

**“She Pieced and Stitched and Quilted, Never Wavering nor Doubting”:  
A Historical Tapestry of African American Women’s Internationalism,  
1890s-1960s**

DISSERTATION

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## Abstract

This dissertation, which draws upon newspaper articles, oral history, and archival research, is a historical examination of African American women's international interests and endeavors from the 1890s through 1960s. Although this population's domestic activities have been a primary topic of study, the academic scholarship continues to lack any real investigation of these women's philanthropic, social/cultural, and political activities beyond the nation's borders. Rather, when African American women's internationalism is studied it is usually in terms of their involvement in the peace movements of predominately White women's organizations, centered on the careers of transcendent women, or considered defunct with the collapse of the International Council of Women of Darker Races, a group founded by members of the National Association of Colored Women leaders to disseminate information about the African Diaspora.

This dissertation shows that many Black women both as recognized organization leaders and lesser-known women at the grassroots level, held a broad and reverberating interest in international affairs. Through a focus on the National Association of Colored Women Clubs and the National Council of Negro Women, the two largest Black women's organizations of the period, it becomes possible to trace the varied ways that this population systematically and thoughtfully organized both to influence international politics and affairs and to improve the lives of oppressed and disadvantaged people the world over. This dissertation explores how these women's international activism looked

and was understood differently across time and space. While the 1890s showed Black women's intent to draw support from British "friends," after the First World War, these women aimed to improve the conditions of the world's People of Color through a number of associations including those that they created. In the limitations of the Cold War, NACWC and NCNW activists again altered their internationalism, hoping that by espousing that of the American government, Blacks would finally find equality.

This dissertation provides an important, but neglected, part of the history of Black women's work in the public sphere and portrays this population's role in politics, their international concerns, and the quilting approach they used to accomplish their objectives. Additionally, the study contributes to revisionist work of the waves metaphor in women's history, which shows that the 1940s and 1950s have inaccurately been characterized as the "doldrums" of women's activism, and helps to elucidate how issues around race and class shaped activism during this period. This study also advances discussions of Black internationalism, which has overwhelmingly focused on the American political left. Akin to the Black left, several leaders and members of the NACWC and the NCNW pursued anti-colonial, anti-imperialist agendas and consequently should be included in literature that considers the struggle for freedom and for civil and human rights in a global Cold War context. Nonetheless, because NACW's and NCNW's activism took place along many lines, bringing them into contact with communists, socialists, and Christian revivalists as well as with multiple mainstream entities like the Young Women's Christian Association, the United Nations, and U.S. State Department, this story is in many ways a unique one.

To my grandmother whose patchwork quilt kept me warm over the years

and

To an unfortunate and growing list of unarmed victims of police brutality.

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## Fields of Study

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## Introduction

In 1926, Hallie Quinn Brown, a professor of elocution at Wilberforce University and a well-known African American female reformer, sat down to pen the introduction of *Homespun Heroines and other Women of Distinction*. In the greeting, which was really just a few brief sentences, the editor informed readers of her necessary collaboration with 28 other female contributors in order to construct the biographies of the nearly 60 women contained therein. All of the pioneers, heroines, and women of distinction as Brown called them, were born in Canada or the United States between the mid-1700s and the end of the 1800s. All experienced great strife throughout their lifetimes, but decisively and remarkably toiled against slavery, segregation, sexism, and racism. In so doing, they made great strides for themselves, their families, and the larger African American community. In some cases, these women contributed not only to the American nation, but also to foreign countries through their service as missionaries, activists, and expatriates. Despite the lack of a complete record, the editor hoped that details about their lives would serve as an “instructive light” for a young audience and be carried forward in their own important works.<sup>1</sup>

Brown herself wrote majority of the essays, drawing upon records left by the women or on her own personal associations with them through social activism and educational work. One of her most striking entries was on Jane Roberts, the wife John

Jenkins Roberts, an African American who was repatriated in 1829 to Liberia, a colony founded by the American Colonization Society seven years earlier.<sup>2</sup> In hopes of founding “another America” that was free of prejudice and discrimination, Roberts and his wife became members of a relatively small, but elite Americo population in Liberia that maintained a tight reign on positions of power. In many ways, the new arrivals recreated a similar and perhaps even more deadly system of persecution towards native Africans.<sup>3</sup> When Liberia was declared an independent republic in 1848, Roberts shifted from being governor to serving as president.

Immediately, he set sail for Europe to gain official recognition for the new republic and won that of England instantly. It was then that his and his wife’s long public life began, which included his posts as the nation’s leader (1848-1856), the president of Liberia College (1856-1876), and a subsequent Liberian presidency (1871 to 1876) that resulted after financial and political woes led to a coup d’état.<sup>4</sup> Jane Roberts frequently aided her spouse’s political endeavors by attending to official business and accompanying him on formal visits at home and abroad. Brown reported that since Roberts spoke “English and French fluently and in all respects was well-bred and refined,” she was commonly “the recipient of great attention wherever she appeared.” One such occasion was her first visit with Queen Victoria of England aboard her royal yacht, which ended with Robert’s splendid return to Monrovia aboard the British warship *Amazon*.<sup>5</sup>

At this point, Brown’s entry on Roberts shifts focus to the biographical details of another woman, making it the sole essay in the anthology to employ this sort of duality.

This is because Jane Roberts' second visit with Queen Victoria was less about her than it was about Martha Ann Ricks, another African American migrant to Liberia. While Roberts arrived at the age of four, Ricks was fourteen when her father purchased the family's freedom from a Tennessee slave-owner and immediately departed from the U.S. in 1830.<sup>6</sup> After the death of her first husband, Ricks remarried and continued her life as homemaker and an industrious farmwoman. For several decades, she expressed a desire to meet Queen Victoria of England whom she held as the great liberator, in fact calling her "the mother of her people."<sup>7</sup> Many African Americans held an affinity for the monarch and for England due to its early abolition of slavery when compared to other slave-trading nations. Akin to many others, Ricks was impressed by the nation's efforts to suppress the slave trade more generally. Finally, Blacks who traveled to England or to British Canada as freedom fighters and seekers, frequently remarked on their more humane treatment by the English public even more so than the "Negro-hating Yankees" of a supposedly free North.<sup>8</sup>

Already well known throughout Liberia as a prizewinning seamstress and quilt maker, Ricks spent more than two decades saving money and producing what she considered to be an intricate and worthy token of her appreciation of the Queen. Though well trained in the patchwork aesthetic that was a key characteristic of Black quilting, Ricks chose to produce a cotton silk article that bore an image of "a coffee tree all in green and yellow on white ground—its branches and leaves perfectly formed, the flowers at the root of the leaves and its berries." All at once, the quilter utilized European inspired pictorial form likely to satisfy Queen Victoria's aesthetic and an appliqué

technique that recorded and transmitted Liberian history and thus was distinctly Afrocentric. Although others doubted and ridiculed Ricks and her dream, she held steadfast—“she pieced and stitched, and quilted, never doubting nor wavering.” When Jane Roberts laid eyes on the unique creation that was “exquisite in tracery and workmanship,” she quickly agreed with the 76-year-old’s assessment and her insistence on delivering the gift herself.<sup>9</sup>

When the women arrived in London in July 1892, Edward Wilmot Blyden, a West Indian migrant turned Liberian diplomat and later a major contributor to Pan Africanism, assisted them. In providing the details of Ricks’ story to the Queen’s staff, Blyden aided the visitor in gaining an unofficial visit since a formal one would take too long to organize. He, his wife, and several others made up the Ricks party that was ushered to Windsor Castle in royal carriages on July 20<sup>th</sup>.<sup>10</sup> Although Brown’s retelling suggests that Roberts was not only present, but also a large reason that Ricks was able to appear before the monarch, local newspapers did not record her participation. In fact, Ricks appears to have secured her own housing, largely relying on the generosity of Alfred L. Jones, a resident of Liverpool. In writing to him years later, Ricks would describe her relationship with the English as that of “my people and my friends,” and referred to Jones’ sister as her “duater,” her sister, and her friend. This complex taxonomy defied Eurocentric notions about not only race but also about kinship and familial relationships.<sup>11</sup>

On July 20<sup>th</sup> Queen Victoria and other members of the royal family warmly received the party into the royal palace and graciously accepted Ricks’ gift. For nearly

three months, a number of newspapers printed pictures that depicted the exchange while others produced biographical sketches of “the latterday pilgrim” and the “aged negress,” or “Aunt Martha” as she preferred to be called.<sup>12</sup> In an interview about her meeting, Ricks said she could not recall what was said to her, but only recalled that the Queen’s voice was very soft and that she imagined the words to be blessings. She also explained that she was thrilled at having met not only the queen, but also several friends that included other prominent West Africans who were in England. Upon her return to Monrovia, Roberts appears to have rejoined Ricks, who was departing with royal escorts and lavish gifts. The women were greeted boat side with much fanfare and recognition.<sup>13</sup>

With vivid memory, a 90-year old Roberts recounted this story to Hallie Quinn Brown when the two met in London in 1910.<sup>14</sup> They were visitors at the home of William Archer, the first African American mayor of Battersea, a district of the Metropolis. Roberts was visiting England as a part of her American-European rounds to gain additional funding for a Monrovia hospital, a project that she began as early as 1887.<sup>15</sup> Brown was now on her third trip to Europe and on her way to Scotland to attend the World’s Missionary Conference as a delegate of the Parent Mite Missionary Convention of the African Methodist Episcopal Church that she chaired back in the U.S.<sup>16</sup> In her unpublished autobiography, *As the Mantle Falls*, she provided details of the convention addresses, noting the great attention granted to Africa and her good impression of the lecturer from Liberia. After the meeting’s end, Brown decided to remain in Europe six more months, calling upon “friends of former days to [aid] in mak[ing] several

engagements” that would provide monies for her room and board as she endeavored to raise money for a dormitory for Wilberforce University back home.<sup>17</sup>

Not only did she succeed in calling upon these contacts, but she also established a relationship with philanthropist E.J. Emery of England when she followed up on a request of Amanda Smith, a colleague back at home in the U.S. Prior to Brown’s departure, Smith, another woman of distinction for whom Brown provided a biography in *Homespun Heroines*, wrote to her to send well wishes and to petition her help in delivering a letter to Emery. The “washer-woman-turned-gospel minister” who preached not only in the U.S., but also later in India, England, and Africa from 1878 to 1890, was in need of aid for her orphanage efforts in Illinois. Smith’s assignment was actually the saving grace for Brown’s extended trip. Although she was already putting forth her best efforts in the first few months, Brown admitted that she achieved only minimal success. Thus, right before she planned to return home she turned her attention to advocating Smith’s cause.<sup>18</sup>

It was this meeting with Emery, which placed Brown into contact with leading Britons, that finally enabled her to secure speaking engagements before various crowds. To these lectures, she invited her newfound friend—as she so termed Emery—to hear her recount “without equivocation” the economic and social plight facing African Americans and their efforts to improve their lives. In turn, Emery invited Brown to accompany her to several events including a heavily attended luncheon sponsored by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. The event featured Booker T. Washington, a masterful African American orator, educator, and race leader who advocated industrial



education and a gradualist approach for winning civil rights.<sup>19</sup> Before his European audience, Washington delivered a speech that admonished them for their one-sided view of American race relations and suggested that American life and race-relations were not as bad it was made to appear. Because Washington expressed views quite different from her own, Brown appears to have made a conscious decision to not only forego comment on her feelings about the address, but also to provide any details about its contents.<sup>20</sup>

In her continued private talks with Emery, Brown steadily tried to impress upon her Smith's important activism. Only at the very end, was her success clear. When she set sail on the *Lusitania* just a few days later, the benefactress provided her two checks totaling \$23,000. \$15,000 was earmarked for the construction of a dormitory at Wilberforce University and \$8,000 was to go to Smith's orphanage.<sup>21</sup> Akin to the Ricks and Roberts' Liberian return, Brown told of her welcoming by a jubilant Ohio crowd complete with "a span of horses and . . . a band of music." Brown recounted this later story in her autobiography that she impressively began to author at the age 95.<sup>22</sup> It is only in "piecing together" or quilting the biographical entries of Amanda Smith and Jane Roberts/Martha Ann Ricks with Brown's own memoir that the true tapestry of hers and these other women's international interests and activism emerges clearly.

Quilts as important cultural materials were referenced some fourteen times throughout *Homespun Heroines*. Unmistakably, Brown and her fellow contributors understood this artifact and tradition as important connections to African American's ancestral homeland and to local networks of women. Quite often, women created these items for sale or survival through mutual cooperation and communal associations.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, Brown obviously recognized what it meant for “Aunt Martha” and the broader Black public to have such an item so readily welcomed by English royalty. Quilts served as an important mechanism that allowed Black women to display their workmanship, aesthetic abilities, and creativity before a doubting public, and enabled them to exhibit their gratitude, loyalty, and political intelligence, when offering them in gift-form to Blacks and Whites alike. This gesture and other famous examples span the century including Elizabeth Keckley’s stitching of the “Liberty Medallion Quilt” for Mary Todd Lincoln, the wife of Abraham Lincoln, and Estella Weaver Nukes’ postage stamp quilt for President Franklin D. Roosevelt.<sup>24</sup> Like Ricks’ own, these emblems were made of the finest materials and incorporated European, American, and African elements that reflected their makers’ unique cultural heritage.

It is also clear that Brown understood and employed quilting as an operating framework in her social, economic and political work. Not only did she use it in her historical preservation efforts to bring *Homespun Heroines* into fruition, but she also called upon it in her second trip to England in 1894. Seeking funds for Wilberforce University, she heavily relied upon the contacts of Frederick Douglass, the fugitive slave turned beloved and renowned abolitionist, to garner support.<sup>25</sup> Although she later established her own throughout her six-year stay, one of her most fruitful contacts with any philanthropist came by the way of Amanda Smith who, too, was calling upon a network of female social reformers to aid her cause. Their abilities to call upon populations in distant lands were effectively deepened by nineteenth century trends of globalization. Indeed, the world was made a much smaller place as a result of economic

market shifts, the development and improvement of steam travel and trans-Atlantic communications technologies, and the expansion of imperialist and colonialist ventures.<sup>26</sup>

As transnational and international advocacy networks became increasingly commonplace in the final decade of the nineteenth century, African American women joined as activists in trans-Atlantic-turned-global endeavors. Frequently, but not always through feminized spaces like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the International Council of Women (ICW) and later the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), they drew upon their lived experiences and contributed unique perspectives to conversations about civilization, imperialism, nation-making, and nationalism, which all importantly extended back to activities that they were taking up in their own communities. For instance, the 1910 World's Missionary Conference to which Brown contributed, represented an emerging ecumenical movement that sought to amalgamate Anglo-American missionary endeavors. Even more, Fanny Jackson Coppin, another of Black America's most prominent women, preceded her in attendance at this gathering through participation at the 1888 founding conference. After speaking on the part that Black women's work was to play in Christian work, Coppin too extended her European sojourn and raised funds for the establishment of a boarding house for Philadelphia's Institute of Colored Youth where she served as principal.<sup>27</sup> Influenced both by finances and "*gumbo ya ya*," a creole term that means, "everybody talks at once" and speaks to simultaneous dialogue, actions, and histories that result not in confusion, but in harmony and rhythm, these activists pragmatically stitched their religious activism and foreign conferences to their larger educational and race work back at home.<sup>28</sup>

In recognizing and appreciating the polyrhythmic normality of the Black experience, this dissertation applies the quilting framework as developed by Elsa Barkley Brown, to discuss the international efforts of African American female reformers in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Like *gumbo ya ya*, this conceptualization seeks to provide a narrative that recognizes and appreciates the multiple and simultaneous rhythms, conversations, and movements that make up the Black lived experience for a more accurate telling of the past.<sup>29</sup> I contend that focusing on the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW) and the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), the largest mainstream Black women's organizations in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, allows for a recapturing of this important part of Black women's public work in a way that extends to international arenas.

Whereas most accounts have treated the NACW's and NCNW's domestic agendas singularly and primarily focused on the former, my dissertation studies the two simultaneously, positing that longitudinal and comparative study of Black women's organizational efforts will provide a more accurate narrative. Importantly, this approach covers a wider population and allows a discussion about the communication, cooperation, and competition between these two organizations, which, also importantly, helped to fuel their expansion into foreign endeavors. In so doing, it shows that the NACW's efforts and views have largely been ignored and lost as the organization has simplistically and erroneously been cast as interested only in domestic events and activities. Even more, most studies concerning the NACW end with the arrival of the Great Depression or the birth of the NCNW, making it impossible to determine shifts in

its focus or how, in fact, the organization tried to keep up with or compete within the NCNW while also steadily defining itself in relation to changes within the Black community and larger American society.<sup>30</sup>

In a growing effort to “internationalize” American history, the terms “transnationalism” and “internationalism” remain highly contested terms that are continuously undergoing refinement in explorations of relations of power, relationships between nation-states, and the movement of people, ideas, and goods across geographic borders.<sup>31</sup> In this study, I describe Black women’s global interests and endeavors as international for three reasons. The first is that this term can, in fact, describe less-than-powerful activists who worked transnationally (as in across borders and in non-governmental associations), but who also maintained international ideas about interconnectedness, equality, peace, justice, and even identity, and who sought to influence and shape national and international policies to these ends.<sup>32</sup> Second, in describing internationalism, most scholars have narrowly conceptualized it with a focus on definable outcomes as well as status, position, and power, which frequently exclude People of Color and their efforts.

In widening and deepening this term, this study utilizes a definition of African American female internationalists explicated by Adele Logan Alexander in an unpublished paper that still likely remains the most significant study of Black women’s internationalism to date.<sup>33</sup> Black female internationalists were those activists “who individually, through local, national, or international organizations, or through their creative or analytical work devoted a substantial portion of their lives, and/or showed a

major commitment to expand their horizons, to move beyond locally delineated constraints and out into a global arena which surpassed the limitations of national boundaries.”<sup>34</sup>

The women in this study dedicated their whole lives or portions of them to this very type of work, which falls within a generally accepted definition of Black internationalism as “the ideal of universal emancipation, unbounded by national, imperial, continental, or oceanic boundaries—or even by racial ones.”<sup>35</sup> Most Black female internationalists hardly became “star players” in the eyes of White Americans and governmental leaders, but most carried a sort of prestige and respect within the larger African American community and especially within the Black women’s groups to which they belonged or contributed. The third reason for using the term Black women internationalism, which is undoubtedly the most important, is that in countless speeches, reports, and writings, the women of this study nearly always described themselves, their interests, and their actions as international. At even the most basic level, the NACW and the NCNW both considered how their international undertakings would or should lead to a change in their appellations—the NACW as the International Association of Colored Women and the NCNW as the National Council of Women United.

Although there are a number of ways that African American women took up internationalism—as students, travelers, teachers, healers, missionaries, colonists, journalists, organizational participants, peace activists, and creative artists—this study concentrates solely on the leadership and membership of the National Association of Colored Women and the National Council of Negro Women, who usually fit into one or

more of these categories simultaneously. Akin to this larger body of women, this multigenerational and multifaceted group of women exhibited intellect, perseverance, and adaptability as they gave their attention to racial and gender issues at home and abroad, especially as it related to “darker races.”<sup>36</sup> This dissertation situates Black women’s global interests and activism as an important component of their domestic political and social activism, which for a long time was never fully articulated, defined, or recorded, but that always held great value.

Accordingly, it builds upon a rich scholarship that sprang forth in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Chiefly, these early works granted attention to the trials and triumphs in the lives of enslaved, free, and later emancipated Black women and in similar but also very diverse ways begin to uncover the factors shaping this group’s lives. Other important considerations were the methods Black women used to counteract the limitations placed on their freedom and livelihood, and, of course, the outcomes of their actions.<sup>37</sup> Prior to Deborah Gray White’s groundbreaking book-length study, *Ar’n’t I a Woman?*, that detailed the life cycles and the community network that existed among female bondswomen especially on plantations, very little information existed on this population.<sup>38</sup> White’s study remains one of the most influential and this dissertation, like countless works since then, seeks to build upon it substantially.

Other publications of this era include theoretical contributions and considerations including those by Frances M. Beal, Deborah K. King, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, and Elsa Barkley Brown that illustrate how and in what ways Black women’s life trajectories, struggles, and concerns often diverged from those of White women and

Black men. They were *different* because they were fashioned by gendered constructs and the “metalanguage” of race, which in turn shapes the lives of everyone and not just Black people.<sup>39</sup> Recognizing and *understanding* difference is one reason that Barkley Brown advocates thinking about *gumbo ya ya* as a way to make sense of African Americans’ economic, political, and social lives, and their history.”<sup>40</sup>

In discussing the period after Reconstruction, studies of the lives and experiences of African American women have rightly devoted considerable attention to mutual aid associations as the Black community often had no choice other than to rely on their own efforts.<sup>41</sup> One of the earliest revisionist articles to explore the collective actions of Black women, and a foundational one in the field, is that of Stephanie J. Shaw that discusses the formation of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW).<sup>42</sup> Shaw showed that the formation of this body was tied to a longer tradition of activism that existed among Black women, even going back to the informal network that Deborah Gray White noted in her work.<sup>43</sup> Building upon this work that in turn influenced the larger historiography, this dissertation argues that the organizational activities of African American women in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries were linked to those of the past while also influenced by contemporary political opportunities and shifts. In the inter-war period and the years immediately following the Second World War, Black female activists wisely tried to improve their efforts in race work and to extend it beyond the boundaries of the United States through peace and freedom initiatives within their organizations and through their participation in international women’s groups and congresses, Pan-Africanist endeavors, and the United Nations. While such times appeared as ones of



unprecedented opportunities, the arrival of the Cold War did not spell the end of Black women's internationalism, but it did change it to one that was increasingly, American-centered, and thus, safer from repression.

While attention is now rightfully being granted to the international and transnational nature, aims, and actions of civil rights, Black Power and Black Nationalist activism during the Cold War era, attention to the agendas and activism of mainstream Black women's organizations has not kept pace.<sup>44</sup> It is now well recognized that although men dominated the leadership positions within such movements, women greatly contributed to these efforts. Black female activists not only advocated for Black men to be treated and respected as men and as human beings, but they simultaneously argued that they, too, were just as deserving of respect and rights.<sup>45</sup> Most held this same belief concerning People of Color in foreign nations. Yet, beyond being largely understudied in the scholarship of the international components of Black Nationalism, Black Power, and the Civil Rights Movement, most scholars have generally concluded that organized Black women's global activism existed only for only for a short while—with a late beginning in the 1920s and an early and tragic end in the 1930s. For the most part, this focus centers on the 1922 formalization of the International Council of Women of Darker Races (ICWDR)—a group founded by members of National Association of Colored Women who desired to increase their knowledge of the conditions and achievements of populations within the African Diaspora. This dissertation shows that Black women's activities and interests beyond the U.S. existed long before the founding of the ICWDR

and persisted after this organization's decline, which came in 1940 rather than the early 1930s demise that has generally been assigned to it.<sup>46</sup>

Similarly, historians of the political left, especially the African American political left, have effectively charted the trajectory of activists like Amy Ashwood Garvey, Shirley Graham Du Bois, Claudia Jones, Eslanda Goode Robeson, and organizations like the Council of African Affairs, the National Negro Congress, the Civil Rights Congress, and the Sojourners for Truth.<sup>47</sup> This dissertation shows that labels like “conservative,” “liberal,” and “progressive” do not easily fit around the NACW and NCNW women, at least in the early Cold War Years, and that these organizations and their members must be considered in studies that seek to understand the contours of Black internationalism. Though largely tangential to the familiar circle of Black left feminists, these organizational activists were very much engaged in debates about colonialism and its connections to U.S. racial inequality, and they often did not exclude such women from leadership or membership within their own bodies. A number of NACW and NCNW members and leaders even circulated among members of the Popular Front until it was absolutely impossible to do so. Even after the 1930s, women like Dorothy Height claimed that the lessons they learned from this engagement with the left were invaluable to their own organizational work and outlook.<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore, when taken together, the histories of the NCNW and NACW illustrate that the World Wars and Cold War offered profound implications for Black women's organizations. These global events spelled expansion from penny-saved, penny-sent initiatives of early years to large-scale intra- and inter-organizational projects and

eager and continuous participation in international conferences, and later to careful negotiations and work in the Cold War environment. Across these decades, Black women lent their energies, perspectives, and indeed, identities, to dozens of internationally focused agencies and camps, traveled abroad for educational tours within their own groups, and served as cultural ambassadors for the State Department.

Through these and other acts, Black women, whose internationalism continued to be influenced by Christian ideals of neighborliness and community service, were articulating what they saw as their distinct contribution to the quest for global peace, security, and equality in the post-war world. Perhaps phrased most succinctly by Edith Sampson, a NCNW leader who became the first African American to be appointed to the United States Delegation to the United Nations: “There is a place. . . for Negro Women in helping to frame United States policy.”<sup>49</sup> African American women are a fundamental population to consider when attempting to understand how ordinary citizens worked to influence foreign policy and international relations. Importantly, this discussion also contributes to revisionist work of the “waves” metaphor in women’s history by elucidating how race and class complicated Black women’s interests and efforts during the 1940s and 1950s, which are typically considered “the doldrums” of women’s activism and feminism.<sup>50</sup>

Between the NACW and the NCNW, it is clear that the latter achieved greater success in forging alliances with other mainstream entities and expanding and institutionalizing its internationalism. Nevertheless, in hoping to regain popularity and recognition as the preeminent African American women’s organization, NACW leaders

in the 1950s and 1960s sought to develop a similar course of action and politics. While it is true that the NACW never blossomed in the same way as its counterpart, as early as 1904 the organization expressed real interest in developing as an international body, and its international perspective, engagement, and expansion remained contentious issues across decades. Even more, the NCNW's foreign affairs interests have overwhelmingly been attributed to Mary McLeod Bethune—the Council's first president. While Bethune represents an important component of the Council's internationalism particularly as it relates to the genesis of this development, this singular focus does not consider the broader, more elaborate range of actors necessary to sustain this course. It also tells nothing of the making and re-making of alliances and relationships that were fundamental in aiding the Council's establishment of an International Relations Department funded by the American government in 1975. Instead, I find that Bethune and other prominent Black women, especially those participating in the peace movements of predominately White women's organizations and who have received the lion's share of the small scholarship on the topic, were but a small representation of it.<sup>51</sup> Thus, this study recognizes that a full understanding and appreciation of these women's legacy must speak to the much wider movement that was occurring within Black women's own communities and networks.

In fact, these international activists like those before and after them frequently and purposefully stitched their participation in coordinated, separate, or external projects back to the Black women's clubs to which they belonged. In so doing, African American women's international efforts did not look that different from the early international

activities and interests of White women, which scholars also define as a “textured cloth” or “crazy quilted pattern”—terms that capture the complex nature of individuals and organizations that evolved into the international women’s movement.<sup>52</sup> Even when the women’s efforts were somewhat undefined, fragmented, and heavily influenced by the availability of political opportunities, this dissertation shows that Black women’s internationalism was often fruitful and rational and increasingly universal in nature and content. Although the early international efforts of Black women’s organizations were endeavors to be taken up by “representative women,” subsequent activism showed an understanding of these matters as “everybody’s business.” Utilizing personal correspondence, diaries, minutes, reports, pamphlets, scrapbooks, and ephemera allows a dual focus on institutions and activists to determine how Black women sought to crystallize their international perspective and activism within their own organizations as well as an exploration of *how much* and to *what degree* the focus on internationalism truly pervaded these organizations’ rank and file.

Chapter one uncovers how the “New Woman” that emerged from the shadows of the abolitionist generation sought to defend Black women from racist ideology within the American nation and beyond. This period was truly an exploratory, formative one that reflected wider ideological debates about emigration, assimilation, and integration. As many African American reformers reached their hands “across the waters” to gain material and moral support from the British, who were thought to be a more sympathetic audience that could in turn aid in moral persuasions of American Whites, this chapter reconnects the travels of women like Ida B. Wells, Fanny Coppin, and Hallie Q. Brown

to the discourse and lecturing efforts occurring within the pages of the *Woman's Era* magazine. While the editors of the magazine considered it wise to make friends across the sea, they found themselves in disagreement with other clubwomen concerning the potential outcomes of participating in Women's congresses and fairs and expositions held within American borders. By the birth of the National Association of Colored Women in 1896, though, it was clear that many Black women intended to utilize these very routes to influence White women at home and abroad to join them in their fight for racial progress and equality.

Chapter two shows how leaders of the newly formed National Association of Colored Women continued to stress uplift work in local communities while “representative women” tried to improve and protect Black women's public image by drawing attention to this population's plight and progress through speech-making. This pursuit of inclusive activism is also demonstrated in the NACW and its members' participation and affiliation with organizations like the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the International Council of Women and its domestic counterpart the National Council of Women (NCW), and the Pan African Congress (PAC). The same philosophy underscored the NACW's decision to host its biennial meetings in conjunction with the nation's international fairs and congresses. Although this latter approach ended in 1904 when NACW women experienced an incident of racism at the St. Louis Exposition, this same year saw Mary Church Terrell's historic participation in the ICW conference in Berlin Germany and a call for the NACW to expand its work to Africa. By 1908, the Association was claiming international affiliates and by 1912, its

biennial conferences were well marked by the participation of representatives from White women's and Black men's organizations. The NACW was happy with the progress gained from its "knocking" but in realizing how much work there was to do was equally relieved at the United States' isolationist decision at the start of the First World War. When the U.S. did enter the war, however, African American clubwomen responded patriotically, hoping to utilize participation as evidence of why Black Americans deserved equal treatment. When their claims went unaddressed, this same war experience also served to radicalize their outlook and activism. Even more than the "New Negro Woman" of the 1890s, the "New Negro Woman" of the 1920s-onward not only insisted on equality for African Americans, but also came to advocate the same for the world's People of Color.

Chapter three explores the various ways that the New Negro Woman took up international activism in the inter-war period. During these years, the Peace Department of the NACW was reinstated with a dual focus on foreign relations. Additionally, missionaries to Africa steadily appeared before NACW conventions where they found both financial and emotional support for their endeavors. Finally, the chapter considers how unrelenting discrimination within organizations dominated by White women and Black men, led African American women to create the International Council of Women of the Darker Races (ICWDR) in 1922 and the Women's International Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations in 1923. The activities of the ICWDR, often seen as an aberration, sometimes mirrored those of the NACW not only in its early years, but also especially during Hallie Q. Brown's and Mary McLeod Bethune's presidencies. The Circle for

Peace and Foreign Relations was especially responsible for raising the funds that permitted W.E.B. Du Bois to appear before the London and Lisbon PAC Conference in November and December of 1923.

Chapter four shows that the arrival of the Great Depression spelled many changes for the NACW and Black women's organized activism more generally. Within the NACW, ICWDR members were represented less frequently in prominent positions and this along with the Association's dire financial straits and clashing ideas about the organization's purpose, led to a narrowed focus on the home and the local community. Not all Black women agreed, and in addition to the ICWDR's continuance, the World Union of Colored Women for Peace and International Concord formed in or around 1933. While it did not endure long enough to accomplish all of its goals, it, too, represented a space wherein African American women defined themselves and their own global interests. Finally, before discussing the birth of the NCNW in 1935, which advocated for Black women to "pry" open the doors of equality by gaining federal employment, this chapter addresses the international travels of women like Juliette Derricotte, Sue Bailey Thurman, and Dorothy Height, all pioneer African American YWCA members. The latter two women's participation in the NCNW was one reason that this organization's international focus was able to grow and to endure.

Chapter five covers these organizations' enthusiastic support for the United Nations (UN). The discussion moves the literature beyond Mary McLeod Bethune, the only African American woman to serve as an official representative, and discusses the experiences of and consequences for the NCNW delegation, which formed before



Bethune's appointment, and elected to persist even after her official recognition. Although the NACW was unable to respond in like manner due to ongoing issues of finances and leadership health, Ella P. Stewart, who served as the NACW's president from 1948 to 1952, attended the United Nations Conference on International Organization at Bethune's invitation. She marked this participation as the genesis of her international interests. While Stewart's NACW presidency (1948-1952) increasingly showed commitment to internationalism, her predecessors, Irene McCoy Gaines and Rosa L. Gragg, showed it earlier on in their presidencies and worked to increase the Association's commitment to internationalism. This meant supporting the UN, joining in the international endeavors sponsored by the federal government and various outside entities, and creating programs and initiatives under the NACW's own auspices. Finally, this chapter considers the final stage of NCNW's UN activism, exhibited in its "International Nights" that permitted ordinary African American women to hear from and engage with members of the diplomatic community and the American Foreign Service.

The final chapter explores the Association's and the Council's agendas in the tumultuous 1950s and 1960s," by taking a special look at those African American women who traveled abroad in international educational exchange programs (especially those of the U.S. State Department) and those who did so as a part of the foreign tours of Black women's organizations. Even when these the women who traveled abroad were not clubwomen *per se*, NACWC and NCNW leaders' commonly lent support, viewing these women's work as tied to their own objectives.<sup>53</sup> These organizations also worked to gain these women's affiliation, to place them before their membership, or to grant them

awards so that they could count these endeavors as their own, thus stitching together various forms of activism, which they hoped would illustrate Black women's internationalism. But the NCNW and the NACW also took up their own foreign study travels, which, on the whole, were quite different from the ones envisioned during the inter-war period. In the Cold War environment, NACW and NCNW members embarked "European Holidays" or "Tour[s] with a Purpose" largely to European destinations, calling upon ties with the ICW, the NCW, and the American State Department. By 1964, the NCNW formally titled its excursions "People-to-People," which matched the program of the newly created United States Information Agency. The designation, which showed the Council's commitment to linking its activities to those of the American government, illustrates vast changes in Black women's global engagement.

In exploring the NACW and the NCNW's internationalism from the 1890s through the 1960s, this dissertation allows a discussion of how such international activism looked and was understood differently across time and space. While the early 1890s showed intent to draw moral and financial support from British "friends" connected with the trans-Atlantic anti-slavery movement, Black women's internationalism in the latter part of the 1890s showed engagement with burgeoning transnational and international movements especially those of women and Pan-Africanists. American fairs and expositions also appeared to be worthwhile endeavors to pursue inclusive activism that would encourage White Americans to provide assistance to the Black cause. While organized Black female activists would continue to value inclusion in interracial activism, they also showed an interest in developing their own

organizations, which permitted them to explore internationalism influenced both by race and gender. Of these, the NCNW was the most enduring of all of the organizations founded in the inter-war period and represented the greatest form of competition to the NACW. Upon the arrival of the United Nations, Councilwomen especially advocated for their inclusion within this new international body, hoping to pursue their global aims for peace, freedom, and justice here. Neither inclusion nor outcomes turned out as they had hoped. But as the NCNW and the NACW attempted to draw closer to the American mainstream to accomplish their goals and to avoid repression during the Cold War, the internationalism they advocated bore increasing similarity to that espoused by the nation's leaders. The members of these organizations hoped African American women's unique services as goodwill ambassadors would finally be enough to win freedom and equality for People of Color at home and abroad.

**Note on terminology:**

This study uses quotations and conceptualizations that capture the language of the day including terms like "Negro" and "New Negro." In calling upon the work of Elizabeth Anne Hohl, I utilize the term "New Negro Woman" to succinctly describe the perspectives and activism of African American women that emerged during the 1890s and matured after experiences in the First World War.<sup>54</sup> While these activists' experiences and thinking could be and was often similar to Black men and White women during these periods, they were simultaneously different as influenced by compounding issues around race, gender and class. I have also chosen to capitalize "Black" in this

study, not because it refers to “race” per se but because it is used to describe a cultural group/groups that claimed to share a bond of racial identity. I capitalize "White" because it is important not to see it as an unmarked category.<sup>55</sup>

Although “East/West,” and “Developed/Developing” are widely accepted expressions in academic circles today, this paper uses such terms only to describe the world as people themselves viewed it during their own lifetimes. This is also done so as not to confuse the reader. Along these lines, the pseudo-scientific descriptions of culture that underlie terms like “primitive” and “backwards,” which were peppered throughout the writings and speeches of the activists as they sought to find and articulate their position within this framework, are used only in context.

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<sup>1</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "Introduction," in *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*, ed. Hallie Q. Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988 [1926]), vii.

