the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference* point to would be associates (of the NAACP) and audiences in the

foreseeable future. In this way, *The Proceedings of the Negro National Conference 1909* functions like a kind of time capsule, and thus is an application of a communication ethics. It fires from an ethical responsibility to impart to others or share with others. Accordingly, time capsules are a helpful metaphor for communication ethics. The "why" behind time capsules is to communication—to impart—to forthcoming generation. Time capsules leave useful pieces of information that indicate what is important and prioritized.

Extending the description of cornerstones and time capsules, we pivot to the significance of cornerstones of this dissertation. This project, in earnest, aligns with the cornerstones—the historical context and the problem of disassociation. There are important aims for these elucidations. An aim of the elucidation of the early twentieth century historical moment is to promote knowledge about that period as a period. One in which an epochal question emerges, a period that is a crucial period in history, a period that kindles the mid-twentieth civil rights era, and is mirrored in this current historical moment. The elucidation of the problem of disassociation promotes the awareness of what is a root cause of a number of salient, blatant sociopolitical-racial problems.

The Elucidation of the Historical Moment

One of the cornerstones of this dissertation is the elucidation of the historical moment. Charles Taylor asserted that to understand "we are pushed into the past" (Taylor "Philosophy and Its History" 26). The grasp of history promotes understanding. Having a grasp on the early twentieth century historical moment is an indispensable part of this dissertation. The historical moment was characterized in a number of ways, as well as by a number of terms. The historical moment was characterized, notably, by the discourses of the NAACP.

In “The Race War in the North” Walling alludes to the character of the early twentieth century historical moment, which according to Walling was characterized by opposing outlooks and aspirations—on the one hand, the viewpoints and aspirations of abolitionists like Elijah Lovejoy, who became a martyr for the cause of abolition 1837, and on the other hand the viewpoints and aims of supremacist populists like James K. Vardaman, who as governor and senator of Mississippi was known for endorsing lynching, segregating streetcars, and foreclosing on education for Black Americans. In his speech “Politics and Industry” Du Bois describes the historical moment:

> In discussing Negro suffrage, we must remember that in the three hundred years between the settlement of this country and the present, there never has been a time when it was not legal for a Negro to vote in some considerable part of this land. From 1700 to 1909 Negroes have probably cast their ballots at some time in every single state of the Union, and all the time in some states and there has been no period in the history of the land when all Negroes were disfranchised (Du Bois “Politics and Industry”)

In addition, “The Call” also disclosed the particulars of the early historical moment. For example, “The Call” read, “Georgia had rounded out a new confederacy by disfranchising the Negro, after the manner of all the other Southern States.” In addition, it read, “[the Supreme Court] had refused every opportunity to pass squarely upon this disfranchisement of millions, by laws avowedly discriminatory and openly enforced in such manner that the white men may vote and that black men be without a vote in their government.” In addition, “The Call” read, that Lincoln would “see the black men and women, for whose freedom a hundred thousand of soldiers gave their lives, set apart in trains, in which they pay first-class fares for third-class

service, and segregated in railway stations and in places of entertainment." Like the article "Race War in the North" by Walling, "The Call" also made salient the conditions of the historical moment, the disenfranchisement of the Negro, manifest taxation without representation, legalized segregation, the sanctioned denial of first amendment rights—freedom of assembly and pervading extralegal imperilment and violence. The significance of "The Call" was that it led to the Negro National Conference 1909, the conference that precipitated the conception of the NAACP.

The historical moment was also characterized in other ways as well: As the racial *nadir* (Loewen; Logan); by the Plessy versus Ferguson Supreme Court "separate but equal" decision 1896; and with respect to the color line (Douglass; Du Bois). What is more, this time period was during the aftermath of the Compromise of 1877 and the deconstruction of Reconstruction. Further still, to be sure, the epoch was characterized by a plethora of anti-Black riots. According to *All Hell Broke Loose* "From 1898-1945 at least 50 significant race riots flared throughout the United States" (Collins xv). Not only the Springfield Race Riots, 1909, but also the Wilmington Race Riot, 1898; the Newburg, New York Race Riot, 1899; the Robert Charles Riot (New Orleans), 1900; the New York City Race Riot, 1900; the Atlanta Race Riot, 1906; the East St. Louis Race Riot, 1917; the Chester, Pennsylvania Race Riot, 1917; the Houston Mutiny and Race Riot, 1917; the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Race Riot, 1918 (Grimshaw). Not only the aforementioned riots, but also the riots of the Red Summer of 1919 (Voogd). Not to mention, the infamous Tulsa Race Massacre, 1921 (Hill), and the Rosewood Massacre, 1923 (Dye). Finally, the epoch was also defined by the lynchings, as per the project of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and the NAACP report *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States 1889-1918* (NAACP and Finkleman). The historical moment (of the early NAACP) was shaped by a number of decisions,

acts of violence, and phenomena, and characterized by a number of terms. Those decisions, acts of violence, phenomena and characterizations indicate the question of that historical moment.

The Problem of Disassociation

Another cornerstone is the problem of disassociation. Notwithstanding, the awareness of the historical moment, this dissertation is not a work of history in the strict sense. As part of communication ethics inquiry, attentiveness to history is important, however attentiveness to the question of the historical moment is paramount. This attentiveness is based on *Short History of Ethics*, exposits the history of ethical theory according to ethical responses to exigent questions of a given historical moment (MacIntyre). MacIntyre's approach is then applied to exploration of communication ethics in historical moments in *Philosophies of Communication: Implications for Everyday Experience* (Cook and Holba). Arnett, Fritz, and Bell wrote that the historical moment makes salient a relevant question that must be engaged. They add that the manner of engaging this question that they promote pertains to the "good" that is protected and promoted (3). The exigent question of a given historical moment can concern any emergent matter, such as the environment, or health care, or economic inequality, or racism or immigration, or poverty, or food insecurity, or global health, or human rights. In this work, based on the examination of the early twentieth century, the problem of disassociation emerges as an exigent and superordinate question. Put in the form of a question: What was the response to the problem of disassociation in the early twentieth century historical moment, and how can we and do we respond to the problem of disassociation in this current, twenty-first century historical moment?

That raises the question: How do we elucidate disassociation? To describe the problem of disassociation, we use a few more implements: Etymology, characterizations, concepts as metaphors, and applications. That said, the problem of disassociation is not an everyday term nor

a term with a singular definition. In fact, the word disassociation is polysemous; it has many senses. In addition, the problem of disassociation itself is often obscured by other, related, more striking problems.

Broadly speaking, the problem of disassociation involves the undoing of association. The discourses of the NAACP indicate the problem of disassociation. Though not communicated explicitly, disassociation is certainly alluded to. That is the problem of disassociation is referred to in a number of the communicative artifacts of the NAACP. For instance, in "The Call" Villard wrote, "Discrimination once permitted cannot be bridled; recent history in the South shows that in forging chains for the Negroes the white voters are forging chains for themselves. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand;' this government cannot exist half-slave and half-free any better today than it could in 1861" (Villard "The Call"). Villard refers to discrimination, references a scripture that mentions division, and even alludes to slavery by way of a euphemism, "chains." In this way, disassociation is, in this project, described in terms relative to it: Discrimination, division, and slavery.

Villard seems to employ a rhetorical move called *hendiatris* (Howard 15). *Hendiatris* is a rhetorical move in which three words are used to point to one idea. Though Villard did not encapsulate his thoughts into a pithy phrase or motto, as in classic hendiatris, Villard did devise a sentence in which he connected related concepts or phenomena, suggesting a nexus between them. Discrimination, division, and "chains" (slavery) are related, and therefore all point to one thing. Villard makes a key point—there is a connection between slavery and discrimination. Slavery is an institution of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century. By executive order and congressional act (the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment), de jure slavery in the United States was ended by 1865. Discrimination is a term used to describe

the sociopolitical phenomenon post slavery. Villard wrote: “recent history in the South shows that in forging chains for the Negroes the white voters are forging chains for themselves. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand'; this government cannot exist half-slave and half-free any better today than it could in 1861” (Villard “The Call”) Villard’s rhetorical move is an important one: He implies that slavery still exists, and there the is still a need for the project of abolitionism. What is more, Villard suggests discrimination forges chains for both white and black voters.

About a century later, in 2009, Douglass Blackmon makes a similar argument in his book *Slavery by Another Name*, writing “quasi slavery of the twentieth slavery was rooted in the industrial slavery that had begun to flourish in the years before the Civil War” (Blackmon 8). Likewise, in 2010, Michelle Alexander makes a similar argument to Villard, in her book *The New Jim Crow.* She wrote:

> Arguably the most important parallel between mass incarceration and Jim Crow is that both have served to define the meaning and significance of race in America. Indeed, a primary function of any racial caste system is to define the meaning of race in its time. Slavery defined what it meant to be black (a slave), and Jim Crow defined what it meant to be black (a second-class citizen). Today mass incarceration defines the meaning of blackness in America: black people, especially black men, are criminals. That is what it means to be black (Alexander 244).

What should not be overlooked is that Jim Crow was declared unconstitutional and was, for all intents and purposes, delegalized in 1954. The obvious question is, therefore, if it had been outlawed how could Jim Crow still exist after 1954? Alexander wrote, “Like Jim Crow (and slavery), mass incarceration operates as a tightly networked system of laws, policies, customs,

and institutions that operate collectively to ensure the subordinate status of a group defined largely by race" (Alexander 18). Alexander makes salient the correlation between the institution of slavery in America, Jim Crow, mass incarceration in America and second-class citizenship. Just like Blackmon makes the claim that slavery existed after its abolition in 1863. Just like, in "The Call" in 1909 Villard infers that that slavery still exists, but he refers to it in other terms.

Villard's argument in "The Call" of 1909, recycled by Blackmon and Alexander, is an important one. And his argument points to a core contention regarding the problem disassociation: If slavery exists by another name, and if Jim Crow exists in other forms, then it is not arguable that they are a superordinate category that encompasses slavery: Jim Crow (segregation), modern-day slavery, et al? In addition, given that both forms of slavery had been legally dismantled, then what gives rise to its offshoots—the ones made salient by Blackmon and Alexander.

In this way, it is important to make clear a distinction—between root cause problems and salient, blatant, manifest problems that offshoot from root cause problems. As such, the question is raised: Is there a root cause of slavery? If there is a root cause of slavery, what is the putative cause of slavery? Is the root cause Jim Crow, mass incarceration, and second-class citizenship? Slavery was a salient problem, as was Jim Crow, as was mass-incarceration. However, disassociation is the root cause of that problem. That is to say, this dissertation puts forth the argument that slavery, segregation, and division, et al, branch off from a superordinate problem—the problem of disassociation. Accordingly, while it is possible and advisable to address salient, blatant, and manifest problems like slavery, segregation, and sociopolitical exclusion, addressing the root cause of a problem is imperative. For the most part, these manifestations are more patent. As a result of this hyper-attentiveness to the manifestation of

disassociation, we have become inured toward the problem of disassociation. Therefore, we are more likely to be concerned about the problems that stems from the problem of disassociation. One objective of this dissertation is to make salient the problem of disassociation in order to identify and address it.

The historical moment and the manifestations of the problem of disassociation are indicated in the Preface and the address by William Haynes Ward. In the In the Preface to the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference* Walling writes of the historical moment:

> By all these and other means it is hoped and believed that the so-called Negro question, in its broader aspects, will become more and more a subject of daily interest to all classes of the American people, until the nation is at last in a mood to deal with this momentous evil of race discrimination in the thoroughgoing spirit with which alone it can be successfully handled.

Walling refers to the historical moment using the phrase "the momentous evil of race discrimination." The first discourse was an address, by William Haynes Ward, who was an editor-in-chief of *The Independent,* a member of the clergy, and a leader of the American Missionary Association which established and supported black colleges and secondary schools in the South.

Ward's address, published in the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference 1909*, kicked off the conference. His speech took on the racialized pseudoscience that was so prominent during that time. In that regard, Ward's speech was indeed an address—in that it addressed an audience, at an occasion, and what is more, it addressed a question—the question of whether or not Negroes were like white persons. In so doing, Ward shed life on the problem of disassociation. He wrote:

> There is an absolute divergence of view between the ruling majority in the South, who desire to hold the Negro in virtual serfdom, and ourselves. They arc, in a degree, honest in their position, if not Christian. They believe that the Negro is essentially inferior, something less than fully human, half a brute, and incapable of reaching the standard of civilization. This is an ignorant position, but yet actually held and believed (9).

Ward used the word "divergence" to convey the deviation from a course, or a spreading apart in different directions. He uses the term to refer to the divergence in view among the citizenry of the United States. It is a divergence in views between citizens who believed in the inferiority of the Negro and the citizens, like those who gathered at the Negro National Conference, who believed in "equal justice… man as man, and particularly to the Negro, without regard to race, color or previous condition of servitude" (Ward 9). Given that there is only one citizenry (an association, or body of citizens) of the United States, divergence, in this case, is the result of a kind of disassociation among the body of citizens). According to Ward's address, this divergence, caused by disassociation, is apparent in that early twentieth century moment.

Again, this work asserts that disassociation is a superordinate problem, a root cause for blatant, manifest problems such as slavery, divergence (Ward), segregation, and a New Jim Crow (Alexander) This contention is also inferred in the discourses of the Negro National Conference including certain speeches and the "Resolutions." For example, Jenkins Lloyd Jones delivers a speech at the Negro National Conference in which he refers to the problem of disassociation:

> We still hear preachers in the pulpit pleading for segregation; educators deploring the education of the black; legislators, by downright subterfuge and the tricks of circumlocution which only a demagogue can use, disfranchising those who were

> enfranchised by the decrees of war, the acts of Congress, and the signature of the great emancipator" (Jones 132).

Jones, a Unitarian minister, and a public communicator as the editor of Unity magazine, called to task preaching the promoted disassociation, namely segregation and disenfranchisement. In addition, in his speech entitled, "Is the Southern Position Anglo-Saxon" John Spencer Bassett disclosed the following:

> Social relations with Negroes are not desired by the majority of the whites but those who oppose such relations do not think the safety of society demands that the advocates of other views be held as enemies of the public good. On this subject people seem to think that the best safety of the public lies in allowing a man to believe as he chooses without making him pay any penalty" (Bassett 137).

Bassett makes mention of the aversion to social relations with Negroes, which is akin to disassociation. In addition to the speeches by Jones and Bassett, the "Resolutions" of the Negro National Conference also reference the problem of disassociation, which were introduced, debated, and adopted on day two of the Negro National Conference.

As a discourse, the "Resolutions" are not ascribed to any one person however they are authorized, endorsed, and cosigned by the Committee of Forty. In general, resolutions can be described in a number of ways. Resolutions are motions adopted by a body. Concomitantly, resolutions also reflect the decision to act in a certain manner or to do something. In addition, resolutions also refer to the process of addressing or solving a problem in some way. Given this threefold connotation of resolutions, the "Resolutions" were indeed adopted by a body—the Committee of Forty. They reflected the decisions to act in a certain manner. The "Resolutions" refer to the process of addressing or solving a problem.