<sup>2</sup> African American women's reform agenda has always encompassed the recording of race history through written form and historic preservation. For instance, see Joanne M. Braxton, *Black Women Writing Autobiography: A Tradition within a Tradition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989); Linda J. Henry, "Promoting Historical Consciousness: The Early Archives Committee of the National Council of Negro Women," *Signs* (Autumn 1981): 251-59; Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp and Kathryn Lofton, *Women's Work: An Anthology of African-American Women's Historical Writings from Antebellum America to the Harlem Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Ana Nunes, *African American Women Writers' Historical Fiction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). For a very accessible account of nineteenth-century African American historical writing that properly situates women within Black historicism, see Stephen G. Hall, *A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> A number of histories describe the Liberian colony turned state as one of tragedy. See, for example, the following recent works that build on an even longer historiography, Hanes Walton, et al., *Liberian Politics: The Portrait by African American Diplomat J. Milton Turner* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002); and James Ciment, *Another America: The Story of Liberia and the Former Slaves Who Ruled It* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013). George Klay Kieh has also produced a recent study that appropriately illustrates ethnic conflict in Liberia as a large symptom of American neo-colonialism. He provides a brief, but rich historiographical overview therein. See, "Neo-Colonialism: American Foreign Policy and the First Liberian Civil War," *The Journal of Pan African Studies* (March 2012): 164-184.

<sup>4</sup> Harry Hamilton Johnston and Otto Stapf cover Roberts' presidencies in great detail. See, *Liberia with an Appendix on the Flora of Liberia*, vol. 1 (London: Hutchinson, 1906), 224-240 and 264. To read more on Black nationalists' thoughts of expatriates in Liberia, see Carl Patrick Burrowes, "Black Christian Republicanism: A Southern Ideology in Early Liberia, 1822 to 1847," *The Journal of Negro History* (Winter 2001): 30-44.

<sup>5</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "Jane Roberts," in *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*, ed. Hallie Q. Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988 [1926]), 47.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. Ricks is also one of the individuals held as an example of racial achievement in a self-improvement manual. See Henry Davenport Northrop, Joseph R. Gay, and I. Garland Penn, *The College of Life, Or, Practical Self-educator a Manual of Self-improvement for the Colored Race... Giving Examples and Achievements of Successful Men and Women of the Race ... including Afro-American Progress ...* (Nashville: Southwestern, 1900), n.p., Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library; and "Mrs. Martha Ann Ricks," New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed February 30, 2014.

<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47df-9433-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

<sup>7</sup> Quotation in "The Queen And The Negress," *The Leeds Mercury*, July 19, 1892.

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<sup>8</sup> S. J. Celestine Edwards, *From Slavery To a Bishopric, or, The Life of Bishop Walter Hawkins of the British Methodist Episcopal Church Canada* (Documenting the American South (Project); University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Library, Electronic Edition 1999 [1891]), 153. Vanessa D. Dickerson brings this history together, addressing how imaginative, metaphoric, and physical crossings of the Atlantic shaped African American perceptions and interactions with the British. See *Dark Victorians* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008). Another thorough discussion includes: Elizabeth Anne Pryor, *"Jim Crow" Cars, Passport Denials and Atlantic Crossings: African-American Travel, Protest and Citizenship at Home and Abroad, 1827-1865*, (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2008). Alternatively, for a discussion of Queen Victoria as a part of the trope of White domination inspired by the 1960s Black nationalism, see Harvey Young, *The Cambridge Companion to African American Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 176-179.

<sup>9</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "Jane Roberts" in *Homespun Heroines*, 47-48.

A number of works explore African American quilting as a unique cultural aesthetic reflective of the population's history, contemporary circumstances, and worldview. See John Michael Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978); William R. Ferris, *Afro-American Folk Art and Crafts* (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall, 1983); Kyra E. Hicks, *Black Threads: An African American Quilting Sourcebook* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland &, 2003); Pearlie Mae Johnson, *African American Quilts: An Examination of Feminism, Identity, and Empowerment in the Fabric Arts of Kansas City Quilters*, (PhD diss., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2008); and Christa Valencia Hardy, "Piecing a Quilt: Jessie Carney Smith and the Making of African American Women's History" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Hollis Ralph Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot 1832-1912* (London: Oxford U.P., 1967), 186. Prior to the death of Roberts' husband in February 1876, he and Blyden stood on opposite sides of Liberia's "colour struggle" that pitted Blacks against mixed-raced persons. Even if he still maintained antagonism towards Roberts' wife, Jane, Blyden agreed to help Ricks, understanding the political possibilities presented in her gift to the Queen. See Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden* (London: Oxford U.P., 1967), 40-49.

<sup>11</sup> Ricks' unique description of relationships resembles one that historian Elsa Barkley Brown describes in her own work, "Mothers of Mind," *Sage* (Summer 1989): 4-11. In February of 1895, a Scottish newspaper told that Ricks wrote to Alfred L. Jones, thanking him for a Christmas gift of cakes that he sent. In her letter, she shared news that she provided several slices of the food item to the Liberian president and to many others throughout the community. She also expressed to Jones how she considered him a great friend since he helped to find a place for her to reside during her visit a few years earlier. "Letter from Martha Ricks," *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, Scotland), February 18, 1895.

<sup>12</sup> "A Latter-Day Pilgrim: The Queen Receiving Mrs. Martha Ricks, who has Travelled from Liberia to see her Majesty," *The Graphic* (London, England), July 23, 1892; "Untitled," *Grantham Journal* (Grantham, England), July 30, 1892; "Untitled," *The Ipswich Journal* (Ipswich, England), July 30, 1892; "Woman's World,"

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*Citizen* (Gloucester, England), September 6, 1892; "Young Golks' Column," *The Newcastle Weekly Courant* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England), July 30, 1892; "Untitled," *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England), October 18, 1892; and "Untitled," *The Morning Post* (London, England), October 18, 1892; "Gleanings," *Birmingham Daily Post* (Birmingham, England), October 19, 1892; "Metropolitan Gossip," *Grantham Journal* (Grantham, England), October 22, 1892; and "At Home," *The Graphic* (London, England), December 31, 1892.

<sup>13</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "Jane Roberts," in *Homespun Heroines*, 48. A few months later, Ricks' English reception was reprinted in a Monrovia newspaper. See "The Queen's African Visitor: Mrs. Ricks at Windsor," *The Liberia Gazette*, September 8, 1892.

<sup>14</sup> Although Brown listed Roberts' birthdate as 1809, she was likely born around 1819 in Petersburg, Virginia. Veronica A. Davis, *Inspiring African American Women of Virginia* (New York: I-Universe, 2005), 223.

<sup>15</sup> In the U.S., President Grover Cleveland received Roberts at the White House. Davis, *Inspiring African American Women of Virginia*, 225; and Henry Louis Gates, *Life upon These Shores: Looking at African American History, 1513-2008* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 59.

<sup>16</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "Jane Roberts," in *Homespun Heroines*, 48-49.

<sup>17</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," Unpublished Autobiography, 1940, p. 195 and 207, Box 1, Folder 4 in the Hallie Quinn Brown Papers, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center.

<sup>18</sup> Adrienne M. Israel, *Amanda Berry Smith: From Washerwoman to Evangelist* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1998), 105. Also see, Priscilla Pope-Levison, "Methodist Interracial Cooperation In the Progressive Era: Amanda Berry Smith and Emma Ray," *Methodist History* (January 2011): 68-85.

To read Hallie Q. Brown's biography of Smith, See *Homespun Heroines*, 128-132. The two may have first met when Smith came to deliver an address at Wilberforce on her missionary efforts, see Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," 69.

<sup>19</sup> Robert J. Norrell, *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 12-16.

<sup>20</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," 108; and Annjennette Sophie McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown: Black Woman Elocutionist, 1845 -1949 – 1975," (PhD diss., Washington State University), 70-75.

<sup>21</sup> Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," 211. Wilberforce sent news and pictures of the dormitory's completion to Emery, but the philanthropist died the day before the letter arrived. The executor of Emery's will still provided the \$2,000 that Emery had promised Brown to furnish the dormitory.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 211. Brown died before the completion of her autobiography and as such there is little information on the years 1925-1949. See McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown: Black Woman Elocutionist," 83.

<sup>23</sup> Floris Barnett Cash, "Kinship and Quilting: An Examination of an African-American Tradition," *The Journal of Negro History* (Winter 1995): 30-41. Female networks were important and persisted even during the period of enslavement. See Deborah Gray White,

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*Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985), 119-141.

<sup>24</sup> Susan Wildemuth, "Elizabeth Keckley & the Mary Todd Lincoln Quilt," *Quilter's World Magazine* (February 2009): n.p.

<sup>25</sup> A Letter of Introduction for Hallie Quinn Brown, Frederick Douglass to His Friends in England, October 6, 1894. Cited in McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown: Black Woman Elocutionist," 118.

<sup>26</sup> Although several works concentrate on singular groups and issues, the following explore the expanding reform movement in broader perspective: Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998); Allison Jane Gough, "Raising the Moral Conscience: The Atlantic Movement for African-American Civil Rights, 1833-1919," (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2000); Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); and Ann Marie Wilson, "Taking Liberties Abroad: American and the International Humanitarian Advocacy, 1821-1914" (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2010).

<sup>27</sup> For Coppin's participation in the conference, See Fanny Jackson Coppin, "My Visit to England," in *Reminiscences of School Life and Hints on Teaching* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1995 [1913]), 151-121; and James Johnston and Samuel Macauley Jackson, *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, Held in Exeter Hall (June 9th-19th), London, 1888*, vol. 2 (New York: F.H. Revell, 1889), 412-414.

For a discussion of Coppin's commitment to industrial education and her work within the MITE Missionary Society, see Levi Coppin, *Unwritten History* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), 350-361.

<sup>28</sup> Elsa Barkley Brown, "'What Has Happened Here': The Politics of Difference in Women's History and Feminist Politics," *Feminist Studies* (Summer 1992): 297.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 27; and Elsa Barkley Brown, "African-American Women's Quilting," *Signs* (Summer 1989): 921-929.

<sup>30</sup> One example of this approach is the influential work *Too Heavy a Load*, which seeks to chronicle Black women's organized activism in an one hundred year period (1894-1994). In it, Deborah Gray White especially drops the NACW from the conversation in the 1920s, claiming that the rise of the New Negro, the Great Depression, and increased focus on Black women and national politics as well as more militant forms of activism, spelled the NACW's demise. In the 1950s and 1960s, the account tells only how the National Council of Negro Women rather than the National Association of Colored Women sought to respond to shifts in society including the southern segment of Civil Rights Movement.

Recently, some scholars have pushed passed the traditional 1896-1920s timeline concerning the NACW. See Lavonne Leslie, *History of the National Association of Colored Womens Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service* (S.l.: Xlibris, 2012); and Turkiya L. Lowe, "The Washington State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs: Social Activism in



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Washington State's African American Women's Club Movement, 1917 to 1951," (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 2010).

<sup>31</sup> David Thelen, "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History," *The Journal of American History* (December 1999): 965-975; Thomas Bender, "Part 1: Historicizing the Nation," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 23-100; and C. A. Bayly et al., "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History," *The American Historical Review* (December 2006): 1441-1464.

On Black women's movement across national borders, See Malinda Rhone, "Sister Sojourners: Routing the Transnational Movement of African American Women," (PhD Diss., The American University, 2010).

<sup>32</sup> Works that define women's international activism in this way are many. They include: Michelle Rief, "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally: The International Agenda of African American Clubwomen, 1880-1940," *The Journal of African American History* (Summer 2004): 203-222; Michelle Rief, "'Banded Close Together': An Afrocentric Study of African American Women's International Activism, 1850-1940, and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races," (PhD diss., Temple University, 2003); Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, "Journeys for Peace and Liberation: Third World Internationalism and Radical Orientalism during the U.S. War in Vietnam," *Pacific Historical Review* (November 2007): 575-584; Lisa G. Materson, "African American Women's Global Journeys and the construction of Cross-ethnic Racial Identity," *Women's Studies International Forum* (January-February 2009): 35-42; Grace Victoria Leslie, "United for a Better World: Internationalism in the U.S. Women's Movement, 1939-1964," (PhD Diss. Yale University, 2011); and Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

<sup>33</sup> Adele Logan Alexander, "Women of the World: African-American Women as Internationalists, 1890-1940," 4, Unpublished paper for Seminar on U.S. Foreign Relations, Department of History, Howard University, June 1987. I sincerely thank Dr. Logan, who kindly dug up this paper and shared it with me.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 4. Alexander's work builds upon a narrower definition of "internationalist" offered by Warren F. Kuehl in *Biographical Dictionary of Internationalists* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982), ix-xii.

<sup>35</sup> Michael O. West, William G. Martin, and Fanon Che Wilkins, *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), xi.

<sup>36</sup> Alexander, "Women of the World," 51-52.

<sup>37</sup> For example, See Gerda Lerner, *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); Jean R. Soderlund, "Black Women in Colonial Pennsylvania" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107, (January, 1983): 49-68; James Oliver Horton, "Freedom's Yoke: Gender Conventions among Antebellum Free Blacks," *Feminist Studies* (Spring, 1986): 51-76; and Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York: Norton, 1984).

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<sup>38</sup> Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1985), 23.

<sup>39</sup> Frances M. Beale, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," *Meridians* (2008 [1969]): 166-76; Deborah K. King, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," *Signs* (Autumn, 1988), 42-72; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs* (Winter, 1992): 251-274; Elsa Barkley Brown, "What Has Happened Here," *Feminist Studies* (Summer, 1992): 295-312; and Elsa Barkley Brown, "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke," *Signs* (Spring 1989): 610-33.

<sup>40</sup> Elsa Barkley Brown, "What Has Happened Here," 300-302; and Barkley Brown, "Mothers of Mind," *Sage* (Summer 1989): 4-10.

<sup>41</sup> The following works are among the earliest and most notable publications on Black women's domestic organizing: Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations," *The Journal of Southern History* (February 1990): 3-22; Gerda Lerner, "Early Community Work of Black Clubwomen," *The Journal of Negro History* (April 1974): 158-162; Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds., *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images*, ed. (New York: Kennikat Press, 1978); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); and Dorothy C. Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Pub., 1990).

<sup>42</sup> Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women," *Journal of Women's History* (Fall 1991): 11-25.

Another foundational piece in the literature, published two years before Shaw's article, is the work of Darlene Clark Hine in *Signs*. In this equally theoretical and empirical piece, Clark Hine explores how sexual vulnerability and powerlessness (both emanating from BW communities) led Black women to create alternate, public identities, which permitted their physical and mental survival known as a "culture of dissemblance." Clark Hine argues that understanding the "culture of dissemblance" will allow for the development of analytical frameworks about Black women's agency and representation. See, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West," *Signs* (Summer 1989): 912-920.

<sup>43</sup> Also see, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves 1894-1994*, (New York: WW Norton, 1999); Stephanie J. Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996); Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's*

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*Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); and Noralee Frankel, *Freedom's Women: Black Women and Families in Civil War Era Mississippi* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

<sup>44</sup> The following works are among those that seek to correct the underestimation of African Americans' interest and participation in international events even while admitting that this consideration was not a monolithic one. See, Jake C. Miller, *The Black Presence in American Foreign Affairs* (Washington: University Press of America, 1978); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); James Hunter Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Charles P. Henry, *Foreign Policy and the Black (Inter) National Interest* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2000); Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Elliot P. Skinner, *African Americans and U.S. Policy Toward Africa 1850-1924: In Defense of Black Nationality* (Howard University Press, 1992); Sean Chabot, *Transnational Roots of the Civil Rights Movement: African American Explorations of the Gandhian Repertoire* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012); and Marc S. Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

<sup>45</sup> Charles Payne, "Men Led, but Women Organized: Movement Participation of Women in the Mississippi Delta," in *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers*, ed. Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson, 1990); Bernice McNair Barnett, "Invisible Southern Black Women Leaders in the Civil Rights Movement: The Triple Constraints of Gender, Race, and Class," *Gender and Society* (June 1993): 162-82; Johnny E. Williams, "Vanguards of Hope: The Role of Culture in Mobilizing African-American Women's Social Activism in Arkansas," *Sociological Spectrum*, (March/April 2004), 129-156; and Laurie B. Green, "Race, Gender, and Labor in 1960s Memphis: 'I AM A MAN' and the Meaning of Freedom," *Journal of Urban History* (March 2004): 465-489; and Bruce A. Glasrud and Merline Pitre, eds., *Southern Black Women in the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (College Station, Tex: Texas A&M University Press, 2013).

Works that detail Black women's participation in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20th century movements for equal rights have usually covered enduring elements in this group's aims and capture emerging themes of body politics, issues of historical representation, and issues surrounding patriarchy. For instance see Stephanie M. H. Camp, "The Pleasures of Resistance: Enslaved Women and Body Politics in the Plantation South, 1830-1861," *The Journal of Southern History* (August 2002): 533-572; Teresa C. Zackodnik, "I Don't Know How You Will Feel When I Get through": Racial Difference, Woman's Rights, and Sojourner Truth," *Feminist Studies* (Spring, 2004): 49-73; Rebecca Skloot, *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2010); Catherine

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Adams and Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); and Cheryl D. Hicks, *Talk with You Like a Woman: African American Women, Justice, and Reform in New York, 1890-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

<sup>46</sup> One very good work that has begun to correct this is Michelle Rief, "'Banded Close Together': An Afrocentric Study of African American Women's International Activism, 1850-1940, and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races," (PhD diss., Temple University, 2003).

One of the earliest works on African American women and the African diaspora is Rosalyn Terborg-Penn and Andrea Benton. Rushing, eds. *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora: A Reader* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1996).

<sup>47</sup> For instance, see Carole Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Erik S. McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of Black Left Feminism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Barbara Ransby, *Eslanda: The Large and Unconventional Life of Mrs. Paul Robeson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Cheryl Higashida, *Black Internationalist Feminism: Women Writers of the Black Left, 1945-1995* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011); Bill Mullen and James Edward Smethurst, *Left of the Color Line: Race, Radicalism, and Twentieth-Century Literature of the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Gerald Horne, *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois* (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, Feminist, and Mrs. Marcus Garvey No. 1 or a Tale of Two Amies* (Dover, MA: Majority Press, 2007).

On Black internationalism more broadly, See Marc S. Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Roderick D. Bush, *The End of White World Supremacy: Black Internationalism and the Problem of the Color Line* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009); Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917-1939* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Cheryl Higashida, *Black Internationalist Feminism: Women Writers of the Black Left, 1945-1995* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011); and Michael O. West, William G. Martin, and Fanon Che Wilkins, *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); and Robin D.G. Kelley, "'But a Local Phase of a World Problem': Black History's Global Vision, 1883-1950," *Journal of American History* (1999): 1045-1077.

<sup>48</sup> Dorothy I. Height, *Open Wide the Freedom Gates: A Memoir* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 57-63.

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<sup>49</sup> Walton Hanes, Jr., *Black Women at the United Nations: The Politics, A Theoretical Model, and the Documents* (San Bernardino, Calif.: Borgo Press, 1995), 5.

<sup>50</sup> Andrew Justin Falk, *Upstaging the Cold War: American Dissent and Cultural Diplomacy, 1940-1960* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010); and Helen Laville, and Hugh Wilford, *The US Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: The State-Private Network* (London: Routledge, 2006).

As a few examples of revisionist work concerning the “waves” metaphor in women’s history, see Kathleen A. Laughlin and Jacqueline L. Castledine, *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945-1985* (New York: Routledge, 2011) and Dorothy Sue Cobble, *The Other Women’s Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America* (Princeton University Press, 2005).

<sup>51</sup> For instance, see Catherine Foster, *Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (Athens, GA, 1989); Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse, NY, 1993); Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); and Joyce Blackwell-Johnson, “No Peace Without Freedom, No Freedom Without Peace: African American Women Activists in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915- 1970,” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1998).

<sup>52</sup> Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7; and Patricia Ward D'Itri, *Cross Currents in the International Women's Movement, 1848-1948* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1999), 1.

<sup>53</sup> After 1954, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) utilized the name National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs (NACWC), which followed the trend set by its state federations in prior years. For historical accuracy, this study uses “NACW” prior to 1954 and “NACWC” from 1954 onward.

<sup>54</sup> Elizabeth Ann Hohl’s interdisciplinary work especially tackles the “New Negro Woman” of the 1890s, which she shows was a multi-generational and diverse group. “‘To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race’: The New Negro Woman of the 1890s,” (PhD diss., Union Institute & University, 2009). On the “New Woman” generally, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1985); and Jean V. Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: The Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Publisher, 2003).

For two works on the internationalism of the “New woman” including African Americans, see Ann L. Ardis, *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990); and Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart, eds., *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 143-208 and 299-366.

<sup>55</sup> My thinking in this matter is most influenced by scholarship on the study of women. As this scholarly field has continued to expand, the importance of recognizing intersectionality has become more of a strong hold. More than ever, scholars are understanding that not all women are White, middle class, heterosexual, and oppressed

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by patriarchy in identical ways. Thus, scholars have begun to mark the “unmarked” and to explore the lives of women that do not fit this categorization. For theoretical works, see the following in Sue Morgan, ed., *The Feminist History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006): Elsa Barkley Brown, “What has Happened Here,” 300-308, especially 301; Elizabeth V. Spelman, “Gender and Race: The Ampersand Problem in Feminist Thought,” 273-283; Martha Vicinus, “Lesbian History,” 219-231, especially 226; and Mrinalini Sinha, “Gender and Nation,” 323-338.

**Chapter 1**  
**“Any Power Strong Enough to Assist in the Hour of Distress”**  
**Black Clubwomen’s Trans-Atlantic Activism, 1891-1896**

In July of 1891, the *Anti-Caste* magazine discussed a petition signed by 58 African American women of Cambridge, Massachusetts, asking for advice concerning their decision to appeal to their state governor for his aid in improving the nation’s abysmal racial relations. The small, but politically radical circular emanating out of England published concise monthly articles condemning racial prejudice around the world. In the few years since its 1888 birth, it frequently reported on episodes of mistreatment that occurred in South Africa and the Caribbean though granting most of its attention to India and the U.S.<sup>1</sup> In fact, more than eight years before the July issue went to print, British editor Catherine Impey wrote to well-known abolitionist Frederick Douglass informing him how her first trip to the United States in 1878 awakened her interest in enduring racism in the U.S. after the Civil War ended.<sup>2</sup> The magazine, which explored this topic, benefited from a trans-Atlantic discourse and activism network that tied Impey to prominent civil rights activists like Frederick Douglass, Thomas T. Fortune, Frances E. Watkins Harper, and Albion W. Tourgée in the U.S.

The Cambridge petition opened with an acknowledgment and appreciation of Impey’s work and as such it bore great similarity to another communication from

from an unidentified African American woman in Washington, D.C. the previous February.<sup>3</sup> Another message from New England came from Chloe C. Thomas, an elderly African American resident in Boston, a city that lay just across the Charles River from Cambridge.<sup>4</sup> Thomas wrote previously, but this time she included subscription funds along with the donations of “four very poor old coloured women,” who became pledgees after reading the *Anti-Caste*.<sup>5</sup> It is likely that they were all tenants at Boston’s Home for Aged Colored Women—a residence designed to serve destitute older Black women.<sup>6</sup> Thomas closed her letter by expressing her satisfaction at having been one of the earliest students of an educational institute that operated in the basement of the African Meeting House. Though happily noting the school’s English roots, she cheerfully imparted that Blacks now served as its teachers.<sup>7</sup>

While Thomas and the earlier correspondent were *Anti-Caste* readers, the authors of the petition likely learned of the paper through various newspaper columns. By 1891, there were nearly 160 African American newspapers and magazines in the United States, servicing a rapidly expanding literate Black public. T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the *New York Age* and a self-described radical, happily remarked on the development while also encouraging syndication as an effort to combat racist images of the population in American and foreign press. Two years earlier, he especially welcomed the *Anti-Caste* as an important part of this political work.<sup>8</sup> Akin to many other late Victorian publications, the *Anti-Caste* employed “scissors and paste reporting.” But in re-printing articles from African American newspapers or liberal White ones, enables its



readers to hear from an authentic activist community that detailed racial injustices as a part of a much wider anti-White supremacy campaign.<sup>9</sup>

For this very reason, the Cambridge petitioners provided to Impey several newspaper articles that detailed the cruel outrages committed almost constantly against Blacks in the American South. This included not only lynching as a violent practice of social control, but also restrictive Black codes that illustrated a complete trampling of their civil rights by the broader public.<sup>10</sup> The situation was so dire that historian Rayford W. Logan declared that after Reconstruction ended in 1877 the “nadir,” or the lowest point of race relations in the United States, began. Like many other race leaders of the day, he argued that while a clearly racist south led the charge, White neighbors to the north were complicit. In describing African American contributions but also their conditions, W.E.B. Du Bois thought that they “deserved not only the pity of the world but the gratitude of both South and North.”<sup>11</sup> Hoping to escape Southern Redeemers and the New South, thousands of African Americans migrated to Kansas as the romanticized “Promise Land.” Others journeyed beyond American borders, influenced by the emigration efforts of Mary Ann Shadd Cary, Martin Delaney, Paul Cuffee, and Henry McNeal Turner.<sup>12</sup> In considering Blacks’ predicament, the writer from Washington wondered if “nothing short of another Red Sea will conquer the Pharaohs,” while the Cambridge women questioned whether there was “any power strong enough to assist in the hour of distress.”<sup>13</sup> Thus, the New England petitioners not only sought advice concerning the appropriateness and potential outcomes of their method, but also expressed their interest in deepening European sympathy and support.

Impey's reply to the Massachusetts clubwomen reflected a similar sort of perplexity. Succinctly, and honestly, she admitted that the problem of how best to arouse the America's conscience was a wide and difficult one. Most importantly, this was partly shaped by the fact that the movement to aid African Americans largely dissipated after achieving emancipation. After 1865, few abolitionists felt that they could disabuse White Americans of their views about the inferiority of Black people and thus considered their safeguarding to be responsibility of the American military and government. A number of these activists now turned their attention and efforts to famines, persecutions, and violence occurring beyond American borders or to international mobilization that coalesced around a number of issues including missionary enterprises, temperance, suffrage, and women's rights. Second-generation activists like Catherine Impey, tied to the movement by her Quaker and Garrisonian familial heritage, arose to work alongside the activists, who remained to develop a commitment to turning the world's attention to America's racial inequality.

In addition to drawing near to Frederick Douglass, Impey worked alongside African American clubwomen who looked to the trans-Atlantic activism as a means of securing valuable material and moral support especially from the British public. In the first year of her publication, Impey solicited assistance and collected funds for Fannie Jackson Coppin who was in England to attend the 1888 London Centenary Conference and to raise money for the Philadelphia's Institute of Colored Youth.<sup>14</sup> Coppin's "Atlantic-crossings" connect her not only to African American female abolitionists of yesteryear who had worked in organizations such the Female Philadelphia Anti-Slavery

Society and the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society but also to achieve emancipation traveled abroad for this same purpose, but also to an emerging generation known as the “New Negro Women.”<sup>15</sup> Calling upon the mutual aid traditions of their forbearers and hoping to restore lost authority since the early emancipation period, these activists, who reached adulthood after the American Civil War, sought to loosen the shackles of American prejudice that bound their lives through the creation of autonomous women's organizations.<sup>16</sup> For a number of them, this meant calling upon those whom they strategically but often sincerely called “English friends” to join them in raising protests against those whom they considered oppressors or even worse, temporizers.

While the trans-Atlantic component of this activism never matched the vigor and the height of the antebellum anti-slavery crusade, several characteristics display continuity between the two periods. In addition to simultaneously employing the tactic of moral suasion of early years alongside that of political agitation and stronger language that developed from the mid 1830s forward, African American clubwomen strategically used ideological continuity that recognized and wielded England’s maternal relationship to the U.S. and the former’s abolishment of slavery long before. These new activists also persisted in refuting stereotypes and prejudice by exhibiting a belief in Universalist ideologies of Western civilization and situating African Americans within it. Finally, these post-emancipation activists described the population as “forward moving” in the march towards progress, modernity, and civility, and told of middle class efforts to ameliorate internal and external conditions. In so doing, they joined the vanguard of abolitionists, simultaneously beseeching sympathetic Whites, especially evangelical

Christians, to aid them in the “hour of distress.”<sup>17</sup> Importantly, these communications presented to the trans-Atlantic community a functioning and ever-expanding Black women’s club movement. For instance, though a highly esteemed bi-racial venture, the Home for Aged Colored Women's 1860 formation indicated increased social tensions in a nation on the brink of a Civil War and growing racism in Boston. Working alongside a mostly White directors' board made up of reformers, clergy, and philanthropists, local African American women made this home part of their larger agenda, taking up the day-to-day responsibilities, which meant serving as matrons, conducting fundraisers, and organizing social activities.<sup>18</sup>

The Cambridge petition, itself, which combined the signatures of nearly 60 women, was most likely representative of an organized body. In fact, for more than 20 years after its 1883 birth, the Golden Rule Club still maintained its reputation as the sole African American women’s organization among Cambridge’s small Black population. As such, it is very likely that the petition to Impey emanated under this club’segis. Though very little information on the Golden Rule Club persists, newspaper coverage indicates that the society was similar to other Black women’s endeavors around the nation as it was formed not only to bring about sociability, but also to gain unity in responding to financial and health issues.<sup>19</sup> Since the club reported in 1894 that it experienced little change in membership since its founding, newspaper articles and census records allow for the assertion that the Golden Rule Club was largely founded by housewives and working women of various ages who migrated to Cambridge to make their home.<sup>20</sup>

Due to a dearth of records, partly because much of Impey's correspondence was lost in two house fires as well as the editor's inconsistency in printing monthly correspondence within the magazine, it is unclear if the Golden Rule Club ever wrote again.<sup>21</sup> Even so, in situating this club's July 1891 appeal along with regular letters from Chloe Thomas and other African American clubwomen, it is possible to determine that many members of this population valued relationships with a supposedly morally upright, or at least a more persuasive and sympathetic, British population in their efforts to improve their lives. This is especially important given the fact that many of Impey's correspondents, whether in Cambridge, Boston, or Washington, D.C., appear never to have met her during her American sojourns in 1866, 1878, or 1892. Even so, they claimed to know enough of her and her work to count her as a "dear friend."<sup>22</sup>

This chapter reconnects African American clubwomen's trans-Atlantic literary activism in the last decade of the nineteenth century to their European travels and formal addresses targeting material and moral support. To date, the budding scholarship on Black women's internationalism has focused chiefly on travel and thus misses the opportunity to explore the longer history of discursive activism that deepened the meanings of the travel and maintained the same aims. In some ways, current discussion has disconnected these travels from the African American women's club movement, failing to see that even when some women could not travel they took up activism in written form that recorded African American contributions and established their literary presence.<sup>23</sup> Although the period under consideration (1891-1896) is a short one, its intensity is very telling of African American women's early internationalism especially in

written form, which in turn built upon the print culture of Black abolitionists. Since most studies on Black international politics and print culture privilege men and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this chapter attempts to be exhaustive in its consideration of Black women's thoughts about and pursuit of international alliances and exchanges on the verge of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In so doing, these women turned their gaze outward long before the birth of Pan Africanism and Garveyism, which are typically considered to be the beginnings of Black internationalism.<sup>24</sup>

The emergence of the *Woman's Era*, the nation's first publication dedicated solely to the activities of African American women's clubs, allows a deeper though not fully exhaustive study of this activism and these ideological beliefs and differences concerning it. The twenty-two extant issues of the periodical show that majority of the news, especially as it related to the club pursuits, was printed in short-form. Additionally, beyond areas defined by major association activity like Boston, Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C., not all parties reported consistently. Nevertheless, the contents of the reports are rich enough to begin uncovering a prevailing trust in the effectiveness of gaining and maintaining English moral and material support through the power of the pen. Alongside editorials authored by nationally prominent African American clubwomen, these summaries elucidate an ongoing dialogue that assessed the consequences and outcomes of participating in interracial endeavors whether it was American fairs, expositions, women's congresses, or other activities. This chapter utilizes the term "trans-Atlantic" since most of the work of these early women built upon the

abolitionist network and thus concentrated on connections and conversations between Europeans and Americans.

While some women held that this involvement permitted the population to make its case (especially delivering rhetoric about “civilized” Black womanhood) before potentially influential audiences, others worried about participation in these highly restricted and racist environments. Such wide-ranging opinions about method and venues were reflective of a much larger and longer discussion about the usefulness or consequences of agitation versus accommodation and nationalism and emigration versus assimilation—debates that dated back to the Compromise of 1850.<sup>25</sup> As an important part of this conversation, “New Negro Women” sought to influence the *modus operandi* of Black women’s clubs by calling the group to a national meeting under a particular set of leadership and direction. Finally, this chapter situates the *Woman's Era* alongside African American women’s correspondence and engagement with Great Britain that included Catherine Impey of the *Anti-Caste* and later Florence Balgarnie of the London Anti-Lynching Committee, women and organizations that concentrated on the conditions of African Americans and lynching.<sup>26</sup> The valuable work that these activists conducted on behalf of African Americans would be revered during national conventions in 1895 and 1896 and many African American clubwomen wanted foreign populations to know of their unified efforts to improve their conditions and their nation in the “hour of distress.”

In November of 1892, several members of Cambridge’s Golden Rule Club made the short trip across the Charles River to attend a meeting at the home of Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin. The Ruffin household was located on the backside of Beacon Hill, the

well-known Bostonian, African American neighborhood that also claimed the residence of Chloe C. Thomas. Reared there as a youth, Ruffin and her husband were prominent members of the community who knew almost everybody and came to know Thomas through organizational work.<sup>27</sup> In fact, in 1859 it was likely strong familial and communal ties that led the young married couple to return to the area after a brief relocation to England. Little is known about this trip or its motivations, though it is clear that upon her homecoming, Ruffin quickly took up two loves: elocution and social activism. Likely influenced by her bi-racial background, she held membership in several predominantly White organizations including the New England Woman's Club and the New England Woman's Press Association. She also was as a charter member of the Massachusetts School Suffrage Association, keeping close associations with White American suffragists including Edna Cheney, Julia Ward Howe, Abbie May, and Lucy Stone.<sup>28</sup>

Ruffin invited these White colleagues in addition to the Black members of the Golden Rule Club to hear from Ida B. Wells at the intimate gathering in her home. None of the White women attended, possibly because of the event's location within an all-Black neighborhood. By contrast, more than 20 African American women made their way to the Ruffin home where they sat sipping tea, nibbling on wafers, and eagerly awaiting the journalist's talk.<sup>29</sup> The host was inspired to organize the event after assisting two good friends and frequent collaborators, Victoria Earle Matthews and Maritcha Remond Lyons, in orchestrating Wells' heart-wrenching testimony about lynching the previous month. At Lyric Hall in New York, Wells had delivered her first "honest-to-goodness [public] address" that exposed lynching as a dramatic and popular



instrument of social control.<sup>30</sup> Not only had lynching claimed the lives of three friends in her hometown of Memphis earlier that year, but it led to the recorded murders of 150 others by December's end. In speaking before this audience and the others throughout the Northeast for the next several months, the anti-lynching activist recounted these chilling statistics undergirded by her own close encounters with destruction, the threat of death, and even exile from Memphis. In response to Wells' incendiary article warning White southerners about the cooperation of White women in interracial sexual relations and the general baselessness of the rape charge that resulted in the lynchings of Black men as well as the resulting threats on Wells' life, it was northern clubwomen who supported and promoted her.<sup>31</sup>

If Wells' autobiographical statements hold true, it was also African American women's emotional and immediate response at the Lyric Hall testimonial that led her to deliver the same speech before other American audiences. After she met Catherine Impey in Philadelphia, who was on her third trip to the U.S., the speech also became the basis of the one that she gave before the English public.<sup>32</sup> It is in this way that Wells connected the start of her public-speaking career turned trans-Atlantic crusade to a Black sisterhood, and, in turn, she claimed to have initiated the Black women's club movement. While it is undeniable that Wells' commitment to "tell the truth freely" inspired the development of number of clubs supportive of her national and international endeavors, including the Women's Era Club in Boston, this did not signal the actual birth of Black women's club organizing. Long before the development of the Woman's Loyal Union (WLU) that Brooklyn and New York women formed in the wake of the Lyric Hall event, Black

female residents undertook abolitionist and freedom related-work and philanthropic endeavors through organized activity like the Dorcas society, organized in 1832, and the Abyssinian Benevolent Daughters of Esther Association, founded in 1839.<sup>33</sup> Thus, it was unsurprising that in December of 1892, the women elected not to disband after the Lyric Hall meeting, but rather to formalize their efforts and relationships through the creation of the Woman's Loyal Union (WLU).