In a real sense, the "Resolutions" also allude to the problem of disassociation. As such, we refer to the "Resolutions" of the Negro National Conference. The first two paragraphs of the "Resolutions" of the Negro National Conference 1909 made mention of several salient concerns of that time. The Resolutions, in part, reads as follows:

> We denounce the ever-growing oppression of our ten million colored fellow citizens as the greatest menace that threatens the country. Often plundered of their just share of the public funds, robbed of nearly all part in the government, segregated by common carriers, some murdered with impunity, and all treated with open contempt by officials, they are held in some States in practical slavery to the white community. The systematic persecution of law-abiding citizens and their disfranchisement on account of their race alone is a crime that will ultimately drag down to an infamous end any nation that allows it to be practiced, and it bears most heavily on those poor white farmers and laborer whose economic position is most similar to that of the persecuted race ("Resolutions").

The "Resolutions" details the salient, blatant problems of that historical moment, in terms relative to the problem of disassociation. For example, it states, "being segregated by common carriers" and "held… in practical slavery" and "disenfranchisement on account of their race alone." This excerpt of the "Resolutions" is a part of the groundwork for understanding the problem of disassociation too. Here are two more keys to understanding disassociation: One, the problems addressed in the "Resolutions" are problems addressed in the mid-twentieth century Civil Rights Movement. Two, the concerns addressed in the "Resolutions" of the Negro National Conference—such as oppression, segregation, persecution, and disenfranchisement—are socio-political manifestations of disassociation. Third, it should be a cause for concern that the problems of the early twentieth century are still being addressed in the mid-twentieth century,

and still being addressed in the twenty-first century. This, I argue, is in part because of an unawareness about the superordinate problem.

They are messages delivered directly to an individual or collective audience; and/or addresses are given on a formal occasion; and/or addresses are given in order to "address" (take up, tackle, or shed light on) a certain situation, condition, or circumstance. The first discourse was an address, by William Haynes Ward, who was an editor-in-chief of *The Independent,* a member of the clergy, and a leader of the American Missionary Association which established and supported black colleges and secondary schools in the South.

The "Discussion" is another kind of discourse of the Negro National Conference. It is structured conversation that deals with an issue, through lively discourse, by bringing together the perspectives of multiple people, experts, and interested parties. Also, the [panel] discussion provides a platform for experts and those with personal experience on a specific matter. Within the confines of the conferences, the [panel] discussion facilitates a unique environment for impartation and interaction in the context of addressing a problem or question.

A number of the comments by the panelists refer to manifestations of the problem of disassociation. One for example is by William Monroe Trotter, a civil rights activist, newspaper editor, and real estate businessman who was a co-founder of the following: *Boston Guardian* (newspaper) started in 1901, the National Negro Suffrage League, started in 1905, the Niagara Movement, started in 1905, and the Negro American Political League, started in 1908. One of his comments was:

> The existence of color lines in industrial matters is calamitous—the industrial and civil differentiation of political matters, as has been so well described today. But to my mind that which is the grossest calamity and the most telling, and 1 must say the grossest

> outrage, seems to me the attitude of the federal government, which is guilty of standing in the position of giving its authority to color proscription (Trotter 113).

Trotter uses three terms that refer to the problem of disassociation: color lines; differentiation, and color proscription. He refers to the calamity with respect to color lines in industrial matters. He refers to differentiation, or disparity (inequality) in political matters. As per Frederick Douglass and Du Bois, the color line refers to segregation and any form of anti-black racism. While in differentiation, difference is recognized, the problem with differentiation is that it serves as a rationale to make sociopolitical distinctions between persons on the basis of race, favoring one over the other, disadvantaging one race. Each of these derives from disassociation.

In addition, the discourses of the Negro National Conference include resolutions. Resolutions are motions adopted by a body that convey a promise to resolve by taking action in response to a problem. It conveys the act of resolving something as part of a solution. The "Resolutions" of the Negro National Conference come after the addresses, speeches, and the [panel] Discussion. To be sure, the "Resolutions" also allude to the problem of disassociation, using terms like oppression, segregation, slavery, persecution, and disenfranchisement. The first two paragraphs of the "Resolutions" of the Negro National Conference 1909 made mention of several salient concerns of that time. The Resolutions, in part, reads as follows:

> We denounce the ever-growing oppression of our ten million colored fellow citizens as the greatest menace that threatens the country. Often plundered of their just share of the public funds, robbed of nearly all part in the government, segregated by common carriers, some murdered with impunity, and all treated with open contempt by officials, they are held in some States in practical slavery to the white community. The systematic persecution of law-abiding citizens and their disfranchisement on account of their race

> alone is a crime that will ultimately drag down to an infamous end any nation that allows it to be practiced, and it bears most heavily on those poor white farmers and laborer whose economic position is most similar to that of the persecuted race ("Resolutions").

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To punctuate the point about concerns addressed in the "Resolutions" and the concerns addressed in and by the mid-twentieth century Civil Rights Movement, we turn to the words of one of the leading rhetors, philosophers, theologians, and activists of the mid-twentieth century civil rights movement, Martin Luther King, Jr. In the course of a number of speeches, he spoke of oppression, segregation, persecution, and disenfranchisement. Fifty-four years after the NAACP drafted its "Resolutions," Martin Luther King Jr. wrote, "[o]ppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever ("Letter From a Birmingham Jail"). In his convocation speech at Illinois Wesleyan University King spoke of segregation, "So segregation is still with us. But if democracy is to live, segregation must die. For racial segregation is a consentient body politic

which must be removed before our moral health can [be] realized" (King "Convocation Speech").

In addition, In August 1963, King spoke about persecution saying, "Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering" ("I Have a Dream Speech"). In an article written in March 1965, King spoke of disenfranchisement, writing, "we see a classic pattern of disenfranchisement typical of the Southern Black Belt areas where Negroes are in the majority" ("Selma—The Shame and the Promise"). The similarities between the responses are remarkable. The problems of oppression, segregation, persecution, and disenfranchisement were salient in the mid-twentieth century and in the early twentieth century.

To further elucidate the problem of disassociation, we also push off of the work of W.E.B. Du Bois, who was a co-founder of the NAACP, the first Director of Publicity and Research of the NAACP, and the first editor of *The Crisis.* His renowned disclosure and prediction about the problem of the twentieth century pave the way to understanding the problem of disassociation. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B. Du Bois famously wrote "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line (3). *The Souls of Black* is comprised of fourteen essays that provide insight into the social problems of that era. It was a work that combined history, sociological analysis, hymnody, and memoir to call attention to the deleterious legacy of racism.

That said, worthy of note is that Du Bois was not referring to a literal line. He was referring to an arbitrary boundary, a figurative dividing line between two spheres and experiences. The color line referred to the laws and social barriers that separated people based on

race, or racialized categorizations. That is to say, the color-line is a metaphor, a referent for sociopolitical-racial division and separation. Likewise, across the ages, disassociation has been otherwise named by other terms, such as "The Negro Question" (Mill), the Negro Problem (Shaler; Bruce; Du Bois; Washington), the color line (Douglass; Du Bois), and the *American Dilemma* (Myrdal). Notwithstanding Du Bois' famous quote, few know of the next sentence in *The Souls of Black Folk.*

Du Bois added, "It was a phase of this problem that caused the Civil War" (Du Bois "Souls" 13). As such, Du Bois was, indirectly, asserting that the color-line was also an issue of the nineteenth century, the century of the Civil War. Du Bois was equating to problems and mapping the equated problems in two different centuries. This work extends Du Bois assertion: That there is a correspondence between the problem that caused the Civil War and the problem of the color-line. That raises the question: Is there a way to designate this problem more accurately? In this dissertation, the problem of disassociation correlates to "the problem of the color-line." Put another way, the problem of disassociation is "the problem of the color line" by another name. Accordingly, the problem of the nineteenth century, and the twentieth century, and for that matter the twenty-first century is the problem of disassociation—a superordinate problem that emerges from the undoing of association.

In the book *Disunion: The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789–1859*, Elizabeth Varon writes about the concern and threat of "disunion" before the Civil War:

> This one word [disunion] contained, and stimulated, their (Americans') fears of extreme political factionalism, tyranny, regionalism, economic decline, foreign intervention, class conflict, gender disorder, racial strife, widespread violence and anarchy, and civil war, all of which could be interpreted as God's retribution for America's moral failings. Disunion

> connoted the dissolution of the republic—the failure of the Founders' efforts to establish a stable and lasting representative government. For many Americans in the North and the South, disunion was a nightmare, a tragic cataclysm that would reduce them to the kind of fear and misery that seemed to pervade the rest of the world. And yet, for many other Americans, disunion served as the main instrument by which they could achieve their political goals (Varon 1).

In Varon's book, the term "disunion" is used to refer to the breaking up of the union (nation, the United States). Interestingly, it was a term used in the seventy years leading up to Civil War. To be sure, the antebellum period and the Civil War period is a part of the historical background of the NAACP. For that reason, among others "disunion" is a useful term; a term that certainly relates to the problem of disassociation.

Accordingly, Varon's term "disunion" is another coordinate for understanding disassociation. That said, an attendant question is raised: How does disassociation endure? As mentioned above, it endures because of the unawareness of the problem. However, in addition, the problem endures, branches off, and mutates because of communication, or because of what could be termed "discommunication." To that point, worthy of note Varon wrote about disunion vis-à-vis communication. As such, Varon not only writes about factionalism, regionalism, and racial strife, but Varon focuses on the communicative acts and artifacts that lead to and causes disunion. Though a historian focusing on antebellum political phenomena, Varon explores the rhetorical roots of the Civil War arguing that the word "disunion" was an influential word in antebellum America. Varon wrote, that the discourse of disunion "shaped and limited Americans' political and moral imagination, ultimately discouraging a politics of compromise and lending an aura of inexorability to the cataclysmic confrontation of North and South" (2).

Varon's point bases on the recognition that words have power, and that using rhetoric of disunion had power. Varon spotlights the effect and role of communication. In this regard, to understand the problem of disassociation and the significance of it, it is imperative to also understand the communicative dimension that attendant to disassociation. A given problem, like disassociation, can endure—through communication.

While Varon's concept of "disunion" is helpful, there is more to understanding disassociation. Disassociation, in this work, is also explained as that which particularly manifests as racially tinged sociopolitical experiences and realities. In other words, disassociation begets subordinate manifestations that are relative to disassociation. Disassociation begets certain flagrant, epochal problems, such as the institution of slavery which divided citizens along the lines of free and enslaved. We see these manifestations across epochs and times periods.

For example, we see disassociation in the effect of the Civil War, which divided North from South in America. We see in secession, which ruptured the Union between confederate states and union states. We see it in de jure segregation, which separated persons according to racialized categories in transportation, employment, housing, and education. As well, we see manifest disassociation in across-generation acts of racialized discrimination, which led to political interdiction. And we see disassociation in social exclusion, which led to and caused feelings of alienation. The contention is that in order to address these obviously, flagrant manifestations occurring and reoccurring across generations, we need to recognize the root cause of these manifestations, disassociation. Building on Varon, in the paragraphs below we will use scholarship outline disassociation as a term. However, we will also use certain scholarship to explain the subordinate, racialized manifestations in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first century.

In addition to the projects of Wells-Barnett and Terrell, were the projects of W.E.B. Du Bois, Frederick Douglass, and Lewis Gordon, who also pointed to the significance of the problem of disassociation. Douglass, Du Bois, and Gordon wrote about disassociation, though they referred to it by another term—the color-line. Another indication of the sign of the times, the metaphor "the color-line" referred to the legal, structural, institutional, and social barriers that segregate. Before Du Bois wrote famously about the problem of the color-line in *The Souls of Black Folks*, in 1881 Frederick Douglass wrote "The Color Line," an article in which he described color line as a moral disorder and described the hubris at the heart of it. He wrote "[prejudice] of race have at some time in their history afflicted all nations, 'I am more holy than thou' is the boast of races, as well as that of the Pharisee" (Douglass 567). The color line was based on an air of racial superiority, which is a hierarchical disassociation among those of the human race.

The fact that Frederick Douglass did so in 1881 is significant. Reconstruction (1865) was an effort to, among other things, reunite the United States after the Civil War. In the effort to reunite the United States and to establish the ground for racial equality, the Ku Klux Klan Act, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 were passed and the Freedman's Bureau was established. However, the Compromise of 1877 is another indication of the significance of disassociation. It was the closed-door political deal to end Reconstruction in order to settle the controversial presidential election of 1876. The foreclosure on Reconstruction evidenced a kind of disassociation—Congress enacted the Reconstruction amendments and endeavors only to disassociate from them. This infers a disassociation, an incongruity between political strategic intent and political course of action.

After Douglass wrote about the color-line in 1881, Du Bois did so, famously in 1903. Du Bois, a co-founder of the NAACP famously wrote about "problem of the color-line" in *The Souls of Black Folk*, announcing and forecasting it as the problem of the twentieth century (3). In the same work he also wrote, "It is usually possible to draw in nearly every Southern community a physical color-line on the map, on the one side of which whites dwell and on the other, Negroes. (Douglass 166). In addition, Du Bois wrote "…here is a land where, in the higher walks of life, in all the higher striving for the good and noble and true, the color-line comes to separate natural friends and coworkers; while at the bottom of the social group, in the saloon, the gambling-hell, and the brothel, that same line wavers and disappears" (186). Du Bois, here, speaks of how the color-line causes a disconnection among people who are in filial, collegial, and social relationships.

He also writes, "The white man, as well as the Negro, is bound and barred by the color-line" (Du Bois *Souls* 184) indicating how the color line incarcerated Black and White people, an indication of the disassociation between the belief in the unalienable right of liberty and the racialized lived experience humans shape by the man-made color-line upon those of every. Those on either side of the line are citizens of the same country, are members of the same human race, are neighbors of the same locality. The color-line is a boundary that a description of the disconnection between people and/or the color-line can be the cause of the disconnection between those who are, in some way, associates. In *Souls* Du Bois also wrote of another metaphor to explain the manifestation of the color line—what he called the veil. The veil referred to the different skin of Black people, to veil that blinded white people from seeing Black people as Americans, and the lens through which Black American see themselves.

Du Bois also wrote about disassociation in his sociological works before *The Souls of Black Folks*. In 1898 W.E.B. Du Bois wrote "The Negroes of Farmville, Virginia: A Social Study" and *The Philadelphia Negro* in 1899. Both were sociological studies of African Americans. His goal was to identify the social problems affecting Black Americans in the South and North, respectively. In all both works Du Bois alludes to the problematic of disassociation. In *The Philadelphia Negro,* he wrote "[in] all walks of life the Negro is liable to meet some objection to his presence or some discourteous treatment; and the ties of friendship or memory seldom are strong enough to hold across the color line" (325). Du Bois' work led him to draw a conclusion about the friability and fragility of friendships, remarking that friendships are seldom strong enough to hold together while crossing the color line. Du Bois' claims should not be lost on us—the problem of the color line correlated to the problem of disassociation; that is, disassociation along lines of geographic boundaries and even along lines of relationship.

For Douglass, Du Bois, and Gordon, the color-line was the commonplace dividing line drawn to restrict interaction between races of people and to delimit access and opportunity. During the mid nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the color-line was a referent for the phenomenon of racial segregation after the abolition of slavery in the United States. The term connoted that even though the battle lines of the Civil War had been erased, there still existed the fault line of race that affected the experience and enfranchisement of Black Americans; The color-line created a hierarchy of citizens and second-class citizens, predicated on disassociation.

These works, and others, also recounted and narrated the responses of those who counteracted the undermining of civilization. In this vein, the significance of disassociation was made salient in the projects of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B Du Bois, and Gordon. All four Black intellectuals are renowned for their courageous and

compelling responses within a historical moment. Importantly, the significance of the problem of disassociation points to something foundational for this project—it was a civil body-politic, an association that responded to the problem of disassociation.

Further, we use the works of those who describe the problem of disassociation, the manifestations of disassociation, and the significance of the problem. The scholars are employed for differing reasons: The philosopher and social theorist José Ortega y Gasset wrote of the tendency toward "barbarism." Existential philosopher Lewis R. Gordon refers to the "problematic of Africana people" (Gordon 8). Gordon's insight confirms the approach by the Negro National Committee, who decides that the parent organization would not just stand for the rights of Black Americans. The fact the parent body would be named a national association indicates the recognition that problem is national. The decision to call forth an association for the advancement of colored people points to the recognition of the international dimensions of the problem.

Historian Anna Julia Cooper spotlighted what she called the "unjust and unlawful exclusion" of Black women as well as Black men (Cooper 138). Suffragist and educator Mary Church Terrell illuminated the irony of racism in the nation's capital (Terrell). Abolitionist and orator Frederick Douglas wrote about the color line—the social line created because of the institution and economics of slavery and perpetuated politically post-Reconstruction (Douglass). The problem was disassociation was not just perpetuated by words and customs; it was also communicated by signs. Literary scholar Elizabeth Abel depicted the semiotics of segregation by interpretively interpreting Jim Crow signage (Abel).

In addition, important to understanding disassociation, is understanding that it is problematic. That said, disassociation is not necessarily pejorative. One can separate or cut ties

for good reason. Groups can choose to prioritize mutually beneficial communities, as in the case of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). However, with respect to this project, disassociation is deemed as a cause of other problems. This "dominating factor" is akin to problematic—a problem that causes other problems. To be sure, Gordon thinks the problem of blackness in it of itself as a problematic. He also intimates that the problematic of blackness is rooted in the problematics of disassociation. We see this in Gordon's treatment of the metaphor in the color line, in *Existentia Africana.* Elucidating Africana existential thought, he pushes off of Du Bois's timeless metaphor, and in so doing Gordon refers to the color line in terms relative to the problematic of disassociation. In the following quote, take note of his explication of the color line as a "cause" and as "the divide." Gordon wrote:

> Deny it as we may, as a consequence or cause of a multitude of evils, the problem of the color line is a persisting problem…Born from the divide of black and white, it serves as a blueprint of the ongoing division of humankind. The color line is also a metaphor that exceeds its own concrete formulation. It is the race line as well as the gender line, the class line, the sexual orientation line, the religious line—in short, in line between "normal" and "abnormal" identities (63).

Interestingly, he alludes to the color line as a problematic a "cause of a multitude of evils." In addition, Gordon suggests that the color line points to disassociation—he calls it, a "divide between black and white." What is more, Gordon indicates the color line is not just a racial line Gordon refers to it as the gender line too, and the class line, and the sexual orientation line, and the religious line.

The fact that Gordon refers to the color line in this way signifies his recognition that the color line is a manifold of problems that derive out of a divide. A key contention of this project is

that in the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century epoch, disassociation was the cause of the more blatant, brazen, and obvious social-political problems. That is, the action of disassociation was the cause of legalized racial segregation, racial-ethnic ghettoization, social marginalization, and political disenfranchisement. That is to say, the more obvious, flagrant social-political problems result from the problematic of disassociation—the breaking of bonds, estrangement, uncoupling, division along the color-line, and separatism rooted in ideologies of racial-ethnic superordination and subordination.

Gordon uses a referent for disassociation. In the quote below, take note of the term "exclusion." This points to the disassociation as disenfranchisement:

> The racial problematic for Africana people is twofold. On the one hand, it is the question of exclusion in the face of an ethos of assimilation. On the other hand, there is the complex confrontation with the fact of such exclusion in a world that portends commitment to rational resolutions of evil (8).

This is disassociation by another name. Indeed, for Gordon the problem of race is a problematic in and of itself. However, in addition, Gordon intimates that the problematic of race derives out of another root cause problematic—disassociation. He wrote that the "racial problematic" is the question of exclusion amid assimilation. This exclusion amid assimilation points to disassociation, as an act that undermines assimilation or association. In other words, the problematic of disassociation is a root cause of other social, communicational, institutional, and political problems that emerge from the exclusion. In the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth century era, those blatant problems of race are only possible because of the disassociation from the core values of the supreme law of the land, a contravention of the Constitution, and from the exclusion (disenfranchisement) of Black voters.

This kind of disassociation was achieved through the implementation of grandfather clauses—rules, laws, provisions, or regulations enacted in order to prevent former African American slaves and their descendants from voting (Greenblatt). Grandfather clauses paved the way for state and federal governments to deny Black Americans the right to vote, even though the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution expressly prohibited governments from denying any citizen the right to vote because of a citizen's "race color, or previous condition of servitude." Again, this is disassociation by another name. A disenfranchisement of Black voters from the electoral process is also a problematic.

Significance of the Problem

In addition to describing the problematic of disassociation, etymologically and as a problematic, it is also necessary and helpful to describe the significance of the problem. In this work, significance refers to the more particular impact, influence, or importance of something. As mentioned above, to elucidate the significance of the problem of disassociation, we turn to the works of José Ortega y Gasset, Frederick Douglas, W.E.B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, and Alexis de Tocqueville. Broadly speaking, their work helps us spotlight the significances in a few ways: With respect to civilization; with respect to the problem of race; in terms of signs of the times; with respect to how the disassociation contradicts the aims of democracy; and again, with respect to how disassociation points toward association.

Social theorist and philosopher José Ortega y Gasset wrote about civilization in a way that points to disassociation. In his magnum opus the *Revolt of the Masses*, Ortega y Gasset wrote, "[c]ivilization is, before all, the will to live in common… Barbarism is the tendency to disassociation" (76). Generally speaking, in this project, civilization refers to complex advanced society in some part of the world at some particular moment in history. Ortega y Gasset is more

particular, civilization has to do with living and collaborating in a manner that is shared, held, or made by two or more people together.

The "will to live in common" is a way to describe association. Ortega y Gasset makes a correlation between disassociation and barbarism, and in turn he makes a correlation between association and civilization. In light of the insights of Ortega y Gasset, one of the significances of the disassociation concerns its interrelationship with civilization. Concomitantly, Ortega y Gasset warns against reverting to barbarism—the barbarism of disassociation—and urges people to be civilized. Ortega y Gasset makes salient the connection between disassociation and the actions that undermine civilization—namely barbarism. Pushing off of Ortega y Gasset, a significance of disassociation is seen in the potential negative impact disassociation has on civilization. As such, we see how the significance of the problematic of disassociation is interpreted with respect the barbarism and civilization.

That said, the significance of disassociation was apparent in other, distinct ways during the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth century historical moment. The significance was apparent in the signs of the time—the obvious manifestations and indications pointing to the character of a time period. Worthy of note, the signs of the times during the mid nineteenth and early twentieth century moments are recounted and narrated in some noteworthy ways. The problem of disassociation is recounted and narrated in and by the applied communication of activist journalism of Mary Church Terrell and Ida B. Wells-Barnett. As well, it is recounted and narrated in the oratory of Frederick Douglass, and in the disclosive sociological projects of W.E.B. Du Bois, and in Black feminist activism of Anna Julia Cooper.

Think of the signs of the times in the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and how signs of the time were indicative of the significance of the problem of disassociation. The

NAACP was formed during a time of political rollback and democratic reversion. One of the things that characterized the years between 1865 and 1909 was the pervasive extralegal violence. In addition, one of the things that characterized the years between 1865 and 1909 were the nonexistent responses and the ineffectual response to the violence. We see this in the work of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, the greatest anti-lynching crusader in America's history. In 1900, the NAACP co-founder Wells-Barnett wrote, "Although lynchings have steadily increased in number and barbarity during the last twenty years, there has been no single effort put forth by the many moral and philanthropic forces of the country to put a stop to this wholesale slaughter. Indeed, the silence and seeming condonation grow more marked as the years go by" (Wells-Barnett "Lynch Law in America"). In that speech, given in January 1900, in Chicago, Wells-Barnett brought to light the scourge of lynching, and bore a critique against the moral and philanthropic forces, for their willful blindless and avoidable failures.

Echoing the disclosive project of Wells-Barnett, was the report of the NAACP. In the exposé *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States 1889-1918*, the NAACP delineated thirty years of lynching (1889-1918), a period when there were 3,224 persons killed by lynch mobs (NAACP and Finkleman). The NAACP recognized the pervasive problem of extrajudicial killing in the United States. This barbarism predicated on a disassociation enacted by a mob mentality, is a kind of disassociation too. It is a disassociation from the principles made clear in the preamble of the Constitution, where it reads "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Wells-Barnett's crusade against lynching was based not only on her outrage but on how outrageous lynching was in a country professing equality of humanity and the right to life. Pervasive lynching during that period was

obviously a sign of barbarism, of un-civilization, and was a violation of the tenets of the Constitution. This is a consequence of the significance of disassociation, seen in the signs of the times.

The problem of disassociation was also made evident in the project of Mary Church Terrell. Terrell, an activist, suffragist, and co-founder of the NAACP, underscored a blatant contradiction of the aforementioned, in a speech entitled, "What it Means to be Colored in the Capital of the U.S." given before the United Women's Club of Washington. In that 1906 speech, she gave a first-person account of her experience in the nation's capital. She declared:

> As a colored woman I might enter Washington any night, a stranger in a strange land, and walk miles without finding a place to lay my head… As a colored woman I may walk from the Capitol to the White House, ravenously hungry and abundantly supplied with money with which to purchase a meal, without finding a single restaurant in which I would be permitted to take a morsel of food, if it was patronized by white people, unless I were willing to sit behind a screen. As a colored woman I cannot visit the tomb of the Father of this country, which owes its very existence to the love of freedom in the human heart and which stands for equal opportunity to all, without being forced to sit in the Jim Crow section of an electric car … (Terrell).

Terrell also declared before that white audience of women, "[t][t]her chasm between the principles upon which this Government was founded ... and those which are daily practiced under the protection of the flag, yawns so wide and deep" (Terrell). In other words, she put it in no uncertain terms: the practice of discrimination was antithetical to the principles of American democracy.

These rights and others like them are based on what Abraham Lincoln declared in the Gettysburg address during the Civil War—that democracy is a government of, by, and for people (Lincoln). Therefore, the enfranchised individual in a democratic society as we have come to know it is based on the power of the (collective) people. Referring to individualism as the "myth of individualism" Arnett disabuses readers of the notion that there is such a thing as preexistent individualism or solitary individualism. Individualism is contingent on the notion that one can, in some way, disassociate from that collective. Put another way, as a citizen of the United States, not to be in association requires the intentional activity of disassociation. According to Tocqueville's precept, no citizen is unassociated from the populace, just as no church member is an unassociated from the body of Christ. Tocqueville's disclosure suggests that people are part of associations of some kind or another, in some way, shape, or fashion.

That is to say, as per the etymology of disassociation and the works of Ortega y Gassett, Wells-Barnett, Terrell, Cooper, Douglass, Du Bois, Tocqueville, and Arnett, disassociation is a problem that involves disconnection, disuniting, and separation. In addition, the problem is more so a problematic—it is a problem that causes other, correlated problems that manifest socially, politically, and communicationally. That is, the problem of disassociation is deemed as the root cause for separatism and segregation, and as the root cause for political polarization and divisive rhetoric. Further, the significance of the problem of disassociation is seen in the signs of the times of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century epoch, such as in the pervasiveness of lynching, the problem of the color-line, the deliberate disenfranchisement of Black people, and in the effectual insubordination with regard to the supreme law of the land—the Constitution.

What is more, disassociation is the state of disunity and the action of disuniting that gives rise to ways of thinking too. It gives rise to the provincial ideologies that serve as the basis for

racial-cultural superordination and subordination and social-political separatism and segregation. Disassociation is the unraveling of the weave of association, and the uncoupling of principles from practice. In addition, disassociation also involves the kind of disengaging that leads people to extricate themselves from the realities and responsibilities of community. In this project, disassociation involves the way in which people disassociate themselves from others, deviate from principles, disclaim histories, and to disclude others.

Chapter Four: The Framework: The Communicative Practices of Call-and-Response Communication Ethics

Having established the foundation, situated the footings, and set the cornerstone, next is a treatment of the framework of this project. In a real sense, this is a core of the dissertation, for the framework outlines the structure of call-and-response communication ethics and the supports of communication ethics. As such, the chapter culminates in an elucidation of the four practices of call-and-response communication ethics—provocation, convocation, evocation, and "polyvocation." Accordingly, this chapter provides insight into the communicative process that activate and animated the conception, establishment, formation, incorporation, and performance of the NAACP in the early twentieth century historical moment. As well, the framework announces coordinates for call and response communication. As such, announces the coordinates promotes understanding about the development (process) of the NAACP, but also the coordinates promote understanding about how a certain kind of call and response phenomenon develops and becomes effectual. Put another way, the framework announces practices that can promote the formation of association, which is a good that should be considered as a potent and potential response to the challenges of this current historical moment. The chapter also provides insight into the nominated communication ethics approach. It is a communication ethics approach that derives from a call and response sensibility. It is a communication ethics approach that alerts witnesses, listeners, and readers to the call of a given moment, and then cogently urges them to co-respond to the sense of call.

Importantly, the framework (the practices of call-and-response communication ethics) is useful for this current historical moment. For this is a time marked by a growing tendency toward disassociation (the act of detaching from association or dismembering bodies of

association), noncommunication (the lack of constructive and productive communication), "discommunication" (the attempt to impede the process of constructive and productive communication), and "disremembering" (the failure to remember). The framework can be helpful in amidst growing cynicism toward diversity, multiculturalism, coopetition (collaboration between contestants to achieve a common goal), and association, and as we confront the increasing turn away from productive conversation, discourse, discussion, negotiation, and conference. Likewise, this chapter elucidates practices (provocation, convocation, evocation, and "polyvocation") as a counter to the increasing inclination toward remote communication and community. As such, this framework adds to the body of communication scholarship by spotlighting the communicative practices that led to the formation of the NAACP. What is more, this chapter aid us as we address the problems of this moment, answer the questions of this moment, and as we respond to the call of this moment.

This chapter pivots of an explication of the term framework as an organizing concept and metaphor. Next, the chapter explicates call and response as a communicative phenomenon, and then describes both "call" and "responses" as discrete though complementary parts of call and response communication. Further, this chapter employs the scholarship of a number of scholars who write of or allude to the call and response as well as each of the four practices of call-and-response communication ethics. Then, chapter explores certain discourses of the NAACP to illumine the elements of call and response, and the elements of the four practices of call-and-response communication ethics.

In construction, the framework is essentially the "skeleton" of the building, running throughout the entire structure. It is the supporting substructure of an edifice, or bridge. The framework is comprised supports, such as beams, columns, joists, and rafters that fit together to

give structure and shape. What is more, in construction, everything connects to and builds on the framework, from the systems to the plumbing to the walls to the roofs. In addition, framing creates spaces like rooms and openings like windows and doorways. Most important is that the framework establishes and maintains the integrity of the building. As such, framework is and remains a useful organizing concept for communication ethics inquiry.