Victoria E. Matthews was selected to serve as this body's first leader. The organization set as its mission the “diffusion of accurate and extensive information relative to African Americans and an intelligent assertion of their rights.”<sup>34</sup> Over the years, the WLU committed itself to collecting information about racial conditions through southern circulars as well as disseminating literature that they found worthwhile including pamphlets of Alexander Walters and Thomas T. Fortune's Afro-American Council, an organization founded in the hope of orchestrating a national civil rights campaign. Within the first year of the WLU's existence, Matthews squarely placed her organization within the trans-Atlantic discourse network not only by subscribing to the *Anti-Caste* but also by maintaining frequent communication with Catherine Impey. Matthews was but one of many African American clubwomen to value this resource and the relationship it presented. Another journalist who attended the 1892 Lyric Hall Conference, Gertrude Mossell, and her husband, Nathan circulated the magazine, and the latter declared it a comfort to a hopeful, but butchered people.<sup>35</sup> Frances E. Watkins Harper who declared Impey both “a friend and a sister,” was joined by other prominent women including Amanda Smith and Fanny J. Coppin, who appeared on subscriber and

distributor lists or whom Impey personally mentioned in columns as treasured supporters.<sup>36</sup>

While the *Anti-Caste* claimed a little more than 300 subscribers in 1890 who largely resided in Britain, it enjoyed a much wider dissemination than this number suggests. Nearly 1,900 copies were distributed each month as subscribers took numerous copies in order to provide them to associates. For instance, an AME minister took 100 copies monthly, and more than 500 copies appeared in Young Men's Christian Association reading rooms in the U.S. where they were encountered by multiple readers regardless of their ability to afford even the low-cost subscription.<sup>37</sup> When the magazine was renamed *Fraternity* in July 1893 and continued under the editorship of London-based S.J. Celestine Edwards, the readership grew by leaps and bounds.<sup>38</sup> Although the cost also increased, new members enjoyed a publication that now delivered deeper scope and analysis. *Fraternity* continued to rely on female readers, distributors, and contributors and featured a number of women writers including Katherine Davis Tillman, a well-known African American author who published plays, poems, and short stories in religious magazines like the *Christian Recorder*. In a column that drew attention to the literary efforts of Black women, Tillman discussed a long teleology of poets ranging from Phillis Wheatley to H. Cordelia Ray, a fellow contributor in the *AME Church Review* and the author of a poem that memorialized Toussaint Louverture in the *Anti-Caste* in October of 1899.<sup>39</sup> The support and participation of these African American women granted legitimacy to this British publication and was born out of an understanding of its value in improving its own (Black people's) treatment.

Even more clearly, Catherine Impey and her literary enterprise sought to support the African American battle for civil rights through an invitation for Ida B. Wells to come abroad and address English audiences concerning American lynching. While Impey had been impressed with this crusader after seeing her speak in Philadelphia in 1892, it was a Paris, Texas lynching in February 1893 that most especially quickened her commitment to putting Wells before the British public.<sup>40</sup> Newspaper accounts at home and abroad showed Henry Smith's murder as a social event that attracted a crowd of 10,000, included a school holiday that permitted children's attendance, and ended in fights over souvenirs in the form of buttons and teeth from Smith's corpse.<sup>41</sup> After relaying the information that she gathered on this lynching and others through her American trips, Impey gained a partner in Isabella Fyvie Mayo, the well-known Scottish authoress and human rights advocate who published under the moniker Edward Garrett. She also shared with Mayo her meeting and interview with Wells, telling of this activist's anti-lynching crusade, and importantly stressing the support that Black women gave her as evident in the Lyric Hall Meeting. Likely impossible before, due to Impey's lack of funds and the fact that she worked alone, Impey and Mayo invited Wells to England. Less than a week after she received the invitation, Wells set sail on April 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>42</sup>

Occurring just one month after Wells' departure was a major American event that also contributed to Black women's internationalist efforts. It was the World's Columbian Exposition—the United States' second international fair and meant to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival in the Americas. Importantly, it promised to promote a global image of America's modernity, progress, morality, and

enterprise. Many African Americans, especially the movers and shakers, held the event as “a sort of silver jubilee,” that would enable them to impress upon American and foreign audiences alike the amount of racial progress gained since emancipation.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, they sought inclusion in the leadership in the fair more generally, and the exhibit staff more specifically. Well-noted in the scholarship is the Board of Lady Managers Bertha Palmer’s response to African American women’s desire for inclusion. With the exception of two short and successive terms as office managers by Chicago clubwomen Namahyoka Gertrude Sockum Curtis and Fannie Barrier Williams, Palmer quickly rebuffed the request claiming that the group lacked national consensus and instructed individuals to seek recognition on state boards.<sup>44</sup> In the end, some four organizations were formed to secure what was felt to be the best or even most winnable course of action. For instance, the Women’s Colombia Association petitioned only for a separate Black exhibit while the Women’s Columbia Auxiliary Association worked steadily for full integration that also included positions in the fair leadership.<sup>45</sup>

In June of 1892, 113 Black women's organizations in Washington, D.C. combined to form the Colored Women's League (CWL). Although the organization’s development was stimulated by Hallie Q. Brown’s urging that they confront Black women's exclusion from the Fair, the CWL’s interest in uniting women's groups around the nation was initially established in the League's constitution and further urged by one of its prominent leaders, Mary Church Terrell.<sup>46</sup> Committed to “promot[ing] the welfare of my race in my native land,” Terrell returned to the U.S. after her study of foreign languages in Europe and joined with other prominent women of D.C. under the leadership of Helen A. Cook,

wife of the Honorable John T. Cook.<sup>47</sup> Within years, the CWL included women's groups in the South and the East that also concentrated their efforts on racial advancement through a focus on women and the family, most especially through kindergarten programs and evening classes for adults.<sup>48</sup>

While the Colored Women's League and other women's group desired participation in the Chicago World Fair, the Women's Era Club of Boston stood fundamentally opposed and called for a boycott. The WEC's language and action showed the organization launching itself not only in a national debate about whether or not to put confidence in such enterprises, but also an ideological disagreement about the best method to solve racial issues. In a circular entitled "A Columbian Year Contrast," the club pointed out the stark contrasts between American rhetoric and action, situating their claims not only in incidents of the past, but also "the [latest] atrocity of the South."<sup>49</sup> This was the April 24<sup>th</sup> lynching of John Peterson in Denmark, South Carolina. In the circular that was requested as far away as St. Louis, the women highlighted the savage nature of the murder of a likely innocent man that included not only a hanging, but also a dead body riddled with more than 500 bullets. Peterson not only had an alibi, but there was no corroborating evidence and the fifteen-year-old victim also cleared him as her assailant. Thus, the WEC questioned the nation's ability to "pose before the world as an example of greatness" and as "brave, liberty-loving, law-abiding people," when, they claimed, even a "semi-barbarous country" would have taken pause.<sup>50</sup>

Indeed, at the public dedication of the Exposition the previous October, Potter Palmer of the fair's leadership remarked on the event's educational mission, positing that

lessons garnered there would be potent forces transmitted to the future.<sup>51</sup> Since the Chicago World Fair was constructed to permit attendees to reflect upon, but also become indoctrinated with, manufactured notions of proper social and economic reality, the exclusion of People of Color in leadership positions fell right in line with the national trend.<sup>52</sup> The subject was also taken up by the European press, which had carried several articles on the efforts of the Board of Lady Managers to win the support and sympathy of foreign women during the planning stage of the Exposition. In noting how these actions occurred alongside the deliberate exclusion of non-White women within American borders, European reporters presented this marginalization as an enduring sin of White Americans and a part of a much larger conversation about morality, civility, and nation. Importantly, these same newspaper articles relayed Black women's refusal to "suffer this indignity in silence" and their efforts to gain congressional funds for an exhibit as well as to meet in convention to formulate a unified plan.<sup>53</sup>

Despite the WEC's call for a boycott and a lukewarm welcome, African Americans heavily participated in the fair and, importantly, developed parallel activities that extended over to the corridor of Dearborn Street where the headquarters of the Tourgée Club was a particularly popular venue. The organization that was formed due to the exclusion of Black exhibits from the fair carried the namesake of Albion W. Tourgée, a White American who increasingly supported the Black cause since his service in the Civil War. Tourgée developed an international reputation as a writer of the "Bystander" column in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, a White liberal weekly newspaper. On the actual fairgrounds, African Americans partook of activities in the Douglass-directed Haiti

Building and Colored American or “Jubilee” Day.<sup>54</sup> Although the proposed Negro Exhibit Building never materialized as many had hoped, representatives of Atlanta, Hampton and Wilberforce Universities, along with African American women from New York State, made certain that the great accomplishments of the race in its short 28 years since emancipation could be seen by all. African American women relished the 65-item display placed within the Women’s Building that was meticulously put together by Joan Imogen Howard of the WLU and the only Black individual included on New York’s Board of Lady Managers.<sup>55</sup>

The inclusion of quilts alongside other needle works were similar to those on display by Wilberforce University in the Liberal Arts building, wherein the talents of Elizabeth Keckley’s domestic arts students were displayed.<sup>56</sup> Through its display at the 1893 Exposition, an even larger more diverse public viewed the quilt that Ricks had presented to Queen Victoria. Patricia A. Turner suggests that parading Ricks’ quilt in “Her Majesty’s British Needlework” exhibit may have served as yet another way that the English pointed to the fallacy of American democracy and freedom in the face of criticisms about the British empire.<sup>57</sup> Although many were proud of all that was accomplished with so little, lingering disappointment over the lack of a more prominent space led to immediate efforts to ensure a Negro Building at the Cotton States and International Exposition held in Atlanta two years later. There, Harriet Powers’ highly admired Bible quilt concerning Cain and Abel garnered just as much attention as a replica of Martha Rick’s contribution to Queen Victoria.<sup>58</sup>



Particularly important to the development of Black clubwomen's international activism, was their participation in several of the congresses associated with the Chicago Exposition. Among these meetings designed to demonstrate an "enlightened group of leaders attending to living questions in the departments of human progress" was the first quinquennial of the International Congress of Women (ICW).<sup>59</sup> Organized in 1888 at the fortieth anniversary of the Seneca Falls meeting held by the National Woman Suffrage Association's conference (NSWA), the ICW paralleled other international women's organizations formed in the post-bellum era as feminist ideologies led to global associations focused on temperance and women's rights. While its founders originally hoped to concentrate on suffrage, the ICW eventually came together as an organized band of women generally committed to upholding the "golden rule" and advancing society by addressing social ills.<sup>60</sup> Western cultural assumptions were imbedded within the organizational framework influenced by the fact that the majority of its members were older, elite, Christian women of European heritage regardless of differences in geographical location.<sup>61</sup> This then was the very population that African American female reformers sought to address.

The ICW had postponed its 1891 meeting for two years precisely to coincide with the Chicago Exposition. Now when the organization met, it did so under the name World Congress of Representative Women. The Board of Lady Managers of the Chicago Columbian Exposition appointed six Black women to address the Congress.<sup>62</sup> Like the ICW membership, Frances E. Watkins Harper and Sarah J. Early were of a mature age—more than 15-30 years older than Fanny J. Coppin (57), Hallie Q. Brown (50), Fannie

Barrier Williams (40), and 35 years the senior to Anna Julia Cooper (36). This multi-generational participation indicates that on the whole African American women understood and seized the great opportunity that existed in advocating for equality before an audience of “many thousands of persons of different races and nations.”<sup>63</sup> Although 56 of the 126 organizations represented at the World Congress of Representative Women were American, ICW's leadership stressed the international nature of the meeting since it included delegates from nearly 30 countries. High levels of organizational representation came from England (30), Germany (9) France (7), and Canada (6).<sup>64</sup> Additionally, foreign women outside of these groups who represented foreign bodies were invited to participate fully in the activities including serving in business meetings.<sup>65</sup> The Black women who attended this Congress were the epitome of elevated black woman and truly “representative women” of the race. Still, while promoting African American achievement in the face of American inequalities, they understood that they were both “part of and excluded from the dominant course of white women’s politics,” which was, in fact, the foundation of the Congress.<sup>66</sup>

Some ideological differences between the Black women and their hosts emerged in the speeches they gave. Fannie Barrier Williams, an educator and activist from Chicago took the podium first. She was also the only African American scheduled to speak before two major conferences connected to the World’s Fair. That September, she spoke on the topic of “Religious Duty to the Negro” at the World’s Parliament of Religion, detailing how Christianity was first used to degrade and control African American slaves, but since emancipation Christian forces and relations serve as valuable

tools of uplift.<sup>67</sup> In the longest speech of those by the Black women who appeared before the World Congress of Representative Women, Williams employed Social Darwinist concepts and accommodationist language to assure her audience that though racial and social equality would one day come, members of the Black population understood the journey it would take to get there. She also argued that achieving this goal required White American women to recognize the citizenship of all, especially Black women, since “the fixed policy of persecution and injustice . . . [was] hurtful to the cause of all women,” thus reminding White women that Black women’s issues were in fact their issues as well.<sup>68</sup>

This speech was immediately followed by ones by Anna Julia Cooper and Fanny J. Coppin, educators in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia, respectively. The women concentrated their talks on the educational achievements of African Americans. While Cooper likened alliances between White and Black women to a chain, Coppin described the relationship as a bridge and warned that Black women’s involvement in this construction was necessary for success in the battle for gender equality. Both speakers appealed to a hierarchy that made White upper-class women the epitome of civilized womanhood, followed by African American clubwomen who were steadily working to “uplift” Black masses.<sup>69</sup> Other speeches came from Sarah J. Early of Tennessee, Hallie Q. Brown, a teacher in Alabama, and Frances E. Watkins Harper, the latter of which was one of only three African Americans who addressed the 1888 NWSA meeting and the only participant of her race in NCW’s first triennial session in 1891.<sup>70</sup> In activities such

as these, Harper was but one of many successful abolitionists who transitioned into the burgeoning women's rights movement.

Early's and Brown's presentations provided details about southern Black women's organizing, which included religious work that extended across the seas through missionary efforts. Harper spoke on Saturday, May 20th in the "Civil and Political Status of Women" section. Here, she positioned character traits and education as a precursor to the vote, cutting across racial and gender lines as she proclaimed: "The hands of lynchers are too red with blood to determine the political character of the government for even four short years." While Harper's speech was far more radical than the other speeches, chairman Mary Wright Sewall suggested that none of the women's messages was lost on the conference attendees. In fact, the mood created by the first two African American female speakers was enhanced by a break in that day's program to permit a speech from Frederick Douglass. In it, the highly esteemed human rights leader expressed his admiration for the "refined, educated, colored ladies [who were] addressing--and addressing successfully--one of the most intelligent white audiences that I ever looked upon."<sup>71</sup> He described the occasion as "a new thing under the sun" and an indication that discrimination, prejudice, and persecution would soon pass away. In the published history of the 1893 Congress, Sewall thought it "strange" that African American women just a generation removed from slavery, including Coppin who was once actually enslaved, were demanding equality the same as Anglo-Saxon women. But, the Black women's point was made that they were no less important in the "solidarity of human interests."<sup>72</sup>

By the time of Wells return to the U.S. in July of 1893, the World Congress of Representative Women had ended though the Chicago Exposition continued for nearly four more months. Thus, Wells resumed her activities prior to European travel and used, and to some degree exaggerated, her reception in Europe to promote the idea of an African American boycott of the Chicago Exposition. In particular, Wells downplayed the fallout between Catherine Impey and Isabella Fyvie Mayo concerning conservative ideas about proper feminine behavior and perhaps even interracial unions when the latter propositioned a much younger East Indian man for marriage. Mayo's outrage that Wells did not cut off ties with Impey effectively cut short Wells' campaign and severely weakened the Society for the Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man (SRBM) that had just formed to support the anti-lynching crusader's efforts.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, Wells moved forward in stressing that Black people's exclusion from the Chicago Exposition contradicted the image of the moral and progressive nation that the Exposition claimed and she labeled it as little more than a capitalistic venture. While the Women's Era Club circular to the Black public two months earlier had already spoken to this first point, Wells created a pamphlet that reflected her newfound internationalism. Fellow contributors included Frederick Douglass and Frederick J. Louidin, a former Fisk Jubilee singer who toured nationally and internationally. These activists too understood the worth of trans-Atlantic work and created the simply but emphatically titled pamphlet: "The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition" primarily for consumption by foreign audiences.

While Douglass had been unsuccessful in his efforts to gain publication funds during the last couple of months, Wells pleaded for Black support and gained it from “representative women” in Chicago who collected five hundred dollars that allowed the circulation of 10,000 copies of the 81 page pamphlet. Even with the \$50 pledges by Loudin and Douglass, the monies generated were not nearly enough for the pamphlet to be translated into three different languages as originally intended (only the introduction), but it was still sent in English to “Germany, France, Russia, and faraway India.”<sup>74</sup> In the face of criticism from newspaper editors and Black northerners who fretted that it might affect their own social standing and race relations, it was the efforts of these women that brought about even this limited success. Their participation importantly illustrates that these Black women understood and supported the pamphlet’s international intent and value. It also shows that once again that Wells did not work alone.

Before her English trip and afterwards, it was clear that Wells understood the value of women's collective efforts. Citing clubs among English women, but even those closer to home among Black women in the east, in the final months of 1893 she took up the Tourgée Club's invitation to local Chicago women to utilize the organization's parlor on Thursday afternoons for meetings. After just the first two months of meeting together, Wells took credit for several English men and women who came to address them, though the Chicago women’s report in the *Woman's Era* suggests that the women reached such decisions to have international speakers together.<sup>75</sup> One of the first invited lecturers was a member of the British Women’s Temperance Association who, since her attendance at the Congress of Representative Women, lectured throughout the country and others as

“Mrs. Stephen Matthews.” During the Congress, Matthews was reportedly described as “the little English woman with the big voice.” On December 14<sup>th</sup> she and the Chicago women exchanged thoughts about “Ideal Womanhood.”<sup>76</sup>

A week after Matthew's lecture, the Chicago women elected to invite William T. Stead, the editor of the highly esteemed *Review of Reviews* who attended the Chicago Fair and remained in Chicago to write a book. At the gathering, he spoke to some fifty women on “Friendship between the Sexes.” The women so enjoyed their discussion that they invited Stead to deliver a much larger “emancipation address” on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1894 at the Bethel AME Church.<sup>77</sup> It was here that Stead encouraged the Chicago women to set aside their quibbles and to truly unite in action. By January 11<sup>th</sup>, 200 women came together and created the “Woman's Club.” Wells agreed to become the organization's first leader, but only if the public reports also carried the name of Mary R. Jones, a “genteel, high breed old lady” who as a native of the area could lend prestige.<sup>78</sup>

In February 1894, when Wells revisited England to pursue a six-month lecture tour, it was clear that the Chicago women understood her important work. Until her return, Rosie Moore agreed to provide important leadership that the club needed, including guiding the organization as it adopted a constitution that demonstrated its commitment to “the elevation and protection of women and the home.” The women also applied for a state charter for an organization named in Wells’ honor. The club's response to local issues of police brutality and homeless youth appeared in second monthly issue of the *Woman's Era*, a magazine that Ruffin decided to publish after noting the popular reception of the “Columbian Fair” circular.<sup>79</sup> The previous year, her journalistic work at

the *Boston Courant* was recognized enough to permit her membership in the predominately White New England Woman's Press Association. Working alongside her were two editors, her daughter, Florida Ridley, a public school teacher who made her home in nearby Brookline, and Maria L. Baldwin, a principal of a predominately White school in Cambridge, who was highly regarded in educational circles.<sup>80</sup>

The women introduced the *Woman's Era* as a response to the minimal attention given to Black women's thoughts and endeavors in White women's and Black men's publications alike. As such, it promised to obtain and circulate information about African Americans' enterprises, perils, and progress. As Elizabeth Ann Hohl articulates: "The combinations of Ruffin/Ridley in publishing *The Woman's Era* and Lyons/Matthews in producing the Wells' testimonial fueled the idea of the new Negro woman as a cross-generational phenomenon."<sup>81</sup> The *Woman's Era* typically reported club activities in short condensed form and maintained this same style for its Social News section. This catalog of information provided snap-shots of the activities and the travels of readers and contributors. Frequently captured here were the foreign excursions of African Americans such as a Mrs. John R. Lynch and her daughter, Alice, who set sail for Europe in June of 1894. Two months earlier, the journal also announced that Sisseretta Jones, also known as "Black Patti," a name that compared her to the Italian opera singer Adelina Patti, traveled to Paris for music education.<sup>82</sup>

In detailing the historic legacy of Black women's study abroad, Stephanie Y. Evans reported that though Paris was one of the most popular destinations for African Americans as a whole, travel represented a viable form of intellectual and cultural



interchange. Time in foreign countries often enabled these individuals to develop global perspectives that showed how they “began to understand their own cultural, racial, sexual, and political linkages with the rest of the world.”<sup>83</sup> Describing education as a two-sided coin, Adele Logan Alexander posited that African American women while being educated in language and otherwise academic studies, could, in turn, “inform individuals and groups in other nations with whom they interfaced (and who often never before had met any African-American women) about the United States and especially about African-American women and the issues that concerned them.”<sup>84</sup> The expectation was that they would share any lessons that they gained with people back home. Thus, when the Georgia editor Alice McKane and her husband unexpectedly traveled to Liberia as medical missionaries, the *Woman’s Era* editorial staff wished the couple well and told readers to look forward to “reliable accounts of affairs in the far-away country. . .which will be published from time to time..” Although such reports did not appear in any surviving issues, the staff’s eagerness to supply this sort of information to its readership still suggests that foreign missionary work, which is discussed in chapter two, was seen as integral to racial progress.<sup>85</sup>

Perhaps one of most significant features of the new publication was the invitation for regional editors to provide feature articles that they wrote or solicited from another individual within their state or region. This particular structure most established the national character of the magazine and permitted well-known “representative” clubwomen like Fannie Barrier Williams, Mary Church Terrell, Victoria Earle Matthews, and Josephine Silone-Yates to demonstrate African American women's intellectual

capabilities through journalistic form.<sup>86</sup> These columns also captured another aspect of African American women's internationalism among those residing in New England who pursued their own connections with English sympathizers and entered into global conversations and debates to defend not only Black womanhood, but oppressed populations the world over. The WEC adopted as a key principle “uniting to assist all who were marginalized, the Chinese, the Hawaiian, the Russian Jew, the oppressed everywhere” following its first public meeting in latter part of May of 1893.<sup>87</sup> Here, approximately 45 women in attendance heard addresses from many of Ruffin’s White colleagues including a feeble Lucy Stone who told of the recent May 17<sup>th</sup> meeting of the World Congress of Representative Women where she heard Black women speak. Also present was Laura Ormiston Chant of England, an English reformer who had come to the U.S. to attend the World’s Columbian Exposition and to address the 1893 Parliament on World Religions.<sup>88</sup> It is unclear how WEC came to know Chant or who invited her to attend. Perhaps she was present to stand in the place of Julia Ward Howe (another of Ruffin’s mentors, but who was not present). What is clear is that Chant spoke on the importance of women’s clubs and the importance of right living and that the WEC reported that it held her statements and advice as influential in determining the future course for the organization.

The following January, the organization passed a resolution on the Hawaiian question that showed its attention to teaching right and wrong even in terms of American foreign politics. The local actions of American citizens to “displace the queen and her people of their own prosperity” mirrored increasingly highly contested debates occurring

in U.S. borders as the country's leadership and the broader public deliberated the consequences of the acquisition of not only Hawaii, but also Guam, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines as overseas markets for finished goods and gateways to Japan, China, and Latin America.<sup>89</sup> When an event honoring the ex-Queen Lilioukulani was held in Massachusetts nearly three years later, WEC members were in attendance and reported on it in the *Woman's Era*.<sup>90</sup>

The Black women's publication also makes clear that the WEC did not equivocate when it came to labeling individuals at home and abroad as racists or foes of the campaign for improved race relations. In July of 1894, the Boston editorial staff authored an article that declared Governor Stone of Mississippi "a coward" for his attack on Wells in her absence from the country. Even larger than this, however, was the Women's Era Club's open letter to Laura Ormiston Chant the month before when they learned that her protest at the National Conference of the Unitarian Church helped to defeat a resolution against lynching.<sup>91</sup> The letter to Chant was written by Ridley and unanimously endorsed by other WEC members. The corresponding secretary/magazine editor reminded Chant how much her presence and address at their first public meeting truly meant. The women were sure (or perhaps hopeful) that Chant's argument against the anti-lynching resolution was a result of her having been misinformed on the issue.<sup>92</sup>

In the communication to Chant, the Women's Era Club declared itself the representative of all African American women and from this position informed her how innocent Black men were murdered for fabricated or otherwise insignificant crimes while White transgressors went unpunished. The women told her that despite the odds stacked

against them, the race was bearing its own burdens, and the women in particular were working to improve not only their race but also humanity in general and were willing to give “a helping hand and an encouraging word wherever they may be called for.”<sup>93</sup> In closing, the WEC defended African American’s citizenship, and explained that their loyalty to the U.S. meant that they were not requesting pity or even mercy, but rather simple justice, which they tied to America’s good name. Desiring to count Chant as one of the “workers of humanity,” they urged her to reconsider her stance on lynching. The letter was printed in the *Boston Journal* on May 20<sup>th</sup> and included in a parcel to Ida B. Wells accompanied by two issues of the *Woman’s Era*. In an attempt to support the crusader’s foreign efforts, the women especially encouraged Wells to use these materials in England. Within a month, the letter was carried in the *Lancaster Gazette* and the *Manchester Guardian*. Wells recognized its ties to the Lyric Hall event, and proclaimed the widely publicized WEC letter the first physical form of support she received “across the Atlantic from my own race” . . . and “a great help.”<sup>94</sup> Even more so than the Cambridge petitioners’ letter to Impey, the Women’s Era Club’s open letter showed members’ willingness to call upon this journalistic practice and form of activism to demonstrate their collective power as well as their firm belief in the naming and shaming campaign.<sup>95</sup>

Although Wells promised to provide a write-up of events occurring in England for the July issue, the highly anticipated report never appeared.<sup>96</sup> In fact, even those women who subscribed to *Fraternity* (formerly *Anti-Caste*) could not read the details of Wells’ events during her time abroad, which coincided with the periodical’s hiatus. Rather, the

crusader's work was largely available in European newspapers and through the reports that Wells provided to the *Chicago Daily Inter-Ocean*, a White liberal newspaper. After failing to hear from Chant for more than two months, the Women's Era Club formally branded her a "a sympathizer with lynchers" and informed readers of the *Woman's Era* that though this news came as a blow, it demonstrated the position of Black women in the country and showed a real need for unity among clubwomen. In making this connection, the women were following up a months long conversation about the potential outcomes of meeting in national convention. While many clubwomen sent in a resounding yes to the convention, Fannie Barrier Williams helped to deliver the defeating no. As she saw it, the assembly would resemble those men's associations, which meant beginning and ending only with talk.<sup>97</sup>

The largest and most heated conversation in the pages of the *Woman's Era*, however, occurred because of a lecture that Wells delivered before the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA) in May 1894. Although the British public and this organization long hailed Frances E. Willard of the WCTU as "the uncrowned Queen of Democracy" given both her temperance and abolitionist work and the close connections between American and British activists, Wells seized the opportunity to describe her as just the opposite. Utilizing an October 23, 1890 interview with Willard printed in *New York Voice*, Wells sought to provide proof for her earlier comments in 1893 about Christian evangelist D.L. Moody and Frances E. Willard of the WCTU. In opposition to the English image of them as icons of American democracy, Wells declared the two as apologists for lynching who "unhesitatingly slandered the entire Negro race in order to

gain favor with those who are hanging, shooting and burning Negroes alive.”<sup>98</sup>

Wells also cited the lack of true integration within organizational branches whether in the American North or the South as an indicator of the WCTU and Willard’s racism. Born in 1874, the WCTU commenced its work among African Americans in 1882 through the supervising efforts of two White women who claimed to have knowledge of the history of African Americans and their issues. Throughout the country, but especially in the South, work among Black people was hampered by racism and sectionalism alike. A year later, African American Frances E. Watkins Harper took charge of this work in the North, but the South largely remained in the hands of White American Sallie Chapin of South Carolina though African American Sarah J. Early provided brief leadership over Black branches in the South in 1888. In 1892, the WCTU allowed its African American department to lapse. It was re-instated the next year at the request of Lucy Thurman, an African American woman, who now served as the sole superintendent over this national work.<sup>99</sup>

Until Wells’ departure from England in July, Lady Henry Somerset worked tirelessly to block any press concerning her lectures. Over the next year, the dispute grew even larger as Somerset and Willard vilified Wells, and so did the larger press, calling her a “Negro Adventuress” and a “Negro Sycophant.”<sup>100</sup> The intensified maligning of Wells prompted the founding of the London Anti-Lynching Committee during the same month as the WCTU meeting.<sup>101</sup> The membership included several clergy members including minister Charles F. Aked (who proved invaluable on Wells’ second trip), some 20 liberal Parliament members, a number of British nobles, and editors of the major newspapers

like the *London Daily Chronicle* and the *Manchester Guardian*. The Duke of Argyll served as president while Florence Balgarnie, a well-known suffragist and member of the BWTA who was praised for her political work, served as secretary.<sup>102</sup> Soon thereafter, the Society for the Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man that Mayo and Impey had helped to found during Wells' 1893 lecture tour approached the organization about a merger, but leaders of the Anti-Lynching Committee, aware of SRBM's internal quarrels, elected to remain independent. This new organization elected to aid "in the propaganda against lynching" in two significant ways: 1) collecting and disseminating anti-lynching materials, while relying upon communications with more than 60-70 African American editors and 2) sending letters to American governors protesting lynching in their states.<sup>103</sup>

This debate between Wells and Willard vying to enroll the British in their causes while also defending their good names, held immediate ramifications for African American women and their organizational efforts. Nonetheless, many Black women, especially Southern women committed to temperance work, elected to maintain an allegiance to the WCTU and rose up in defense of it and its leaders. Not only was the organization aiding them in improving the Black family, but also the WCTU was one of the primary interdenominational associations for Black women prior to the development of the National Federation of Afro-American Women. Additionally, as Glenda Gilmore points out, the WCTU upheld "a working model of finer womanhood that meshed with the black clubwomen's beliefs," about the legitimacy of female leadership and interracial cooperation. Frances E. Watkins Harper chose to remain silent on the matter, providing no obvious support to Willard or Wells.<sup>104</sup>

The *Woman's Era* took up the Willard Wells incident long before it gained wide publicity and steadily tried to garner support for Wells. For instance, the inaugural issue of March 1894 showed the WEC's attempts to call upon C.N. Field, whom they presented as a "Strong Helper in England." Field was a representative of the Society of St. John the Evangelist in Oxford, a religious organization founded in 1866 that developed a branch in Boston four years later. The WEC circulated his letter dated July 12, 1894, in which Field recalled his promise "to tell the people in England of the injustice done to the colored citizens of the United States." He told WEC that he had found the greatest sympathy from the clergy and laity in Oxford and London especially and that he intended to honor their request to locate Wells in England and to endorse her statements as an impartial witness, but found that she departed just before his return.<sup>105</sup> Still, Field reported her great work for the "cause which we have at heart," and assured WEC members that he would seize every opportunity to petition on their behalf. In closing, Field encouraged African American clubwomen to send additional lecturers as well as more copies of the *Woman's Era*, which would serve as "a useful means of communication between the women on both sides." The goal of utilizing writing to win the support of Whites both near and far, continued to be a choice of the more conservative *National Notes* which replaced the *Woman's Era* after financial burdens led to its discontinuance in 1897.<sup>106</sup>

While most scholarly treatments of the Women's Era Club and the *Woman's Era* magazine attribute its support of Wells to Josephine Ruffin, this is a very limited explanation that obscures the magazine's national and "multivoiced collage" character and nature, and thus reduces any real consideration of just how its contents reflected



ideologies held by a broader population of African American clubwomen.<sup>107</sup> Yes, Ruffin and her daughter Ridley were the editorial leaders of the magazine who controlled its content and tone, but the women frequently printed views that were opposite of their own in keeping with their desire to accurately reflect the views held by African American women. Ruffin's abolitionism and women's rights background led her to understand and value trans-Atlantic activism, but she was not the only woman in her organization with these beliefs. Furthermore, it is highly likely that many of the club members, especially those who also belonged the Golden Rule Club of Cambridge, approved of the work that Wells was doing in building up these relationships “across the waters.”

Support for Wells is also evident in a number of other writings and endeavors by African American clubwomen. In 1894, Gertrude Mossell, who sometimes wrote under the names “Mrs. N.F. Mossell” or “N.F. Mossell,” published the *Afro-American Women and Their Progress*, a work that recorded the successful contributions and progress of a number of African American women.<sup>108</sup> Of course, she included the anti-lynching crusader as one of the biographies, heavily utilizing foreign newspapers to bring real attention to her English work. Mossell then mailed the book to Peter Clayden of the *London Daily News*, the second largest daily in England, probably to better acquaint him with the work of broader African American women and to stimulate press about the book in Europe.<sup>109</sup> Pier Gabrielle Forman writes that this “marketing of ideas displays how women and the journals that featured their writings staked claim to the terms of their own intellectual labor in the print culture of the 1890s.”<sup>110</sup>

Marchita Lyons, one of chief organizers of the Lyric Hall Event openly declared her admiration for Wells for her “grit, her determination and patriotism.”<sup>111</sup> Although Lyons did not write the Victoria Matthews’ biography for *Homespun Heroines*, Frances R. Keyser, who did, wrote of Matthews’ honor, respect and assistance “of the intrepid Ida B. Wells.”<sup>112</sup> In July 1894, akin to the “rousing meeting” of newspapers editors in New York that welcomed Wells back, the Women’s Loyal Union of New York and the Kansas City League called special meetings wherein they formally endorsed Wells’ recent lecture tour in England. Meeting at the headquarters of the Home and Foreign Missionary Branch of the AME, the WLU commended Bishop Henry McNeal Turner for his defense of Wells’ character and honor in the face of unrelenting press. Among the highly esteemed panelists was Mrs. Stephen Matthews, who had appeared before the Chicago women’s club seven months earlier and who would go on to be called by Black women’s clubs that eagerly sought to hear from the “distinguished English lady.”<sup>113</sup> The continued emphasis on Matthews’ English background and stature importantly highlights how African American women’s clubs frequently used interactions with European visitors at home and abroad to demonstrate racial progress and to further point to American racism. It also shows their intention to use the international nature of the Chicago fair to their advantage whether or not they supported the enterprise specifically.

The Kansas City League was obviously convinced of Wells’ good work after receiving a letter from her (likely upon her return to the U.S.) that included a report from the *Westminster Budget*, a weekly publication. In reporting to the readers of the *Woman’s Era*, Kansas City leaguers declared that they were convinced more than ever

before that the “more agitators and propagandists along the line[,] the better for our cause.”<sup>114</sup> The writer, Josephine Silone-Yates, then went further. She thanked the WEC for the publication that “contribute[d] largely toward welding the various organizations into one complete whole,” but proclaimed the Colored Women's League of D.C. as this movement's chief leader. Months before, Silone-Yates presented herself as an equal-opportunity enthusiast in her suggestion to host the national convention in the more-centrally located Chicago, which was another hotbed of organizational activity.<sup>115</sup>

While the WEC editorial staff must have cringed at Silone-Yates’ suggestion of hosting a national convention in Chicago and under the leadership of the women of D.C., they too held a firm belief in agitation. Thus, when Willard visited Boston that July, the women sent over a copy of the magazine's most recent issue, especially marking the article on “Apologists for Lynching” for her consideration. Through the *Woman's Era*, they welcomed wider support for their actions, encouraging others to make clear how they appreciated Willard’s “splendid work for temperance,” but there were several million women in the country disappointed in her lackadaisical stance on lynching.<sup>116</sup> Silone-Yates took the suggestion a step further and advocated sending Douglass’ highly critical speech “The Lesson of the Hour: Why is the Negro Lynched?” to Chant and all “others who apparently need a convincing argument upon a matter of vital importance to a large number of America's most loyal citizens.”<sup>117</sup>

One month earlier, Fannie Barrier Williams provided the cover story of the August 1894 issue entitled, “Great Britain's Compliment To American Colored Women.” The piece reminded readers of African Americans' long history of engagement with the

British, which dated all the way back to “sweet singing students” of Fisk University, which won for this population recognition of their manhood and womanhood rather than the buffoonery and minstrel shows that discredited the population and showed how White Americans regarded them as little more than uncivilized “serfs.” Wells, as Williams saw it, was a “worthy” recipient of English chivalry and the way in which the public upheld her despite claims from America, which was “pleasing proof” of British good-heartedness, which in turn could be counted upon to influence the American public.<sup>118</sup>

While Williams stressed the English as good and important allies, she also stressed African American's citizenship and remarked on the population's loyalty and patriotism. She concluded by shifting the blame, placing the source of some of the disadvantages that Black people experienced at their own feet. Her argument, which clearly indicated that “heroic and good-tempered efforts at uplift were key,” demonstrates that African American women envisioned trans-Atlantic activism as but one important part of a multifaceted approach to racial progress and that she and other middle class Black women were fit to lead the way. Some of this could occur through interracial interaction and so when the Chicago's Woman's Club denied William's application for membership, the *Woman's Era* was one of many publications to cover this incident in detail.<sup>119</sup>

The last few months of 1894, found the Women's Loyal Union of New York taking on anti-lynching activism by supporting the efforts of the Afro-American League and by sending and supporting petitions to various offices in the American legal system. The WLU president especially encouraged support of a bill by Congressman Henry

William Blair of New Hampshire that called for an investigation of all unlawful acts of violence and lynching committed in the last ten years.<sup>120</sup> While Wells' trans-Atlantic campaigning had effectively tainted the United States' image abroad and convinced Blair of this need, the WLU was convinced that southern Democrats in Congress would defeat Blair's bill. Thus, the Woman's Loyal Union planned a large reception again at Lyric Hall on November 13<sup>th</sup> where Fanny J. Coppin and John Durham, the U.S. Minister to Haiti, were invited to speak.<sup>121</sup> In her December editorial, Matthews then solicited support for the WLU's petition, reporting that the women had reached across borders to gain more than 350 pledges from Canada to accompany those from fourteen American states. In the final stage, the WLU reported over 10,000 signatures, and Wells appeared before the House Committee, pleading for support. None of it was enough to prevent the anti-lynching bill's defeat.<sup>122</sup>

Despite Willard's warning to Wells to refrain from attending the November 1894 WCTU Convention in Cleveland, Ohio supposedly due to tensions among southern White members, Wells attended anyway to ensure the passage of a strong anti-lynching resolution. It was then that she heard Willard deliver an address rallying others to her side, suggesting the "bright young colored woman [with] clouded ... perception[,] placed an imputation upon half the white race in this country that is unjust, and, save in the rarest exceptional instances, wholly without foundation."<sup>123</sup> The WTCU convention erupted not only because of Willard's remarks, but also because of Wells' decision to respond in turn. Clearly, the anti-lynching crusader had come to the meeting prepared to tackle the ongoing issues between her and the WCTU leadership. Wells' consistent

readiness to do so was an enduring characteristic as she always seemed prepared to take on any White American who claimed to be a “friend and well-wisher,” but did not appear to take a firm enough stance on lynching.<sup>124</sup>

During these same months, the *Woman's Era* was also replete with calls from the Colored Women's League of Washington. Due to the women's sound showing at the World Congress of Representative Women, when the National Council of Women of the United States met for its second triennial in 1895, its leaders invited African American women's participation and organizational membership. The National Council of Women included some of the most prestigious women's organizations in the country and was one of the major women's organizations of its time. Others included the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the National Christian Temperance Association, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs. In order to achieve eligibility, the CWL claimed a national rather than regional status, calling other women's clubs to fall under its leadership so as to take advantage of this opportunity. Although the Women's Era Club was also clearly vying for national leadership of Black women's clubs, as publishers of the *Woman's Era*, it published the Colored Women's League's call but decisively did not send delegates. Before his death on February 20<sup>th</sup> 1895, Douglass again witnessed African American women participating in a congress composed largely of White women.