Hence, the term framework is not just a chapter heading, it is the essential structure that underlies this dissertation. Meaning the term is an organizing concept for the chapter, and it is part of the schema that shapes this project. As well, everything else pertaining to this chapter connects to the framework. The framework establishes on the cornerstones, which establishes on the foundation, which is undergirded by the footings. Finally, the framework also connects to the keystones (the conclusions, the implications, and the applications). All told, the framework gives further shape to the project and the framework helps to interconnect constituents of this dissertation. Accordingly, the framework is a scaffold that enables a constructive examination the formation and performance of the NAACP through the lens of communication. As well, the framework enables a constructive interpretation of the formation and performance of the NAACP, by using terms that are relative to communication. Each of the four terms are terms that are relative to call and response communication or communication ethics. Moreover, this framework also indicates an idea structure that extends beyond this dissertation. The framework facilitates further implications and applications with respect to call and response and communication ethics.

This dissertation fires from a twofold contention: That the NAACP, an association, was catalyzed by a communication ethic, namely call-and-response communication ethics; and that call-and-response communication ethics is comprised of four practices that emerge from an

interplay between call-and-response communication and communication ethics. The assumption is that the four communicative practices of call-and-response communication ethics leads to the building of association. Given that association is a promising endeavor and enterprise as a response to the problem of disassociation, then provocation, convocation, evocation, and "polyvocation" are practices that need to be elucidated.

The practices became evident via a rhetorical study of the discourses of the NAACP. That said, again, one of the discourses stood out, "The Call." As will be further elucidated, "The Call" evidenced each of the four communicative practices of call-and-response communication ethics: Provocation, convocation, evocation, and "polyvocation." That said, the same is true for the discourses of the Negro National Conference, which includes eight address, sixteen speeches, two letters, as well resolutions. Such as the speech "The Negro and the South" by William English Walling. Such as the speech "The Race Problem" by Jenkins Lloyd Jones. Such as the address by John T. Milholland. Such as the speech "Is the Southern Position Anglo-Saxon" by John Spencer Bassett. Such as the discussion comment by panelist Mr. Barber. Such as the "Lynching Our National Crime" speech by Ida B. Wells-Barnett. The same is true of the editorial philosophy of communication of *The Crisis* proffered by Du Bois, and the letter submitted to the Negro National Conference by William Lloyd Garrison. Therefore, this chapter also supplies and examines other, representative discourses, in order to spotlight and elucidate the four practices.

To elucidate the framework, we employ the works of a number of scholars. In this chapter, I employ, among others, the scholarship of: Dorothy Pennington ("guilt provocation"); Hyde and Smith ("eloquence"). In addition, as a means to explain the efficacy of convocation, I used the work of Michael J. Hyde ("collaborative deliberation"), and Candice Rai who in *Democracy's Lot* wrote about the "place of invention" as a metaphor to explain the rhetorical

force of location. Also, to explain the practice of evocation, I use the work of Toni Morrison who uses the term *rememory*, James Murphy who writes on *ethopoeia*, and the work of Ronald C. Arnett, who writes on *audio ethic*. Finally, to explain "polyvocation," in this chapter I use the work of Mikhail Bakhtin who wrote about polyphony and Du Bois who, in the first issue of the Crisis uses the term "catholicity" as a means to achieve solidarity.

Understanding the Meaningfulness of Vocation

The aforementioned notwithstanding, etymology is also a helpful tool to elucidate the practices of call-and-response communication ethics. Each of the practices ends in the word *vocation,* which functions as a lexeme—a word that correlates to a family of words that are related by form and meaning. Accordingly, the word element *vocation* refers to three related words—vocative, voice, vocal, and advocates. As such, each of the four practices relates to vocation as in the sense of call, the sense of lifework, and in the sense of guild or association. That said, to understand the framework more fully, we must understand the constituted meaning of the word element *vocation,* since each of the practices is based on vocation as a root word. That said, the word element *vocation* is a root word that functions metaphorically. As such, with respect to this dissertation *vocation* has four connotations that weave together to constitute its meaning: Vocation, vocative, voice and vocal. By understanding these senses of the metaphor forming word element, we better understand call and response as well as the communicative practices of call-and-response communication ethics.

In general, the word the root word vocation refers to calling and profession. The English word vocation derives from the Latin word *vocationem*, which literally means "a calling, a being called" ("Vocation"). As such, the connotation of the practices involves the inclination toward a course of action or a type of work. We can conclude in the fact that the people involved have

vocations. For instance, the vocations of those who co-signed "The Call" include the following: Writers (such as Harriet Stanton Blatch, William Dean Howells, and Ray Stannard Brown); social workers (like Jane Addams, Lillan Wald, and Henry Moskowitz); journalists and editors (like William Lloyd Garrison and E.H. Clement); educators and administrators (like Dewey, Mary E. Wooley, William L. Bulkley, Thomas C. Hall, and Du Bois; lawyers and judges (like Wendell S. Stafford); and clergy (like Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Bishop Alexander Walters, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, and Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch). In addition, there are those who adhere to certain movements like abolitionism, suffragism, anti-lynching, and education.

In addition, in this dissertation, the word vocative refers to the two things: The grammatical case in which a person (or persons) being addressed are clearly identified; and in the sense of "calling" or direct address in order to attract attention. Vocative is a word or phrase that address an audience, whether the audience is a reader or a listener. As well vocative pertains how a person or persons are invoked or called upon. This is apparent in "The Call" for it says, "Hence we call upon all the believers in democracy." Calling upon and calling forth "all believers in democracy" is not precise, but it is vocative. That is, it is clear to whom "The Call" is addressed. It inspires those who self-identify as believers in democracy to hear and heed (respond) to the call. Hence, appeal in "The Call" is vocative.

Vocation also is related to the Latin word *vox* which means "voice." As such, in this work, the word element *vocation* refers to voice. Voice pertains to the synthesis of perspective, agency, and rhetoric, and describes the synthesis of style, tone, and values (Phelan). That is to say, the aspect of vocation in provocation, convocation, evocation, and "polyvocation" refers to the respective agencies of the views represented and expressed in the phenomenal development of the NAACP. What should not be lost is that the voice of Black people and women were

deliberately included and indispensable. Seven of the sixty endorsers of "The Call" were Black, and of the thirty-nine committee-members of the Negro National Committee, fifteen were Black (William Albert Sinclair, Leslie Pinckney Hill, Lafayette, McKeen Hershaw, Archibald H. Grimke, Du Bois, Willam Lewis Bulkley, Walter Henderson Brooks, Charles Edwin Bentley, Maria Baldwin, William S. Scarborough, Alexander Walters, Ida Wells-Barnett, Richard Robert Wright, Mary Church Terrell, and John Milton Waldron). That said, the sense of voice, to a great degree, is based on the promise of the constitution. This is evident in one of the discourses of the developing NAACP, namely a speech at the Negro National Conference. Thus, in the speech "The Civil and Political Status of the Negro" Alexander Walters spoke the following words regarding the agency (voice) of Black people in the early twentieth century:

> The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, made us citizens of the United Slates and confirmed us in our civil rights. In 1872 the fifteenth amendment was ratified which was intended to confirm us in the right of suffrage. We plead for our constitutional right, on the ground that the right of suffrage, when it has at once been conferred by the federal government, becomes the in violable right of every citizen of whatever color, race or rank in social life, and therefore suffrage is not a privilege to be conferred or withheld by the states. The powers of the federal government were not conferred by a single state but by all the states, therefore the general government, through Congress, can enforce the provisions of the Constitution.
>
> The Negro believes that he should be allowed to retain the franchise in all parts of this land, because of the military service he has rendered the nation. Side by side with his white brother, the Negro has fought bravely in every war of the nation to save the honor

> of the flag. No one has been more loyal to its colors than he, and he sees no reason why it should not protect him.
>
> He believes that he should be allowed to retain his political rights because he is becoming educated and is being made a strong man; because he is a considerable tax-payer and his wealth is increasing every day. He knows that the cardinal doctrine of this republic is that there shall be no taxation without representation (167).

According to Walters, the voice (agency) is guaranteed by the constitution, and by virtue of the undeniable and indispensable contribution of Negroes. The aspect of vocation in each practice indicates the voice (agency) guaranteed by the Constitution and secured by the contributions that subsidized the advancement of the American experiment. This is also indicated in another discourse of the NAACP, the Resolutions, which, in part, reads as follows:

> [W]e demand of Congress and the Executive… That the Constitution be strictly enforced, and the civil rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment be secured impartially to all… That in accordance with the Fifteenth Amendment the right of the Negro to the ballot on the same terms as other citizens be recognized in every part of the country.

The sense of voice is integral to vocation. It speaks to the perspective, agency, and rhetoric. That said, the term vocation refers to vocal as well, meaning the eloquence of rhetoric.

To be vocal means to be forthright, and to be sure the call-and-response practices involve a degree of being vocal. Much of the vocalness is seen in the eloquence of the discourses of the NAACP. By and large, eloquence refers to the fluency, cogency, and elegancy of speech. The artful of eloquence communication promotes persuasion because of the use of fitting words. In addition, eloquence derives from the Latin word *eloqui* which literally means to speak out ("eloquence"). As such, vocal refers to the outspokenness. To be vocal is to be literally and

figuratively heard. Though some of the discourses of the NAACP are in writing, certain written discourses are emulations of verbal discourses. For example, the Resolutions of the Negro National Conference are essentially platforms, and therefore they function as oral discourses. As a result of the sense of vocalness in the practices, the discourses of the NAACP come across as forthright and compelling.

As was previously indicated earlier in this chapter, *Vocation* refers to vocation, vocative, voice, and vocal. As such, communicative practices involve a sense of calling, inclination, and adherence to a kind of lifework. The practices also involve the direct address of the audience. Further, the practices involve perspective and agency. Finally, vocation involves eloquence characterized as communicative, articulate, and outspoken. As a result of these senses of vocation, the vocal discourses of the NAACP, inspired by the call-and-response communication ethics practices, better connect with the audience of listeners and/or readers.

Call and Response to Conscience: The Practice of Provocation

In general, the practice of provocation refers to the arousing of public concern or public action about a concern, a matter, or an issue. The conception of the NAACP hinges on the act and practice of provocation, for the issue of that twentieth century historical moment had to be brought to the fore. In this way, the practice of provocation is pretty straightforward. That said, in order to further elucidate the first practice—provocation—we return to the work of Smith and Hyde. In *The Call: Eloquence in the Service of Truth*, Smith and Hyde write about eloquence, which is helpful term to understand the call-and-response practice of evocation. Smtih and Hyde they offer a number of descriptions of eloquence. One such description points to the practice of evocation. They write that "[e]loquence lends itself to disclosing the truth (Smith and Hyde xiv). This treatment of eloquence is important, for arousing public concern involves truth telling.

Concomitantly, there is lexical connection between provocation and eloquence. The word "eloquence" not only refers to fluency of language, but the word denotes outspokenness. The word "eloquence" derives from the Latin word *eloqui* which means to "speak out" ("eloquence"). That is to say, as per this etymology and as per Smith and Hyde, provocation involves an eloquent outspokenness. Or put another way, provocation involves eloquence that calls something to attention or calls someone into account.

In addition, another term helps to explain provocation. In the book *Contemporary Black Thought: Alternative Analyses in Social and Behavioral Science* (edited by Molefi Asante and Abdulai S. Vandi), Pennington wrote a chapter entitled "Guilt Provocation: A Strategy in Black Rhetoric" about *guilt provocation*. Pennington's chief argument is this: Guilt is provoked externally, as well as internally. Her analysis of the rhetorical strategies of speakers like Martin Luther King, Jr., Frederick Douglas, Malcolm X proved that in the right conditions guilt, which is normally provoked internally, can be provoked externally by speaker/rhetor. In addition, Pennington asserted that guilt can be provoked externally upon groups and collectives, as well as upon individuals. Pennington's insight is important, for it promotes how guilt provocation can lead to a convocation of people who are called together. Accordingly, it is possible to understand the provocation at the heart of "The Call." The statement "silence under these conditions means tacit approval" combined with and vocative entreaty, "hence we call upon all believers in democracy" taken together constitutes a provocation. As such, Pennington's *guilt provocation* is akin to the call-and-response practice of provocation. In addition, provocation is evident in the Resolutions of the Negro National Conference. The Resolutions "speak" in no uncertain terms:

> We denounce the ever-growing oppression of our ten million colored fellow citizens as the greatest menace that threatens the country. Often plundered of their just share of the

> public funds, robbed of nearly all part in the government, segregated by common carriers, some murdered with impunity, and all treate d with open contempt by officials, they are held in some States in practical slavery to the white community. The systematic persecution of law-abiding citizens and their disfranchisement on account of their race alone is a crime that will ultimately drag down to an infamous end any nation that allows it to be practiced, and it bears most heavily on those poor white farmers and laborers whose economic position is most similar to that of the persecuted race.

This is a provocation. The Resolutions conveyed the truth—an attentiveness to the responsibility to communicate and a conviction to speak forthrightly about the conditions and circumstances. As such, this discourse indicates the application of call-and-response. As such, the concept of eloquence as disclosure of truth, as outspokenness, and as *guilt provocation* are helpful coordinates to expound on the practice of provocation.

Call and Response to Gather(ing): The Practice of Convocation

This section is an elucidation of the practice of convocation. Convocation, generally speaking, refers to the call and response to gathering. As such, the practice of convocation involves calling people to gather together in the same place. That raises the question: What is convocation? Convocation has two connotations: One connotation refers to the assembly of people in the same place, at the same time for a common cause; and the second connotation refers to the action of calling people together in order assembly. In this dissertation, we lean primarily and predominately into the second connotation—convocation as action, or convocation as the speech and action of calling people to gather. Notwithstanding, "convocation as gathering" is seen in the form of committees, conferences, meetings, and the association attendant to the NAACP. Further, convocation is alluded to using terms like "body," "association," and

"corporation." Notwithstanding, here is the chief claim regarding the practice of convocation: Convocation hinges of the importance and influence of place. This elucidation of convocation will also include a treatment of other dimensions or aspects of "place" namely, juncture, background, and coordination.

In this section of the chapter, we return use two scholars to help explain the practice of convocation: Michael J. Hyde, who in *The Call of Conscience* writes on collaborative deliberations. Candice Rai, who in *Democracy's Lot* writes on the "place of invention." In addition, in this section we return to some of the discourses of the NAACP—namely, "The Call" by Oswald Garrison Villard. As well, we examine a speech "Race Prejudice as Viewed From an Economic Standpoint" by William L. Bulkley, an African American educator and activist, and speech by Oswald Garrison Villard, "The Need for Organization." Also, we examine the address by Edwin R. A. Seligman, Professor of Political Economy at Columbia University.

In the book the *Call of Conscience* Michael J. Hyde writes about the relationship between the phenomenon of conscience and the practice of rhetoric (Hyde). In the process, Hyde employs a phrase that is helpful in understanding the call-and-response practice of convocation. In particular, he writes "rhetoric first and foremost makes its living within temporal and spatial confines." Hyde goes on to add in those temporal and spatial confines "the available means of persuasion are found, and people wait for their interests to be acknowledged by those who would engage them in collaborative deliberation about contestable matters" (62) This temporal and spatial confines is how I would describe the place of convocation. It is a place of rhetoric, and as such the place of convocation is a place of collaborative deliberation. Hyde adds that the temporal and spatial confines are sites for "civic engagement and civic virtue… that lends itself to the task of enriching the moral character of a people's communal existence" (62). The place of

convocation is a place of concerted communication that promotes ethical character of community. In fact, Hyde writes that "sustaining the vitality and good judgment of democratic society requires that members constantly seek out the 'remedy' of collaborative deliberation whenever controversial matters are at hand" (Hyde 144). In short, the practice of convocation of the early NAACP involved collaborative deliberation—a "remedy" that sustained democratic society at a site for "civic engagement." To be sure, this is a way to characterize the Negro National Conference of 1909 and the gatherings of the Association itself. Hyde's treatment is a way to explain happens when persons in the same space and time practice convocation.

To be sure, "The Call" calls for convocation—the calling and response to gather. It reads, "Hence we call upon all the believers in democracy to *join in a national conference* [emphasis added]" Worthy of note, believers in democracy were called to join a national conference—thus they were called to confer, or to convene. Three hundred people convene at the Negro National Conference in response to the convoking. Concomitantly, as per the Preface of the Negro National Conference 1909, printed in the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference,* Wallings wrote:

> The same unanimity that prevailed in regard to the main objects of the new organization extended also to its choice of methods. It was decided that a series of conferences would be the best means at once to attract the attention of all those who might become interested in the proposed organization, to put the present situation of the Negro in its entirety in the fore- ground of public interest and to establish a basis of fact, reasoned policy and even of science for its future conduct (Walling "Preface" 6).

Walling discloses how the burgeoning NAACP promoted gathering via conferences, which is essentially a meeting of the course of days organized to take up a particular concern. The key

aspect of a conference is that people are called together to share the concern in common. implies the practice of convocation—calling and response to gather(ing). Interestingly, the words convocation and conference share the same lexical heritage. The word convocation derives from the Latin word *convocare* which literally means "to call together." The word conference derives from the Latin word *conferre* which literally means "to bring together." In addition, the Latin word *conferre* connotes bringing together for joint consideration and examination ("Conference"). The calling together leads to a bringing together, in order to consider together. That is to say, conference implies bringing different people together to consider a subject matter from different perspectives. This points to communication ethics, which in large part bases on this very ethic (Arnett, Fritz, and Bell). That said, Walling adds the following:

> Every available means should be adopted for this purpose, not only investigations of the situation in all of its manifold forms and in every section of the country, but also conferences, public meetings, speeches and articles by members of the organization and all others interested, co-operation with other organizations and the furnishing to the public press of news hitherto suppressed or difficult to obtain (Walling "Preface" 7).

Walling makes it apparent that the conferees decided to continue the practice of convocation, calling people to gather together at future conferences and public meetings. Villard indicates they would continue the practice of convocation. Oswald Garrison Villard, who penned "The Call" also spoke at the Negro National Convention, and in so doing touched on the practice of convocation.

In his speech entitled, "The Need for Organization" Oswald Garrison Villard spoke on the need to develop a parent body and the about the practice of convocation, "I beg to report on behalf of your committee on organization that it has seemed from the very inception of this

movement desirable that some permanent body should grow out of this gathering" (Villard). Villard, who served as the Chair of the Negro National Committee, indicates that a parent body is to "grow out of gathering." That is to say, one of the responses coming out of the Negro National Conference was to call forth a parent body. And a part of the responsibility of the parent body was to continue the practice of convoking. Villard continued saying, "A non-partisan body like our proposed board could often do this with greater effectiveness than any organization of voters as such, for it would in no wise enter the political field for the purpose of electing this or that candidate, but confine itself battling for principles, for civic rights, for an untarnished Constitution." Villard makes a distinction between the proposed parent body and other bodies, like governing bodies and legislative bodies. The parent body would focus on "civic rights" as it were. The practice of convocation was quite fruitful, producing a large and powerful body, a parent body, an organ (The Crisis), members of the association, and a corporation.

In *Democracy's Lot* Candice Rai writes, "rhetoric is not only made visible and transported by material carriers, but also emerges from and is brought to life by the particular environs already present in the world. Rhetoric is emplaced, embodied, and embedded in the places and practices—indeed in very forms of being of everyday life" (Rai 6). Rai puts forth an argument for the importance of place in communication. Throughout the book she argues that places have a rhetorical force that has the capacity to produce social effects. She continues by offering an example—the neighborhood. She wrote, "while it is important to pinpoint the reasons why such robust, competing publics formed and persisted in Uptown, a good starting place for understanding this emergence is the [the neighborhood] neighborhoods' racial diversity (ideological, political, racial, cultural, sexual, religious, economic, aesthetic (10). In short, Rai 's

work takes up the question of where communication happens, or more specifically where rhetoric happens.

Convocation is the speech and action that catalyzes the call and response to gathering. Convocation is a crucial call-and-response communication ethics practice that kindles the conception, formation, incorporation, and performance of the NAACP. According to Rai, place is important to communication, which includes communication ethics and call and response communication. Extending Rai's point, then, convocation is influenced by place. Accordingly, "place" is crucial to the efficacy of the practices, including but not limited to the practice of convocation. Rhetorical analyses the discourses of the NAACP according to Rai will affirm this point,

The practice of convocation (vis-à-vis the NAACP) was helped by gathering in the same place (co-located communication). Though communication between and among individuals can be virtual or mediated, based on rhetorical interpretations the early discourses and the early communicative actions of the NAACP, this dissertation recognizes and promotes the value of co-located communication. For example, "The Call" is a discourse that emerges out of conversation undertaken by people in the same place at the same time. Additionally, the addresses and speeches of the Negro National Conference are delivered by and to people in the same place. That said, this dissertation extends Rai, assigning value to the place itself. Put simply, as we will see from rhetorical examinations of certain discourses of the NAACP, place not only contributes to the communication phenomenon, place itself is communicative. As such, vis-à-vis the conception, naming, formation, incorporation, and performance of the NAACP, we appraise gathering in the same place (convocation) and we esteem the place of gathering, communication, and action. The assertion is that a given meeting environment is, to a degree, shaped by the

character of the place of gathering. That is to say the character of the Henry Street Settlement, of Cooper Union (Cooper Institute), of *The New York Evening Post*, and even the character of Walling's home shaped convocation—the call and response to gather(ing).

It speaks volumes that after the article, "The Race War in the North" (August 1908), that William English Walling, Mary White Ovington, and Henry Moskowitz gathered together in January 1909. It communicates how rhetorical the article was. That said, it also spoke volumes that the three in the home of Walling. As such, this auspicious gathering was a house meeting. Generally speaking, usually a house meeting promotes interaction, fosters the sense of community, and facilitates discovery of common sense. Notwithstanding, when the meeting takes place in the home of a party interested in the concern being taken up at the meeting, something else happens: The meeting environment reflects the host's ethos. As such, the January 1909 meeting in the home of Walling, in some way, reflected Walling's ethos. Which raises the question who is Willing English Walling? Besides being the author of "The Race War in the North," Walling did postgraduate work with John Dewey, worked for Hull House, worked with Lillian Wald (co-founder of NAACP and founder of Henry Street Settlement), and helped a group of women—Jane Addams (founder of the NAACP), Mary McDowell, Alice Hamilton, Ida Rauh, Florence Kelley, Edith Abbott, Grace Abbott, Crystal Eastman and Sophonisba Breckinridge to start the National Women's Trade Union League, in 1903. Perhaps the most telling aspect of Walling's character is how he closed the article:

> The day these methods become general in the North every hope of political democracy will be dead, other weaker races and classes will be persecuted in the North as in the South, public education will undergo an eclipse, and American civilization will await either a rapid degeneration… (534).

It was Walling's judgment that happened to Black people in Springfield was a threat to democracy, public education, and American civilization. Suffice it to say that the place of the meeting between Walling, Moskowitz, and Ovington was significant (Walling's home), and Walling's ethos contributed to the home meeting environment.

That said, after the meeting, they enlisted the help of a number of people, included Oswald Garrison Villard, who was the editor *The New York Evening Post,* the newspaper where, at the time, Mary White Ovington was a journalist. Villard pens "The Call" which eventually leads to the Negro National Conference. Some important discourses of the NAACP took place at the Negro National Conference. That said, extending Rai, we would do well to analyze the place of the conference as well. The conference took place at the Henry Street Settlement, which was a groundbreaking social-service agency, started by Lillian Wald, a co-founder of the NAACP. Wald started the Henry Street Settlement in 1893, in order to supply healthcare, education, and other services to children and families, in poverty-stricken areas. What is more, the Henry Street Settlement was also the agency (place) that hired Elizabeth Tyler Barringer, a Black nurse. Barringer was hired to be a visiting nurse, the first Black one, in order to serve the needs of Black communities affected a number of morbidities and high mortality rates (Carnegie; Pitts). In addition to the significance of the discourses of the Negro National Conference, the place of gathering itself spoke volumes.

The second National Negro Conference, held in 1910, was the conference at which the Association was named the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The place of the second National Negro Conference, also, spoke volumes. The conference took place at Cooper Union (College), which was an "open" college, accessible to anyone who qualified regardless of race, gender, wealth, social status, or religion. In addition, the Great Hall of Cooper

Union was/is a place of renown because of the notable speakers, speakers and momentous events taking place there. In February of 1860 Abraham Lincoln gave the address that propelled him the 1860 Republican nomination for president of the United States at Cooper Union (Donald; Freeman). Frederick Douglas spoke at Cooper Union (Great Hall) five times. For example, in February 1863, Frederick Douglas gave his famed speech "The Proclamation and a Negro Army" in the Great Hall of Cooper Union. In January of 1864, Douglass delivered a speech before the Woman's Loyal League. Not to mention, on June 1, 1865, Douglass gave a eulogy of. The Great Hall was also the place were Susan B. Anthony spoke and, along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, started the National Council of Women. The place of the second Negro National Conference—Cooper Union—spoke volumes.

Also, the place or home of *The Crisis* was significant too. *The Crisis*, the organ of the NAACP, was housed in a room of the *New York Evening Post* building. That the NAACP was, at first, housed in the building of the *New York Evening* is significant. The *New York Evening Post* at the time was led by Oswald Garrison Villard who, besides being a co-founder of the NAACP and composer of "The Call". He was a suffragist, trade union reformer, and supporter of equal rights for Black Americans. In addition, at the NAACP conference in Boston in 1910, the Boston Committee to Advance the Cause of the Negro, became the first chartered branch of the NAACP. That conference took place at the Park Street Congregational Church in Boston.

As we learn from rhetorical evaluations, places help facilitate communication and places are themselves significant. Places are lodgings of culture, history, narratives, and tradition. And oftentimes, places reflect the character of the people and the significance of the pivotal events and undertakings connected to them. Place conveys a sense of communication ethics. The places of the discourses of the NAACP, like the home of William English Walling, the Henry Street

Settlement, Cooper Union, and the Park Street Congregational Church, for example, speak volumes, and the places contribute to the efficacy of convocation. In some respects, constructive interpretation is not only an extension of Rai, but it is also an extension of the *rhetorical situation* (Bitzer), which includes communicator, audience, topic, purpose, and context (which itself includes the physical, temporal, social, historical, and situational contexts).

That said, there are other dimensions of place too—there is juncture (particular point in time), background (circumstances or history underlying a situation), and coordination (related to the position of points). Put in these terms, these dimensions of place corelate to call-and-response communication ethics. For example, provocation relates to juncture (point in time), for it provokes a call and response to conscience in a particular point in time. Evocation (recalling responsibility) correlates to background, for the background of a past is constructively brought into the present through evocative call and response communication. In addition, "polyvocation" (co-response) is based on yet another dimension of place—coordination. The efficacy of the discourses of the NAACP based, at least in part, on gathering in person. Suffice it to say, being in the same "place" helps in finding common ground.

These coordinates of place—juncture, background, and coordination—correlate to certain coordinates of communication ethics. To that point, Arnett, Fritz, and Bell write that communication ethics "finds application in a specific time and place with specific people… (12). They continue, writing, "in a time of disagreement "finds temporal ground—a place to stand for the moment, recognizing that this ground of agreement may shift later—in the dialectical tension between identifying communication ethics positions as necessary for guiding a life and recognizing their necessarily persuasive nature" (17). That is to say, juncture, background, and

coordination correlate to the question of the historical moment, the negotiation of difference, and temporal ground (a place to stand in order to find agreement).

In addition, the success of the practice pivoted what Walling called foregrounding, another term that correlates to place. In the Preface of the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference* he wrote, "It was decided that a series of conferences would be the best means at once to attract the attention of all those who might become interested in the proposed organization, to put the present situation of the Negro in its entirety in the foreground of public interest…" Walling continued, "In view of the resolutions adopted in 1909 it is scarcely necessary to state that it is the deep conviction of all that not only the ultimate solution of the problem but the crying necessities of the moment will be best met not by any suppression or postponement of the fullest and freest possible discussion of the question in all its aspects, but by bringing it into the very foreground of public attention." According to Walling, the "associates" of the developing NAACP foregrounded the "present situation of the Negro." Put another way, they foregrounded the question of that moment, doing so by practicing provocation (calling and response to conscience), convocation (call and response to gathering), evocation (recalling responsibility) and "polyvocation" (co-respond).

Place helps foster communicative efficacy in that early twentieth century moment, a time shaped by and characterized by manifest disassociation. Likewise, place, in several respects, helps effectuate the practices of call-and-response communication ethics. How? Place conveys the ethos of the people associated with the place and the significance of the events associated with the place.

Having explored the dimension of place with respect to convocation, we return to a rhetorical analysis of certain discourses. That said, it bears repeating that the discourses of the

NAACP were many. For instance, the Negro National Conference alone included addresses, speeches, a [panel] discussion, and resolutions. As such, we turn to a rhetorical analysis of the [panel] discussions. To do that we begin with a question: What was the [panel] discussion of the Negro National Conference? Or what is a panel discussion? A [panel] discussion is a conversation in which guest speakers, experts, or interested parties are brought together. Accordingly, panel discussions bring together people of diverse backgrounds, experiences, and points of view together to discussion. In the real sense the aim of a panel discussion is learning. Panelists and participants reflect on and think about the different perspectives shared by panelists. Panelist and participants also learn as a shared sense of good emerges. As such, communication ethics kindles the aim of panel discussions. The [panel] Discussion of the Negro National Conference, likewise, is driven by communication ethics.

In that way, the discussion portion of the Negro National Conference implies the communication ethics practice of convocation. This is evident in the emphasis upon gathering indicated by the reference to conferences, meetings, discussion, gathering. One of the participants in the discussion, Mr. Stemmons, spoke about convocation by using provocation. He declared:

> If mere conferences and talks and no renditions and protests and appeals were all that arc needed, we have already enough of these to settle a dozen such questions instead of making it worse and worse, as has been the case with the race situation in this country for the past forty-five years. The trouble has been, I think, our failure to recognize and act upon the influences that control this situation and keep it alive, failure to recognize and appreciate the basic conditions upon which depend the development of the race (Stemmons).

Mr. Stemmons refers to gathering using terms like conferences, talks, and appeals. At the same time, he also practiced convocation by using provocation. He did so in three ways. One, he calls attention to "the race situation in this country" or the question of that historical moment. Two, he calls attention to the "influences" or root causes. There he calls attention to the "basic conditions upon which depend the development of the race" or to the response to the problem.