Representing the newly named National League of Colored Women were: Mrs. F.J. Jackson of Missouri, Fannie Barrier Williams of Illinois, and Helen A. Cook and Josephine B. Bruce of D.C. Williams was the only League member formally included on the program and one of two African American women to speak. Her presentation on

February 21 on “The Need for Cooperation of Men and Women in Correctional Work” was followed by non-CWL member Frances E. Watkins Harper’s two discussions of “Woman as a Factor in the Modern Business World” (February 25) and “Is Physical Force the Basis of Government?” (March 1). Although the contents of these women’s speeches are not recorded in the minutes, it is highly likely that these addresses tackled issues related to the African American population just as the 1893 lectures did.<sup>125</sup>

That next month, when James W. Jacks, a White journalist and president of the Missouri Press Association, sent a letter to the English Lynching Committee that labeled all African American women as “prostitutes, natural liars, and thieves,” the WEC again intelligently sprang into action. Seeking to put together an “army of organized women standing for purity and mental worth,” the organization’s leaders utilized the letter as a political opportunity that “show[ed] . . . the need of our banding together if only for our protection.” While the contents were surely infuriating, Jacks’ racist attack was hardly different from widely circulating stereotypes about Black women prior to 1895.

Nevertheless, as Fannie Barrier Williams made clear, it was the timing that was different and consequently “[the letter] stirred the intelligent colored women of America as nothing ever had done.”<sup>126</sup> Jacks’ letter enabled Ruffin to go ahead in the face of earlier noted opposition to the WEC’s hosting of a national convention. More importantly, Ruffin sought to continue the ideological underpinnings of Black women’s club activism and considered the CWL and its leaders a bit too conservative.<sup>127</sup> Rather than Chicago or D.C. as some supporters suggested, Ruffin claimed that her home turf of Boston possessed the “proper atmosphere and opinion,” for the women’s work since it was one

of the nation's foremost intellectual and political centers that included a long and rich history of interracial cooperation and African American activism and protest.<sup>128</sup>

The WEC also used Jacks' letter to continue to press for English support from Florence Balgarnie of the Anti-Lynching Society of England and Catherine Impey of the *Anti-Caste*. Rather than print the letter in the English press as Jacks hoped, Balgarnie forwarded the letter to Josephine Ruffin of the WEC. It is unclear when the women came to know each other or how often they corresponded though it is possible Balgarnie became aware of the organization while similarly defending Wells in the battle against Somerset and Willard. It is quite possible that Ruffin, as one of the editors of the sole paper devoted to Black woman in the U.S., was included on the secretary's regular contact list of African American editors. In fact, Balgarnie requested a copy of the paper if it was to carry the minutes of the convention taken up by "brave, true-hearted women."<sup>129</sup>

In the weeks leading up to the first national convention, Impey also learned of Black women's intention to meet together. Four months earlier, she had re-established her magazine in light of Edwards' death and her continuing rift with Mayo.<sup>130</sup> The actual WEC announcement did not appear in the contents of the *Anti-Caste's* June/July issue, which focused largely on the British Empire and India with brief mentions of Tourg  e's founding of his *Basis* newspaper, Ida B. Wells' publishing of *A Red Record*, and memorials to Frederick Douglass. Nevertheless, on the last page of the publication under the topic of mailings, WEC's circular concerning the July convention was fully acknowledged. Here, the editor elected to include a few brief statements about the



undeterred progress of African American women despite the fact that many “Jackses” and “Willards” stood in their way. Like Balgarnie, Impey regularly took Willard to task, labeling her a temporizer, and castigated British and White Americans who appeared to prefer to remain spellbound rather than to open their eyes to Black Americans’ real treatment.<sup>131</sup> During the previous month, she warned *Anti-Caste* readers not to be swayed by the signatures of people like Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Julia Ward Howe, Ednah Cheney, and Bishop H.M. Turner, who all penned a protest that defended Willard. Afterwards, it would come out that Garrison endorsed the petition without knowledge of the turmoil that had occurred at the WCTU November 1894 convention while Douglass, too, later rescinded his support and became highly critical of Willard.<sup>132</sup>

Impey sought to recommit the English population to its naturally superior moral plane wherein they helped to raise the American conscience. Most immediately, she suggested assistance for African Americans by providing financial support to Hallie Q. Brown. Fearful that little money was being made, she reminded them that Brown was highly recommended by Douglass and one year later Aked, who had assisted Wells, allowed Brown to tell of his support in her European advertisements.<sup>133</sup> Clearly the budding club movement understood how important Brown’s work was. While the WLU aided Brown with a purse of money for her “English mission,” Ohio clubwomen appeared to have maintained some contact with her while she was away, and the WEC happily noted her reception among their English friends.<sup>134</sup> Like the printing of the open letter, the broadcast of Brown’s work, and announcements of the July convention that were printed in clipped form in at least three English newspapers, the publication

introduced the trans-Atlantic community to a functioning club movement that showed how Black female reformers were “marching with the times.”<sup>135</sup>

When African American women gathered together, the July 1895 convention claimed nearly 100 delegates from all over the country. The meeting convened at the Charles Street African Methodist Episcopal Church in Boston. Almost immediately, participants proclaimed Jacks' letter as an attack on womanhood everywhere. Matthews of the WLU remarked on how the vile contents must have offended such a “noble English lady,” but even more she inquired as to how Jacks’ taxonomy reconciled the positionality of “the mothers of American morality” and White abolitionist women like the American Harriet Beecher Stowe or the British women like Fanny Kemble and Harriet Martineaux.<sup>136</sup> In her leadership of a three-member resolutions committee, Matthews provided a resolution assertively denouncing Jacks as “a traducer of female character, [and] a man wholly without sense of chivalry and honor.” The team then elected to produce a leaflet-sized condemnation for the Anti-Lynching Society of Great Britain to disperse when mailing out its other materials.<sup>137</sup>

While many Americans labeled the London Anti-Lynching Committee and the broader British public as meddlesome busy bodies, these Black clubwomen acknowledged and thanked Balgarnie and the “whole English people for their unselfish interest in the cause.”<sup>138</sup> In noting the historical significance of Ida B. Wells’ personal-turned-political activism and sacrifices, they exhibited “shared admiration,” an important characteristic of networking, hailing her as their very own “Joan of Arc.”<sup>139</sup> Finally, the resolutions committee of the National Convention authored two other letters of

commendation that were both connected to trans-Atlantic social activism. One was to Albion Tourgée, who was then ill. In considering his “efforts in the cause of oppressed humanity,” they continued to designate him both a co-worker and an esteemed friend.<sup>140</sup> The other was to Catherine Impey, whom they held “inexpressibly dear.” Upon hearing of the news of her mother’s illness, the National Convention offered prayers and well wishes on behalf of all Black womanhood. The communication, which “established a clear link between African American clubwomen and the British anti-lynching movement,” was recognized alongside other valued letters of sympathy from Chloe C. Thomas, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Gertrude Mossell, and Frances E. Watkins Harper.<sup>141</sup>

Matthews, who oversaw the production of these letters and resolutions, obviously provided their contents, further illustrating that the agitation and literary activism of the *Woman's Era* extended beyond Ruffin.<sup>142</sup> By the mid-1890s, Matthews was increasingly advocating for a more direct and immediate approach to securing equality as evident in her statements to support the Malby Law, New York civil rights legislation targeting public accommodations.<sup>143</sup> While she claimed then that Whites preposterously knew more about the Chinese than they did Blacks, the next year she delivered a speech that supported statements made by T. Thomas Fortune wherein he suggested that the position that Blacks inhabited was because they were too passive. In a write-up concerning her speech, a writer for the *New York Times* labeled Matthews both heartless and bloodthirsty.<sup>144</sup> Mary Church Terrell too considered such language and assertions imprudent. Months later when Fortune's original editorial was still buzzing in the conversations of many, Terrell utilized the pages of the *Woman's Era* to state her

disapproval, succinctly writing that “Publicly parading the faults of the negro may be good policy for our leading journalists to adopt, but the benefit to be derived from it is not clear to me.” Shaming, or “honest criticism [in the] self-examination [of] a people” while already a contested tactic in its use against racist Whites, was certainly not a tactic to be used publicly against African Americans.<sup>145</sup>

One of the most important outcomes of the July Convention was the formation of the National Federation of Afro-American Women (NFAAW). The new body that now represented the combined effort of 85 organizations served two symbiotic aims: 1) To combine and therefore strengthen “uplift” activities within their local communities; and 2) To “deny the charge [of Jacks] and open the eyes of the world to a state of affairs to which they have been blind.” In line with the first goal, many “representative” women delivered speeches on the continued importance of developing kindergartens, libraries, trade schools and other educational institutions as well as day nurseries, orphanages, and infirmaries.<sup>146</sup> The election of Margaret Murray Washington, the leader of several women’s organizations in Alabama and the wife of Booker T. Washington, the founder-leader of internationally known Tuskegee Institute, as president, most spoke to the nationalist intentions of the NFAAW, convincing the West and the South that the NFAAW truly aimed to represent Black women’s interests everywhere.<sup>147</sup> Passing over Ruffin at this early stage may have been necessary for this organization to gain firm footing, but it also foretold of the accession of Booker T. Washington and his accommodationist philosophy and thus the precarious future of agitation within the national women’s club movement.

The second goal was closely tied to the first, the speeches delivered on the activities of clubwomen were a part of that illustrating “to the world” what African American women were doing within their own neighborhoods and communities to improve the Black condition. One of these conversations necessarily involved the WCTU and the settling of the Wells Willard issue. Convention minutes published in the August issue of the *Woman’s Era* indicate that the WEC lost the battle as a vote of support for the temperance organization was rushed through. At the meeting’s end, the WEC called an emergency organizational meeting among Boston women. As she had done during the convention, Florida Ridley utilized press from the *London Daily News* to impress upon women the need to repudiate Willard and the WCTU. Here again, WEC leaders repeated their appreciation of Willard’s good work towards temperance, but insisted that they did not hesitate to condemn her based on her “milk and water” stance on lynching rather than the “vim and fire” that was necessary.<sup>148</sup>

In printing their organizational report in the *Woman’s Era*, WEC members warned clubwomen who supported the WCTU that they were helping to “mislead foreigners as to the true state of affairs in the United States,” and quite possibly “allow[ing] themselves to be included in the company of ‘apologists for lynch law.’”<sup>149</sup> The WEC then commended Florence Balgarnie for standing alone on the lynching cause at the recent World’s WCTU convention in London though Lucy Thurman, Hallie Q. Brown, Amanda Smith, and Frances E. Watkins Harper were all in attendance at this meeting.<sup>150</sup> Brown spoke on “achievements of coloured women” and sang “Swing low Sweet Chariot,” Harper rendered a few Bible verses, and Thurman delivered a noontide

prayer. But none of these African American delegates publicly addressed lynching or the Wells Willard feud.<sup>151</sup> This silence continued even after Frances Willard's speech maligning Wells and rebuking the British for believing the crusader's comments. Instead, it was Balgarnie's tear-filled plea that actually led the WCTU Convention to pass at least another weakly worded resolution reminiscent of the one the year before. Even so, pressure for Balgarnie to take her seat "emphasizes the importance of inter-organizational links in stimulating support and communication in the anti-lynching crusade," while exemplifying ongoing frictions in trans-Atlantic activism. Laura Ormiston Chant, whom the WEC had declared "a sympathizer with lynchers," was also present at the meeting and appeared unbothered.<sup>152</sup>

In fact, by the start of the WCTU meeting that May, delegate Amanda Smith appears to have just mended her own strained relations with WCTU leadership as it had been rumored that she had been delivering speeches throughout England concerning the American branch's ambivalence concerning race relations. That next month, Somerset was actually using her's and Smith's private conversations as well as Smith's continued appearance on WCTU programs to steadily defend Willard before the English public.<sup>153</sup> Throughout the remainder of her second sojourn in Europe that lasted six years, Hallie Q. Brown was also closely associated with Somerset. Nevertheless, the September after the WCTU convention ended, Brown defended Wells in an open letter printed in the pages of the *Fraternity*. She took no side in the WCTU dispute, but she did uphold Wells' right to shame the American nation, while also telling that only a "glimpse of the hideousness" was known since there was a number of atrocities that could be covered.<sup>154</sup>

The WEC tackled the Wells Willard (and as they saw it, Somerset) issue outright, recirculating an editorial from the BWTA's *Woman's Signal* that it claimed once and for all would settle the question of where not only Frances Willard but also Lady Henry Somerset stood on lynching. The periodical mimicked that of the American branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and included Willard as an editor. An unnamed English contact sent *Woman's Era* co-editor Florida Ridley the paper, drawing her attention to an article written on the rape of two young girls in Battersea and Walthamstow, two districts in England. While the author went on to describe lynching as barbaric and doubted that England would "relapse" into such uncivilized acts to punish the criminals who committed child rape, the author justified the American practice by claiming that it was brought on by a system that failed to ensure adequate punishment against Black men who sexually assaulted White women. Like their English friends of the *London Daily Press*, the *Anti-Caste*, and the London Anti-Lynching Committee, the WEC bemoaned the fact that English women were being misled in defending such violence and racism. Even more, the editors' decision to reprint portions of the *Woman's Signal* showed their attempt to shape readers into a public that shared their outlook. For these women, the press presented an opportunity not only to define themselves to the rest of the world, but also to define themselves period.<sup>155</sup>

In their final multi-pronged petition, the WEC introduced another member of the London Anti-Lynching Committee, Moncure D. Conway. Conway was born into a prominent Virginia slaveholding family, but over his lifetime he eagerly undertook a "pilgrimage from pro-slavery to anti-slavery enthusiasm and from Methodism to Free-

thought.”<sup>156</sup> In this issue and the one that followed, the women told how Conway came to the defense of African Americans and how he saw American WCTU delegates’ speeches concerning lynching to be irresponsible and an imposition to English women (though the WEC transposed “American” in its reporting). Although Conway minimized the centrality of lynching, declaring that it was the actions of “ruffians who hunt and murder negroes among a population of millions of respectable people,” the WEC still counted him a friend because he not only publicly and emphatically denounced lynching, but also because he was working to win wider English support.<sup>157</sup>

The multi-pronged name-and-shame and agitation-driven activism that the WEC took up months after the July convention meeting showed a course of action that was continuously contested in the pages of *Woman’s Era*. Akin to many other women’s groups in the Northeast, it was clear that Ruffin and the members of her team valued immediate and true integration or nothing at all. From its inception, the WEC sought integration among members, invited White women to publish in the *Woman’s Era* magazine, and addressed the call for the July convention to all American women. In learning of a separate exhibit for African Americans in the Cotton States Exposition to take place that December in Atlanta, Ruffin especially indicated her distrust of “a gathering that white attitudes had shaped, that contained blacks within a segregated structure and placed African-American women under the control of whites and black men.”<sup>158</sup> The WEC once again called on women to boycott. Although the Atlanta Exposition differed from Chicago’s in that it invited some African American participation, it largely sought to do so for the purposes of placing before the world a



“New South” which included a large and docile workforce that could work to the benefit of national and international investors.<sup>159</sup> The WEC hoped to arrange a symposium to invite well-known race leaders to speak on the topic.

The Boston women were in the minority in calling for a boycott. Countless organizations of the NFAAW and nationally prominent women planned to participate and relished the opportunity to contribute. Those who made their homes in the South and thus experienced racism and segregation up-close especially looked forward to attending and sought to make a good impression about their progress and modernity in hopes that it bring about their acceptance and better treatment.<sup>160</sup> Alice Ruth Moore, the editor from New Orleans, reported that an exhibit from the Phillis Wheatley Woman’s Club would “convince our friends on the other side that we could do anything.” In Texas, Cora L. Smith argued that the participation of local women would be a credit to the state and a step in the right direction.<sup>161</sup> Even the integration-driven Victoria Matthews planned to be there and to remain in the South to conduct a study of conditions there. During the National Colored Woman's Congress that met in Atlanta, Georgia in December and was separate from that of NFAAW, which had stipulated annual meetings only, Victoria Matthews, the highly agreed upon superstar of the July convention, took up the role as secretary. Margaret Washington, the NFAAW’s leader, came as the president of the Tuskegee Woman’s Club, but was also present to support her husband as he delivered his famous speech that encouraged African Americans to “cast down their buckets” and to work gradually for integration and civil rights.<sup>162</sup>

During the National Colored Woman's Congress, delegates took up the usual

topics of social purity and Jim Crow discrimination while also commending the prohibition efforts of the management for the Fair's Negro Building and the WCTU more largely. To this end, they welcomed Lucy Thurman back from her most recent participation in the 1895 WCTU convention and elected her as chair of the women's Congress. Another major topic was African Americans' potential contributions to the 1900 International Exposition in Paris though a transcript of the speech remains elusive.<sup>163</sup> Not only were the women looking forward to putting their case before this international audience, but they also decided that that they would take up an invitation to do so at any extended opportunity.

Thus, Black clubwomen planned similar participation at the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition the following year and realized that their best efforts for good representation required a unified defense. Thus, a committee that would aid in bringing the NCWL and the NFFAW together was formed. After a long-drawn out battle in the pages of the *Woman's Era* both organizations elected to hold conventions in the nation's capital the following July. Members of the Federation did meet with those of the League, but not in lieu of its own convention. Here, the women welcomed "Mother Harriet Tubman" who not only serenaded the audience, but also gave a paper on "More Homes for Our Aged Ones."<sup>164</sup> Tubman was selected to present the child of Ida B. Wells (now Wells-Barnett) to the organization. The two were ceremoniously adopted as the organization's first honorary member and "baby of the Federation." Abolitionists in attendance included Frances E. Watkins Harper and Rosetta Sprague, Frederick Douglass' sole daughter.<sup>165</sup>

Upon Wells' recommendation, the NFAAW adopted a resolution that would be forwarded to Balgarnie that thanked her again for the 1895 Jacks' letter, but also "respectfully requested that the BWTA grant her the requested arbitration after removing her from her elected position. The women heartily endorsed Wells' work, and upon her yielding also adopted a supportive resolution concerning the WCTU. The action was also undoubtedly influenced by Lucy Thurman's good participation within the program as well as the attendance of Sarah D. La Fetra, the World's Superintendent of the WCTU's Department of Citizenship, who was recognized as a distinguished guest. For the former though, they now assigned her the task of petitioning the WCTU to tackle the convict lease system and making clear that the world knew "that in these stockades is found a condition of affairs far out-rivaling anything Geo[rge] W. Kennan has told of Siberia." A few years earlier, Kennan published a book that examined Russia's treatment of political exiles and this power's penal system in Siberia. As far as Black women could see it though the work that encouraged White Americans to turn a critical eye to Russia also distracted from conditions at home.<sup>166</sup> Finally, the NFAAW not only expressed sadness upon hearing the death of Harriet Beecher Stowe, who did so much to garner moral indignation against slavery, but also recognized, paradoxically enough, the work of Kate Field, a pro-annexationist concerning Hawaii, at her death.<sup>167</sup>

At the conclusion of the conference and out of the frazzled deliberations, emerged the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), a name that represented a larger ongoing debate about ancestral pride, social status, and citizenship. Other ideological differences showed that this group of women were now allied, but not necessarily

unified, as they continued to have qualms about the most appropriate path to racial improvement, equality, and citizenship. It was a debate that was captured in the pages of the *Woman's Era* as several women's clubs, particularly those in the American northeast, demonstrated a commitment to defending Ida B. Wells at home and abroad and cultivating relationships with the British themselves. These women hoped to call upon such activists as Florence Balgarnie and Catherine Impey to aid them in altering the racist thinking of women within the WCTU, but also America more generally. To this same end, *Woman's Era* editors commented on how the proliferation of international societies like the Friends of Armenia and Friends of Russian Freedom not only neglected but also excused and trivialized humanitarian crises occurring within American borders.<sup>168</sup>

This point about competing humanitarian interests and the battle for higher moral ground between the English and White Americans was taken up by clubwomen at the formation of the NACW and in the months following. During the July 1896 convention, Ella Wilson of the Golden Rule Club introduced sentiments shared by others like Ida B. Wells, Margaret Murray Washington, and W.E.B. Du Bois concerning the heavy attention given to the Armenian cause. While Wilson considered this population's treatment barbarous and deplorable, she noted how on the one hand White Americans could quickly identify and be moved by injustices in faraway countries, but in the land where the American constitution was daily mocked, turn a blind eye.<sup>169</sup> That November in a private letter to Ednah Dow Littlehale Cheney, Margaret Murray Washington who had separated herself from Wells and others of "the aggressive class," still had to admit her frustration that "that the people who have no special claim upon this country should

so take possession of the hearts of the northern women, [and] that the woman of color is entirely over looked.”<sup>170</sup> Clearly, Black clubwomen understood what it meant for their campaign to exist and to traverse among other movements in the Atlantic community as they sought support from same group of activists and as they worked to sway others to join their cause.

The women of Boston were not against interracial work in general, which was shown in their call for White women to join the Women’s Era Club and to address organizational meetings as well as their call of support from White European activists, but they also went on record as refusing anything less than immediate and true integration and had no issue with militant organizing to this end. While clubwomen had long debated the outcomes of accommodation, nationalism, and assimilation, it was only in the emergence of the NACW and the rise of this body’s more conservative leadership that drew a clear line concerning the “the politics of respectability” that placed Wells and to a large degree, Josephine St. P. Ruffin, at their militancy squarely on the other side.<sup>171</sup> Mary Church Terrell (a member of both the NCWL and the NFAAW) was selected as NACW’s president while Ruffin, again, was elected only as one of the organization’s vice presidents.

The ideological differences about the most effective form of activism that appeared in elections of officers threatened to tear apart this new and fragile alliance for years to come. Though it was agreed at the 1896 meeting that the *Woman’s Era* would continue to serve as the paper for the views of and interesting news about Black women, it was already clear the NACW planned to chart a new path that had been budding for

years.<sup>172</sup> Most immediately, it intended to follow-up the original plans emanating out of the December 1895 National Colored Woman's Congress, which meant hosting its next meeting in conjunction with the Nashville Exposition that was now postponed until the Summer of 1897. More than ever before, representative women now intended to pursue at least a portion of their domestic and international activism through Euro-centric and Euro-dominated endeavors whether or not they were originally welcomed into these circles.

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<sup>1</sup> Caroline Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste* (Bloomsbury Academic: London, 2013), 27 and 51.

<sup>2</sup> Impey also wrote to Booker T. Washington in March of 1890 to inform him that the layout and format of her circular was inspired by the style of the *Southern Letter*. See Bressey, *Empire, Race and Politics*, p. 59-60; and Catherine Impey to Booker T. Washington, March 5, 1890 in Louis R. Harlan and Raymond Smock, eds., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, vol. 3 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 33-34.

<sup>3</sup> "Important Appeal from Negro Women," *Anti-Caste* (July 1891): 4; and "Letter from a Negro Lady in Washington," *Anti-Caste* (May 1890): 3. Impey also clipped a letter that African American Alice King wrote to the *Boston Courant* in November concerning segregation in public accommodations. "A Disagreeable Pleasure: Letter from a Young Negro Lady to Editor of the Courant," *Anti-Caste* (January 1891): 4.

<sup>4</sup> Chloe C. Thomas was born in Boston around 1808. She returned to the state after a 30-year stay in Franklin, Vermont with her spouse, John, who was likely from the West Indies, and their two children, Jeannette and Mason. Interestingly enough, the 1850 census records contains a number of errors regarding the family. Their race was marked "White"; John Thomas' birth year was recorded as 1795 rather than 1796 and Massachusetts as his place of birth rather than the West Indies. Finally, the children's names were spelled differently. "Janette" was recorded instead of "Jeannette" and "Moses" in the place of "Mason."

By 1870, Thomas' husband was deceased. Having reared her children to adulthood, she was then serving as a housekeeper to three Irish children with absentee parents and a White peddler who did not appear to be of any relation to the adolescents. Five years later, Thomas returned to Boston and was otherwise unemployed though, at one point she claimed work as an "Herb Doctorss." Her name is spelled "Clohe" here, but the birth year, date and age show consistency with that of Chloe C. Thomas. In Boston, despite being very poor, even having to rely on the Overseers of the Poor for her monthly supply of food and coal, she maintained a "solid reputation" and was said to belong to a "respectable family" in the area. As such, she was admitted to the Home for Aged Colored Women in December of 1881 at 73 years of age. Rachel Smith, the home's matron, noted Thomas often went about wearing a blue turban and struggled to hear, but that she was "very fond of reading and writing." She remained a resident until her death in August of 1899. See Thos. B. Hilton, "Reminiscences," *The Woman's Era* (August 1894): n.p. The pages of this periodical are not continuously paginated. In the instances that they are, page numbers are provided. This resource is electronically available through the Emory Women Writers Resource Project of the Lewis H. Beck Center Emory University Atlanta, Georgia 2002 Emory University; Sarah J. Shoenfield, "Applications and Admissions to the Home for Aged Colored Women," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (January 2002): 62 and 83; and Adelaide M. Cromwell, *The Other Brahmins: Boston's Black Upper Class, 1750-1950* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 36-37; "United States Census, 1850," index and images, Family Search (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.VMC28-7CK>); John Thomas, St. Albans, Franklin, Vermont, United States; citing family 428, NARA microfilm publication M432

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(Accessed August 18, 2014); “United States Census, 1860,” index, Family Search (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/MFD4-N44>), John Thomas, The Town Of St Albans, Franklin, Vermont, United States; citing “1860 U.S. Federal Census - Population,” Fold3.com; p. 44, household ID 335, NARA microfilm publication M653; FHL microfilm 805321, (Accessed August 18, 2014); and “United States Census, 1870,” index and Images, Family Search (<https://familysearch.org/tpal:/MM9.1.1/M6RW-VSK>) Chloe C. Thomas, Vermont, United States; p. 35, family 283, NARA microfilm publication M593, FHL microfilm 000553119 (Accessed 18 Aug 2014); and “United States Census, 1880,” index and images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/MHXK-S8W>) and “Clohe Thomas,” Boston, Suffolk, Massachusetts, United States; citing sheet 355B, NARA microfilm publication T9, (Accessed August 29, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Catherine Impey, “Editorial,” *Anti-Caste* (July 1891): 3.

<sup>6</sup> Sarah J. Shoenfield, “Applications and Admissions to the Home for Aged Colored Women,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (July 2001): 251-252. For broader reading on the Home for Aged Colored Women, see the remaining component of Shoenfield’s study published in October 2001 of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. Also see, “Home for Aged Colored Women Boston,” *New Era Magazine* (February 1916): 28- 31; Esther MacCarthy, “The Home for Aged Colored Women, 1861-1944,” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* (Winter 1993): 55-73; and The Grimes-King Foundation for the Elderly, Inc., *Home For Aged Colored Women and Its Successor: The Grimes-King Foundation for the Elderly*, Report (n.p., 2003). More generally, see Floris Barnett Cash, “Radicals or Realists: African American Women and the Settlement House Spirit in New York City,” *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* (January 1991): 7-17.

<sup>7</sup> “Untitled Editorial,” *Anti-Caste* (July 1891): 4.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph C. Cook, ed., *Our Day: A Record and Review of Current Reform*, vol. 7 (Boston: Our Day Publishing Company, 1891), 379-382; and Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 96.

<sup>9</sup> Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 95-99.

In October 1888, *Anti-Caste* offered its first article solely on African American women. It was a reprint of a paper by Josephine Kellogg, a White teacher at the Tougaloo College, an African American college in Mississippi that was supported by the American Missionary Society.” In it, Kellogg shared the view that the education of Black women and the improvement of their condition were crucial to the whole south. “Wrongs of Coloured Women,” *Anti-Caste* (October 1888): 1. For a copy of Kellogg’s speech, see “Foundation Laying And Home Building In The South,” *The American Missionary* (January 1888): 14-18.

<sup>10</sup> “Important Appeal from Negro Women,” *Anti-Caste* (July 1891): 4.

<sup>11</sup> Rayford Whittingham Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901* (New York: Dial Press, 1954); W.E.B. Dubois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America: 1860-1880* (New York: Atheneum, 1975), 188.



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<sup>12</sup> On emigration, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1977); and Edwin S. Redkey, *Black Exodus, Black Nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

<sup>13</sup> "Letter from a Negro lady in Washington" *Anti-Caste* (May 1890): 3; and "Important Appeal from Negro Women," *Anti-Caste* (July 1891): 4.

<sup>14</sup> "Untitled," *Anti-Caste* (August 1888): 2; and "Untitled," *Anti-Caste* (September 1888): 2.

<sup>15</sup> The conceptualization "Atlantic Crossings" is borrowed from work by Daniel T. Rodgers that situates American progressivism as a part of larger movements of politics and ideas throughout the North Atlantic world largely tied together by trade and capitalism. See *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," *Public Culture* (Fall 1994): 108; and Elizabeth Ann Hohl, "To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race: The New Negro Woman of the 1890s," (PhD diss., Union Institute & University, 2009), 61-62.

<sup>17</sup> Allison Gough's recent dissertation especially expands this timeline past the 1860s and builds upon increasing scholarship that has moved beyond a narrow focus on the biographies of White men and White-led endeavors to see the activism of women and People of Color in an elongated time line. See Gough, "Raising the Moral Conscience: The Atlantic Movement for African-American Civil Rights, 1833-1919," (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2000); and James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975). On the trans-Atlantic activism of female abolitionists and the influence of anti-slavery work on women's activism, see Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart, eds., *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), especially Part 3; and Rief, "Banded Close Together," 40-60.

<sup>18</sup> "Colored Women and Suffrage," *The Woman's Era* (November 1895): n.p; and "Home for Aged Colored Women Boston," *New Era Magazine* (February 1916): 28-31.

<sup>19</sup> On Black women's organized efforts for improved health see, Susan Lynn Smith, *Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: Black Women's Health Activism in America, 1890-1950* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

<sup>20</sup> "Golden Rule Club," in the *Cambridge Chronicle*, February 12, 1910; Adelaide Grandison, "Report of the Golden Rule Club, July 1896," *The Woman's Era* (March 1894): n.p; "Golden Rule Club, July 1896," *The Woman's Era* (October-November 1896): n.p; and "Tanneyhills' Mother Dies," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 21, 1950.

It is interesting to note the likelihood that several of the Cambridge petitioners originally made their homes in Boston and the Beacon Hill district where the Home for Aged Colored Women stood. As the city increasingly grew crowded after the end of the American Civil War, older inhabitants including famous women like Phillis Wheatley and Maria Baldwin utilized the development of Boston's rail system to make their homes

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in places like Cambridge, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Chelsea. Furthermore, Cambridgeport, the heart of Cambridge's community of color, lies in close geographic proximity to the south end of Beacon Hill, which by 1890 housed much of Boston's Black population. In this and other locales, the Black community remained quite small so familiarity among community activists even across cities was quite common. In fact, at least 10% of membership the Women's Era Club of Boston made its home in Cambridge. See the Women's Era Club's Constitution, 1892[?] in the Women's Era Club Boston Public Library, Special Collections. This collection is hereafter cited as WEC Papers, BPL.

To read more on the African American population and residential shift in Boston, see W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Black North: A Social Study Boston," *New York Times*, December 8, 1901; and Mark R. Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow, 1890-1920* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 5.

<sup>21</sup> Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 10-11. Gough maintains that this correspondence between the *Anti-Caste* and the "Black Woman's club" was significant, but provides no further detail. See "Raising the Moral Conscience," 399.

<sup>22</sup> During these stays, Impey was often a guest in the homes of prominent African Americans like the Wells Browns of Boston, the Douglasses at Cedar Hill in Washington, D.C., and the Tanners and Coppins in Philadelphia. Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 33-34, 37, and 77-78.

<sup>23</sup> John Hope Franklin, "On the Evolution of Scholarship in Afro-American History," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *The State of Afro-American History: Past Present, and Future* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1986), xxiii-xxx. For a discussion on Black women's writing and its connection to community service and education see Stephanie Y. Evans, "Living Legacies: Black Women, Educational Philosophies, and Community Service, 1865-1965," (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherest, 2003).

<sup>24</sup> I am most influenced in this approach by Teresa Zackodnik's work on Amy Jacques Garvey and Jessie Fauset as she explores these activists' internationalism that showed in their literary pursuits. Zackodnik's article joins the work of other scholars who argue for an understanding of an "older politic" of Black international interest that preceded the inter-war period and thus permits understanding of shifts that make up this conceptualization. See "Recirculation and Feminist Black Internationalism in Jessie Fauset's 'The Looking Glass' and Amy Jacques Garvey's 'Our Women and What They Think,'" *Modernity* (December 2012): 437-459; and Michael O. West, William G. Martin, and Fanon Che Wilkins, "Introduction: Contours of the Black International," *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 1-46.

<sup>25</sup> Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism: 1850-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>26</sup> Beyond Wells' inclusion of Impey in her autobiography, this English activist has received little attention in the scholarship. See Vron Ware, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism, and History* (London: Verso, 1992), 84-94. Caroline Bressey seeks to

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correct this in *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste* (Bloomsbury Academic: London, 2013).

<sup>27</sup> Ruffin was the daughter of a free Black man from the U.S. and a White woman originally from Cornwall, England. For more biographical information on Ruffin, see the following in-depth studies: Teresa Blue Holden, "Earnest Women Can Do Anything': The Public Career of Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, 1842-1904," (PhD diss., Saint Louis University, 2005); and Corinna Anne Buchholz, "The Ruffin Incident and Other Integration Battles in Women's Clubs, 1890-1902," (Master's thesis, Sarah Lawrence College, 2000).

Ruffin's husband, George, was important in his own right. In 1869, he became the first Black graduate of Harvard Law School. In 1883, he became the first Black judge above the Mason-Dixon line. See "Mrs. Ruffin, Club Woman, Dead At 81," *The Chicago Defender*, March 22, 1924 in the WEC Papers, BPL.

<sup>28</sup> Sarah J. Fleming, "Josephine St. P. Ruffin," in *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*, ed. Hallie Q. Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 151-153.

<sup>29</sup> Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda Duster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 81; and Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 177.

White women did hear from Wells at other speaking engagements such as when she appeared before the Moral Education Association, the Women's Department of Mechanics' Fair, and Wesleyan Hall during this visit and her return to the area two months later. Paula Giddings, *Ida: A Sword among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign against Lynching* (New York, NY: Amistad, 2008), 245.

<sup>30</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 79. Although Lyons and Matthews were friends and collaborators for quite some time, they were divided in their beliefs concerning the 1893 demotion of Georgiana Putnam when she was appointed head teacher rather than principal (her previous position at her all-Black institution) when transferred to a racially integrated school. While Lyons provided Putnam's biographical essay for *Homespun Heroines*, she did not write the one for Matthews nor did she mention her relationship with Matthews or their founding of the Woman's Loyal Union in her own unpublished autobiography. See Hohl, "To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race," 142-144 and 211.

<sup>31</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 69-71; and Patricia Ann Schechter, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American Reform, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 17.

<sup>32</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 82. Though the Lyric Hall speech did not survive, if Wells' statement is true that she continued to deliver the same speech before her future audiences, then the one she read at Tremont Temple on February 13, 1893 is very telling. See "Lynch Law in All its Phases," in "Lynch Law in All Its Phases," digital image, Ida B. Wells Papers, Box 8, Folder 8, Series 5, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, accessed March 3, 2014.

<http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/ead/pdf/ibwells-0008-008-02.pdf>.

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<sup>33</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 69; and Floris L. Cash, "Womanhood and Protest: The Club Movement Among Black Women, 1892-1922" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1986), 24; and Dorothy C. Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1990), 14.

<sup>34</sup> Quotation in W.E.B. Du Bois, *Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans. Report of a Social Study Made by Atlanta University under the Patronage of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund; Together with the Proceedings of the 14th Annual Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, Held at Atlanta University, on Tuesday, May the 24th, 1909* (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University Press, 1909), 55.

For more on the Woman's Loyal Union, see Thea Arnold, "Woman's Loyal Union of New York and Brooklyn," in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Darlene Clark. Hine, Elsa Barkley. Brown, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, vol. 2 (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1993), 1278-1279.

<sup>35</sup> "The Editor's New Year's Address, Report of Progress, &c," *Anti-Caste* (January 1891): 2; and "List of Distributors," *Anti-Caste* (February 1891): 5.

Gertrude and Nathan Mossell were both in journalism. In October of 1891, Gertrude's name appeared in a number of European newspapers alongside that of Victoria Matthews and Ida B. Wells-Barnett in light of her success in the American press. "Mrs. W.C. Matthews, Leading New York Journal, and Ms. Ida B. Wills," [sic] *Birmingham Daily Post*, October 3, 1891; "Untitled," *The Dundee Courier & Argus* (Dundee, Scotland), October 3, 1891; and "The Negro Lady Journalists of New York," *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, Scotland), October 3, 1891.

<sup>36</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," Unpublished autobiography, 1940, Box 1, Folder 4, Hallie Quinn Brown Collection, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center (NAAMCC), 207; *Anti-Caste* (March 1888): 1; and *Anti-Caste* (Jan. 1891): 1-5; and Vron Ware, "To Make the Facts Known: Racial Terror and the Construction of White Femininity," in *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, by Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (New York: Routledge, 2003), 117-118.

<sup>37</sup> Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 134.

<sup>38</sup> Initially born in Dominica, at an early age Edwards ran away from home for a life at sea. He ended up spending a few short years in the U.S. before returning to sea life and finally finding his permanent home in Britain. He grew increasingly popular as a lecturer on temperance and Christianity, though also delivering speeches on Social Darwinism as it related to Blacks and racial prejudice. His August 1892 establishment of *Lux*, a weekly born out a commitment of combatting atheism among working class Britons, possibly made him the country's first Black editor. Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 81-86. Also see his autobiography: S. J. Celestine Edwards, *From Slavery to a Bishopric: Or, The Life of Bishop Walter Hawkins of the British Methodist Episcopal Church, Canada* (London: J. Kensit, 1891).

<sup>39</sup> Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 142-143.

<sup>40</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 82-86.

<sup>41</sup> Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely*, 132-137.

<sup>42</sup> Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 78-81.

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<sup>43</sup> Christopher Robert Reed, *All the World Is Here!: The Black Presence at White City* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), xxii; and Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 52.

Also see, Miki Peffer, "'Mr. Chairman and FELLOW AMERICAN CITIZENS': African American Agency at the World Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans, 1884-1885," *Louisiana History* (Fall 2010): 442-462; and Nathan Cardon, "The South's 'New Negroes' and African American Visions of Progress at the Atlanta and Nashville International Expositions, 1895-1897," *The Journal of Southern History* (May 2014): 287-326.

<sup>44</sup> Christopher Robert Reed, *All the World Is Here!*, 30; Salem, *To Better Our World*, 17; and "Namahyoka Gertrude Sockum Curtis" in Lisa Tendrich Frank, ed. *An Encyclopedia of American Women at War: From the Home Front to the*, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 172.

<sup>45</sup> Hazel V. Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 4-5.

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, Salem, *To Better Our World*, 14 and 17; and Maude T. Jenkins, "The History of the Black Woman's Club Movement in America" (Ed.D. diss., Columbia University, 1984), 54-58.

<sup>47</sup> Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1996), 106, 110-12, 117-121, and 133.

<sup>48</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 185-6; and "Colored Woman's National League: A Member of The National Council," *Enterprise* (Omaha, Nebraska), March 4, 1896.

<sup>49</sup> Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Florida Ruffin Ridley and Maria Baldwin, "A Columbian Year Contrast," Woman's Era Club File, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Boston Public Library. For another account see, "The Lynching at Denmark, S.C.," *The Literary Digest* (July 1893): 247. This same report gave accounts of several other lynchings that occurred within the first month of the World's fair.

<sup>50</sup> Ruffin et al., "A Columbian Year Contrast" in the WEC Papers, BPL.

<sup>51</sup> Reed, *All the World Is Here: The Black Presence at White City*, 46.

<sup>52</sup> The results were grim. Imogene Howard of New York was recognized as the only African American woman to serve on a state board while Mrs. S.F. Williams of New Orleans was appointed to the educational committee of Louisiana's board. Rather, where these populations were to be included was in anthropological exhibits that portrayed them as lower classes on hierarchical models of race and civilization and thus unfit to aid in defining and re-defining the American nation. In fact, when Emma Sickles objected to an exhibit proposal that portrayed Native Americans as savages in need of rescue, she was discharged. *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>53</sup> "This Morning's News," *Daily News* (London, England), October 10, 1891; "Women's Section at Chicago Exhibition," *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, Scotland), October 10, 1891; "Multiple News Items," *The Royal Cornwall Gazette Falmouth Packet, Cornish Weekly News, & General Advertiser* (Truro, England), October 15, 1891; "Untitled," *The*

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*Dundee Courier & Argus* (Dundee, Scotland), October 13, 1891; "Here and There," *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, Scotland), October 13, 1891; and "London Letter," *The Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (Sheffield, England), October 13, 1891; "Untitled," *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, Scotland), October 13, 1891; and "Chicago World's Fair Notes," *The Evening Telegraph*, January 5, 1892.

<sup>54</sup> Reed, *All the World Is Here*, 107-110.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 18, 29, 110-112.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 111-117; and Floris Barnett Cash, "Kinship and Quilting: An Examination of an African-American Tradition," *The Journal of Negro History* (Winter 1995): 33-34.

<sup>57</sup> It appeared as a part of the exhibit "Her Majesty's British Needlework." Patricia A. Turner, *Crafted Lives: Stories and Studies of African American Quilters* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 103.

<sup>58</sup> Barnett Cash, "Kinship and Quilting," 36; and Mrs. Arthur S. Gray, "The Negro at Atlanta Exposition," *Woman's Era* (January 1896): 8-11.

<sup>59</sup> James B. Campbell, *The World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated (February 1891 to February 1892): Devoted to the Interests of the Columbian Exposition, Art and Literature* (Chicago: J.B. Campbell, 1892), 11.

<sup>60</sup> Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 14.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 51-81; and Leila J. Rupp, "The International Council of Women, 1888 to the Present," (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, October 2012), WASMI-Resource.

<sup>62</sup> May Wright Sewall, ed., *The World's Congress of Representative Women*, Vol.1 (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Company, 1894), 46.

<sup>63</sup> The International Council of Women, *Women in a Changing World: The Dynamic Story of the International Council of Women Since 1888* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 17. These participants like most clubwomen both viewed and situated themselves as "their own best argument." Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 87-109.

<sup>64</sup> May Wright Sewall, *Genesis of the International Council of Women and the Story of Its Growth, 1888-1893* (Indianapolis: n.p., 1914), 59-60.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 66-67

<sup>66</sup> Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood*, 6.

<sup>67</sup> Bert James Loewenberg and Ruth Bogin, *Black Women in Nineteenth-century American Life: Their Words, Their Thoughts, Their Feelings* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 265-270.

<sup>68</sup> Sewall, ed., *The World's Congress of Representative Women*, 696-711.

At this point, despite the fact that Williams' husband, Samuel Laing Williams, was a friend to Booker T. Washington, Williams' own relationship with Washington was just budding. Her loyalty to him grew when she served as the primary female liaison of between the Chicago business community and Washington's National Negro Business League established two years earlier. Wanda A. Hendricks, *Fannie Barrier Williams: Crossing the Borders of Region and Race* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press,

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2014), 136-146. In addition to participating in endeavors initiated by African Americans, Williams also interacted with Chicago Whites in a number of interracial activities. For instance, she became both the first woman and the first African American to serve on the Board of the Chicago Public Library. Hendricks, *Fannie Barrier Williams*, 171.

<sup>69</sup> Sewall, *The World's Congress of Representative Women*, 711-717.

On uplift, see Hohl, "To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race,"; Kevin Kelly Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). Gaines' work is among those that are more condemning of the "racial uplift" activism as he discusses it as a way that middle class Blacks sought to separate themselves from the broader Black population and to connect to Whites. Gaines decides that uplift was a narrow, pejorative, unsatisfactory, and failed response to improving American race relations. On the other hand, Michele Mitchell softens and broadens this understanding by looking at how lesser known members of the Black working class also attempted to ensure the race's collective survival and overall improvement by employing similar strategies.

<sup>70</sup> Louise Barnum Robbins and National Council of Women of the United States, *History and Minutes of the National Council of Women of the United States* (Boston: E.B. Stillings, 1898), 29. Other African Americans on the NWSA program were Frederick Douglass and Robert Purvis. *The National Woman Suffrage Association, Report of the International Council of Women, Assembled by the National Woman Suffrage Association, Washington, D.C., U.S. of America, March 25 to April 1, 1888* (Paris, Ile-de-France: National Woman Suffrage Association, 1890). For Harper, see 13 and 119-120; for Douglass, see 327-331; and for Purvis, see 342-343.

<sup>71</sup> Douglass was the only man who spoke outside of opening exercises. He also received special permission to address the crowd despite the rule that no one outside of those formally invited to deliver lectures, would be permitted to speak from the podium. Sewall, *The World's Congress of Representative Women*, 717-718.

<sup>72</sup> May Wright Sewall, ed., *The World's Congress of Representative Women*, 633.

<sup>73</sup> In short order, Mayo demanded that Impey withdraw from all public work. She then implored Wells not to work with the "nymphomaniac" who had made her interest in a much younger man known. When Wells decided to remain loyal to Impey, "a friend of the race years before," Mayo withdrew all support, which effectively ended Wells' trip. When Wells arrived back at in the U.S., she learned that Douglass and Fortune were among those outside of England whom Mayo had notified. When Wells finally wrote about the unfortunate affair more than 30 years later (and five years after Impey's 1923 death), she still gave the activist a fair trial that showed her refusal to tarnish Impey's humanitarian efforts. Caroline Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 87-91 and 183-188; and Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 103-105.

<sup>74</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 115-117.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 122-124; Alice C. Harvey, "Correction: Chicago, IL.," *The Woman's Era* (September 1894): n.p.; and R.E. Moore, "Chicago letter," *The Woman's Era* (May 1894): 2.

<sup>76</sup> S. Willie Layton, "California," *The Woman's Era* (July 1895): 8; and "Mrs. Matthews in Town," *Kansas City Times*, February 21, 1895; and "Visit of a Noted Temperance Missioner," *The Mercury* (Hobart, Tasmania), February 23, 1901.

<sup>77</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 122-124; and R.E. Moore, "Chicago letter," *The Woman's Era* (May 1894): 2.

<sup>78</sup> R.E. Moore, "Chicago Letter," *The Woman's Era* (May 1894): 2; and *Crusade for Justice*, 121-122.

<sup>79</sup> Frances A. Lewis, "Chicago," *The Woman's Era* (July 1894): n.p.; R.E. Moore, "Chicago Letter," *The Woman's Era* (June 1894): 2; and Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 124.

<sup>80</sup> Elizabeth Anne Hohl discusses that Baldwin may have formally joined Ridley and Ruffin as publishers for the January 1895 issue which does not persist. Elizabeth Anne Hohl, "To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race," 220. For more on Baldwin and Ridley, see the same, 108-109. Florida Ruffin Ridley's birth name may have been Amelia Yates Ruffin since no birth or death records exists for "Florida." Holden, "Earnest Women Can Do Anything," 22.

Ridley went on to publish the following: "He Must Think It Out," *Saturday Evening Quill* (June 1928): 5-8; "Maria Peters," *Saturday Evening Quill* (April 1929): 12-13; "The Negro in Boston," *Our Boston* (January 1927): 15-20; "Preface: Other Bostonians," *Saturday Evening Quill* (June 1928) 54-56.

<sup>81</sup> Hohl, "To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race" 148.

<sup>82</sup> Irene de Motie and Marion Ridley, "Social News," *The Woman's Era* (June 1894): 12; "July 1894," *The Woman's Era* (July 1894): 9; and Irene de Motie and Marion Ridley, "Social News," *The Woman's Era* (March 1894): 12.

<sup>83</sup> Stephanie Y. Evans, "African American Women Scholars and International Research: Dr. Anna Julia Cooper's Legacy of Study Abroad," *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* (Fall 2009): 77-100;

<sup>84</sup> Adele Logan Alexander, "Women of the World: African-American Women as Internationalists, 1890-1940" (Unpublished paper for Seminar on U.S. Foreign Relations, Department of History, Howard University, June 1987), 7.

<sup>85</sup> "Our Georgia Editor," *The Woman's Era* (June 1895): n.p.

<sup>86</sup> Hohl, "To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race," 148.

<sup>87</sup> "Club Gossip," *The Woman's Era* (March 1894): n.p.; and "Lucy Stone," *The Woman's Era* (March 24, 1894): n.p. Although the WEC claimed that Stone's attendance at this May meeting was her last public appearance before her death, which is partly what led it to adopt her plea to "make the world better," as the club's motto, she did speak in conventions after this point. For instance, that August Stone joined Frances E. Watkins Harper and Frederick Douglass on the program of the National American Women's Suffrage Association. She died in October. Mark Elliott, *Color-blind Justice: Albion Tourgée and the Quest for Racial Equality from the Civil War to Plessy v. Ferguson*



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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 261.

<sup>88</sup> For Chant's Parliament speech, see "Duty of God to Man Inquired," in *Neely's History of The Parliament of Religions and Religious Congresses at the World's Columbian Exposition*, ed. Walter R. Houghton (Chicago: F.T. Neely, 1893), 250-252.

<https://archive.org/stream/cu31924029062664#page/n3/mode/2up>.

<sup>89</sup> Thomas J. Osborne, "Trade or War? America's Annexation of Hawaii Reconsidered," *Pacific Historical Review* (August 1981): 286.

<sup>90</sup> "Boston: Social Notes," *The Woman's Era* (January 1897): n.p.

<sup>91</sup> "Charge Disproved," *Woman's Era Magazine* (July 1894): n.p.; and "An Open Letter to Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant," June 1894, WEC Papers, BPL.

<sup>92</sup> "An Open Letter to Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant," June 1894, WEC Papers, BPL; and "Boston," *The Woman's Era* (March 1894): 4-5. While Stone misremembered Harper speaking May 17th, it is clear that the addresses by at least two of these women struck a cord in her mind.

<sup>93</sup> "An Open Letter to Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant," June 1894, WEC Papers, BPL.

<sup>94</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 200.

<sup>95</sup> Zackodnik, "Recirculation and Feminist Black Internationalism," 449.

<sup>96</sup> "Notes," *The Woman's Era* (July 1894): n.p.

<sup>97</sup> "The Convention," *The Woman's Era* (June 1894): n.p.

<sup>98</sup> Giddings, *Ida: A Sword among Lions*, 86.

<sup>99</sup> Ann D. Gordon and Bettye Collier-Thomas, *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 56-59; and Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 46-59.

<sup>100</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 168 and 182.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 201-212.

<sup>102</sup> Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 129.

<sup>103</sup> Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 195; and Wilson, "Taking Liberties Abroad," 326.

<sup>104</sup> Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 46-50; and Gordon and Collier-Thomas, *African American Women and the Vote*, 60.

<sup>105</sup> "The Episcopal Church: Special Easter-Tide Services-A 'Mission,'" *The Chicago Tribune*, April 28, 1871; "A Safe Voyage and Quick Return," *The Woman's Era* (July 1894): n.p.; and "A Strong Helper In England, C.N. Field," *The Woman's Era* (August 1894): p. 7.

<sup>106</sup> Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin to Ednah Dowe Cheney, March 24, 1896, WEC Papers, BPL.

<sup>107</sup> Jessie Fauset also employed a similar approach in the *Crisis*, especially thorough her use of reprinting, which Zackodnik's argues was a highly politicized practice that was in part tied to African American communal reading practices. "Recirculation and Feminist Black Internationalism," 440.

<sup>108</sup> Joanne M. Braxton, "Introduction," in *The Work of the Afro-American Woman*, by

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Gertrude Mossell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988 [1894]), xxviii.

<sup>109</sup> Mossell, *The Work of the Afro-American Woman*, 32-47.

Wells reported that Mossell's non-inclusion of Clayden led to his strict reproach of her since he had greatly assisted her cause. *Crusade for Justice*, 213-215.

<sup>110</sup> P. Gabrielle Foreman, *Activist Sentiments: Reading Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 140.

<sup>111</sup> Quotation in Hohl, "To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race," 63.

<sup>112</sup> Frances R. Keyser, "Victoria Matthews," in *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*, ed. Hallie Q. Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988 [1926]), 210.

<sup>113</sup> R.E. Moore, "Chicago letter," *The Woman's Era* (May 1894): 2; Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 217-218; and "The Woman's Loyal Union: New York and Brooklyn," *The Woman's Era* (August 1894): n.p.

<sup>114</sup> Josephine Silone-Yates, "Kansas City Letter," *The Woman's Era* (August 1894): 10.

<sup>115</sup> "Shall We Have A Convention Of The Colored Women's Clubs, Leagues And Societies?," *The Woman's Era* (May 1894): 4.

<sup>116</sup> "Miss Willard in Boston," *The Woman's Era* (July 1894): 8.

<sup>117</sup> Josephine Silone-Yates, "Kansas City Letter," *The Woman's Era* (September 1894): 5.

<sup>118</sup> Fannie Barrier Williams, "Great Britain's Compliment to American Colored Women," *The Woman's Era* (August 1894): 1.

<sup>119</sup> "The Chicago Woman's Club Reject Mrs. Williams," *The Woman's Era* (December 1894): n.p.; and "Tennessee, Sylvia Mann Maples," *The Woman's Era* (May 1895): 13.

<sup>120</sup> "Lynching Resolution Up," *Parsons Weekly Blade*, January 1, 1895.

<sup>121</sup> Victoria E. Matthews, "Social Notes: New York," *The Woman's Era* (November 1894): 11.

<sup>122</sup> Victoria E. Matthews, "Notes: New York," *The Woman's Era* (December 1894): 3; Kate V. Carmand, "Report of the Women's Loyal Union of New York and Brooklyn," *The Woman's Era* (August 1895): 6; and Report of the Woman's Loyal Union of New York and Brooklyn in the Minutes of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, Boston, Mass., July 29, 30, and 31, 1895, p. 14, Reel 1 of the Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993). Hereafter cited as NACW Records-Part 1; and "Miss Ida B. Wells," *Cleveland Gazette*, January 5, 1895.

<sup>123</sup> Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, *Minutes of the... Biennial Convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, 1893), 119.

<sup>124</sup> Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely*, 207; and "Miss Willard's Attitude," *The Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States* (Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry).

<http://www.aspresolver.com/aspresolver.asp?GILD;1000399149>

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<sup>125</sup> Louise Barnum Robbins and National Council of Women of the United States, *History and Minutes of the National Council of Women of the United States* (Boston: E.B. Stillings, 1898), ix, 29, 168, 176, 182, 186-226, and 243-245.

<sup>126</sup> Fannie Barrier Williams, "The Club Movement Among Colored Women of America" (1900), in *The New Negro: Readings on Race, Representation, and African American Culture, 1892-1938*, by Henry Louis Gates and Gene Andrew Jarrett (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 57; Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920*, 20-21; Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 24; and Stephanie J., Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Coloured Women," *Journal of Women's History* (Fall 1991): 10-25.

<sup>127</sup> Corinna A. Buchholz, *The Ruffin Incident and Other Integration Battles in Women's Clubs, 1890-1902* (2000), 6-28; Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow, 1890-1920*, 98.

<sup>128</sup> James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton give a social history of the city in *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979). Of all the cities that Wells visited, she also claimed that Boston was one of the places that gave her even "a meager hearing." Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 86.

<sup>129</sup> "Florence Balgarnie to Florida Ruffin Ridley, July 19, 1895," in A History of the Club Movement among the Colored Women in America of the United States as contained in the Minutes of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, Held in Boston, Mass., July 29, 30, and 31, 1895, p. 29, Reel 1, Records of the NACW-Part 1.

<sup>130</sup> Months before, Mayo and her supporters increasingly took over the editorial direction of the *Fraternity* due to Edwards' illness. Obviously referring to with the rift between the two women, the August 1894 issue carried a thinly veiled attack in under the title, "Female Accusation." The fallout from it led the *Fraternity* to split into separate publications. Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 195.

On her second trip to the U.S. in 1878 to attend the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the World's International Conference in May, Impey was a houseguest of William Wells Brown and his wife, Anna, in Boston. Though this family was well acquainted with the Ruffins in social clubs, it is unclear if they introduced them to Impey, who recalled becoming acquainted with countless Black Americans, whom she called a circle of friends. Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste*, 33.

<sup>131</sup> "Acknowledged with Thanks," *Anti-Caste* (June/July 1895): 4.

<sup>132</sup> Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely*, 208-209.

<sup>133</sup> "The WCTU and the Colour Question," *Anti-Caste* (March 1895): 4-5; and "Hallie Q. Brown," *Anti-Caste* (March 1895): 5; and Hallie Q. Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," 74-75; and "The Rev. C. F. Aked on the Triumph of Great Cause," *Liverpool Mercury etc* September 12, 1896.

<sup>134</sup> "Social Notes: Boston," *The Woman's Era* (April 1895): 13; Kate V. Carmand, "Report of the Women's Loyal Union of New York and Brooklyn," *The Woman's Era* (August 1895): 6; and Sada J. Anderson, "Ohio," *The Woman's Era* (November 1895): 13.

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<sup>135</sup> “Coloured Women's Convention,” *The Evening News* (Portsmouth, England), July 8, 1895; “Untitled,” *The North-Eastern Daily Gazette* (Middlesbrough, England), July 10, 1895; and “Untitled,” *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* (Portsmouth, England), July 13, 1895.

<sup>136</sup> “Letters and Resolutions,” Minutes of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, Held in Boston, Mass., July 29, 30, and 31, 1895, p. 11, Reel 1, Records of the NACW- Part 1.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Hohl, “To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race,” 115.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 12; and “Tougeer in Boston,” *The Woman's Era* (May 1894): 12-13.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 12; and Anne Ruggles Gere, *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Women's Clubs, 1880-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 83; and “Acknowledged with Thanks,” *Anti-Caste* (June/July 1895): 4.

<sup>142</sup> “To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race,” 124.

<sup>143</sup> Cheryl D. Hicks, *Talk with You like a Woman: African American Women, Justice, and Reform in New York, 1890-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 46.

<sup>144</sup> “Loyal; New York; City; Mrs. Victoria Matthews,” *The Freeman* (Indianapolis, Indiana), August 18, 1894; and “Her Views on Malby Law: Mrs. Victoria E. Matthews Believes It Should ...” *New York Times*, June 22, 1895.

<sup>145</sup> Mary Church Terrell, “Washington,” *The Woman's Era* (April 1895): 4; and T. Thomas Fortune quoted in “To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race,” 177.

<sup>146</sup> Minutes of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, Held in Boston, Mass., July 29, 30, and 31, 1895, p. 36-47, Reel 1, Records of the NACW-Part 1.

<sup>147</sup> Fannie Barrier Williams, in *The New Negro: Readings on Race, Representation, and African American Culture, 1892-1938*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, et. al (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 57.

<sup>148</sup> “Miss Willard and the Colored People,” *The Woman's Era* (July 1895): n.p.; and “Editorial,” *Woman's Era* (August 1895): n.p.; and “Colored Women and Miss Willard: Indorse Her Temperance Work, But Not Her View,” *New York Times*, August 1, 1895.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> “Resolutions Passed by the Woman's Era Club,” *The Woman's Era* (August 1895): 17; “Not Apologists for Lynchings,” *The Washington Post*, June 19, 1895; “Miss Balgarnie Makes Charges,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 13, 1895; and “Lessons for Busybodies: Taught By Governor of Alabama And London,” *New York Times*, October 15, 1894.

<sup>151</sup> World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Minutes of the Third Biennial Convention and Executive Committee Meetings of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Including President's Address, Superintendents' Reports, Papers and Letters, Held in Queen's Hall, Royal Albert Hall, and Exeter Hall, London, England, June 14-21, 1895 (June 16-24th, 1895)* (London: White Ribbon Company, 1895), 88, 110, and 117.

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In its periodical, *Woman's Signal*, the British Women's Temperance Association declared that Brown, Thurman, and Harper "do credit to their race," and were "heartily received by the great audience." Adrienne M. Israel, *Amanda Berry Smith: From Washerwoman to Evangelist* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1998), 100-105. Quotation on page 105.

<sup>152</sup> Gough, "Raising the Moral Conscience," 409; and Bay, *To the Tell the Truth Feely*, 208; and World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Minutes of the Third Biennial Convention and Executive Committee Meetings*, 37-39.

<sup>153</sup> "Letters to the Editor," *Daily News* (London), June 21, 1895.

<sup>154</sup> Richard J. Jensen and John C. Hammerback, *In Search of Justice: The Indiana Tradition in Speech Communication* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987), 108.

This was Brown's second sojourn to England as she went abroad again to raise funds for Wilberforce University. Her autobiography includes a substantial discussion of her travels in England throughout her six-year stay. See, "As the Mantle Falls," 71-189.

<sup>155</sup> "Lady Somerset and Miss Willard Confess of Themselves Apologists for Lynching," *The Woman's Era* (August 1895): 18. The editorial utilized "Lynching in The United States." *Daily News* (London), July 30, 1895.

For more on the development of a public through discourse, see Zackodnik, "Recirculation and Feminist Black Internationalism," 442.

<sup>156</sup> In 1863, Conway traveled to England to prove to the people there that the American Civil War was really about emancipation for enslaved persons. While there, he exchanged letters with the Confederate envoy to Great Britain and France, James Murray Mason, who was also the author of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law. Conway informed Mason that abolitionists were willing to recognize the Confederate States of America at the war's end in exchange for emancipation. Mason disagreed and sent the letters out, which were then were printed in American and British papers alike. Needless to say, Conway's proposal as well as his declaration that he spoke "on behalf of the leading antislavery men of America," did not meet the approval of the Lincoln administration, the Emancipation Society, or that of his English friends, even if Mason's final letter succinctly admitted that the Confederacy was founded on slavery. In his autobiography, Conway told that his plan had always been a strategic one, claiming that he knew that Mason would entrap himself. Thus, his half-hearted apology to the U.S. Secretary of State, William H. Seward, came only at the recommendation of Charles Francis Adams, Sr., Abraham Lincoln's foreign minister in London. Afterwards, Conway remained in England, and throughout the rest of his lifetime, he continued to make his home there and in the U.S., before finally moving to his family's place of origin in France in 1898 due to mounting frustration with American imperialism in the Spanish-American War (1898). See Moncure Daniel Conway, *Autobiography, Memories and Experiences* (London, Paris, New York and Melbourne: Cassell and Co, 1904), viii, 364-368, and 373.

<sup>157</sup> "Lynching in the United States." *Daily News* (London), July 30, 1895;

<sup>158</sup> Holden, "Earnest Women Can Do Anything," 150.

<sup>159</sup> Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 72-81.

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<sup>160</sup> Nathan Cardon, "The South's 'New Negroes' and African American Visions of Progress at the Atlanta and Nashville International Expositions, 1895-1897," *Journal of Southern History* (May 2014): 291.

<sup>161</sup> Alice Ruth Moore, "Louisiana," *The Woman's Era* (July 1895): 5; and Cora L. Smith, "Texas," *The Woman's Era* (July 1895): 18.

<sup>162</sup> Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 84.

<sup>163</sup> "The National Colored Woman's Congress," *The Woman's Era* (January 1896): 1-7; and Elizabeth Lindsay Davis and Sieglind Lemke, "First Conference: History of the National Association of Colored Women," in *Lifting as They Climb* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1996), 23.

<sup>164</sup> Minutes of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, Boston, Mass., p. 41-42, 46, and 55 Reel 1, Records of the NACW-Part 1.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 54 and 42.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 51. Also see George Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine, 1891),

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 52; Gary Scharnhorst, "I Wish to Know More About the Islands: Kate Field in Hawaii, 1895-1896," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* (2007): 63-78.

<sup>168</sup> One notable example includes: "Lady Somerset and Miss Willard Confess of Themselves Apologists for Lynching," *The Woman's Era* (August 1895): 18.

The battle of who was more moral, and, thus in a position of critique was a circuitous between American and British reformers. For instance, prominent social reformer Charlotte Perkins Gilman remarked how British reformers were always so "hotly interested in our brutal lynchings." Thus, she suggested that Americans should themselves be "hotly interested in this murderous race"—the Turks—whom England shelters and protects, and see to it that she enforce better behavior in her infamous protégée." Gilman hoped that activism by Americans could lead to the protection of Ottoman Christians as previously stipulated by the 1878 Treaty of Berlin. See Wilson, "Taking Liberties Abroad," 37.

<sup>169</sup> "Golden Rule Club to the Ladies of the NFAAW," p. 93, Minutes of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, Held in Washington, D.C., July 20, 21, 22, 1896, p. 29, Reel 1, Records of the NACW-Part 1.

<sup>170</sup> Margaret Murray Washington to Ednah Dow Littelhale Cheney, November 23, 1896 in Harlan, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 3:308-9.

At its 1895 meeting, the National Council of Women succinctly provided two resolutions that condemned the mistreatment of Native Americans, African American, Russian Jews, and Armenians. Louise Barnum Robbins and National Council of Women of the United States, *History and Minutes of the National Council of Women of the United States*, 241.

<sup>171</sup> Evelyn Higginbotham described the "politics of respectability" as a set of moral codes that guided and molded the public behavior of African Americans with the intent of countering stereotypes and improving race relations. See, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 64. The following works especially build on this concept:

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Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001); and E. Frances White, *Dark Continent of Our Bodies: Black Feminism and the Politics of Respectability* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001). Hohl refers to these women as the New York-Boston network. See, "To Uplift Ourselves and Our Race," 88-119.

<sup>172</sup> Teresa Blue Holden, "Earnest Women Can Do Anything," 197; Mary Church Terrell and Frances Jackson, "Washington D.C., July 22, 1896," *The Woman's Era* (August 1896): 3; and "Official Organ, October and November 1896," *The Woman's Era* (September 1896): n.p.

**Chapter 2**  
**“We Knock at the bar of Justice and ask for an Equal Chance”:  
New Forms of Activism and the Coming of the New Negro Woman, 1897-  
1919**

In the summer of 1897, clubwoman Elizabeth Lindsay Davis boarded a train for Nashville. As a strict believer in “New Negro Woman” activism, she attended the 1896 Washington, D.C. meeting that led to the formation of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Having little to report from the Phyllis Wheatley Women’s Club of Illinois, given that the organization was less than six months old by the time of the 1896 meeting, she looked forward to telling of its endeavors since this time.<sup>1</sup> During the opening session of the NACW conference, she did just that, utilizing this same opportunity to invite the association to host its next convention in Chicago. Since national women’s meetings had now been held in Boston and Washington, D.C., Davis like her fellow Illinois clubwomen, argued that it was high time that the women meet in the iconic city of Chicago.<sup>2</sup>

With interests in both national and international events, Davis unquestionably grasped the historical significance of her invitation and what it would mean for local activism. She also comprehended and appreciated the space that the women were then occupying there in Nashville as they decided to host the first-ever fully unified congress of Black women in concurrence with the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition, an event that stretched from May to October of that year.<sup>3</sup> Like the



Atlanta Exposition organizers the year before, Tennessee's Exposition organizers hoped to present their state as a viable national and international market. Thus, the Exposition leadership not only invited Blacks to participate, but made sure that they appointed them to boards, granting complimentary tickets, arranging transportation, and fully financing exhibits, which, of course, fell under their oversight and guidance. More than forty African American women served on the staffs of the Tennessee Fair's Negro department and woman's board. Though the Board hoped for a least two million visitors regardless of race or nationality, they received just shy of 1.8 million. The number still beat out crowds in New Orleans (1885) and Atlanta (1895), but was far less than 20 to 30 million fairgoers claimed by the 1893 Chicago Fair. Partly to blame was a yellow fever outbreak in the coastal states and subsequent state quarantines in place throughout the South.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, many African Americans proved eager to participate in themed day celebrations that commemorated emancipation and that celebrated Fisk University and other colleges as well as National Race Council Day. During May's "Negro Day" that claimed Booker T. Washington as its speaker, more than 30, 000 African American fairgoers traveled by railroad and steamboats to take their places in the crowd.<sup>5</sup>

The NACW's convention took place some three months after the "Negro Day" ceremony ended. Not only did the regional health epidemic keep many northern clubwomen away, others choose to forego Jim Crow accommodations or to display opposition to the state that once exiled Ida B. Wells.<sup>6</sup> In her historical assessment, Davis posited that the 61 women who were present possessed two fundamental understandings. First, they acknowledged and appreciated how fairs "more than any other event

afford[ed] an opportunity for the Negro to teach the world a great lesson of themselves.”

Thus, the women gladly accepted a formal invitation to participate in the Fair as an organized entity.<sup>7</sup> Second, they realized, and came ready to perform, a great work in establishing the NACW’s constitutional basis. One immediate and important decision that they made included hosting conventions biennially rather than annually. The request by a group from Omaha that the 1898 meeting be held in Nebraska during the Trans-Mississippi Exposition was rejected, though the practice of hosting conventions to coincide with national fairs as a measure of gaining visibility, respect, and recognition would persist for seven more years.<sup>8</sup> The delegates then resolved to develop the offices of state and national organizers, following up preliminary work started by Victoria E. Matthews of the Woman’s Loyal Union (WLU) of New York who elected to remain in the South after the National Colored Woman’s Congress in order to study racial conditions. Davis, who distinguished herself as being both reputable and responsible, was selected as the organizer for Illinois and later served on the national level in this same capacity, eventually publishing the first history of her state federation as well as that of the NACW.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, through lecture format, delegates in Nashville exchanged philosophies and pointers about the importance of combatting racial health issues, deepening and enriching mothers’ influence along with mothers’ congresses, and organizing efforts that honored abolitionists John Brown and Frederick Douglass. In what Davis succinctly described as “a masterpiece of eloquence, replete with practical suggestions and plans for growth and development,” the NACW president, Mary Church Terrell delivered a

presidential address that called for a concentration on “homes, more homes, purer homes, [and] better homes.”<sup>10</sup> Standing before not only association members but also official representatives of the Tennessee Fair Board, Terrell emphasized collective activism that simultaneously generated racial pride and diminished racial injustices embedded in segregation. After hearing Selena S. Butler’s lecture on convict leasing (which in her absence was delivered by Margaret Murray Washington), the association returned to the Lucy Thurman-Women’s Christian Temperance Association (WCTU) resolution of the previous year. First, the decision was made to write a letter of acceptance and appreciation in response to that of Frances Willard’s, which reported the WCTU’s latest anti-lynching resolution. Second, the women elected to reproduce Butler’s lecture so that Thurman could distribute it in pamphlet-form at WCTU’s Toronto Convention that October. When the U.S. women’s temperance convention met in Buffalo, New York a week later, Rosetta Lawson and Margaret Murray Washington were expected to do the same.<sup>11</sup>

Washington received a special invitation to attend the Toronto convention as well. To an audience of earnest listeners from more than 20 nations, she provided information about Tuskegee Institute and African Americans’ larger educational attainments and opportunities. Thurman, who succeeded her, told of her temperance organizing among American Blacks.<sup>12</sup> While it is not clear that the pamphlets were ready in time for dissemination, it is abundantly clear that these delegate-activists and the NACW not only held temperance work as a paramount concern, but that they intended to utilize WCTU’s

membership base both to call attention to and to strengthen their ongoing work within the Black community.