Based on the rhetorical analysis of Mr. Stemmons's discourse, convocation bases on provocations that prompt the consideration of problems, questions, and concerns and should provoke people to consider root causes. Mr. Stemmons practiced convocation (calling people together) and provocation (calling to conscience) by pointing to the root causes, which in this work is deemed as the problem of disassociation. Additionally, Mr. Stemmons used provocation to provoke attentiveness, the ultimate aim of convocation. He convokes them, but not just to meet. He says, "[t]he trouble has been, I think, our failure to recognize and act, failure to recognize and appreciate the basic conditions upon which depended the development of the race." He provokes them recognize and to act as they met. Mr. Stemmons practiced convocation in a way that provoked conferees to go beyond just meeting, provoking conferees to recognize and act upon influences (root causes) and also to pursue the greater aims that necessitate meeting. To consider the point of the conference, reminding them of the need to recognize and act. Mr. Stemmons challenges the notion of just conferring (gathering). As a prelude to the abovementioned point, Mr. Stemmons stated:

> For a few individuals to hold an ideal, to create an ideal which they are willing to live up to, and which they believe the general public ought to live up to, is a noble thing; but for them to produce a line of action that will override opposition and make this ideal part of the public life, is quite another thing" (Stemmons).

In a real sense, Mr. Stemmons provokes the conferees to acknowledge that convocation should eventuate in vocation (engagement) That is, conference should go beyond gathering and communicating and eventuate in fulfilling a calling, following a course of action, engaging in an occupation, completing a work, an in what Mr. Stemmons called, "producing a line of action." In this way, Mr. Stemmons infers the connection between gathering, communication, and action. The convocations of the NAACP include conferences, committees, public meetings, and board meetings.

To that very point Mr. Stemmons uses the phrase "basic conditions" to speak of the ways and means of developing the race. Conditions is a meaningful word. On one hand, conditions connote that which can determine the manner or outcome of something. According to this understanding, there is a contingency to conditions—there is something indispensable to some result. For instance, with respect to developing the race in the early twentieth century moment, the "basic" conditions might refer to equality, enfranchisement, and education. On the other hand, the word conditions also refer to communication and agreement. The word "condition" derives from the Latin word *condicere* more literally meaning, "to speak with, talk together, agree upon" ("conditions"). According to this denotation of the "conditions," the actions of speaking, talking, and agreeing, relate to communication. That said, the aforementioned actions have either an attendant prepositions (with, upon) or an attendant adverb (together), which turn the verbs into phrasal verbs. The prepositions (with and upon), and the adverb (together) either describe the direction of the communication, or modify the verb by telling how, to what degree, or under what conditions. Concomitantly, the actions of speaking *with*, talking *together*, and agreeing *upon* relate to communication ethics, given that communication ethics hinges witness and accord. As such, the actions of speaking with, talking together, and agreeing upon is a way

of practicing convocation leads to "polyvocation" (Chapter 4), which involves co-responding with and together and corresponding together and with. That is to say, by calling conferees to recognize and appreciate the "conditions" (upon which depend the development of the race), Mr. Stemmons practiced convocation by using provocation in a way that promoted "polyvocation" (the call to co-respond and correspond).

Recall and Call: The Practice of Evocation

Having offered elucidations of provocation and convocation, this next section delves into the practice of evocation, *which* involves recalling speeches, values, measures, and movements. From an etymological understanding, evocation derives from the Latin word *evocationem* meaning, among other things, "a calling forth" ("evocation"). In that way, the practice of evocation not only involves recalling, but it also involves reemploying. In other to elucidate this practice, we employ the scholarship of litterateur Toni Morrison, who writes on *rememory*, the scholarship of rhetorician James Murphy who writes on *ethopoeia*, the scholarship of Smith and Hyde who write about "collaborative deliberation," and the scholarship of Ronald C. Arnett who writes on the concept of the *audio ethic*.

In *Sources of Self Regard*, Toni Morrison writes about the *rememory*. This concept, coined by Toni Morrison is a helpful one to understand the practice of evocation in call-and-response communication ethics. Evocation, generally speaking involves recalling. In particular, the practice of evocation involved in the call-and-response communication ethics of the NAACP involved *rememory*. In a real sense, Morrison refers to *rememory* as the power of commemoration. She writes that *rememory* is the "recollecting and remembering" but importantly she describes is "recollecting and remembering as in reassembling the members of the body, the family, the population of the past" (Morrison 324). She continues, "[m]emory (the

deliberate act of remembering) is a form of willed creation. It is not an effort to find out the way it really was, that is research. The point is to dwell on the way it appeared and why it appeared in that particular way" (Morrison 327). Morrison's insight is an important one: That rememory involves remembering, recollecting, and most importantly it involves remembering "the population of the past." The practice of evocation of the call-and-response communication ethics of the NAACP involves rememory—remembering the population of the past.

In addition, the practice of evocation also involved *ethopoeia.* The practice is rooted in a rhetorical practice akin to ethopoeia—a word that is a portmanteau of two Greek words, ethos and poiesis. From the Aristotelian standpoint, ethos refers to the character of a rhetor, or orator. Poiesis means revealing, or bringing something into existence. Etymologically speaking, poiesis derives from the ancient Greek term *ποιεῖν*, which means "to make." Indeed, the word poiesis is related to the word poetry, which shares the same Greek root. Poiesis involves producing and relates to what is productive. That is to say, poiesis refers to actions and/or activities whose end goal is production.

Ethopoeia, according to Carolyn Miller, denotes the "construction—or simulation—of character in discourse" (Miller 74). Miller's point is that evocation involves evoking the ethos credibility of an orator. Incorporating ethopoeia can catalyze a given discourse. That is, as one creates discourse, or crafts a speech, or constructs a resolution, evoking the character of a another respected or renown person, can catalyze that discourse. James Murphy writes "[e]thopoeia is the ability to capture the ideas, words, and style of delivery suited to the person for whom the address is written. Even more so, ethopoeia involves adapting the speech to the exact conditions under which it is to be spoken" (Murphy 49). According to Murphy ethopoeia involves capturing the ideas of another in a speech.

This was practice for speechwriters. Usually, a person writing a speech for another person had to use *ethopoeia.* However, at heart, ethopoeia was based on writing a speech in the voice of another. It involved capturing the ideas and words of another. What is more, ethopoeia involved adapting speech to the conditions in which the speech is to be given. As such, ethopoeia involved not only capturing the ideas of a person, or writing a speech in the voice of another, it involves making that speech fit. Or put another way, ethopoeia involved making sure the speech was fitting, relevant, and timely. As such, as it seen in the discourses of the NAACP, evocation as one of the call-and-response communication ethic practices of the NAACP involves ethopoeia in more ways than one. This is evident, for example, in "The Call" by Villard.

In addition to the concept of rememory by Morrison and the term ethopoeia, there is another communication ethics metaphor that is helpful to understand the practice of evocation. It is a metaphor lifted by communication ethics scholar Ronald C. Arnett in *Levinas' Rhetorical Demand*—the metaphor is *audio ethic* or *audio ethical echo* (14). In *Levinas' Rhetorical Demand*, Ronald C. Arnett explains and expounds on Levinas' "ethics as first philosophy" project. In so doing, Arnett outlines the implication of Levinasian ethics on communication ethics. One of Arnett's chief points is that the "rhetorical demands of the face of the Other… transports one from a visual ethic to an audio ethic" (2). The responsibility for the Other central to Levinasian ethics not only bases on seeing the Face of the Other but inspires a response. Arnett refers to that response as an "audio immemorial ethical echo of 'I am my brother's keeper'" (6). That is, Arnett draws attention to the promising response that is ignited the responsibility for Other.

This insight has implications. Arnett writes, "I discuss Levinas' work as a gesture toward a primordial ethics call that generates response in communication scholarship" (18). As such, Arnett's insight into Levinasian ethics is to have implications on other communication ethics

scholarship, such as this dissertation. Arnett goes on to add that the audio ethic then leads to an "assumption of responsibility in responding to the particularity of the moment" (6). As such, according to Arnett, Levinasian ethics involves an interplay between "visual and audio ethic" (17). Seeing the Other equates to an "ethical optic" that is accompanied by an "audio ethic" (14). Relevant to this dissertation is the audio ethic. It is the fact that the persons involved in the formation of the NAACP go beyond observation toward communication guided by ethics.

The term, audio ethics, is helpful to explain and understand a number of the speeches and addresses of the NAACP. Using evocation in communication implies the call to speak that is imposed by ethics. In fact, the term evocation derives from the Latin word *evocare* which literally means to "call out." This is a secondary sense of evocation. That is, evocation involves ethical speaking out. It bears repeating that "The Call" reads as such, "[h]ence, we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils" and for "the voicing of protests…" (Villard "The Call"). In "The Call" they evoke Lincoln, as will be elucidated below. Worthy of note is that "The Call" evoked Lincoln, and it calls readers to respond by speaking out—by conferring at "national conference" by "discussing" and by "voicing." Extending Arnett's audio ethic is helpful: We see how seeing the Other leads to speaking out, as in the case of the addresses and speeches of the Negro National Conference. Those were forms of speaking out.

The practice of evocation, in the case of the call-and-response of communication ethics of the NAACP, is explained by Morrison's *rememory*, by Murphy's sense of ethopoeia, by Arnett's sense of the audio ethic, and by an etymological understanding of the Latin word *evocare*. By extending these treatments evocation means three things: The past is recalled and constructively brought into the present; meaning, the ideas, character, and speech of a person are incorporated

into discourse; meaning, there is an ethical speaking out That said, this understanding of evocation connects to another practice of call-and-response communication ethics— "polyvocation" which refers to co-responding and corresponding. That is to say, after they recalled Lincoln in "The Call" audiences were then called to speak out, as Lincoln spoke out. Worthy of note is that "The Call" was endorsed by a number of signatories; the Resolutions of the Negro National Conference were co-signed the Committee of Forty; the 1911 Articles of Incorporation were co-signed by a diverse board of directors. Each of these is an example of evocation by recall, by ethopoeia, and by ethical speaking out. That said, this is not an evocation by one, but evocation by many. Therefore, it is evocation via "polyvocation," meaning co-response via correspondence.

In the practice of evocation, in the case of the call-and-response communication ethics of the NAACP, was quickened by the act of *rememory* and the technique of ethopoeia. And the practice of evocation inspired other discourses of the NAACP. Four of the ways we see the practice of evocation is in the following four discourses: One, "the Race War in the North" article; two, in "The Call" penned by Villard; three, in a statement by Mr. Stemmons who participated in the [panel] Discussion; and four, in an address by Wendell Phillips Stafford. In addition, the practice of evocation is used in forming the National Negro Committee and in the naming, formation, and publication of *The Crisis*.

In the article, "The Race War in the North" not only does Walling practice provocation he also practices evocation. He wrote, "Either the spirit of Lincoln and Lovejoy must be revived, and we must come to treat the negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality or Vardaman and Tillman will soon have transferred the race war to the North" (Walling 534). Lincoln refers to Abraham, the sixteenth president of the United States, who led the nation through the Civil War, issued the executive order known as the Emancipation Proclamation, and

oversaw the implementation of abolition. Lovejoy refers to Elijah Parish Lovejoy, who was minister, journalist and editor, and martyr for abolitionism. His martyrial death at the hands of a pro-slavery mob, was thought to be a catalyst for the Civil War and boon to abolitionism. Vardaman refers to James Kimble Vardaman, a Mississippi politician, a staunch white supremacist and lynching apologist, known for the infamous statement, "If it is necessary every Negro in the state will be lynched; it will be done to maintain white supremacy." Tillman refers to Benn Ryan Tillman, who according to *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian*, was a governor of South Carolina and a white supremacist who defended slavery and opposed civil rights for Black (Simkins). To be sure, in the article, Walling evokes the abolitionist movement, even challenged people to embrace abolitionism, or rather a kind of neo-abolitionism which sought to abolish inequality, segregation, and disqualification. Hence, it is evident that Walling practices evocation.

In addition, Walling practices evocation. By publishing "The Call" on February 12, the centenary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday, and by framing "The Call" as if Lincoln were alive to see America in 1909, Villard practices evocation, in this case evocation with respect to Abraham Lincoln. The character of Lincoln was evoked. The ideas of Lincoln were evoked. The voice of Lincoln was evoked. Even though a new discourse is created, "The Call" was characterized by the character of Lincoln; "The Call" re-sounds the voice of Lincoln. Concomitantly, abolitionism, or a new take on abolitionism, is evoked into that early twentieth century moment. It bears repeating, the observance of Lincoln's birthday had become a periodic occurrence, not long after his assassination in 1865. Villard, in 1909, practices evocation using ethopoeia. When Villard pens "The Call," he wants readers and responders to rehear the voice of Lincoln by reviewing and reexamining early twentieth century America through Lincoln's eyes. Ironically,

Villard captures the voice of Lincoln by giving a stark tour of America through the eyes of Lincoln. The introduction of "The Call" read as follows:

> The celebration of the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln widespread and grateful as it may be, will fail to justify itself if it takes no note and makes no recognition of the colored men and women to whom the great emancipator labored to assure freedom. Besides a day of rejoicing, Lincoln's birthday in 1909 should be one of taking stock of the nation's progress since 1865. How far has it lived up to the obligations imposed upon it by the Emancipation Proclamation? How far has it gone in assuring to each and every citizen, irrespective of color, the equality of opportunity and equality before the law, which underlie our American institutions and are guaranteed by the Constitution?
>
> If Mr. Lincoln could revisit this country in the flesh, he would be disheartened and discouraged. He would learn that on January 1, 1909, Georgia had rounded out a new confederacy by disfranchising the Negro, after the manner of all the other Southern States.
>
> He would learn that the Supreme Court of the United States, supposedly a bulwark of American liberties, had refused every opportunity to pass squarely upon this disfranchisement of millions, by laws avowedly discriminatory and openly enforced in such manner that the white men may vote and that black men be without a vote in their government; he would discover, therefore, that taxation without representation is the lot of millions of wealth-producing American citizens, in whose hands rests the economic progress and welfare of an entire section of the country.
>
> He would learn that the Supreme Court, according to the official statement of one of its own judges in the Berea College case, has laid down the principle that if an

> individual State chooses, it may 'make it a crime for white and colored persons to frequent the same marketplace at the same time, or appear in an assemblage of citizens convened to consider questions of a public or political nature in which all citizens, without regard to race, are equally interested.
>
> In many states Lincoln would find justice enforced, if at all, by judges elected by one element in a community to pass upon the liberties and lives of another. He would see the black men and women, for whose freedom a hundred thousand of soldiers gave their lives, set apart in trains, in which they pay first-class fares for third-class service, and segregated in railway stations and in places of entertainment; he would observe that State after State declines to do its elementary duty in preparing the Negro through education for the best exercise of citizenship.

Bear in mind that the Springfield Race Riot 1908 happens in the home city and state of Abraham Lincoln. Villard, too, is the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, Sr., the renowned abolitionist and agitant of Abraham Lincoln. Villard evokes the memory and legacy of Abraham Lincoln, known as the Emancipator.

In fact, “The Call” evoked a previous speech made by Lincoln. That is to say, Villard evoked “The Gettysburg Address,” the speech Lincoln delivered, in November 1863, during the Civil War on the occasion of the dedication of the Soldiers’ National Cemetery. See the practice of evocation as seen in one glaring similarity between “The Call” and “Gettysburg Address.” In “The Call” Villard wrote:

> Added to this, the spread of lawless attacks upon the Negro, North, South and West -- even in the Springfield made famous by Lincoln -- often accompanied by revolting brutalities, sparing neither sex nor age nor youth, could but shock the author of the

sentiment that government of the people, by the people, for the people; should not perish from the earth.

In particular Villard drew upon a core element of the Gettysburg address, "that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." (Lincoln). The three coordinates of democracy are spoken by Lincoln and evoked by Villard. As such, Villard evokes the painful memories and lessons of the Civil War in order to be instructive.

In addition, Ms. Stemmons also practiced evocation as he took part in the [panel] Discussion at the Negro National Conference 1909. He declared, "[i]f mere conferences and talks and no renditions and protests and appeals were all that arc needed, we have already enough of these to settle a dozen such questions instead of making it worse and worse, as has been the case with the race situation in this country for the past forty-five years" (Stemmons). By stating "for the past forty-five years" Stemmons is evoking the Emancipation.

It is apparent that the formation of the Negro National Committee, the committee that organized the Negro National Conference, involved the practice of evocation. Prior to the Negro National Committee there was another committee—the Committee for the Advancement of the Negro Race, started by Oswald Garrison. The Committee for the Advancement of the Negro Race was conceived in 1906 after the Brownsville Affair and the Atlanta Riot and was thought to be the "blueprint for the NAACP" ("Oswald Garrison Villard"). While the Springfield Race Riots of 1908 is the precipitating event, there is a catalogue of memories about other riots. The Brownsville Affair and the Atlanta Riots happened in the Southwest and Southeast, respectively. The Springfield Riots happened in the North, in the home city of Abraham Lincoln. As per the brilliant work laid out in *Defining the Struggle*, In some respect, the very formation of the Negro

National Committee involves evoking previous efforts, such as the Committee for the Advancement of the Negro Race, the Niagara Movement, the National Afro American Council, the National Afro American League, The Committee for Improving the Industrial Conditions of Negroes, the Committee on Urban Conditions among Negroes, National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the National Federation of Afro-American Women (Carle). Conceiving, forming, and incorporating the NAACP, involved evoking the efforts that prior to the NAACP pursued collaborative efforts, nationalized efforts, and efforts at advancing the equality, enfranchisement, education, and economic status of Black Americans.

Even the naming, formation, and publication of *The Crisis* magazine involved evocation. It is noteworthy the similarities in the readership of *The Crisis*, the publication of the early twentieth century civil rights movement and the *Liberator*, the publication of the Abolitionist Movement (published by William Lloyd Garrison, Sr.). According to the scholarship history professor Peter C. Ripley, three-quarters of the circulation of *The Liberator* were African Americans (Ripley, 9). Likewise, the core audience of *The Crisis* was, intentionally, Black persons. Likewise, Du Bois sets for a philosophy of communication of *The Crisis.* This exhibits another kind of evocation—an evocation of practice. It was the practice of *The Liberator,* the chief publication of the Abolitionist movement, which was a movement and narrative akin to the emerging civil rights movement and narrative being developed concomitant to the emerging NAACP. This is an important custom of evocation, which in turn is a practice of communication ethics. As a result of this focus on Black audience, *The Crisis*'s focused its communication on the diversities of Black experience, including the achievements by Black Americans, and accounts of lynching and racial discrimination, and the concerns of education, children, women's suffrage and the war. In other words, the rhetorical practice of *The Crisis* was similar to that of

The Liberator, especially in that in its focus on Black audiences led to *The Crisis* becoming and being a corrective to the stereotypes being pervaded and published by mainstream White publications.

Not to mention, the practice of evocation is indicated in the title. The title of the publication implies a philosophy of communication, in that the word "crisis" functions as a title and a metaphor. The word "crisis" as per its manifold definition, communicates a focus on crisis as both the predicament of that moment and on crisis a potential turning point into an eventual movement. However, in addition the title conveys that evocation was used. The title is drawn from the poem, "The Present Crisis" penned by James Russell Lowell, in 1845, concerning the annexation of Texas and whether it would remain a slavery-allowing state. In this way the title, *The Crisis,* evokes the abolitionist movement.

Evocation involves bringing forth a constructive history, tradition, practice, or narrative. Constructive history, tradition, practice, or narrative is "called forth" in order to facilitate a productive use in the present and future. The practice of evocation involves a calling to mind; remembering in order to reinstitute.

Call to Co-Respond and Correspond: The Practice of "Polyvocation"

The last section of this chapter concerns the fourth and final practice of call-and-response communication ethics—the practice of "polyvocation" which is neologism that refers to the act of co-responding and corresponding. To be more precise, "polyvocation" is a co-responding and corresponding in a way that is multi-vocal and multi-vocational. The final practice of call-and-response communication is the practice of co-response. By and large, many of the responses are co-responses: "The Call" is a co-response endorsed by many. The Resolutions of the Negro National Conference is a form of co-response. In the aggregate, all of the addresses and the

speeches of the Negro National Conference taken together comprise a co-response by the eight addressors and sixteen speakers. The Discussion (panel discussion) is a form of co-response. Taken together, the diversified content of *The Crisis* is an example of co-response.

Given that "polyvocation" is another neologism, it is helpful to use an established term. In this case we use the term polyphony made famous by Mikhail Bakhtin, who wrote about the practices in the *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Writing about polyphony as a characteristic of Dostoevsky's novels, Bakhtin wrote that polyphony is "a plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices" (Bakhtin 6). This is a close rendering of what I mean by "polyvocation." In "polyvocation" like in polyphony voices are seen as valid; and there is a plurality of independent, interdependent, and unmerged voices. Voices are not lost in "polyvocation." Instead, in the practice of "polyvocation" voices and vocations are braided. Thus, voices remain independent strands, but strands are interlaced together, forming one stronger braid. One difference between Bakhtin's *polyphony* and the call-and-response communication ethics practice of "polyvocation" is that "polyvocation" does not primarily refer to work of literature. That is, "polyvocation" refers primarily and predominately to call-and-response communication and to communication ethics discourse. In addition, "polyvocation" involves the plurality and voice and the multiplicity of callings and vocations. Hence, "polyvocation" refers to the co-response of a plurality of voices and a multiplicity of callings by a multitude of correspondences. Importantly, in and through the practice of "polyvocation" independent voices remain strands or threads, however the threads are woven together. Put another way, polyvocation refers to the coordinated communicative action of multiple vocations, voices, and values in cooperation toward the same end, or for a common cause. It is a kind of polyvocality—a communicative strategy that is based on the power of many

voices and vocations communicating and acting in concert and in concern, in order to promote change.

As has been laid out, the communication of the NAACP included a number and a variety of correspondences, such as the "Race War in the North" article, "The Call," as well as the discourses (speeches, addressed, letters, and resolutions) of the Negro National Conference), and the editorial content of the NAACP. Each of these were responses by "polyvocation." In addition, the manifold of "callings" and vocations were also manifestations of "polyvocation." As has been mentioned, there were a number of vocations—public communicators (journalists and editors), educationalists (teachers, academics, and administrators), jurisprudents (lawyers, attorneys, and legal scholars), public philosophers, social workers, clergy, and litterateurs. In addition, those who formed the NAACP were also those who were public advocates, like those who were abolitionists, suffragists, anti-segregationists, civil rights advocates, antilynching crusaders, and reconstructionist.

In addition, many voices helped to make the NAACP. The role of women, both Black and White, in the conception, formation, incorporation, and performance of the NAACP was indispensable and undeniable. For example, in his Letter to the Negro National Conference William Lloyd Garrison, Jr. wrote the following, "Let the unanimous voice of the Conference be lifted for justice and opportunity to all races, colors, and sexes without distinction, in face of the casuistry all abounding in this darkened day" (Garrison 227). The reference to the unanimous voice alludes to "polyvocation." In addition, it should not be lost on us how Black women many white women were pioneers in the fight. Black women like Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Mary Church Terrell. And White women, many of whom were settlement social workers, including signers Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Florence Kelley, and Mary White Ovington (Moore 479).

The NAACP, an association, was a manifestation of "polyvocation." As an association the NAACP incorporated multiple "voices" and coordinated a diversity of vocations. In the Preface of the *Proceedings of the Negro National Conference*, Walling's understanding of the NAACP pointed out the power of NAACP. In the book *The Public and It's Problems,* John Dewey, a co-founder of the NAACP and a co-signer of "The Call" and the Resolutions of Negro National Conference, put it this way, "[t]here is no mystery about the fact of association, of an interconnected action which affects the activity of singular elements (23). The NAACP was a diversified, polyphonous, multivocal, multi-vocational response. That is a response by association.

The formation of an association is a manifestation of "polyvocation." The manifestation was in the heart of at least one person, Oswald Garrison Villard, who penned "The Call." In *Lift Every Voice and Sing*, historian Patricia Sullivan wrote, "For Oswald Garrison Villard, Atlanta [1906 Atlanta Race Riot] was a turning point. In the aftermath of the riot, he [Villard] began discussions with Ovington and others about the need for Black men and women, north and south, to organize and defend themselves through boycotts and other forms of resistance. He proposed a national organization devoted to securing and protecting the rights of African Americans" (Sullivan 4). Referring to the work in *Abolitionist Legacy* (McPherson), Sullivan added the following:

> Villard outlined his ideas for what he would call the 'Committee for the Advancement of the Negro Race' in a speech to the Afro-American Council in late 1906. In what reads like a blueprint for the NAACP, Villard imagined that such an organization would include a research and publicity bureau; a legal division to challenge discrimination in the courts; a special committee to investigate lynching, peonage, and violations of civil

> rights; lobbyists in Washington and state houses; mass protests and meetings; and a monthly magazine. His proposal won the interest of a small but distinguished group of reformers who agreed that the race problem could no longer be left to the South to solve. But it would take another major race riot before sentiment was mobilized into action (Sullivan 4).

The practice of "polyvocation" is seen in the work of committee and in the endeavor and enterprise of association. Interestingly, according to Sullivan, this thought about association and the "Committee for the Advancement of the Negro Race," and the subsequent discussions were a full three years before the Negro National Conference. More important than that was the good of association and the practice of "polyvocation" required to effect association and make it effective.

In addition, "polyvocation" is seen as the very aim of *The Crisis.* As alluded to above, the organ of the NAACP, *The Crisis,* was published and platformed the replies to the concerns of that time. In effect *The Crisis* was the first established after the NAACP was called into being (named) and it was established before the NAACP was incorporated. As such, the NAACP was a powerful response. It was a combined response by words and speech (reply) and by communicative action (reaction). It was meant to encourage and affect the endeavor and enterprise of association. To that point, we return to the stated mission of *The Crisis.* In the mission, Du Bois uses the term catholicity, which in terms of denotation refers to the inclusiveness and the comprehensive quality of something. Catholicity, in the non-ecclesiastical sense, refers to the breadth or extensiveness of something, especially a practice. Catholicity according to Du Bois refers to the inclusivity of response and respondent.

Du Bois further expounded on the mission, in the editorial of the first issue of *The Crisis*. He wrote, "[c]atholicity and tolerance, reason and forbearance can today make the world-old dream of human brotherhood approach realization; while bigotry and prejudice, emphasized race consciousness and force can repeat the awful history of the contact of nations and groups in the past. We strive for this higher and broader vision of Peace and Good Will." In this part of the mission statement of *The Crisis*, Du Bois begins by writing, "The object of this publication is…" Then he lifts up three ethics: Catholicity, tolerance, and forbearance, as virtues that can bring about "the world-old dream of human brotherhood." In this work, "human brotherhood" is a referent for association, and the terms "peace" and "goodwill" also refers to the attitudes and character of interhuman relationships.

In fact, "polyvocation" is seen in the very structure and format of *The Crisis.* To that point, Charles Flint Kellog writes in the book *NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* the following about the diversity of the content of *The Crisis,* writing:

> There were six "departments:" "Along the Color Line," a feature which had appeared in both *The Moon* and *The Horizon*; "Opinion;" "Editorial;" "The N.A.A.C.P." (brief notes concerned the activities of the Association); "The Burden," comprising descriptions of flagrant cases of injustice based on the discrimination because of color; and "What to Read," a discussion of current books dealing the various aspects of the Negro problem (53).

The content of *The Crisis* was diverse, which infers a communication ethics approach. These differing "departments" are parts of a greater whole. *The Crisis* was an example of the

application of communication ethics that incorporated “polyvocation” in order to promote the good of association.

This is “polyvocation” in and through wide-ranging, all-inclusive journalism. George S. Schuyler confirmed the groundbreaking effect, revealing that the content included “the first literary contests, the first section devoted to Negro children, the first presentation of Negro artwork, the first feature stories about successful Negroes, the first full-fledged drive for Pan-Africanism, the first special numbers devoted to Negro educational advancement, the first articles on consumers cooperation” (“Forty Years of ‘The Crisis.’”). Hence why, in 1919, Du Bois hired Jessie Redmon Fauset to be the literary editor of *The Crisis*. In that role, she gave a platform to a diversity of Black writers, like Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Arna Bontemps, George Schuyler, Jean Toomer, Nella Larsen, Georgia Douglas Johnson, and Anne Spencer. Her leadership and approach to publishing was key. The florilegium of poetry and the collectanea of literature helped shape the early twentieth century epoch and catalyzed the New Negro Movement.

In this way, the “polyvocation” of evidence in *The Crisis* is a kind of intra-racial diversity. It is a unity of diversity. Using the tree as a metaphor to create a schema, because Black people have many roots, Black experience has many branches, and as such Black expression fruitful. The multiplicity of “polyvocation” has been evident in every aspect of Black society, Black institutional life, and Black culture. There is a wide range of viewpoints and ideologies; in politics, religion, culture, or the arts; in matters concerning class, gender, and even race within the pantheon of the Black voice. The communication-ethics-based approach of *The Crisis* is characterized and shaped by the practice of “polyvocation,” or the co-response via

correspondence. Put another way, “polyvocation” refers to the call-and-response of many voices and vocation.

Chapter Five: The Keystones: The Conclusions, the Implications, and the Applications

This concluding chapter concerns the keystones of this dissertation. This chapter has three sections: The conclusion; the implications; and the applications. As such, the keystones include a reinforcement of the main argument of this work and a succinct reiteration of the main research question. In a real sense, keystones are building blocks too, like cornerstones. However, keystones are among the last of the stones that are situated. Different than a keystone, the placing of a keystone creates an arch. The preview of the sections (conclusions, implications, and applications) of this chapter is to come, however it is helpful to offer a further elucidation of term "keystone" as a chapter heading, as an organizing concept for this chapter, and as a metaphor that fits within the schema that structures this dissertation. Simply put, this chapter entitled "The Keystones" is the chapter that might otherwise be called, "The Conclusion." The aforementioned in mind that raises three questions: What is a keystone? What are the conclusions? What are the implications? And what are applications of a research project?

The term "keystone" fits within the conceptual schema of building, for some buildings contain arches, and keystones are the top stones or block of an arch. Arches are structures, or rather curved structures, that support and distribute weight. The special construct of an arch creates a stronger stability, enabling the kind of integrity required to build bigger buildings, and even to create longer roads. Keystones are the last stones and keystones placed in the construction of an arch. Keystones, situated at the apex of an arch, serve an important purpose; they secure the stones of an arch together. Put another way, keystones secure the other building blocks of the arch together. What is more, arches span openings, like archways. Therefore, the situation of the keystone, for all intents and purposes, forms an opening and forms around an opening. Therefore, keystones are associated with openings.

The term keystone originates in the field of architecture however the term has been extended into other fields. The term "keystone" is, all at once, an organizing concept for this chapter, a metaphor for the schema of this dissertation, and a potential useful term for communication studies. Accordingly, with respect to this dissertation, this chapter ("The Keystones") is a final building block. In a sense, then, this chapter marks the end of building something. However, at the same time because keystones form openings, like archways, this chapter likewise facilitates ways. The keystone connotes the formation of a way, a path, or a corridor. Therefore, while the term denotes the end of building in some way, the term keystone also connotes the formation of an archway.