In her autobiography, Mary Church Terrell reflected on the importance of this sort of educational activism, arguing that “whether speaking largely about “onodontopteris-toliapicus or ramphorincus philurus, I never let an opportunity of presenting facts creditable to us as a group pass. I believe it is the duty of every speaker who makes a specialty of discussing the Race Problem to emphasize the fact that in spite of insuperable obstacles[,] colored people have taken long strides ahead.”<sup>13</sup> As she told the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) just five months after the Nashville convention, in pointing out their conditions, the race was not “seeking favors because of our color, not patronage because of our needs.” It was simply “knock[ing] at the bar of Justice and asking for an equal chance.”<sup>14</sup>

This chapter covers the National Association of Colored Women’s “knocking,” from its first national convention through the First World War. During this time period, this activism emerged in three ways: 1) its decision to host meetings in conjunction with National fairs and congresses; 2) its pursuit of inclusion within the endeavors of outside groups and entities; and 3) its consideration of African uplift work that was to mirror its activities within the U.S., make it an international organization, and improve the image of Blacks everywhere. NACW women valued the first two approaches since they especially created opportunities to make their case before national and international audiences alike. Through their very appearance and speech, they hoped to convince the public, and White women more specifically, to acknowledge and to respect their humanity and their club

work and to aid them in the larger fight against racism. Even more, inclusionary activism was a means to gain organizational affiliation or acceptance from groups that previously or continuously rejected them. Participation in conferences held beyond American borders proved especially useful in influencing the opinions of delegates from around the world concerning American conditions.

To date, while the participation of clubwomen in various national and international congresses have always been mentioned and briefly considered in the academic scholarship, nearly all of these discussions disconnect these individuals' activism from the NACW agenda. Consequently, the organization's aims, successes and shortcomings concerning these international conferences, remain understudied. Although a young, allied-but-not-yet-united and financially struggling NACW could not and usually did not provide the monies necessary to take these trips, the organizational periodical carried announcements for and reports from these congresses and these bodies within the organization's publication and gave attention to women who participated within the same and in biennial convention proceedings. Even more, when African American clubwomen took up these activities, they saw them as integral to their club work rather than distinct from it. The NACW's consideration of regenerative work in Africa that built upon individual women's efforts was also viewed as a way of quickening and deepening race work that would lead to a recognition and appreciation of African Americans' humanity and achievements despite the many impediments they faced.

Much of this is discoverable in the Association's new organ, the *National Association Notes (NAN)* that the 1897 Nashville convention formally recognized.

Although the *Woman's Era* was known for its ability to “spread information, and create public sentiment against injustices,” it struggled financially and was only sporadically published after January 1896. In November, its founder, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin formally recognized the magazine's suspension, but not its end. But already Margaret Murray Washington was producing the *National Association Notes* out of her own funds and under her own control, having released the first issue in April of 1896.<sup>15</sup> Although one affiliate's 1897 report called for the *Woman's Era*, convention delegates decided that it would be represented by Washington's paper, which was three times cheaper anyway and contained less controversial articles from a staff of women's editors.

Washington claimed to hold the contents of club reports to be important; nevertheless the shift from Boston to Tuskegee and from literary activism to simple reporting not only clearly diminished much of Ruffin's power and influence within the club movement, but also unmistakably spoke to growing popularity and power of Washington's husband (and his wife, by extension).<sup>16</sup> Like the *Woman's Era* before it, *NAN* did not escape financial difficulty and sometimes suspended publication. But when combining it with the enduring archival papers of African American women and the clubs they represented, conference proceedings, and newspaper articles, it is possible to use this periodical to gain deeper understanding of Association members' growing international interests and activism, which was further shaped by American and European imperialism and Pan-Africanism.<sup>17</sup>

Nearly six months after the Nashville Centennial ended, convention attendees still reported how the assembly renewed their energies and strengthened their convictions

especially on the eve of the Spanish-American war. In April of 1898, American President William McKinley finally secured congressional support for his stated aim of assisting in Cubans' quest for freedom after a nearly thirty-year series of military battles and guerilla warfare with Spanish imperialists.<sup>18</sup> For the U.S., the ensuing conflict was particularly worrisome due to the island's close geographic proximity. It interrupted economic ties and challenged the 75-year-old Monroe Doctrine that repudiated European aggression and colonization in the Western Hemisphere. For years many Americans called for intervention due to reports of civilian detention camps; however, U.S. entry was directly stimulated by the destruction of the American battleship *Maine* that February.<sup>19</sup>

As the nation entered into war, African Americans heavily debated the potential consequences of their military participation. Given the fact that so few issues of the *National Association Notes* survived for 1898, it is impossible to provide full details of the NACW's position on the "Splendid Little War" for freedom turned imperialist venture.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that the African American women kept a watchful eye on the situation and that they held a diversity of opinions much like the larger public. For instance, many African Americans and their supporters advocated abstention, pointing out the nation's hypocrisy in denying Black citizenship and livelihood through Jim Crow practices and presenting itself to the world as a model for and guarantor of democracy. On the other hand, others argued for involvement, stressing varied potential outcomes. T. Thomas Fortune of the *New York Age* and Afro-American Council argued that Black military participation would "show whites how to soldier,"

while Booker T. Washington argued that that enlistment made evident the patriotism that Blacks held in common with Whites.<sup>21</sup>

These views and goals also generally coincided with a belief in racial solidarity largely espoused by Black intellectuals that linked the descendants of Africa to one another despite national or continental borders. As Africa and Asia were largely swallowed up in the European scramble for world dominance, Cuba appeared as a self-determining racial paradise that was also favorable to African American emigration and missionary endeavors. Initially set underway during the Reconstruction era, the ventures of Black Baptist churches and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) were a part of the ambiguous alliance that many newly emancipated Blacks experienced with the African continent and its descendants. In Cuba, AME missions were driven by racial consciousness and a deep resentment of White clergy even as they were simultaneously hampered by cultural misunderstandings.<sup>22</sup> It was this common sense of racial identification and pride that led many African Americans to laude General José Antonio Maceo or “The Bronze Titan,” for his exemplary military service in the Cuban War for Independence (1868-1878) and the ensuing conflicts until his death in July 1896. Several decades later, the National Council of Negro Women employed a gendered framework that credited his mother for her sacrifice and his leadership traits.<sup>23</sup> Tensions around race, nation, and empire collided all at once, however, when African American troops were stationed in Cuba after intervention turned into occupation and Afro-Cubans tried to make their home in the U.S. especially in Tampa, Florida.<sup>24</sup>



The sole extant issue of *NAN* in 1898, which appeared after the August 12<sup>th</sup> cease-fire, suggests that NACW members kept a watch on race and gender issues during the war. In an editorial for the September issue, Margaret Murray Washington noted that war caused women's issues to be crowded out of the magazines and papers, but that they were increasingly finding space again. As one example, she drew readers' attention to an article by Lizzie M. Holmes published in *Arena* that advocated for more freedom for women even if it meant forgetting or letting go of motherhood. While deciding that the writer's ideas were "too far-advanced for women of to-day," Washington found middle ground in her argument for the recognition of women's humanity and equal personal liberty.<sup>25</sup> The editor then happily reported Anita Newcomb McGee's appointment as the first female surgeon in the War Department. She expressed the hope that more women would follow.

The September issue also showed that a number of African American clubwomen held concerns about the racist treatment received by troops. The Buffalo Soldiers, formed in peacetime following the Civil War, became the first African American troops to engage in battle on foreign soil. Volunteer units or "Immune Regiments" bolstered their numbers and efforts. While incidents of racism in Florida due to African American soldiers' resistance to segregation led all these enlistees to be deployed to Cuba at once, White officers also showed little support to permit these men to become commissioned.<sup>26</sup> When Lucy Ellis Tappan Phillips, president of the all Black Memphis WCTU chapter, expressed her anxiousness to "take up the investigation of our own 'boys in blue,'" *NAN's* editor reported the efforts of Namahyoka Gertrude Sockum Curtis (more widely

known as “Mrs. A.M. Curtis). During her Chicago residency (1891-1898), Curtis served briefly in an office position assisting Bertha Palmer as the 1893 Chicago Board Lady Managers. Now, she was a member of the Woman’s League of D.C. and commissioned by the War Department to recruit of African American nurses. Much in line with the widespread but incorrect notion that African Americans possessed a natural immunity to yellow fever and other tropical diseases, Curtis was hired to recruit nurses for Cuban service. 32 of the 80 African American women who served in this capacity throughout the war were there through her efforts.<sup>27</sup>

As the war ended in Cuba and conflict ensued between the U.S. and the Philippines, African American women pondered the futures of these islanders and their own back at home in both speech and private letters. It was an important consideration since the terms had so obviously changed. The Paris Treaty not only ended Spanish control within Cuba, but it also allowed American annexation of Hawaii, Cuba, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Thus, the last months of 1898 found President McKinley pursuing a national lecture circuit to drum up support for the nation’s new foreign policy. A little more than a week after his visit to Tuskegee, which served to confirm Washington’s national leadership, Ida B. Wells Barnett used the December 1898 meeting of the National Afro-American Council in D.C. to voice her opinion concerning America’s overseas expansion. Indisputably referencing the recent racial violence that occurred in Pana, Illinois, Wilmington, North Carolina, and Phoenix, South Carolina, Wells called for political party affiliation that opposed geographical enlargement *until* the nation actually governed and protected citizens within its original borders.<sup>28</sup> These same

events that left hundreds dead and thousands living in fear along with the gruesome Sam Hose lynching the following April was enough to make Adella Hunt Logan, an educator at Tuskegee Institute, admit quietly to a Quaker friend in November that she was close to being ‘shock[ed] . . . out of all patriotism.’<sup>29</sup>

While Emma Trowbridge Hart of Jacksonville, Florida lent NACW’s name to an interracial fundraising operation for a monument that honored Black soldiers for their bravery, especially as exhibited in battles at El Caney and San Juan Hill, Mrs. S.H. Porter supervised a literature campaign to encourage those who were still in the field to exhibit good behavior and to abstain from tobacco and whiskey.<sup>30</sup> Other organizations sought to make sense of America’s imperialism through intellectual discussions of it. In early 1899, the Women’s Improvement League of Louisville, Kentucky reported it that made foreign relations one of its three lecture focuses for the year. Each meeting, which was held in the homes of club members, was to include experts followed by general discussion.<sup>31</sup> In March, the Women’s Era Club of Boston held its regular public meeting with a focus on “Territorial Expansion and its Possible Effects upon the Colored Peoples of the World.” In addition to a paper by Josephine Ruffin’s son, Stanley, who was an inventor and a manager of a Boston manufacturing company, the women heard a lecture from an individual identified only as Mr. B.R. Wilson.<sup>32</sup> Details of Wilson’s talk on expansion are unknown, but the organizational record indicates that rich commentaries by W.W. Lucas, a recent seminary studies graduate, and First Lieutenant William H. Jackson who had actually served in the 1898 Spanish-American War followed. In line

with its local reform agenda, audience members were invited to contribute to a collection for the local St. Monica's Home for Sick Colored Women and Children.<sup>33</sup>

In Tuskegee and Nebraska, the Woman's Club and the Women's Improvement League, respectively, both turned their attention to English literature. While the first analyzed the life and writings of Rudyard Kipling, a popular English fiction writer who supported British imperialism and desired an Anglo-led international alliance, the second only vaguely reported on its conversations. Nonetheless, the perspective of the League or its president on foreign issues and imperialism can at least be gleaned from the longest and most critical *NAN* editorial to date.<sup>34</sup> S. Lillian Coleman, who was also the NACW's national recording secretary, provided an article that told how jealousies and the desire for power were at the root of European's territorial expansion into Africa and Asia. Not only did improvements in transportation permit a more rapid and firm conquering of other lands, but it also led to increasingly poor diplomatic relations among a number of nations. As she saw it, response to the "Needs of the Present Age required both national and universal attention as well as political and social reforms."<sup>35</sup>

Coleman's point about African American women's attention and response to world events was in line with *National Association Notes*. While the periodical could be never be accused of being an analytical or exhaustive one concerning international news, clippings of non-American topics regularly graced its pages in the years after the Spanish American War. Margaret Murray Washington's 1899 trip abroad also appears to have encouraged this inclusion. In May of that year, she accompanied her husband to Europe for a vacation and for his attendance at a June meeting concerning the hosting of Pan-

African Conference (PAC) in London that was to coincide with the upcoming Paris Exposition.<sup>36</sup> Both prior to and after this meeting, the couple traveled widely throughout Europe where they were feted at a number of luncheons and dinners and warmly received at summer conferences including the first Universal Peace Congress held in The Hague.<sup>37</sup>

The announcement of the Universal Peace Congress captured international attention and that of many Americans who were surprised and expressed amazement that Russia's own imperial leader, Tsar Nicholas II, had called it out of interest in engaging with other world leaders about high levels of armament and discord. In fact, while the Washingtons were still in route to Europe, African American clubwomen in D.C. participated in an interracial women's meeting that expressed appreciation for the peace congress and its leaders. During the assembly, Mary Church Terrell read the resolutions that the women wrote, which were then promptly sent over by cable. In subsequent years, the NACW again called for Black women's cooperation in this type of venture, which was picked up by the International Council of Women (ICW) as the women sought to do their part in agitating for the establishment of the a permanent Court of International Arbitration.<sup>38</sup>

The Washingtons also attended part of the July 1899 ICW Congress in London. After the 1893 Congress of Representative Women, proceedings of the meetings of the International Congress of Women and the U.S. section of this organization, the National Council of Women, were increasingly abbreviated, which often meant that the participation, attendance, and contributions of non-delegates, including African

Americans who may have been in the audience, were usually not recorded. Booker T. Washington appears to have addressed the delegates concerning the many notes he had been taking on farming and industrial training of European women in comparison with that of American Blacks. Other than this brief description that he reported back to the *Indianapolis Freeman*, his address and any potential contributions by his wife remain a mystery.<sup>39</sup> This same reporting makes it difficult to determine the full extent of Hallie Q. Brown's participation with the ICW Congress. While it is clear that Brown utilized her Wilberforce affiliation to register as a delegate, only the titles of her addresses, and in rare cases, a brief synopsis of them, are in the proceedings. Brown's unpublished autobiography makes it possible to glean more information about her participation and its personal significance.

Brown held that conference participation, which permitted a true visualization of the Black woman and her experiences before a White foreign audience, to be important race work. Accordingly, she reported that she frequently registered for conferences through her association with African American education. Her participation in the 1897 National Prohibition Convention in Newcastle, which she reported as one of her favorites, may serve as a marker of how she contributed to these events more generally. Here, Brown was happy to render African American songs and to deliver impromptu addresses on Black people's temperance, education, and progress.<sup>40</sup> But more significantly, at the 1899 ICW meeting, her Wilberforce certification initially granted her access to attend at least two sectional meetings. In the professional section that focused on the women's employment in drama-related fields, Brown took the floor, and became

the only individual to offer remarks during its discussion section. Before her audience, she defined different types of elocution and stressed the need for true character impersonation and full energy in captivating the room. Brown may have demonstrated this in her talk since the minutes not only recorded her “ringing voice,” but also show that there were no follow-up comments.<sup>41</sup> Alternatively, the lack of comments may also indicate White delegates’ rejection of both Brown’s presence and the lessons she sought to communicate.

While Brown hoped to provide a physical display of African American progress and education in these remarks, the social section held the following day required her to be more direct in her approach. In her autobiography, she recounts the story of a session on “Underprivileged Races,” (most likely the session on the “Treatment of Destitute Classes”) and how upon her late arrival, she witnessed an unidentified woman from New Orleans, who did not appear to be a delegate, exhaustively detailing the plight of recent European immigrants to the U.S. Dismayed that the woman did not mention the adversities facing African Americans, Brown immediately sent forward her speaking card. At the crowd’s urging, her allotted five minutes turned into thirty as she “fairly shouted my catalog of outrages against a helpless people.”<sup>42</sup> The minutes succinctly record the “pathetic picture of the negroes in the Southern States before and since emancipation,” but Brown’s own memoir recalls just how influential her talk was. After her intervention, which she hailed as “providential,” Brown was granted full delegate credentials.<sup>43</sup> Brown does not appear in the minutes again, even though she reported that she eagerly attended many sessions, receptions, and other social events. In fact, when she

was a visitor at Fulham Palace one evening after the ICW sessions had ended, Brown defended her actions in the Congress to a White delegate from Philadelphia who exclaimed that she had “a crow to pick with” Brown for telling the English more of the American faults. In turn, Brown responded that she had “a bag to hold the feathers,” and that the women only needed to return to the United States and undertake unified action to correct these issues.<sup>44</sup> While her autobiography reports that the woman simply walked away, it is clear that Brown’s use of moral indignation ruffled many feathers.

From May thorough July, Margaret Washington appointed Dayse D. Walker, a Tuskegee professor and her private secretary, to assemble issues of the *National Association Notes* in her absence. Washington probably communicated with Walker during these months given that *NAN* began to carry some news from abroad. During this first month, the issue carried a short declaration concerning the work of E.D. Tobias, a White American lecturer from South Carolina, whom the Washingtons met in London. In considering his work towards American prison reform and anti-lynching support, the article succinctly proclaimed that his efforts were contributing to winning “enlightened public sentiment within the states and beyond its borders.”<sup>45</sup> Although Tobias’ schedule did not permit him to take up Washington’s invitation to appear before one of the women’s conventions that she was attending upon her return, the Women’ Era Club of Boston received a letter from him just a short while later and read it aloud during one of their public meetings.<sup>46</sup> Finally, this same issue of *NAN* borrowed from the *Freeman’s Journal* of Ireland in order to consider how Empress Elizabeth of Austria contributed to her country’s diplomacy before her untimely death and another unidentified source



reported on the potential extension of women's suffrage and office holding in New Zealand and Australia.<sup>47</sup>

Upon her August 5<sup>th</sup> return home, Margaret Washington immediately went to a women's convention in Hampton, Virginia that preceded NACW's Chicago meeting by nearly a week. During this time, she resumed producing the *National Association Notes* that not only included calls and reminders for the Association's convention, but also included a write-up on the ICW's July 7<sup>th</sup> tea with the Queen that the Washingtons attended. Brown, who was also present, was soon thereafter reported as "achieving success abroad" and "intensely interested in all that pertains to the elevation of her sisters in her country."<sup>48</sup> Until the decline of this focus in 1901, Washington frequently utilized a number of American papers, though on a few occasions she directly cited *London Truth*, the *London Standard*, and the *Japan Weekly Press*. These clippings enabled her to provide "tidbits" of information that included such topics as Arab women and marriage and Japanese abalone divers.<sup>49</sup>

Most commonly, however, the attention of *NAN* readers was turned to Europe and the British Empire. Alongside light news about Queen Victoria's horses or this monarch's eyes appeared longer and more thoughtful considerations of Finnish marriage customs or Lucie Dreyfus' wifely commitment to her husband who was exiled after being accused as serving as French spy in Germany. In considering Dreyfus' commitment to be a unique female attribute, the article showed similarities to others that assessed women's potential contributions to peace and diplomacy such as coverage of French Nun Mary Teresa's receipt of the 1899 Legion of Honor medal. Washington spoke of Africa only

twice and on both occasions she reported on Gezina Kruger, the wife of the first president of the Transvaal (South African) Republic after the First Anglo-Boer War. The stories were conservative in nature, telling only of the couple's wise spending habits rather than the ongoing imperialism within the land.<sup>50</sup>

As *NAN* editor and chair of the NACW's executive committee, Margaret Murray Washington put forth her best efforts in generating great attendance for the August 1899 convention. It paid off. 145 delegates representing 16 states were present to contribute to what Mary Church Terrell considered the Association's best meeting in its first five years. Moreover, a number of non-affiliated women's groups of Chicago filled the balcony and African American men who were in Chicago to participate in the upcoming Afro-American Council joined in as spectators.<sup>51</sup> Though there was no concurrent national fair, the press and buzz around the convention showed that Chicago was clearly the place to be that summer. After witnessing number of club reports on the opening day, three White American women from the League of Cook County Women's Clubs, the University of Chicago settlement movement, and the Chicago Public School Administration Board were then invited to deliver welcome speeches. The second of them, Mary McDowell, awed the audience by announcing that she was actually a delegate to the Convention.<sup>52</sup>

In November of the previous year, McDowell had founded the interracial Julia Gaston Club whose name recognized Gaston's pioneering efforts in organizing. When Black members asked her to attend the NACW convention, McDowell said she gladly consented. Her announcement of this made real the words by Corrine Brown of the

League of Cook County's Women's Clubs who advocated the elimination of racial caste in women's work and clubs.<sup>53</sup> The NACW agreed and in picking up a conversation about the National Council of Women that had been swirling about since its birth, during its convention voted that the NACW should enter into the National Council of Women and fundraising for the membership fee needed to begin immediately. In addition to taking up lectures about race literature, prison work, and the establishment of domestic science study courses, NACW delegates steadily reflected on their need to be included within the nation and the world's social reform, which meant organizational affiliation within the endeavors of national and international groups predominated by White women.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to an hour-long session on the WCTU that included remarks from Lucy Thurman, Amanda Smith, and Henry McNeal Turner, a bishop of the AME church, the women took up Ida B. Wells-Barnett's invitation to lunch with Jane Addams, which included a visit to Hull House.<sup>55</sup> Although these social features were indeed highlights, the convention was not without disturbance. In the months leading up to it tensions around factions concerning Josephine B. Bruce's potential desire for the presidency and Ida B. Wells-Barnett's presence ensued. Out of fear of antagonizing the Chicago women, Terrell had actually abstained from inviting Wells to the NACW's 1899 convention though she did show up on this one day to extend the invitations from Hull House and the Afro-American Council. Furthermore, from the opening day, underlying issues concerning leadership representation that had always separated the Boston, Washington, and Chicago women were further incited by confusion around parliamentary issues and credentials and the upcoming election. As NACW members were careful to point out the

strife between delegates made the Association similar to rather than different from other large organizations.<sup>56</sup>

Presumably the convention report was printed in the September issue, but along with the subsequent one, has not survived. Nevertheless, a letter to Washington in November indicates that the October release held much in common with earlier and later editions. The editor utilized commentaries or pieces that she or fellow clubwomen wrote (a recognizable feature from 1899 onward) that urged the need to unify their efforts and to strengthen the national body by organizational rather than individual relationships with outside bodies.<sup>57</sup> The unidentifiable writer found the article entitled, “The Nation’s Problem,” to be quite engaging and inquired whether American Whites and Blacks and Cubans and Filipinos could ever really master Jesus’ lesson to love your neighbors as yourself.<sup>58</sup> Many African American clubwomen agreed with and understood this principle and when applying it to American Whites also took it to mean teaching this population how to recognize and appreciate African Americans’ humanity and their population’s struggles and achievements.

In December 1899, in the most systematic *NAN* editorial on the topic to date, Adella Hunt Logan listed acknowledgment, association, and aid as three of the most important potential outcomes of NACW affiliation with the National Council of Women. Thus, she encouraged clubwomen to develop this platform so that they could put their work, struggles, and needs before American and European women alike, which would lead to better understanding at home and abroad. Finally, she urged that since the Council was designed to promote the welfare of all women, Black women really needed to take

their place within the body and others such as the National American Woman's Association, the Universal Peace Congress, and the National Mothers' Congress.<sup>59</sup>

Six months later, Terrell attended the National Council of Women's convention in Minneapolis and gained the organization's approval for NACW membership. Her utilization of themes and discourses of Western civilized womanhood and maternalism made this speech not only similar not only to ones she delivered in the past, but also to those of the African American participants in the 1893 Women's Congress.<sup>60</sup> After bringing the long-awaited news of NCW and ICW affiliation, Washington suspended *The National Association Notes* from June through August of 1899, citing exorbitant printing costs. Unfortunately, this came right at the height of the many African American women's international activities. Already, Black women were busy engaging in conferences with global themes. That April, Josephine Bruce attended the ten-day International Ecumenical Congress held in New York where 2,500 delegates representing 162 mission boards from across the world gathered. With somewhere between 160,000 and 200,000 attendees, the conference became the largest formal religious event in the U.S. to date and remains the world's most populated missionary conference.<sup>61</sup> Even more, during the summer a number of African American women visited the Paris Exposition that was held from April to October or participated in the WCTU's convention in Edinburgh, Scotland in June and the Pan-African Congress (PAC) in London in July.<sup>62</sup> In none of these instances did the NACW officially appoint delegates. Yet, along with local women's groups who provided financial and rallying support and a receptive audience upon these delegates' returns, Association leadership encouraged and

supported the efforts of nearly all those who attended. It also reflected a part of a diverse African American women's club movement.

The WCTU's Edinburgh conference was a unique one. While Lucy Thurman and three other African American women attended the conference in London in 1895 (Hallie Q. Brown, Amanda Smith, and Frances E. Watkins Harper) and one other joined her in Toronto in 1897 (Margaret Murray Washington), this meeting was marked by the participation of four Black delegates who, in fact, saw themselves as a delegation. Of course, the NACW could view these women's participation in this manner as an indicator that its approach was also paying off. Early on, Association leaders had placed WCTU members like Frances E. Watkins Harper in leadership positions within the NACW. Despite the fact that Harper seems to have played little to no role and that her aura was fading, her name still brought recognition among White activists. Her inclusion also represented the organization's early attempt to tie together diverse strings of activism.<sup>63</sup>

These delegates were recruited for attendance by the American branch of the WCTU and the British Temperance Women's Association, and the African American women's clubs frequently conducted fundraising to pay for members' expenses. In her place, Margaret Washington appointed Rosetta E. Lawson of Washington, D.C. who was joined by Mary A. Lynch of North Carolina, Sarah Perkins of Ohio, and Frances Joseph of Louisiana, all WCTU members and leaders within their respective states.<sup>64</sup> If Lucy Tappan Phillips of Tennessee and Mrs. T.H. Lyles of Minnesota had remained in good health, it is very likely that these eager temperance advocates also would have attended.

In fact, Lyles had intended to take up an invitation to speak in Paris on sobriety after the conclusion of the WCTU meeting.<sup>65</sup>

WCTU's truncated report for this conference makes it impossible to fully uncover the role that these four delegates played throughout the sessions. While the organizing work of Thurman is briefly mentioned in the U.S. report, the rest of the women's names are listed as part of a long line of speakers who addressed audiences in a local Presbyterian Church on June 24th. Of these, Lawson's speech was singled out and covered in an Edinburgh newspaper, which was subsequently reprinted in the *Colored American*. At the well-attended assembly, Lawson delivered a formal lecture on the history of temperance work. In flattering language, she reported that she was learning a great deal from the Scottish lecturers at the conference and that through her interactions with these men and the general public, she was able to witness the "greatness and grandeur of the noble Scotch." Finally in concluding her remarks, Lawson hammered home the work of African American clubwomen not only in temperance, but also in other areas, insisting that: "the women were leaving no stone unturned to make the land of her birth better for having lived in it." Through their contributions, Lawson argued, these women were contributing to and taking their place among the world's social reformers.<sup>66</sup>

The address was similar to the well-known lecturer's "Colored Woman in Reform" address that she frequently gave back at home. The speech provided a bird's eye view of African American women's ongoing activism that linked it with pioneers of the past to reform movements and prominent White reformers of the present. She provided a short history of the NACW's development and its present efforts to unify and therefore

strengthen the efforts of Black women, which occurred through the activities of individual women. To support her claims, she told of individual women like Julia Mason Layton, who served as an inspector for the American military through her membership within the Woman's Relief Corps and Mattie R. Bowen, who “*was sent as a delegate to the International Convention of Christian Endeavors*” when it was held in Baltimore. In 1897 Victoria E. Matthews preceded her by traveling to San Francisco to deliver a lecture on “The Awakening of the Afro-American Woman,” before this same body.<sup>67</sup> Finally, in considering the women’s contributions to the WCTU’s transnational conventions, she expressed her regret that Washington’s 1897 Toronto lecture did not go beyond her discussion of Tuskegee, to tell of “the organizing efforts of our women... [for] my heart yearned for them to know something of the work among our women.”<sup>68</sup> Lawson’s Edinburgh address shows that she saw the opportunity to talk about temperance *and* African American club work and that she seized it.

Finally, Lawson’s speech before the WCTU Edinburgh conference is the only detailed one pertaining to the four women, and even then, the report is a brief one. Here, she thanked the body for courting and including African American attendees and said that it was their welcoming that made African American clubwomen committed to their attendance. Furthermore, as she reminded them, this type of inclusion and drawing close was uncharacteristic of many of the women’s groups in the U.S. In fact, one Edinburgh newspaper pointed out the irony that as these African American women were abroad working on prohibition, prohibition of a different, unwelcome form had occurred at the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) in Milwaukee, Illinois during this same



time.<sup>69</sup> When the president Rebecca Douglas Lowe, and fellow southern women at that meeting demanded that Ruffin be seated as delegate to the GFWC from the two interracial clubs she represented, the New England Woman's Club and the New England Woman's Press Club rather than the all-Black Women's Era Club, Ruffin refused. The women were likely worried that permitting this Black women's organization to be represented in the convention would set a precedent for future clubs and for integration in a manner to which it did not agree. In the aftermath Ruffin's exclusion from GFWC's convention as well as the ongoing debate between women of GWFC became widely known as "The Ruffin Incident."<sup>70</sup> Upon their return home, Black WCTU delegates undoubtedly heard of Ruffin's exclusion if they had not heard earlier. Consequently, they became even more determined to tell how they had been integrated into the meeting in Scotland and what this reception meant to them. *The Colored American* and the *National Association Notes* both reported that Mary A. Lynch was constantly in demand as a speaker on "My Trip to Edinburgh Scotland."<sup>71</sup> In Ohio, prominent clubwoman Harriet K. Price, who attended the state WCTU conference, made sure to host a public meeting so that all could hear Sarah Perkins speak of her time abroad.<sup>72</sup>

Whether Perkins, Lynch, Lawson, Joseph, or Thurman traveled to Paris to see the ongoing Paris Exposition or elected to remain abroad in order to attend the Pan African London Conference just three weeks later is difficult to determine. It is possible that finances prevented their involvement since as early as December 1895 African American clubwomen showed their interest in participating in the Paris Exposition, counting it as the most distinguished platform in the era.<sup>73</sup> In fact, their discussion of how to contribute

to the fair predates the 1899 efforts of Thomas Calloway, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. Du Bois and others, who combined technology, literature, and statistics to design and install an award winning exhibit for African American history and progress for this Exposition.<sup>74</sup> The exhibit (remarkably funded by the American Congress) included 270 pamphlets and writings on African American history and progress as well as some 500 photographs organized into albums with titles such as “Types of American Negroes, Georgia, U.S.A.” and “Negro Life in Georgia, U.S.A.”<sup>75</sup> The images, which showed different “types” of African Americans (in terms of skin tone, hair type and style, occupation, wealth, and status), was meant to show the population as a diverse and worthy one and to combat racist caricatures.<sup>76</sup> Having studied foreign languages in Europe from 1888-1891 and attended the 1889 Paris Exposition, Mary Church Terrell celebrated the exhibit for its “evidences of our progress a living, breathing reality.”<sup>77</sup>

Throughout the nine-month Exposition, the Black press carried announcements of individuals’ travels to Paris including a number of women who traveled with their spouses or alone. From New York, J. Imogene Howard, an African American clubwoman, who in 1893 served on her state’s board for the 1893 Chicago Exposition arrived. Now, she owed her participation in the Paris Exposition to other clubwomen, especially her home organization, the Woman’s Loyal Union of New York (WLU), and the Women’s Era Club of Boston.<sup>78</sup> Both of these entities financially supported and widely advertised her participation in the *New York Telegraph*’s contest that enabled the top five teachers in the state to visit the Paris exposition for one month. In the end, Howard received fourth place, and was the only African American prizewinner. After her

return to the U.S., she lectured on her "Trip to Paris" in and around New York.<sup>79</sup>

Howard's interest in and ability to attend the Paris Exposition was not unique. The support provided by the WEC and the WLU indicate that despite lacking the funds to send an organizational representative on their own accord, they made certain to take advantage of *New York Telegraph's* endeavor in order to ensure clubwomen's participation.

African American women also traveled abroad to contribute to the 1900 Pan-African Congress, a meeting where Black Americans met with native Africans and West Indians and discussed methods to combat racism and imperialism. The gathering that had nineteenth century antecedents included summits held in conjunction with the Chicago and Atlanta Fairs. In both of these instances, African American women contributed in a number of ways. In the 1893 Chicago Conference on Africa, Frances E. Watkins Harper and Hallie Quinn Brown were present, and likely added to "Woman's Work for African Women."<sup>80</sup> The session featured lectures from a Black Western African woman and two White American women who collectively provided information about their missionary endeavors among women and children, which they saw as vital to the bright future for the continent.<sup>81</sup> At the very least, African American clubwomen would have agreed with this gender-driven premise and joined in a rich conversation around it.

In the 1895 Atlanta Congress on Africa, the format showed consistency. Etna Holderness, a native African, lectured on her life experiences; May French Sheldon, a White American from Philadelphia, discussed the need for manual and domestic training; and Alice Bacon, a British woman affiliated with Hampton Institute, described her book

about her African travels.<sup>82</sup> Since the National Congress of Colored Women occurred around this same time, it is likely that some of these delegates attended the Congress on Africa. At the very least, John W.E. Bowen, secretary of African Congress, delivered greetings to the Women's Congress, where his wife served on the Committee of Courtesies. In turn, she played a musical instrument in The Congress on Africa.<sup>83</sup> Finally, the speeches of male and female delegates alike addressed the efforts of African American missionaries like Nancy Jones (Mozambique, 1888 to 1893) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe 1893 to 1897); and Georgia E.L. Patton (Liberia: 1893-1895).<sup>84</sup>

Different from these summits, the London 1900 PAC meeting occurred when “imperialism that was at its zenith,” thereby making radicalism one of its key characteristics. The delegates agreed to meet in London since it seemed the most appropriate setting to permit them to “assail” the British colonial system and to take advantage of traffic to the Paris Exposition. The meeting site also represented the maturation of the Atlantic movement as activists of color who now filled the ranks increasingly universalized the problem of racial prejudice and hoped to re-orient British reformers to their cause.<sup>85</sup> The conversation was one that drew participation of a number of American men including Charles P. Lee, Henry F. Downing, and W.E.B. Du Bois. British activists Florence Balgarnie and Catherine Impey, who for many years held these same interests, were delighted to be among the conveners.<sup>86</sup>

This PAC meeting also claimed at least seven Black American female participants: 1) Jane Roberts (one of last of the early African American settlers to Liberia, who now made her home in London; 2) Anna H. Jones, (a member of the Kansas

City Colored Women's League and a member of the team that produced the NFAAW-NCWL merger; 3) Ella D. Barrier (secretary of the Colored Women's League of Washington, D.C. and a teacher at the M Street school; 4) Ada Harris, (a school principal in Indiana who went on to become chair of Citizenship Department within the Indiana Association of Colored Women's Clubs; 5) Harriet Loudin (a graduate of Fisk University, who along with her husband elected to remain in England after their Fisk Jubilee concert days) 6) Fannie Barrier Williams (the well known reformer who represented African American women at the 1893 Congress of Women and a regular participant in interracial endeavors in Chicago; and 7) Anna Julia Cooper (who presented at this same conference and was also the author of *A Voice From the South: By A Black Woman in the South* (1892). Cooper also became one of two women elected to serve on the executive committee.<sup>87</sup>

Given the 1900 London conference's small size, it is likely that all of these women contributed to the proceedings in some way. Nevertheless, only Roberts is mentioned in the record as a distinguished speaker with no description of her address. The same lack of detail applies to that of Harriet Loudin, whose contributions to the musical program were given expressed appreciation. Anna Julia Cooper read a paper on "The Negro Problem in America" and Anna H. Jones gave a speech entitled "The Preservation of Race Individuality," which argued for cultivation of Black artistry.<sup>88</sup> Another conference participant especially remarked how Jones was one of the individuals who appeared as royalty at a high tea at the Fulham Palace, "mov[ing] about the palace and grounds with such surprising ease and elegance."<sup>89</sup> Since the delegates elected to

form a permanent association that alternated meetings between Europe, America, and free Black nations, Jones' very behavior and appearance was an important and undeniable visual representation, much like the African American exhibit in the Paris Exposition.

The planned 1901 and 1904 meetings of the PAC did not come to fruition, and in Du Bois' estimation little impact came from the London meeting by the way of organizing due to prevailing racial issues in diverse or numerous nations. Yet, the meeting profoundly shaped Anna Julia Cooper, who throughout her lifetime remained an ardent PAC participant especially during the inter-war period. Most immediately after the Conference's end, Cooper remained in Europe and undertook a tour that included a visit to the Paris Exposition as well as a number of Italian cities.<sup>90</sup> Ada Harris did the same. In writing home from the Paris Exposition, she happily reported her good reception by foreigners. As was the case with previous female travelers during the summer, she could be found lecturing to the public on her experiences soon after her return.<sup>91</sup> Alas, it is difficult to determine the impact of the 1900 PAC congress on the NACW since no announcement or write-ups appeared in the *National Association Notes* when it reappeared that November and because the Association did not meet again in convention until the Fall of the 1901.

In August of 1900, NACW leaders met to determine the next convention location. First, they dealt with a controversy that had developed. The previous April, Washington printed the WEC's full organizational report that included an attack on Mary Church Terrell since a number of women were upset that she had been elected president again at

the contentious 1899 NACW convention. While it was clear that Ruffin (though she did not sign her name to the report) and her followers felt that she rather than Terrell deserved the presidency, in taking the issue to the larger Black press and printing their disapproval and non-support in the *National Association Notes*, these clubwomen ventured out of bounds and risked damaging the young organization. Washington claimed that its printing was an error of the head and not the heart, but Terrell still asked for a committee of three editors to prevent future slips. In the end, it was decided that a board was not feasible, but that a more carefully considered magazine needed to be resumed immediately. Ruffin's name disappeared in national work after this year though she continued laboring in regional and local clubs including interracial ones. In just a short time, the Women's Era Club and the Golden Era Club of Cambridge ended their NACW affiliation.<sup>92</sup>

The NACW Executive Board next turned its attention to discussing the upcoming convention, and elected to host it alongside the Pan-American Exposition that would be held in Buffalo, New York from May through November 1901.<sup>93</sup> The venture represented the nation's first Exposition since the Spanish-American War and its very name celebrated and glorified American expansion. While many African Americans had showed themselves ambivalent about these endeavors, a large number still desired to be viewed as a part of the American public and culture during exhibits. When it was clear that there was no evidence that this was going to happen, NACW members in New York committed to activism that combatted their exclusion. Most especially, the *National Association Notes* reports that Mary J. Talbert, the clubwoman already famous since her

days at teaching at all-White school in Little Rock, Arkansas, spearheaded the protest. She delivered a self-authored paper in a meeting at the Michigan Street Baptist Church in Buffalo that included invitations to Fair officials and the local press. The title, “Why the American Negro *Should be Represented* at the Pan American Exposition” was reminiscent of Wells’ 1893 Chicago Exposition pamphlet. Talbert's efforts paid off when the African American Exhibit that appeared in Paris in 1900 was transferred to Buffalo, New York.<sup>94</sup>

During the 1901 convention, the NACW took up a recommendation from a Chicago clubwoman and voted to send a letter of support and sympathy to Empress Dowager Cixi who supported “the Boxers,” in contrast to a number of European powers had started to support the bloody anti-imperialist uprising in China. The women also selected Josephine Silone-Yates, a founding NACW member and club leader from Kansas, as the NACW’s second president.<sup>95</sup> Although Silone-Yates was an original member of the *Woman’s Era* editorial staff, during her presidency she showed appreciation for the *National Association Notes*’ conservative approach and thanked Washington for ensuring it. She considered the tone to be more dignified and thus a saving grace that kept the organization out of tangles and permitted its growth. By 1904, the NACW had nearly 15, 000 members from 31 states, and soon featured 12 departments that included art, literature, and business that reflected growing membership from literary and cultural organizations.<sup>96</sup> The Association also continued to employ its method of inclusionary activism as it pertained to national White women’s organizations. By November, the organization happily reported that it met its modified National Council



of Women dues and that its “bapt[ism] into fellowship with . . . sisters of the more favored race” was complete.<sup>97</sup> This, of course, stood in opposition to African American women’s exclusion from the General Federation of Women’s Clubs, and most notably the Ruffin Incident of June 1900 that continued to serve as a useful marker and mechanism on inclusion and success. For instance, in January of 1901, Hester C. Jeffries proudly informed her Association colleagues, “The shilly shally attitude of the GWFC has in no way influenced the righteous spirit of the women of the NCW or the Mothers’ Congress.” In her attendance at the New York State Federation of Women in Albany that past December, she happily reported that she was accepted into the meeting on equal terms.<sup>98</sup>

Silone-Yates reported similarly on the NACW’s first official appearance at National Council of Women’s convention. In Washington that February, two other African American women joined her: Lucy Thurman and Bettie G. Francis, a local educator. Francis pleaded the African American cause, decrying that though congressional attention was increasingly granted to the “Cuban, Porto Rican, Hawaii, Philippines, and Chinese question,” the “Negro question,” the oldest of them, seemed absent.<sup>99</sup> Silone-Yates’ own speeches, “Woman as a Factor in the Solution of Race Problems” and “Kindergartens and Mothers’ Clubs among Colored People” that detailed racial accomplishments were so grandly received that she then shared again at a meeting of the National Mothers’ Congress in the same city just a few days later.<sup>100</sup> In summing up her work in these conventions, *NAN* interestingly reported her as “a school girl returned to her classes, so eagerly and constantly did she avail herself to the trust of her stewardship . . . . She came, she saw, she conquered, and . . . established for the women

whom she represented a place among the world's women of culture, thought, and influence." Silone-Yates was so satisfied with this account that she petitioned Washington for additional copies of it in order to share with NCW members. As she explained it, *NAN* could be utilized as a sort of "show . . . tell and boom," thereby generating real funds for the Association's kindergarten work.<sup>101</sup>

Alas, Silone-Yates and the NACW may have arrived at a conclusion about the National Council of Women's open-arms welcome a little too soon. That next summer, southern White women effectively blocked members of the NACW from entering the executive meeting that was being held there in New Orleans. Although the press desired comments from NACW appointee Sylvanie F. Williams, the leader of the local Phyllis (Phillis) Wheatley Club, she confessed that she "didn't want to discuss the matter for the papers exaggerate everything about the race question. . ."<sup>102</sup> Instead, Williams requested and received a private meeting with Susan B. Anthony, Alice Stone Blackwell, and others. Here, the Black clubwomen read the reports that they intended to convey before the entire body and presented Anthony with flowers. They expressed what her appearance meant to them since "com[ing] to see us and speak[ing] to us it helps us to believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man and at least for the time being in the sympathy of women."<sup>103</sup>

Although the meeting ended in good cheer, the delegates remained barred from the NCW Convention. After contemplating the matter more, Williams elected to send her report to the NCW's national secretary with an attached message admitting that her respect for the city, the NCW, and herself precluded her from going as far as to demand

resignations, stage a protest, or speak to the press, which actively sought out her commentary. This conservatism, however, did not stop Williams from sending a copy of the letter to National American Woman Suffrage Association, which accepted African delegates into its New Orleans meeting the week prior. NAWSA promptly printed it within the April edition of its organ, *Woman's Journal*.<sup>104</sup>

Williams' protest that sought to engage prominent White women and their groups in commenting on the issue of the color line was precisely in line with NACW's strategy of rallying support. Nevertheless, as she admitted, this cautious and calculated approach was born out of an understanding of the grand opportunities that lay in Council-affiliation.<sup>105</sup> In 1904, one of these long-awaited opportunities arrived as Silone-Yates was invited to appoint delegates to appear before national and foreign sessions alike in the International Council of Women's third quinquennial conference to be held in Berlin, Germany.<sup>106</sup> In trying to secure representative women who possessed "wisdom that came with age" and "good public speaking skills," NACW's president reached out to Margaret Murray Washington, Coralie Franklin Cook, and Josephine B. Bruce to represent them. She had also been granted permission to pick a fourth representative who was not a NACW member to attend, but this name remains unavailable. Although Bruce declined the invitation citing a lack of proper attire, none of these women appeared to have attended the June Congress, which might have been due to the high cost of participation. While all of them were relatively middle-class, the \$300 needed in six months time was by no means a minor feat. Ultimately, the Association's sole representation at the

conference was its former president, Mary Church Terrell, whose father provided the funds so that she could take up the invitation from ICW leadership.<sup>107</sup>

Terrell relished the opportunity “of presenting facts creditable to colored women of the United States” and prepared her paper before leaving home. Upon her arrival, however, she continued to hear complaints from German delegates about their inability to engage with the speeches by Americans due to the language barrier. It was then that Terrell painstakingly labored to rewrite and to deliver her addresses in French and German in which she was fluent, claiming to be the only American delegate to do so. As she saw it, only then could she report successful completion of the task that she “crossed the sea to accomplish.” Terrell’s address in the native tongue of the land where she was presenting meant all the more since she claimed that she represented all Black womanhood everywhere as the sole delegate “with a drop of African blood” in her veins. The audience was amazed to hear of the accomplishments of women like Phillis Wheatley, but also of the continued discrimination that the population suffered particularly in employment.<sup>108</sup> What might have surprised them even more was Terrell’s appearance and presence. Rather than the lighter-skinned, properly attired, and well-spoken woman before them, many expected to lay eyes on an “unusual anthropological specimen” and a “cakewalking,” “coonjining” individual.<sup>109</sup> Through her attendance at social gatherings connected to the conference, Terrell reported that she also worked to deepen the outlook of many international representatives who seemed intent on concentrating on the plight of Jews in Germany. While she certainly expressed sympathy

for their condition, she did not hesitate to point out misinformation and inaccuracies when speakers attempted comparisons between them and American Blacks.<sup>110</sup>

When the NACW met in St. Louis, Missouri a month later, the leadership received a cable from Terrell that announced her decision to remain abroad for European travel and likely reported that she utilized the opportunity just as they imagined. It was during this time that Terrell came to the conclusion that “for the rest of my natural life, I shall devote as much of my time and strength as I can to enlightening my friends across the sea upon the condition of the race problem in the United States, as it really is.”<sup>111</sup>

The leadership passed a resolution that expressed its elation at Terrell’s good representation since they were motivated to be a part of the Louisiana State Purchase National Fair for similar reasons.<sup>112</sup> In fact, during the previous year, Silone-Yates made an unprecedented move to postpone the NACW convention by one year in order to coincide with this event. Moreover, this longer planning period proved beneficial for the organization since it enabled it to secure recognition through the efforts of Namahyoka Gerturde Sockum Curtis, who briefly assisted the Board of Lady Managers of the Chicago Exposition. When the NACW became the second African American organization to be granted a day that carried its name, members counted this along with its impending incorporation as a sign of the organization’s arrival.<sup>113</sup>

The NACW was delighted to receive greetings from the Fair board during its meetings, but on the first day Margaret Murray Washington and others communicated the racial discrimination that occurred on the fairgrounds. The local press immediately picked up Washington’s sentiments concerning the lack of equality in employment as

well as poor treatment. Also covered was the dissension among NACW members when she demanded that the organization abandon its support of the Fair.<sup>114</sup> Silone-Yates promptly appointed a board to investigate the situation and to properly inform the press where it stood. It read: "Having come to our knowledge that certain members of our race have been refused refreshments and other privileges that the World's Fair has accorded to every other people, simply on the ground of color, the National Association, in convention assembled, pass[ed] a resolution to withdraw the decision to hold a session at the World's Fair grounds."<sup>115</sup> The women moved their sessions to a local Baptist church and went forward with discussions on setting a good example in local communities and homes, proper ways to manage business, and a discussion of Silone-Yates' National Council of Women lectures.<sup>116</sup>

On July 14<sup>th</sup>, the Association reported the first African visitor to its proceedings, Minister Issah Isaaka. After hearing the reports of the clubs, Issaka requested that NACW activities be organized in West Africa. The 1904 minutes fail to show if there was any consideration of this request, yet some affiliates of the organization were already engaging in study and activism beyond American borders. For instance, in 1901 the Women's Era Club maintained correspondence with Jennie Davis Sharpe, who originally journeyed to Liberia as a missionary of the Boston Board of Control of Liberia College. In 1902, the Women's Era Club made her American Mount Coffee School Association its primary focus of support. In fact, during the organization's only public meeting that year, the women introduced Sharpe to the general public.<sup>117</sup> Upon her departure, club members agreed to attend to the welfare of a Princess Marvee, who Sharpe placed in the Foxboro

Home for Colored Children. The Women's Era Club's hands-on work was unique among others that sought to turn their gaze outward through discussion and study. For instance, in 1904 the Sojourner Truth Club of Alabama sponsored a school-aged writing competition on Toussaint L'Overture while the Tuskegee Women's Club discussed "Russia: It's Representative People: It's Dress and Its Customs."<sup>118</sup> Women in Ohio studied the "far east," while a group in West Virginia dedicated themselves discussing the ongoing war in South Africa. By far though the most unique activity was one that celebrated Japanese culture in an event acknowledging Ethiopianist writer Pauline Hopkins' recent publication, *Contending Forces*. The gathering was defined by instrumental music and "young friends dressed in Japanese costume."<sup>119</sup>

When the 1904 convention ended, the NACW effectively began its 29-year boycott of hosting its conventions alongside American fairs. Most immediately, it accepted an invitation from the women of Detroit to host its next meeting. Scholars have given much attention to the convention's eruption over long-existing tensions over the election of fair-skinned women as leaders, while scant attention has been granted to how this same meeting showed the NACW casting its organizational gaze towards Africa. The monikers "Afro" and "Colored" were a part of a heavily contested debate during the organization's formation, but the idea of actually physically *associating* with the African continent through club work did not arise until Issaka's suggestion. Two years later, African American women Ida Gibbs Hunt and Georgia De Baptist Faulker built upon this, and this time the appeal was persuasive.<sup>120</sup> Hunt, was an Oberlin graduate and a past M Street school educator alongside her Oberlin classmates Anna Julia Copper and Mary

Church Terrell. Hunt was present at the 1896 National Association of Colored Women founding and in 1905, one year after her retirement and marriage, she became a supporter of the Niagara Movement that brought African American men together in Canada to propose broad-base activism for immediate civil rights. During this same year, Hunt joined other reformers to develop the Young Women's Christian Association's first African American branch in the nation's capital. In fact, before she took the podium, her YWCA colleague Addie Hunton, spoke of the Y's organizing among African American women.<sup>121</sup>

In one address, Hunt delivered a paper on Belgian atrocities, which spelled more than ten million deaths under King Leopold (the sole proprietor of the Congo) and a number of human rights tragedies resulting in mutilations of limbs and loss of lives. One infamous case that cast Leopold's reign into the international limelight was the capture of a Congolese man, Ota Benga, who was then allegedly bound and shipped to the U.S. to appear in a cage in the African Exhibit of the St. Louis Fair as "the missing link" in the evolution from animal to humans.<sup>122</sup> After hearing Hunt's speech, the women adopted a resolution that spoke of the "serious and sympathetic attention" to the conditions in the Congo. As members of the Black race, they noted similarities in the denial of their humanity and their mistreatment at home, making it different from the conditions of Armenians and Russian Jews, which they frequently viewed as an all too-convenient distraction from domestic problems. The NACW then wrote a petition for the American Congress, printing 3,000 of them in a demand for justice.<sup>123</sup> It began:



To the Congress of the United State[s] of America: Therefore, understanding the existence of such grave injustices as recited above in the administration of the Congo Free State has been submitted to your honorable bodies; We, the undersigned petitioners, respectfully request that you give the said testimony your most earnest attention and that you will take such action as you may deem fitting and necessary for the promotion of an impartial investigation of the conditions in the said Congo Free State, and for an authoritative adjudication of the issues to which these conditions are related.<sup>124</sup>

In her other talk, Hunt pulled directly from her experiences as the wife of U.S. Consul to Madagascar. In detailing her most recent visit, she described the conditions of the country's women again as a part of a larger conversation about colonization and imperialism. Upon Hunt's statement, "African for Africans!" the audience broke into immediate applause. Obviously, there were clubwomen in the audience who deeply resented the continent's occupation by outsiders, especially that of Europeans. A few of them were likely active in missionary endeavors on the continent (like Hallie Q. Brown who provided Hunt's introduction) and some of them did so precisely because they believed that educated Blacks (including native Africans) were better suited for this "uplift" work.<sup>125</sup>

Georgia De Baptist Faulker also addressed the NACW's afternoon session on July 10th. Unlike Hunt, who did not hold membership in any NACW-affiliated unit, Faulker was a member of several of the Chicago clubs and had appeared on the Buffalo, New

York convention program three years earlier. Prior to her missionary service in Monrovia, Liberia, for many years, she undertook clerical assignments and served as a schoolteacher in Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, and Alabama. Before her departure and even after her return to the U.S., Faulkner was a well-known clubwoman in Chicago's social circles. While abroad, her husband, C.H. Faulkner worked to establish a hospital in Monrovia while she served as the assistant principle of the female department at Liberia College.<sup>126</sup> Perhaps it was her interaction with this population that led her to stress a focus on youth rather than their parents.

Although the NACW did not make this particular distinction in its work, the emphasis on adolescents fell well within its concentration on the home. The speech was such a welcomed one that the convention permitted her to carry on beyond her time limit. In closing, Faulker declared her desire for a direct line of communication and transportation between Black women in Africa and America and suggested a future convention in Africa. At once, Terrell moved that Faulkner be permitted to form NACW-affiliated clubs in Liberia, which was soon followed by the amendment that Hunt do the same in Madagascar. The executive meeting that spoke to the formation of a committee headed by Hunt and Faulkner showed that the women hoped that the final result would be an "International Association of Colored Women."<sup>127</sup>

By 1908, the NACW was claiming affiliates in Canada, Liberia, and Bermuda. Although the body cited relationships with Canadians since its birth, the Bermudan reference remains unclear. During that year's convention in Brooklyn, New York Faulkner appeared again, this time reporting on her "efforts in organizing club work

among the women [in Liberia].”<sup>128</sup> Otherwise, Africa was mainly taken up through cultural celebrations orchestrated by Ida Gibbs Hunt’s sister, Harriet Gibbs Marshall. Marshall was also an Oberlin graduate, who pursued additional music education in France and other locales before starting the Washington Conservatory of Music and School of Expression in 1903. The cultural program that she designed for the women was built around 1) dance: Bamboula Africa Dance, 2) song: Cycle Tuscan, and 3) reading: “Ode to Ethiopia.” The latter was Paul Laurence Dunbar’s tribute that stood on the cusp of an emerging social and political movement seeking to exhibit pride in the rich African past and celebrated Black accomplishments despite current conditions.<sup>129</sup>

Due to their long absences from the U.S. as wives of Foreign Service Officers, neither of the Gibbs sisters appeared on NACW programs for years to come. Although she did not share it with the Association, Hunt eventually decided not to follow up on her assignment to initiate branches for an International Association of Colored Women. Historian Adele Logan Alexander writes that Hunt may have been led by a fear that these entities would become radicalized in a manner that would prove harmful to her spouse’s career.<sup>130</sup> Faulkner, who remained in the U.S. and retired from missionary work, also appears to have given up this work. There are no reports of the Liberian associations that she started. The minutes for the 1910 meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, did not survive. Even so, the original program shows that the only foreign focus came from a talk by Addie Hunton entitled “Impressions Made Abroad” that presumably told of her study abroad at a German University in 1909-1910. This same convention welcomed back Ida B. Wells-Barnett, absent since the 1899 Chicago Convention.

It is in this way that the discussion of the development of an international NACW faded just as quickly as it arose. Nevertheless, the fleeting nature of this development does not mean that it held little value—quite the opposite. The presentations of these women alongside a more enduring exchange of letters among Hunton, Terrell, and Hunt served to deepen the analysis and perspectives that these clubwomen held concerning gender, race, colonization, and imperialism. Hunt dedicated a large portion of her writing to encouraging others to realize that they had “a duty” to not only Liberians, but also the rest of the “darker world.”<sup>131</sup> Furthermore, the NACW’s 1907 intervention in the Congo Crisis joined it to a larger literary movement well underway by the Black press, churches, and political organizations, which did much to bring about an end to Leopold’s rule in November 1908.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, eight years later African American clubwoman Nannie Helen Burroughs was still encouraging readers of her publication *The Worker* to draw lessons, comparisons, and connections. Out of a sense of kinship, she recommended prayer that the “they” who killed “us” in the Congo would cease in doing the same in U.S.<sup>133</sup> Like many other African Americans, Burroughs’ activism would become radicalized in the years leading up to and following the World War I.

W.E.B. Du Bois was another African American activist who continued to call upon this African situation in the larger battle for Black equality. As an original member of the first PAC, he was now gearing up to meet again in London in July of 1911—this time under the egis of the International Union of Ethical Societies. The meeting’s name, the Universal Races Congress, already indicated differences. Others included the fact that the gathering had interracial scholarly discussion and personal contact as its aims

was much larger, claiming “2,100 members, 1,200 active, and 900 passive.”<sup>134</sup> It also attracted Germans, Indians, Africans, and Black and White Americans alike. Since some of the Black participants were the main movers and shakers of the 1900 meeting, there was still a Pan-Africanist bent. But if others held revised views similar to that of Du Bois this meant that their view of Pan-Africanism had now abandoned a belief in “uplift” ideology. Many also rejected the idea that responsible and responsive European colonization was possible and the belief in prerequisites for indigenous people’s self-leadership.<sup>135</sup>

Others might have been influenced to attend out of a rejection of Booker T. Washington’s 1910 lecture before the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society in England. At this August meeting that Hallie Q. Brown also attended along with E.J. Emery, Booker T. Washington suggested that Europeans only knew the bad side of American race-relations because that was all that was recorded. Instead, he claimed that the “racial bar” was steadily diminishing especially in business. In an attempt to set the record straight, African American leaders issued an open manifesto, “To The People of Great Britain and Europe,” and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sponsored a delegation to the 1911 PAC congress.<sup>136</sup>

The two clubwomen who belonged to this PAC delegation received a fully paid trip and obviously thought it important to be there. Susan Smith McKinney Steward, one of the earliest African American female physicians and a member of the Woman’s Loyal Union in New York, informed PAC conveners about the prevailing club spirit among clubwomen and the accomplishments of their forbearers. When she arrived back home in

the U.S., she read this same paper for family members and close friends at a September gathering.<sup>137</sup> At 79 years of age, Sarah J. Garnett of New York, was the oldest of these women, and chair of NACW's Suffrage Department. In New York, she was the founder of Brooklyn's Equal Suffrage League, the sole body of African American women with this focus in this city. Garnett seems to have also invited her sister, S. Maria Stewart, the physician at Wilberforce University, to come along. It was Stewart's first PAC Congress, but she had traveled abroad many times.<sup>138</sup> After these sisters returned to the U.S., Garnett quickly distributed the suffrage materials that she collected while she was abroad. The Brooklyn's Equal Suffrage League feted her travel and contributions before her unexpected death less than two months later.

In 1912, when the NACW met in its convention, the members held a vigil to honor Garnett and all that she accomplished in the club movement. The Hampton, Virginia location of this meeting was selected to coincide with Booker T. Washington's own International Conference of the Negro, which largely held missionary work and the Tuskegee model as standards for the future of the African continent. Whereas the Universal Races Congress attracted a larger number of scholars, activists, and some government leaders, 25 White theologians and missionaries (mostly White) accounted for the International Conference of the Negro's attendance.<sup>139</sup> The gathering also purposely avoided controversial and radical discussions of race, nationalism, and decolonization. The NACW's alignment with Booker T. Washington and his Conference and Association members' attendance at the more politicized PAC meeting in London wherein Du Bois played a huge role suggests continued diverging views held by the body's members and

leaders, but also the organization's evolving protest nature. In fact, it was in its 1912 convention that the Association formally supported women's suffrage. Hallie Q. Brown headed the department since Garnett's death.<sup>140</sup>

Nevertheless, the NACW's decision concerning the proper course of engagement within the African diaspora was harder to decide especially since so many activists possessed unclear and convoluted understandings and outlooks concerning Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism. For instance, when discussing Phillis Wheatley, a commonly utilized example of African American progress, in one breath clubwomen could, and often did, remark on her African roots and heritage as the foundation of her poetic talents and that the crystallization of these talents developed out of her Western acculturation. All at once, this "double consciousness" tried to show respect for the African past, distance from circulating ideas about primitivism in the present, and patriotism for the American republic. The scale for this changed constantly, showing as Wilson Jeremiah Moses well articulated: "Black nationalism often assumed the shape of its container."<sup>141</sup>

When the First World War broke out in 1914, most African American clubwomen accepted and appreciated President Woodrow Wilson's declaration of neutrality, which permitted them to concentrate on the domestic situation. The number of lynchings was steadily rising, as was the appearance of damaging racist products like the 1915 movie *Birth of A Nation*, which was based on the 1905 book, *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*. Furthermore, in hoping to escape terrible conditions in the American South, more than half a million African Americans moved to urban areas in

the North between 1910 and 1920. The flood of newcomers exacerbated issues that the NACW affiliates were already working exhaustively to handle.<sup>142</sup> In comprehending all the work that it had to do, the organization committed itself to working on the improvement of race relations at home. This focus appeared in the NACW's 1914 resolution concerning the First World War. Association members called for harmony and reconciliation rooted in "Prince of Peace" principles that was very much in line with the declarations of other national women's groups.<sup>143</sup>

In pursuit of peace, prominent Black clubwomen like Mary Church Terrell, Mary B. Talbert, Charlotte Atwood, Mary F. Waring, and Addie Hunton were invited to join in the national movement through membership in the Women's International League for Lasting Peace and Freedom (WILPF).<sup>144</sup> As WILPFer Emily Green Balch explained in March 1915, her organization thought it best to pursue Black members since it saw overcoming racial prejudice and intolerance as a means of preventing war. Although a lot of pacifists made up the WILPF's ranks, most African American women including Terrell were peace activists rather than pacifists, meaning that they considered peace and freedom to be so intertwined that their guarantee might entail warfare.<sup>145</sup>

In the 1916 convention, NACW women did not pass a resolution concerning peace though Margaret Murray Washington did appoint Mame Stewart Josenberger, an owner of a funeral home business in Fort Smith, Arkansas, as chair of a committee for this purpose later that year. Right then, however, the NACW drew its attention to the race's dramatic show of progress in pageant-form with W.E.B Du Bois' "The Star of Ethiopia" and Margaret Williams' "The Vindication of Negro Womanhood."<sup>146</sup> On the



last day, delegates also heard from Henrietta Peters, an African American female missionary with the AME church. She was then serving as principal of the Primary Department of the Quittah School in what was then called the East Gold Coast, West Africa. Before the women, she “spoke eloquently of a little African Princess, 5 years old, brought to America to be educated,” quite possibly the little girl that Sharpe brought over in 1901. Even if the delegates listened to her story intently, they passed no resolution concerning the work nor does it appear that they took up discussion or donations concerning it. Their minds appeared to be solely fixed on the American situation.<sup>147</sup> Thus, when the U.S. formally declared war in April 1917, the NACW readily entered into the “maelstrom of war activity[,] . . . and hurled themselves joyously.” It is in this way that they:

. . .cut the Gordian knot with magnificent simplicity. They offered their services and gave them freely, in whatsoever form was most pleasing to the local organizations of white women. They accepted without a murmur the place assigned them in the ranks. They placed the national need before the local prejudice; they put great-heartedness and pure patriotism above the ancient creed of racial antagonism.<sup>148</sup>

In addition to activities with their own communities, African American women raised funds for the Liberty Loan and Red Cross campaigns. As an organizational affiliate of the Woman’s Committee of the Council of National Defense, the NACW requested its members to conserve food, to produce homespun items, and to ensure the protection of

children.<sup>149</sup> When the women met next in 1918, they received a letter from the War Department that commended their efforts; and for the first time in NACW history, Association members voted to create a fund to permit the president and the chair of executive board to be present at national conferences and any meetings called by the War Department. In resolution form, the women also showed their full commitment to helping their country live up to its true democratic purpose, which involved paying more attention to lynch law and Jim Crow within national borders.<sup>150</sup>

The NACW also continued to petition to serve as nurses to African American troops abroad, viewing this as a new frontier of their national and international activism. Despite clubwomen's many efforts, before the November 1918 armistice only three women were formally sent. The first was Helen Noble Curtis, arriving on December 31<sup>st</sup>. Although a native of New Orleans, she was most recently a clubwoman from Washington, D.C., and the wife of the recently deceased James L. Curtis, who served as a U.S. Consul General to Liberia from 1915-1917. He convinced Liberia to enter the war on the Allied side. Curtis was chosen because of her international experience and fluency in French, and her potential ability to serve as a counter-example to German propaganda.<sup>151</sup> Arriving in June of 1918 was Addie Hunton, who had studied at the Kaiser Wilhelm University in Strasbourg, Germany, seven years earlier. She was the wife of William A. Hunton, the first African American secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association. Kathryn Magnolia Johnson, who rounded out the bunch, was a former field organizer for the NAACP from 1913 to 1916. In addition to their service to

the troops as “mothers, sisters and friends,” Curtis, Hunton, and Johnson sought to “represent in France, the womanhood of our race.”<sup>152</sup>

After the armistice in 1918, 16 more African American women were tapped for service including Mary B. Talbert of Buffalo, who after serving in a variety of offices on the state and national levels was elected as NACW’s president in its 1916 biennial.<sup>153</sup> Johnson and Hunton reported that they were “deeply honored in having her as a member of overseas groups... and [t]here she won the hearts of the soldiers completely. They gave her a purse for the Frederick Douglass Home at Anacostia, which through [her] untiring efforts made a national memorial for colored Americans.” Through Talbert’s efforts the NACW agreed to partner with the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association (FDMHA) for maintenance and preservation of the Douglass Home. It was the NACW’s first national project, which spoke to the organization’s ability to unite members more successfully for its expressed purposes and aims.<sup>154</sup> Finally, the NACW had emerged as a united group.

By the start of the century, nearly all club leaders had come to agree on the usefulness of inclusive activism as it related to the endeavors of national and international women’s groups. Thus, members were encouraged to attend conferences at home and abroad, and for the first time in the summer of 1900, a consortium of Black women traveled abroad to attend the Paris Exposition and to participate with the PAC and WCTU meetings. Incidents of racism such as the Ruffin incident at the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1900 and the barring of NACW women from the National Council of Women’s meeting in New Orleans two years later, while

embarrassing and unfortunate, still served as an important part of the NACW's "knocking" for equality and inclusion. Such instances frequently permitted the NACW to wisely pit White women's groups against each other concerning their ill treatment. Although the NACW appointed at least three women to attend the ICW meeting in Berlin in the summer of 1904 in hopes of putting the population's condition before a large foreign audience, only Mary Church Terrell was able to attend. The NACW was happy for Terrell's representation, but at the same time was facing a battle of racism back at home at the St. Louis Fair.

The discriminatory treatment faced by Black fairgoers forced the NACW to abandon its practice that began in 1897 of hosting biennial meetings alongside national fairs and expositions. At this point, the NACW now began to host its biennial conventions on its own or alongside that of the Black congresses and organizations. Its continued success in this new approach, spoke well of the organization's exponential growth and success. By the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Association claimed more than 45,000 members, a size that enabled its members to successfully undertake state and regional projects with such foci as education, health and sanitation, and historic preservation.<sup>155</sup> As press and prestige grew around these projects, so did the calls for affiliation from interracial women's organizations, which increasingly sent representatives to the organization's biennial conventions. In addition, groups like the WCTU, YWCA, and NAWSA, and Black male representatives of the NAACP and the Urban League graced Association programs and conventions. Beyond participating with the endeavors of these organizations, the NACW had begun to consider expanding its

work beyond American borders particularly within African countries. While it authorized missionaries to take up this work in 1906, these women's role as the wives of Foreign Services officers or the ending of their foreign religious work meant that these international branches did not come to fruition. Furthermore, by the start of the First World War, the NACW was firmly fixated on their domestic situation at home.

But, this narrowed approach did not last long. Throughout her stay in France, the Association's new leader, Mary B. Talbert, along with many other women serving alongside her, developed a new "racial consciousness and racial strength" that radicalized the "New Negro Woman" as a part of the "New Negro" movement.<sup>156</sup> A portion of this newfound philosophy and outlook was experienced in the fairer treatment that these women received from the French when compared to White Americans. For Helen Curtis, this process was quickened by her being closely monitored and constantly rebuked by American military leaders in France as being the "wrong type of Negro." Additionally, no one could miss the poor treatment received by non-White troops, who were also giving their lives in the defense of democracy.<sup>157</sup> Back at home in the U.S., African Americans, especially those who had migrated to the North for employment within war industries, also carried hope and inspiration for the future. Their optimism was very much infused by a sense of militancy evident throughout the world in the rise of nationalist movements and communist-led governments. Thus, whether at home or abroad during the war, many African Americans were quickly emerging as a population that recognized and increasingly called attention to the clear and ever-expanding gap in American rhetoric and actions to "make the world safe for democracy" and

disenfranchisement, segregation, lynchings, and exploitation within the nation's borders.

In the inter-war period, these activists confidently insisted on opportunity, citizenship, and importantly, self-determination for minorities the world over.

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<sup>1</sup> L.A. Davis, "Report of the Phyllis Wheatley Woman's League," in the *Minutes of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, Boston, Mass., July 29, 29, and 21 1895, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): 108.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb* (Washington, DC: National Association National Association of Colored Women, 1933), 41; and *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Nashville, TN., September 15, 16, 17 and 18 1897, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): 5.

<sup>3</sup> For biographical data on Davis, see Jessie Carney Smith, "Elizabeth Lindsay Davis," in *Notable Black American Women*, Jessie Carney Smith, ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992), 253-255.

<sup>4</sup> Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 72-104.

<sup>5</sup> Leroy Davis, *A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 95-97.

<sup>6</sup> "Tennessee Centennial Notes," *Woman's Era* (August 1896): 12; Teresa Blue Holden, "'Earnest Women Can Do Anything': The Public Career of Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, 1842-1904," (PhD Diss., Saint Louis University, 2005), 200; and "Untitled," *The National Association Notes* (April 1899): n.p.

The condition of the *National Association Notes* has rendered most of its original pagination and the titles of articles (when they were used) undetectable. In the instances when page numbers are visible, they are provided. In referring to articles without apparent names, I provide the first few words of the article as a reference.

<sup>7</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Nashville, TN*, 22.

<sup>8</sup> The NACW needed to be publicized as the foremost association of Black women in order to make this description accurate. Thus, the organization heavily relied on press concerning its meetings and activities. In addition, the NACW printed its reports within columns of leading Black newspapers. See Beverly W. Jones, "Mary Church Terrell and the National Association of Colored Women, 1896 to 1901," *The Journal of Negro History* (Spring 1982): 25-26; and Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 226.

<sup>9</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Nashville, TN*, 6, and 10-11.

<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb*, 41; and Mary Church Terrell, "First Presidential Address to the National Association of Colored Women," Nashville, Tennessee, September 15, 1897, Mary Church Terrell Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>11</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Nashville, TN*, 14-15.

<sup>12</sup> World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Report of the Fourth Biennial Convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Held in the Pavilion*

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and Massey Music Hall, Toronto, Canada, October 22-26, 1897 (Chicago: World Temperance Publishing Association, 1897), 56, and 79-80; "Thurman on Colored People/Washington on "Educational talk among the Colored Race," *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), November 4, 1897; and "Washington to Deliver Principal Address On Open of Conference..." *The Minneapolis Journal*, October 23, 1897.

<sup>13</sup> Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1996). 200.

Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin viewed education as the chief task of the national organization and alleviation as the primary task of the individual member. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, *The National Association Notes* (July 1907): 8.

<sup>14</sup> Mary Church Terrell, "The Progress of Colored Women," An Address delivered before the National American Women's Suffrage Association, at the Columbia Theater, Washington, D.C., February 19, 1898, on the Occasion of its Fiftieth Anniversary, (District of Columbia: Smith Brothers, 1898), 10. Accessed through Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds., *Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600-2000 database* (Hereafter cited as WASM-US). This remarkable collection has permitted quick and easy access to a number of primary resources required in the project.

<sup>15</sup> Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin to Subscribers, November 17, 1897, in the Women's Era Club Boston Public Library, Special Collections. This collection is hereafter cited as WEC Papers, BPL.

<sup>16</sup> Robert J. Norrell, *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 94-97.

<sup>17</sup> For more reading on how this periodical exhibited the Association's agenda, see Dulcie Straughan, "Lifting as We Climb": The Role of The National Association Notes in Furthering the Issues Agenda of the National Association of Colored Women, 1897-1920," *Media History Monographs* (2005-2006): n.p.

<sup>18</sup> The original impetus dated back to a ten-year war starting in 1868, when wealthy White planters demanded independence from Spain. After an additional war in 1879-1880, revolutionaries, separatists, and nationalists reinvigorated the fight for complete independence and total abolition of slavery, which led to many factions on the island. Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 70-71.

<sup>19</sup> Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, 196.