It bears repeating that keystone is a last piece of an arch, and the function of a keystone is to fasten the building blocks (of an arch) together. Extending this definition into dissertating, a keystone (chapter), likewise, coheres the constitutive parts of a dissertation together, in this case the keystones (chapter) cohere the foundation, footings, cornerstone, and framework together. As well, the keystones also form openings, like archways. As such, the keystones (chapter) form archways of constructive exploration, interpretation, understanding, and application. This dissertation ends with the keystones, because the dissertation ends with answers to the question "so what?" rather than ending in a mere explanation of what is or what was.

Metaphorically speaking, the "keystones" help fashion openings or ways forward, beyond the dissertation itself. And because the keystones create openings and ways forward then the dissertation lives on in the form of an ongoing project. Simply, as a result of the "keystones" (chapter) this work is both dissertation and ongoing project. Put another way, the keystones (chapter) marks two contrapuntal things: On one hand, it marks the end of the dissertation as a

scholarly making; but on the other hand, the keystones (chapter) also mark the launching of other projects in the making. As such, the keystones (chapter) are a culmination and a commencement.

On May 25, 1911, the NAACP was incorporated. The incorporation was significant in at least three ways. The first way concerns real and symbolic legality. The incorporation signaled the constitution of the Association, as a legal corporation. Symbolically, a body became an incorporation. Symbolically, as an incorporated organization, the Association became a body. It bears reminding that the endeavor, to a great degree, began with a question "…what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?" A question that was posed in the article, "The Race War in the North" (Walling 534). That was answered in a number of ways: By the Negro National Committee, by the Negro National Conference, by the conception of the NAACP, by the formation of the NAACP, by the publication of *The Crisis,* and by the incorporation of the NAACP. What began as a "body of citizens" became an incorporated civic body. The incorporation was the culminate of process and the beginning of a new phase. From question, to conception, to formation, to incorporation, to performance.

The second way the incorporation was significant had to do with the fact that the NAACP was an incorporation association. The fact that the NAACP was, primarily and predominately, an association as significant. It is significant that the NAACP was a multi-diverse association. The association was interracial, multi-vocational, multi-gendered, multi-generational. Incorporation involves the inclusion of something into a whole. The fact is that the incorporation of the NAACP, an association, signaled a successful "mutual inclusion" of people into a greater whole.

The third way concerns the significance of communication, or to be more precise the role of call-and-response communication ethics. The fact is that the call-and-response communication ethics is evident even in the Articles of Incorporation. The Articles of Incorporation state:

We, the undersigned, being of full age and desirous of associating ourselves together for the purpose herein below specified, pursuant to and in conformity with the Acts of the Legislature of the State of New York relating to membership corporations, do hereby certify and declare that we are full age and two-thirds of us citizens and residents of the United States and residents of the State of New York, and further as follows:

That the principal objects for which the corporation is formed are voluntarily to promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States; to advance the interests of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law.

To ascertain and publish all facts bearing upon these subjects and to take any lawful notion thereon; together with any and all things which lawfully be done by a membership corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York for the further advancement of these objects.

To take, receive, hold, convey, mortgage, or assign all such real estate and personal property as may be necessary for the purposes of the corporation.

The corporate name by which the corporation shall be known is NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Notwithstanding, the naming was aspirational. It was an ethics-laden calling because the naming concerning what should be. In 1911, the NAACP was not yet national. In addition, it had not yet advanced colored people. Also, the inclusion of the term “colored” and not “negro” was of aspiration to include all people of color. The naming was not a confirmation of what was already,

but an aspiration of what was to be. In short, the Articles of Incorporation signaled the publicly communicated intention to live out the naming/calling. Via the Articles of Incorporation, the new phase of the Association was to live out the call to be national, to be an incorporated association, and "to advance the interests of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law." Accordingly, the very naming of the NAACP indicates a new calling.

The NAACP lived out that call. Langston Hughes had his first poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" published in *The Crisis,* in 1921. By then *The Crisis* was under the literary editorship of Jesse Redmon Fauset. Fauset understood the power of literature for the cause of the NAACP. As such, as part of the call-and-response communication ethics, the NAACP cultivated the space for Black luminaries, and laureates, such as Jessie Redmon Fauset, Gwendolyn Bennett, Arna Bontemps, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, Alain Locke, Walter White, Mordecai Wyatt Johnson (Wilson). So, in addition, to a space for the exploits of renowned figures like Thurgood Marshall, Rosa Parks, and Medgar Evers, the NAACP (via *The Crisis)* was also a space for litterateurs. A signal of the association and mutual inclusion of difference. The NAACP was a space for jurisprudents, educationalists, public communicators, public philosophers, and litterateurs.

Later, in 1962, Hughes would write and publish a history of the NAACP, *Fight for Freedom: The Story of the NAACP.* In the book, Hughes confirmed how the NAACP lived out its call. He wrote, "The most *famous initials* in America are N.A.A.C.P. The most *talked-about* non-political organization in America is the N.A.A.C.P. The most *written-about* voluntary association in America is the N.A.A.C.P. The most *damned* groups of respectable citizens and, on the other

hand, one of the most praised groups in America, is the N.A.A.C.P." (Hughes 11). To name something is to call something. And what is more, to name/call, oftentimes, involves an invocation of tradition and an initiation of expectation. That the enterprise was named the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (after the second Negro National Conference) is significant.

That is, this work argues that the naming is a kind of calling; a calling to be and become; a calling latent with potential significance; a potential to be realized in and by the communication and action of the developing association of people. The process of naming the permanent organization coming out of the National Negro Conference in 1910 involved communication and entailed a communication ethics approach. In his book, *The New Abolition* Gary Dorrien wrote:

> Villard wanted "Advancement" to be in the name, and Du Bois preferred "Colored" over the alternatives, to reflect his conception of the organization as a liberationist vehicle for all people on the nonwhite side of the color line. For years afterward insiders debated other names, such as the Emancipation League, the Garrison Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Lincoln Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Garrison-Douglass Association, and the League for the Advancement of Colored People. Some said the group should adopt the name that best described what it was, the New Abolition Movement. Joel Spingarn said so repeatedly. But others always replied that this name would scare off white southerners, thwarting any chance of establishing southern chapters: thus, it was never put to a vote. The second conference paved

> the way to the name that prevailed and to the NAACP becoming an organization that featured Du Bois's movement journalism (Dorrien 261).

This description of the naming/calling of the NAACP is telling. It speaks to the power of provocation, convocation, evocation, and "polyvocation" culminating in association, incorporation, and calling. The articles of incorporation are a fitting epigram for this chapter, which his entitled "Keystones."

The Implications in Communication Studies

The second section of this chapter, "The Keystones" concerns the implications. What are implications? An implication refers to something that is inferred, and it concerns the impact of the scholarly project. By and large, the implications of a given research project are derived from the importance of the work. To be more precise, in this work, the implication is a recapitulation and compilation of the impact and effects of this work. Generally, the implications of a dissertation are an extension of previous research. More particularly, the implications of this dissertation concern how this work adds to the body of scholarship, especially to the body of communication studies scholarship. Additionally, the implications concern significance; the significance of the research. It also concerns how this study fits with and extends certain understandings.

As a whole and in particular, the implications are reflected as potential questions emerging from the research that justify future research. In that way, the implications also concern how potential effect of this work on theories, praxes, and practices—such as call-and-response theory, praxis, and practice; and such as communication ethics theory, praxis, and practice; and such as the theories, praxes, and practices regard the development of association. Overall, the conclusions are based on and build on an appraisal of call-and-response communication and

communication ethics and the interplay between the two. As well, the conclusions are based on and build on the impact of the discourses of the NAACP, which include "The Call," addressed, speeches, [panel] discussion, and resolutions, and letters of the Negro National Conference, and the editorial philosophy of communication of *The Crisis.* As well, the conclusions of this dissertation are based on and build on the awareness of the potency and potential of association, of conferential gathering and discourse, and of communication ethics-driven approach to media.

The third section of "The Keystones" regarding certain applications of this chapter. The applications concern, firstly, the movement from the descriptive aspect of the dissertation to the constructive function of the project. Further, the implications also involve discussing what the insights and findings of this dissertation might mean for other scholars in the field of communication studies, particularly those interested in call-and-response, and communication ethics. As well, secondly, the application pertains to certain subfields of communication—namely, the implications of this dissertation in call-and-response communication, communication ethics, corporate communication, organizational communication, crisis communication, and media communication. Thirdly, the implications concern practical relevance. That is, what this study can contribute regarding the addressal of the problems of this current, twenty-first century historical moment, which is plagued by manifestations of the problem of disassociation.

One particular implication concerns the importance of meeting. The NAACP was conceived, formed, and incorporated in the context of meeting. As such, we should be challenged to reconsider meetings. In this way, the work of communication scholar Ronald C. Arnett is potential helpful. In the book *A Century of Communication Studies: The Unfinished Conversation*, edited by Pat L. Gehrke and William M. Keith, Ronald C. Arnett wrote at chapter

entitled “Communicative Meeting From Pangloss to Tenacious Hope.” In that chapter Arnett wrote about the concept of *communicative meeting*. In essence, Arnett refers to *communicative meeting* in a number of ways, but primarily as “an umbrella term encompassing diverse and disparate understandings of relational communication, and as a bridge concept in order to link a vast array of relational communication approaches (Arnett “Communicative Meeting: From Pangloss to Tenacious Hope” 261). According to Arnett’s understanding, a *communicative meeting* is an evolving concept. As such, there is no one static definition. Rather, the understanding and manifestation of communicative meetings emerge by “attentive meetings of questions and demands that shape a given historical moment, prompting a necessity of response” (261). Given what we have learned about and learned from the formation of the NAACP, we can appreciate how a renewed manifestation and understanding of *communicative meeting* emerge. Arnett continued, writing that a communicative meeting “is central to human sociality and antithetical to relational colonization, possession, and control” (261). This sense of communicative meetings is potent. Further, this sense of communicative meetings finds a home in civic association. And it should not be lost on us that the NAACP began as a civic association.

In his lecture entitled, “Recovering the Civic Culture The Imperative of Ethical Communication” Kenneth Andersen wrote about the meaning of civic. In the lecture, he defined the term by using the work of Anne Colby, Thomas Ehrich, and Elizabeth Beaumont who wrote an article “Educating Undergraduates for Responsible Citizenship.” Colby, Ehrich, and Beaumont defined civic as that which included “all activities intended to influence social and political institutions, beliefs, and practices or to affect processes and policies related to community welfare” (48). The NAACP was civic association. What is more, it was a communicative meeting in large part because it was a civic association. This points to the

potential application of this dissertation: The sense of a *communicative meeting* as part of civic association. By and large, as we practice the endeavor of association and as we seek to establish associations as enterprises, the concept of *communicative meeting* is a useful one. It is especially helpful as we think of what is communicated in and by meetings. That is, the concept of *communicative meetings* is helpful as we consider the situation of meetings, the aspiration of meetings, and the significance of meetings.

The gatherings of the NAACP were communicative meetings. Pushing off of Arnett's understanding, *communicative meetings* refer to two things: One, it refers to the capacity of a giving meeting to facilitate communication or the exchange of ideas; and two, it refers to what meeting itself communicates. Because the gatherings of the NAACP were activated and animated by an interplay of call-and-response and communication ethics, the gatherings were communicative meetings. The gatherings facilitated communication and the meetings themselves spoke volumes. Arnett adds that the concept of *communicative meeting* "is a prescriptive ethical stance resistive to provincial self-preoccupation within an individualistic culture. Communicative meeting is a prescriptive ethical stance resistive to provincial self-preoccupation within an individualistic culture" (261). This points to a coordinate of the good of association. As well, this points to the value of the associations of the those who are called. Those variously called to a work or task, can and should have meetings that are communicative. The sense of *communicative meeting* combats hyper-individualism and hyper-partisanship and thereby combats disassociation. This study of the NAACP should help us recover our sense of the importance of civic associations, and reinvigorate some of our existing associations according to the precepts of communication ethics, and it should help us to make and remake civic associations into multi-

diverse associations. As we seek to protect and promote the endeavor of civic association, the concept of the *communicative meeting* can

Another potential of this dissertation can be an explained by what Derrick Bell referred to as *interest convergence*. In a real sense, interest convergence is a concept to help understand how and why the Association was efficacious in that early twentieth century moment, shaped by disassociation. Amid differences in voice and vocation, the convergence of interest is what led to the formation of the NAACP and also the promotion of its aims as an interracial association. In his seminal, Harvard Law Review article entitled "Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma" and also his follow-up book *Silent Covenants,* Derrick Bell wrote about *interest convergence*. In the 1980 article, Derrick Bell described interest convergence as "[t]he interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites" (Bell 523). Writing about the famous Brown v. Board of education Supreme Court decision, Bell concluded that in 1954 the interest of the races converged to make the decision inevitable, but warned about the growing divergence of interests, in 1980, that was making integration less feasible. Bell's point was that the praxis of interest convergence superseded the moral of integration. In short, according the Bell desegregation is not the ultimate end goal. Rather, the ultimate end goal is ascertaining what interest convergence looks like.

His insights about *interest convergence* point to a potent application of this dissertation: associations must seek to interpret and understand what interest convergence looks like in a given association. According to Bell, interest convergence may look different at different points in time. The NAACP, in 1909, was in large part a successful association because of interest convergence. However, what learn from Bell is about how ongoing discernment is required to discern what interest convergence looks like as the years go by. In the same Harvard Law

Review article, he wrote, "[i]f the decision that was at least a catalyst for that change is to remain viable, those who rely on it must exhibit the dynamic awareness of all the legal and political considerations that influenced those who wrote it" (533). To put it simply, the NAACP benefitted from the convergence of interests among Blacks and Whites. It was a convergence of interests of a diversity of people who were variously called. How years later, Bell called for a "dynamic awareness." That is, an active attentiveness that leads to an evolving understanding that leads to a relevant responsiveness. Such is why communication ethics is important and pragmatic. It is via communication ethics that the interpretation, understanding, and application of the convergence of interests comes about.

The Conclusions

The claim of this dissertation bears repeating: The NAACP was formed by call-and-response communication ethics, and the call-and-response communication ethics of the NAACP involved a call by provocation, to convocation, with evocation, and into "polyvocation." In the previous chapter we see how in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century epoch there was a provocation—a call to conscience. As per the literal etymological definition of the word, the provocation was a call to advance a response to the problem of that historical moment, the problematic of disassociation. That provocation, as it were, was communicated by means of an applied communication and communication ethics, journalism, via the article "The Race War in the North" by William English Walling, printed in *The Independent* in September 1908. Walling's article provoked Mary White Ovington, Henry Moskowitz, and Walling to meet in January of 1909 in response to the question, "Yet who realizes the seriousness of the situation and what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?" (Walling 534). As such, the provocation provoked the conscience of a number of people to act in response to a

question of that moment. Accordingly, this dissertation asserts that call-and-response communication ethics of the NAACP involves a call *by* provocation. In addition, this work promotes that provocation is a coordinate of call-and-response communication.

The implications association promotes an appraisal of the exemplariness of the NAACP and an understanding of the significance of civic association as a response to the problem of a given historical moment. As such, association is recognized as a root cause solution to the root cause problem of disassociation. By casting a light on the historical moment and the problem, this chapter also spotlights the role and function of communication during that period and with respect to the phenomenal development of the NAACP.

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