<sup>20</sup> In 1897, the May, June, and September issues are available. In 1898, only the September production remains. 1899 represents the fullest availability since the following monthlies persist: January, March, April, May, June, August, November, and December.

<sup>21</sup> Bruce A. Glasrud, *Brothers to the Buffalo Soldiers: Perspectives on the African American Militia and Volunteers, 1865-1917* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 175-176; and Booker T. Washington, "An Address at the National Peace Jubilee," Chicago, Illinois, October 16, 1898 in Louis R. Harlan and Raymond Smock, eds. *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, vol. 4 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 490-492. For an audience member's reaction, see Robert Charles Bedford to Booker T. Washington, October 20, 1898, *ibid.*, 494.



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<sup>22</sup> Jualynne E. Dodson, "Encounters in the African Atlantic World: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in Cuba," in *Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans before the Cuban Revolution*, ed. Lisa Brock and Digna Castañeda Fuertes (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998), 85-101.

<sup>23</sup> Sue Bailey Thurman, "Editorial: From Northfield to Havana: An Appreciation," *AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* (Summer and Fall 1940): 3; and Ana Echeogoyen de Canizares, "Cuban Social Life and the Negro Woman," 9-11, Box 1, Folder 6, Series 13, of the National Council of Negro Women Papers, National Park Service-Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, NHS, Washington, D.C.

For the general African American public and Maceo, see "Cubans Plan To Honor Mother of Gen. Maceo," *Chicago Defender*, September 27, 1930; and "Cubans Celebrate Birthday Of Antonio Maceo, Black Patriot," *Chicago Defender*, March 2, 1940.

<sup>24</sup> Nancy Raquel Mirabal, "Telling Silences and Making Community: Afro Cubans and African Americans in Ybor City and Tampa, 1899-1915," and David J. Hellwig, "The African American Press and the United States Involvement in Cuba, 1902-1912 in *Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans before the Cuban Revolution*, ed. Lisa Brock and Digna Castañeda Fuertes (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998), 49-69 and 70-84, respectively.

<sup>25</sup> Untitled," *The National Association Notes* (September 1898): n.p.

<sup>26</sup> Bruce A. Glasrud, *Brothers to the Buffalo Soldiers: Perspectives on the African American Militia and Volunteers, 1865-1917* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 187-191.

<sup>27</sup> Untitled," *The National Association Notes* (September 1898): n.p; Also see Yoshiya Makita "Namahyoka Gertrude Sockum" in Lisa Tendrich Frank, ed., *An Encyclopedia of American Women at War: From the Home Front to the Battlefields* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 172.

<sup>28</sup> Emphasis added. Quoted in Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 84-86. One month later, a fellow journalist and one of Wells' favorite correspondents, delivered a more vivid lecture. Before the Interdenominational Association of Colored Clergymen in Boston, Minister Charles S. Morris speech also pointed out the duplicity of Americans' foreign transnational humanitarian campaigns and their allowance of racial crises at home. As Morris reminded them of the Wilmington Massacre: "All of this happened not in Turkey nor in Russia, nor in Spain, nor in the gardens of Nero, nor in the dungeons of Torquemada, but within the three hundred miles of the White House in the best State in the South." Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response*, 84-86.

For concise reading on the Wilmington Massacre, see Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 103-118.

<sup>29</sup> Adele Logan Alexander, "Women of the World: African-American Women as Internationalists, 1890-1940" (Unpublished paper for Seminar on U.S. Foreign Relations, Department of History, Howard University, June 1987), 62-63.

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<sup>30</sup> "Untitled," *The National Association Notes* (April 1899): n.p.

<sup>31</sup> "Club Notes," *The National Association Notes* (March 1899): n.p.; "Untitled," *The National Association Notes* (April 1899): n.p.; and "Untitled," *The National Association Notes* (June 1899): n.p.

<sup>32</sup> Flyer, "Territorial Expansion and its Possible Effects upon the Colored Peoples of the World," March 20, 1899, Revere Street M[ethodist] E[piscopal] Church, in the WEC Papers, BPL.

<sup>33</sup> "Gammon Seminary Opens," *The Christian Advocate* (October 18, 1900): 1705; and "Report of the Woman's Era Club for 1899," n.p., in the WEC Papers, BPL.

<sup>34</sup> "Club Notes," *The National Association Notes* (April 1899): n.p.

<sup>35</sup> "Needs of the Present Age," *The National Association Notes* (April 1899): n.p.

<sup>36</sup> Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, trans. Ann Keep (London: Methuen, 1974), 180; and Henry Sylvester Williams to Booker T. Washington, September 9, 1898 in Louis R. Harlan and Raymond Smock, eds., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, vol. 4 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 475.

<sup>37</sup> "Europe," Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery, an Autobiography* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963 [1901]), 267-297.

<sup>38</sup> Booker T. Washington to the editor of the *Indianapolis Freeman*, May 23, 1899, in Harlan and Smock, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5:120; Rosetta Sprague, "News from Washington, D.C.," *The National Association Notes* (June 1899): n.p.; "A Call," *The National Association Notes* (May 1901): n.p.; and International Council of Women and May Wright Sewall, *Report of Transactions during the Third Quinquennial Term Terminating with the Third Quinquennial meeting held in Berlin, June 1904* (n.p.: Boston, 1909), 44.

<sup>39</sup> Booker T. Washington to the editor of the *Indianapolis Freeman*, July 15, 1899 in Harlan and Smock, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5: 156-158. One enduring letter penned by Margaret Murray Washington after her return indicates that she did some public speaking while abroad. See Margaret Murray Washington to Francis Jackson Garrison, August 7, 1899, in Harlan and Smock, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5:169-170; and Maude Thomas Jenkins, "The History of the Black Woman's Club Movement in America" (PhD diss., Columbia University, Teachers College, 1984), 178.

<sup>40</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," Unpublished Autobiography [1940], p. 185, Box 1, Folder 4, Hallie Quinn Brown Collection, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center. Hereafter cited as the Brown Collection, NAAMCC.

For Brown's role in the 1897 National Prohibition Conference, see Guy Hayler, *The Prohibition Movement: Papers and Proceedings of the National Convention for the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, April 3rd to 9th, 1897* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: North of England Temperance League, 1897), 18, 31, 298, 313, 355, and 388.

<sup>41</sup> International Congress of Women, Ishbel Gordon Aberdeen and Bedford Fenwick Temair, *Women in Professions: Being the Professional Section of the International Congress of Women, London, July 1899* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), 201.

<sup>42</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," 89-90.

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<sup>43</sup> International Congress of Women, *Women in Social Life; The Transactions of the Social Section of the International Congress of Women*, London, July, 1899 (London: T. Fisher Unwin), 64; and Hallie Q. Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," 90.

<sup>44</sup> Hallie Q. Brown, "As the Mantle Falls," 92.

<sup>45</sup> "Untitled," *The National Association Notes* (May 1899): 1. For Booker T. Washington's view on Tobias see "An Article in the *New York Age*, June 8, 1899, in Harlan and Smock, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5:130-131; and Booker T. Washington to the editor of the *Indianapolis Freeman*, July 15, 1899, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5:155.

<sup>46</sup> "Report of the Woman's Era Club for 1899," n.p. in the WEC Papers, BPL.

<sup>47</sup> These articles are untitled and appear on various pages in the *National Association Notes* (May 1899): n.p.

<sup>48</sup> "Tea with the Queen," *National Association Notes* (August 1899): n.p.; and "Hallie L. [sic] Brown," *National Association Notes* (November 1899): n.p.

<sup>49</sup> "Royal Eyes," *National Association Notes* (January 1899): n.p.; "Madame Dreyfus," *National Association Notes* (August 1899): n.p.; "Racing for a Wife," *National Association Notes* (November 1899): n.p.; and "Over 106 Japanese Women. . ." *National Association Notes* (February 1900): n.p.; and "When an Arab Widow . . ." *National Association Notes* (February 1900): n.p.; "Women," *National Association Notes* (December 1900): n.p.;

<sup>50</sup> "An Heroic French Nurse" [sic] in *National Association Notes* (August 1899): n.p.; "Oom Pauls' Wife," *National Association Notes* (November 1899): n.p.; "Mrs. Kruger, it is said. . ." *National Association Notes* (February 1900): n.p.; and "The Queen is Dead! . ." *National Association Notes* (February 1901): n.p.;

<sup>51</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 189; and Mary Church Terrell, "The National Association of Colored Women," *Howard's American Magazine* (November 1899): 26.

Terrell changed the convention date to August to coincide better with that of the National Afro-American Council's, thus guaranteeing better facility and transportation rates. See "So Many Wonder Why. . ." [sic] in *National Association Notes* (August 1899):

Other visitors were in Chicago to partake in a teachers' convention and the national conclave of Black masons. See, "Negroes to Meet Here: Important Conventions of Colored People To Be Held," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 6, 1899; and W.E.B. Dubois, "Two Negro Conventions," *The Independent* (New York), September 7, 1899.

<sup>52</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Chicago, IL, August 14, 15, and 16, 1899, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): 29. The minutes incorrectly record the club as the "Julia Gaskins Club." See "Julia Gaston Club, Evanston, Illinois," in Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *The Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, 1900-1922* (Chicago: n.p., 1922), n.p.

<sup>53</sup> "Negro Club Women Meet: National Association Convention at Quinn Chapel,"

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*Chicago Daily Tribune* August 15, 1899.

<sup>54</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Chicago, IL*, 31 and 35.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>56</sup> "Untitled," *National Association Notes* (July 1899): 1-2. For a good overview of this meeting, See Dorothy C. Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Pub., 1990), 32-36.

<sup>57</sup> By 1904, the journal's format again showed shifts, moving from a four page to a longer, more thoughtful publication. Straughan, "Lifting as We Climb," n.p.

<sup>58</sup> "Untitled," *National Association Notes* (November 1899): n.p.

<sup>59</sup> "Untitled," *National Association Notes* (November 1899): 1.

<sup>60</sup> Mary Church Terrell, Speech, "Greetings from the National Association of Colored Women to The National Council of Women," Reel 21 of Mary Church Terrell Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>61</sup> "Mrs. B.K. Bruce," *National Association Notes* (April 1900): n.p.; and Thomas A. Askew, "1900 Ecumenical Missionary Conference: Reflection," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (October 2000), 146-152. Accessed November 11, 2014 [http://library.columbia.edu/content/dam/libraryweb/locations/burke/fa/mrl/ldpd\\_4492656.pdf](http://library.columbia.edu/content/dam/libraryweb/locations/burke/fa/mrl/ldpd_4492656.pdf)

<sup>62</sup> The women were especially encouraged to travel to the WCTU convention and provided with dates and travel information. "Club Notes," *National Association Notes* (April 1899): n.p. "The World's WCTU Convention," *National Association Notes* (April 1900): n.p.

<sup>63</sup> Salem, *To Better Our World*, 37; and Ann D. Gordon and Bettye Collier-Thomas, *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 59- 62.

<sup>64</sup> These women's names appeared in the following public announcement: "Woman's World," *The Freeman* (Indianapolis, Indiana), June 16, 1900.

<sup>65</sup> "Club Notes," *National Association Notes* (December 1899): n.p.

<sup>66</sup> "Letter to editor," *National Association Notes* (May 1900): n.p.; World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Report of the Fifth Biennial Convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Held in Free Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, England, June 22-26, 1900* (London, England: White Ribbon Company, 1900), 12, 14-15, 25, and 158; and "In the Land of "Bobby" Burns Mrs. Jesse Lawson's Hearty Reception at Edinburgh," [sic] *The Colored American* (Washington, D.C.), August 11, 1900. Lawson also offered the prayer during the WCTU afternoon session on June 25<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Emphasis added. "Colored Women in the Reform Movement," *National Association Notes* (January 1899): n.p. For Victoria Earle Mathews' speech, see "The Awakening of the Afro-American Woman," in Philip Sheldon Foner, Robert J. Branham, eds., *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787-1900* (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 834-840.

<sup>68</sup> "Colored Women in the Reform Movement," *National Association Notes* (January 1899): n.p.

<sup>69</sup> "A Voice from Scotland a Poisonous Plant which will Find Little Nourishment in

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Scottish Soil,” *The Colored American* (Washington, D.C), July 7, 1900. This article was originally carried in the *Edinburgh Evening Lezspatch*.

<sup>70</sup> Teresa Blue Holden discusses this in great detail. See ““Earnest Women Can Do Anything,”” 214-225. Here, Ruffin represented the WEC under its new appellation, the New Era Club. Since the club was inconsistent in utilizing this new name (even using the “Women’s Era Club” as the title of its 1902-1903 report), this dissertation maintains the use of the Women’s Era Club throughout the period of study.

<sup>71</sup> “Untitled,” *The Colored American* (Washington, D.C), November 17, 1900.

Throughout their lifetimes the women remained committed to the WCTU. Rosetta Lawson became the national organizer and secretary and chairman of the press department. See, “Carried Their Point: Courageous Colored Women Place Great Temperance Convention,” *Colored American* (Washington, D.C), August 8, 1902; and “National W. C. T. U. Department Work Among Colored People,” *Broad Axe* (Chicago, Illinois), December 27, 1913.

<sup>72</sup> “Mary A. Lynch . . .” *National Association Notes* (January 1901): n.p.; and “The Women’s World,” *The Colored American* (Washington, D.C), November 17, 1900.

<sup>73</sup> Davis, *Lifting As They Climb*, 14-26; and Ryan Tickle, “For their Brethren across the Sea: the African-American protest to abuses in the Congo Free State, 1885-1908,” (M.A. Thesis, California State University 2009), 80.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas J. Calloway to Booker T. Washington, October 4, 1899 in Harlan and Smock, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5:226.

<sup>75</sup> “Tickle, “For their Brethren across the Sea,” 65-100.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Quotation in “Tickle, “For their Brethren across the Sea,” 86. Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 185-6; and “The American Negro Exhibit at the Paris Expo,” *The Colored American* (Washington, D.C), November 3, 1900.

<sup>78</sup> “The Women’s World,” *The Colored American* (Washington, D.C), March 2, 1901.

<sup>79</sup> “J. Imogen Howard,” *National Association Notes* (January 1901): n.p.; and “Untitled,” *The Colored American* (Washington, D.C), November 17, 1900.

<sup>80</sup> Michelle M Rief, “Banded Close Together”: An Afrocentric study of African American women’s international activism, 1850-1940, and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races,” (PhD Diss., Temple University, 2003), 144.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 145-146.

<sup>82</sup> J. W. E. Bowen and the Congress on Africa, *Africa and the American Negro Addresses and Proceedings of the Congress on Africa, Held Under the Auspices of the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa of Gammon Theological Seminary in Connection with the Cotton States and International Exposition, December 13-15, 1895* (Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1896), 234. Alice Bacon also wrote a pamphlet of African American participation in 1895 Fair entitled “The Negro and the Atlanta Exposition.”

<sup>83</sup> “The National Colored Woman’s Congress,” *The Woman’s Era* (Jan 1896); n.p.

<sup>84</sup> Patton actually traveled to Africa as a solo missionary according to a January 1901[?] article on her work in the *Christian Educator*, Folder 3, Box 16 of the Miriam Decosta

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Willis Papers, Memphis Public Library, Memphis, Tennessee. In fact, Patton's few surviving papers are located within this collection. I thank Stephanie Shaw for alerting me of this fact.

For a larger discussion on women missionaries, see Sylvia M. Jacobs, "Their 'Special Mission': Afro-American Women as Missionaries to the Congo, 1894-1937," in *Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa*, ed. Sylvia M. Jacobs (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 155-176; Sylvia M. Jacobs, "Give a Thought to Africa: Black Women Missionaries in South Africa," ed. Darlene Clark Hine and Wilma King, in *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women's History*, ed. Linda Reed (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1995), 103-123; and Patricia Ann Schechter, "A Kind of Privileged Character: Amanda Smith Berry and Race in Liberian Missions," *Exploring the Decolonial Imaginary: Four Transnational Lives* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 11-48.

<sup>85</sup> Owen Charles Mathurin, *Henry Sylvester Williams and the Origins of the Pan-African Movement, 1869-1911* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), 61.

Although Booker T. Washington could not return to Europe for this conference, the letters that he wrote when attending the preparatory meeting clearly lay out why this site was chosen. Booker T. Washington to the editor of the *Indianapolis Freeman*, July 15, 1899 in Harlan and Smock, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5:156-158; and Booker T. Washington to the editor of the *Colored American*, July 20, 1899, 5:164.

<sup>86</sup> Mathurin, *Henry Sylvester Williams*, 78; and Caroline Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste* (Bloomsbury Academic: London, 2013), 231.

<sup>87</sup> Owen Charles Mathurin, *Henry Sylvester Williams*, 69; and Vivian M. May, *Anna Julia Cooper, Visionary Black Feminist: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 23. Additional biographical information on Harris can be found in "Happenings-Personal," *The Freeman* (Indianapolis, Indiana), August 8, 1896; and "In and about the City," *The Freeman* (Indianapolis, Indiana), January 21, 1899.

Henry Sylvester desired to see women hold a prominent position within the meeting and to have their thoughts considered. Henry Sylvester Williams to Booker T. Washington, August 17, 1899 in Harlan and Smock, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5:159.

<sup>88</sup> S.G.F.C.C. Hamdoe, "The First Pan-African Conference of the World," *The Colored American Magazine* (September 1900): 226-227.

<sup>89</sup> Quotation in Owen Charles Mathurin, *Henry Sylvester Williams*, 66.

Newspaper coverage on these women includes: "The Pan-African Conference Held Recently in London, England..." *Cleveland Gazette*, September 8, 1900.

<sup>90</sup> David W.H. Pellow, "Anna Julia Cooper," in *Notable Black American Women*, ed. Jessie Carney Smith (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992), 219.

<sup>91</sup> "Letter to Carter Temple St.," *Recorder* (Indianapolis, Indiana), August 11, 1900; and "Second Baptist Church," *Recorder* (Indianapolis, Indiana), September 9, 1900.

<sup>92</sup> "The Vice-President's Report," *The National Association Notes* (October 1916): 5; Teresa Blue Holden, "Earnest Women Can Do Anything," 211-213.

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Although the Women's Era Club paid its dues in 1901, no representative attended the annual meeting that year. By the 1904 meeting in St. Louis, neither the WEC nor the Golden Rule Club was listed as paying dues.

<sup>93</sup> "Proceedings on the Executive Committee, which met in August 1900 in Detroit Michigan," *The National Association Notes* (December 1900): n.p.

<sup>94</sup> Emphasis added. "Mrs. William H. Talbert," *The National Association Notes* (January 1901): n.p.; See Lisa Beth Hill, "Mary Morris Talbert," in *Notable Black American Women*, Jessie Carney Smith, ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992), 1095-1100.

<sup>95</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Buffalo, NY, July 9- 13, 1901*, p. 43 and 48, *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

<sup>96</sup> Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 84; and Salem, *To Better Our World*, 35.

<sup>97</sup> In the end, the NCW decided that the Association "should only be required to pay thirty dollars and a few cents per year." "A Personal Letter from Our President," *The National Association Notes* (January 1901): n.p.

<sup>98</sup> "As a Gentlewoman," *The National Association Notes* (April 1902): n.p.

<sup>99</sup> "Mrs. B.G. Francis stir[s] the National Council of Women," *The National Association Notes* (April 1902): n.p. Francis also wrote short stories. See "The 'Rumination' of Aunt Phoebe," *Southern Workman* (March 1906): 150-152.

<sup>100</sup> "Washington, D.C." *The National Association Notes* (April 1902): n.p.; and "Uplifting Of Woman: Theme Of Stirring Addresses In National Council," *The Washington Post*, February 21, 1902; and Josephine Silone-Yates, "Woman as a Factor in the Solution of Race Problems," see *The Colored American Magazine* (February 1907): 126-135.

<sup>101</sup> Josephine Silone-Yates to Margaret Murray Washington, May 3, 1902, Reel 5, NACW Correspondence, 1902, *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993). Hereafter referred to as *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Part 1*.

<sup>102</sup> Nicolle Muller Dunnaway, "Flowers in Their Beauty: The Phyllis Wheatley Club of New Orleans," (M.A. Thesis, Southeastern Louisiana University, 2011), 46.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 51; The Woman's Relief Corps, *The Journal of the Twenty-First National Convention for the Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, San Francisco, Cal., August 20th, 21st, and 22d, 1903* (Griffith-Sterling Press: Boston, 1903), 243.

<sup>105</sup> Oddly enough, the NCW-US elected to include the incident in its third quinquennial report, but stated that the "the National Council bore the test, and hence scored a great moral victory." See "Third Quinquennial Report of the National Council of the United States of America, 1888-1904, Presented by its Honorary President Mrs. May Wright Sewall," in *Report of Transactions during the Third Quinquennial Term*, 37.

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Yet Silone-Yates confirms the NCW's conclusion in the following article: "The National Association of Colored Women," *The Voice of the Negro* (July 1904): 283-87.

<sup>106</sup> Silone-Yates to Washington, January 8, 1904, Reel 5, NACW, Correspondence, 1904-1905, *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Part 1*.

<sup>107</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 237. Terrell likely received her invitation due to her impressive presentation at the Minneapolis meeting of the National Council of Women and the fact that none of the Silone-Yates' suggested delegates had yet confirmed their participation.

<sup>108</sup> Mary Church Terrell, "Die Fortschritte der Farbigen Frauen," in Marie Stritt, ed., *Internationale Frauen-Kongreß, Berlin 1904* (Berlin: C. Habel, 1905), 567-73; translated by the editors. Accessed through Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds., *Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600-2000 database* (Hereafter cited as WASM-US).

<sup>109</sup> Terrell shared that for a while many did not know that she was the "die Negerin" for whom they were all looking. Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 238-239.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 244-245.

<sup>111</sup> Mary Church Terrell, "The International Congress of Women," *Voice of the Negro* (October 1904): 460.

<sup>112</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, St. Louis, MO, July 11 to 16 (Inclusive) 1904, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): 8. Silone-Yates to Washington, May 5, 1902 and June 6, 1902, Reel 5, NACW Correspondence, 1902, *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Part 1*.

<sup>113</sup> Josephine Silone-Yates, "The National Association of Colored Women," *The Voice of the Negro* (July 1904): 286.

<sup>114</sup> "Mrs. Booker T. Washington Claimed Colored Women are Discriminated against," *St. Louis Daily Globe Democrat*, July 13, 1904.

<sup>115</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, St. Louis* (1904), 12-13.

The announcement appeared in the *St. Louis Daily Globe Democrat*, July 14, 1904 and the *St. Louis Palladium*, July 16, 1904.

<sup>116</sup> Josephine Silone-Yates, "The National Association of Colored Women," *Voice of the Negro* (July 1904): 283-287. Anna H. Jones who participated the 1900 Pan African Congress delivered a paper entitled, "The Past and Future of Colored Women in America." "Untitled," *St. Louis, Palladium*, July 16, 1904.

<sup>117</sup> "Report of the Woman's Era Club for 1902-1903," n.p. in the WEC Papers, BPL. A discussion of Sharpe's work can be found in Henry McNeal Turner, *African Letters* (Nashville: Pub. House A.M.E. Church Sunday School Union, 1893), 68-69; and Monroe A. Majors, *Noted Negro Women, Their Triumphs and Activities* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971 [1893]), 186-187.

<sup>118</sup> "The Influence of Club Work in Alabama," *The National Association Notes* (July 1904): 15-16.



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<sup>119</sup> "Federation Department," *The National Association Notes* (July 1904): 27; and "An Entertaining and Interesting Afternoon," *The National Association Notes* (April 1900): 27.

<sup>120</sup> Jenkins, "The History of the Black Woman's Club Movement," 192. Addie Hunton actually claimed these delegates' visits as the highlight of the convention. Christine Ann Lutz, "'The Dizzy Steep to Heaven': The Hunton Family, 1850-1970" (Ph.D. diss., Georgia State University, 2001), 151. Also see Salem, *To Better Our World*, 37; and Kelly Brown Douglas, *Black Bodies and the Black Church: A Blues Slant* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 96-103.

<sup>121</sup> Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism: 1850-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 206; and Adele Logan Alexander, *Parallel Worlds: The Remarkable Gibbs-Hunts and the Enduring (in)significance of Melanin* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 70, 132-133, and 310; and *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Detroit, MI July 9 to 14, 1906, p. 18, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

<sup>122</sup> "Tickle, "For their Brethren across the Sea," 2-3.

<sup>123</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Detroit*, 26; and *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women Brooklyn, NY August 24 to 29, 1908*, p. 43, *from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

<sup>124</sup> Quotation in Jacqueline A. Rouse, "Out of the Shadow of Tuskegee: Margaret Murray Washington, Social Activism, and Race Vindication," *The Journal of Negro History* (Winter 1996): 46.

<sup>125</sup> By this time Hallie Q. Brown had instructed a number of Africans through her employment at Wilberforce. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, at least six of these students came from South Africa and Brown grew fond enough of one to write a memorial after his death. *Mashile: The Story of An African Who Had a Vision* (n.p., 1907) in Box 1, Folder 10, Brown Collection, NAAMCC. Also see, Brandy S. Thomas, "'Give the Women Their Due: Black Female Missionaries and the South African-American Nexus, 1920s-1930s,'" (M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University 2011), especially pages 15-63.

<sup>126</sup> National Association of Colored Women, *National Association of Colored Women, 1952*, (n.p., 1952), 12, Box 3, Folder 10, Ella P. Stewart Collection, Center for Archival Collection, Bowling Green State University; Alberta Moore Smith, "Chicago Notes," *The Colored American* (April 1, 1901): 467; and *National Baptist Union* (January 17 1903): n.p. Reprinted in Virginia W. Broughton and Tomeiko Ashford Carter, *Virginia Broughton: The Life and Writings of a National Baptist Missionary* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2010), 45-46; and Robert L. Johns, "Georgia DeBaptist Faulkner," in Jessie Carney Smith, ed., *Notable Black American Women, Book 2* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996), 165-166.

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<sup>127</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women Detroit, MI*, 18, 20, and 30.

<sup>128</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women Brooklyn, NY August 24 to 29, 1908*, 24.

In fact, in 1918, the Canadian Chain Association a 35-member organization in Chatham, Ontario paid its annual fee. By the next convention, this group was no longer listed as a member of the NACW. In its place was the Home Comfort Club of Toronto, Ontario. In neither instance, does it appear that Canadian delegates played significant roles in the convention.

<sup>129</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> century poems by women include Francis E. Watkins Harper's "Ethiopia," Ida de Hoghton Crooke's "Afric's Call," Virginia P. Jackson's "Africa," Ada S. Woolfolk, "Via Crucis," Lena Mason's "A Negro in It," and Margaret Walker's "Dark Blood." Adele Logan Alexander discusses these women and their creative work as another rich component of Black women's internationalism. Alexander, "Women of the World," 45-47.

<sup>130</sup> Alexander, *Parallel Worlds*, 202.

<sup>131</sup> "Civilization and Darker Races," n.d., Box 4, Folder 72, William Henry Hunt Papers, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University. Hereafter cited as the Hunt Papers, MSRC; "Our Duty to Liberia," n.d., Box 4, Folder 75, Hunt Papers, MSRC; and "Peace and Civilization and Darker Races," n.d., Box 4, Folder 72, Hunt Papers, MSRC.

<sup>132</sup> Wilson, "Taking Liberties Abroad," 359-364. In 1906, the U.S. government finally took official action after Henry Kowalsky, a lawyer hired to ensure good press for the Leopold, sold his research to the *American* in New York. See 362 of the same.

<sup>133</sup> Nannie Helen Burroughs, "What the Belgians did to the Negro," *The Worker* (Feb 1915) reprinted in Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice: African American Women and Religion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 389.

<sup>134</sup> *Report of the Commissioner of the Education Made to the Secretary of the Interior*, vol. 1 (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1912), 609; and W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Races Congress," *Crisis* (September 1911): 200.

<sup>135</sup> Wilson, "Taking Liberties Abroad," 359 and 364.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 445-447. Washington was there completing research for *The Man Farthest Down: A Record of Observation and Study in Europe* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1984).

<sup>137</sup> Susan M. Steward, "Colored American Women," *Crisis* (November 1911): 33-34; Mrs. W.A. Hunton, "Women's Clubs: Sarah J. Garnett," *The Crisis* (October 1911): 253; and "Susan McKinney-Steward: New York State's First African American Female Physician," *Afro-Americans in New York Life & History* (July 1985): 39.

<sup>138</sup> "Mrs. W.A. Hunton, "A Pioneer Physician," *The Crisis* (May 1918): 15

<sup>139</sup> Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 219.

<sup>140</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hampton, VA July 23 to 27, 1912*, p. 48 and 58, *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

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<sup>141</sup> Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, 10.

<sup>142</sup> On increasing issues in urban areas due to migration, see James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); and Richard Walter Thomas, *Life for Us Is What We Make It Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992). For a good gendered discussion see, Darlene Clark Hine, "Black Migration to the Urban Midwest: The Gender Dimension, 1915-1945" in *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Reconstruction of American History*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Pub, 1994), 87-107.

<sup>143</sup> Nadya J. Lawson, "Mary Fitzbutler Waring," in Jessie Carney Smith, ed., *Notable Black American Women, Book 2* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996), 681; and Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Wilberforce, OH, August 5 to August 7, 1914, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): 43;

<sup>144</sup> Joyce Blackwell, *No Peace Without Freedom: Race and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1975* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), 40-41. The American peace movement expanded greatly after the Spanish American War. Since most of these organizations were men-led, women elected to create feminized spaces that built upon their suffrage and social reform organizing and permitted them to exercise control. In some cases, these spaces enabled them to employ a female centered activism that underscored women's contributions to ensuring peace. Melinda Plastas, *A Band of Noble Women: Racial Politics in the Women's Peace Movement* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 1-16; and Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 45-55.

<sup>145</sup> Emily Green Balch, "Racial Contacts and Cohesions," *The Survey* (March 1915): 610-611. Accessed through WASMI; and Joyce Blackwell, *No Peace Without Freedom*, 7-8.

Addie Hunton and Kathryn Johnson phrased it as such: "We verily believe that consistent adherence to the teachings of the Prince of Peace, is the rock upon which the colored people of America must build the superstructure of their civilization for all their future. It offers the only sure solution for their many difficulties, *although it must be accompanied by righteous and indignant protest against injustice.*" Emphasis added. Hunton and Johnson, *Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces*, 253.

<sup>146</sup> "Mrs. M.S. Josenberger . . .," *The National Association Notes* (January 1917): 10; Frank Lincoln Mather, *Who's Who of the Colored Race: A General Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of African Descent*, vol. 1 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1976 [1915]), 165; and "Untitled," *National Association Notes* (January 1917): 10.

<sup>147</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Baltimore, MD August 7-10, 1916*, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): 30 and 49.

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For more on Peters, see M.H. Brown, "December Supplies," *Missionary Seer* (January 1922): 13; "Sparkling Gems," *Missionary Seer* (March 1922): 5

<sup>148</sup> Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "Negro Women in War Work," in *Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, ed. Emmett J. Scott (New York: Arno Press, 1969 [1919]), 375.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 376-397; Mary B. Talbert, "Presidential Address," Meeting of the National Association of Colored Women Denver, CO, July 7, 1918, printed in Lavonne Leslie, *History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service* (S.I.: Xlibris, 2012), 95-96; Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 218-225; and "Wartime Reform," in Salem, *To Better Our World*, 201-230.

<sup>150</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Denver, CO, July 8 to 13, 1918, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): 16, 19, and 54-57; Tullia Brown Hamilton, "The National Association of Colored Women, 1896-1920" (PhD Diss., Emory University, 1986), 66; Jennifer Reed Fry, "Our Girls Can Match 'em Every Time': The Political Activities of African American Women in Philadelphia, 1912-1941," [PhD Diss., Temple University, 2010), 96-100.

<sup>151</sup> Quoted in Mark Ellis, *Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 95-96; and Nikki L. M. Brown, *Private Politics and Public Voices: Black Women's Activism from World War I to the New Deal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 89.

<sup>151</sup> Mark Ellis, *Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 266, FN: 88; and "Convicted NAACP Pickets Freed," *Negro Star* (Wichita, Kansas), November 11, 1921.

<sup>152</sup> "Foreword," *Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces*, n.p., 137 and 152. Alice Dunbar-Nelson repeats this points, see "Negro Women in War Work," 376.

<sup>153</sup> Dunbar-Nelson relays that it was rumored that at least 300 Black women served as nurses by disguising their racial identity. See "Negro Women in War Work," 376.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 153; *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Baltimore, MD August 7-10, 1916*, 22-24; Leslie, *History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs*, 97-105, and 190; and Joan Marie Johnson, "'Ye Gave Them a Stone': African American Women's Clubs, the Frederick Douglass Home, and the Black Mammy Monument," *Journal of Women's History* (Spring 2005): 65-68.

<sup>155</sup> Salem, *To Better Our World*, 104-100.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 157; and Alain LeRoy Locke and Arnold Rampersad, *The New Negro: Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1997), xiv.

<sup>157</sup> Susan Kerr Chandler, "'That Biting, Stinging Thing Which Ever Shadows Us': African-American Social Workers in France during World War I," *Social Service Review* (September 1995): 502-3; Mark Ellis, *Race, War, and Surveillance*, 96-97. W.E.B. Du

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Bois intended to include Curtis' work and experiences in France as a part of the work "The Black Man and the Wounded World." Although Dubois worked on this project for more than a decade, it was never completed. An enduring four-page fragment tells of Curtis shift from her US work in Hostess Houses to her work abroad that still focused on Black soldiers. It also tells of the YMCA's investigation of her. "The Black Man in the Wounded World [fragment, 1936?], W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

**Chapter 3**  
**“We have begun to Lengthen our Cords and Strengthen Our Stakes”:  
Black Clubwomen’s Pursuit of Peace and Justice, 1919-1928**

Mary B. Talbert was proud to be the oldest female nurse servicing the military and the last African American one to be granted permission to travel to France with the U.S. military. She sought this service as a part of her larger work to undertake a self-initiated educational campaign to gain support for the African American cause.<sup>1</sup> Thus, after the war ended, Talbert turned her attention to an important event on her to-do list: the Pan African Congress (PAC) meeting in Paris in February 1919. The meeting was called by W.E.B. Du Bois, a regular PAC participant who was also already in France as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s (NAACP) reporter on the conditions of Black troops and a potential observer to the ongoing Peace Conference in Versailles. Du Bois and fellow Pan-Africanists were inspired to reconvene in France not only because of the nation’s purported commitment to racial equality, but also because they hoped to influence world leaders who were there to attend post-war negotiations.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, restrictions on travel and governmental efforts to repress any appearance of agitation made Du Bois’ planning quite difficult. It was only through assistance rendered by Blaise Diagne, a Black member of the French Senate representing Senegal, that the 57 delegates hailing from Europe, the U.S., the independent nations of Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia, and European colonies in Africa like French Algiers and the Belgian Congo were able to hold their meeting.<sup>3</sup>

Participating in the conference alongside Mary Talbert was Addie Hunton, another clubwoman who traveled to France as a nurse, and Ida Gibbs Hunt, a lecturer at the 1906 convention of the National Association of Colored Women, who soon thereafter moved to St. Etienne, France because of her husband's diplomatic career. Charlotta Bass, was a Black newspaper editor of the *California Eagle* and a firm believer in securing justice through political activism, also attended.<sup>4</sup> Others like Ida B. Wells and Madame C.J. Walker desired to attend the PAC, but the Woodrow Wilson administration stymied their efforts as a part of its larger campaign to prevent protest activism among People of Color.<sup>5</sup> Although Talbert's contributions remain unclear, during the conference Hunt served on the four-member executive board, effectively continuing her organizing and planning duties that actually permitted the Congress's existence. Hunton provided an address that stressed women's centrality to the post-war reconstruction effort, which went alongside Congressional resolutions that called for the League of Nations to protect and to ensure justice for aboriginals in colonized territories. In not calling for an immediate end to colonization, the meeting lagged far behind its 1900 predecessor.<sup>6</sup>

Only a short while after the meeting, it appears that Mary Talbert's trip abruptly ended. A letter that she wrote to clubwomen from her New York home dated March 9 suggests that her departure from France resulted from a lack of funds. Lamenting her inability to take part in ongoing meetings such as that of the Women's Division of the Peace Council, she exclaimed: "They (white women) are already overseas on their job, while we (Colored Women), some of us, are wondering what to do."<sup>7</sup> But the women did

know what to do as shown in Talbert's own letter that indicates that in just a few weeks time she had begun to call upon the NACW network to fundraise to send her back over in time to contribute to the peace meetings. She hoped that they would be able to secure the funds and used the communication to encourage others to send in contributions as quickly as possible. If she proved unsuccessful, she assured readers she would represent them at the International Council of Women's (ICW) meeting in Norway the following year. She was so committed to seeing the latter through to fruition that she planned to undertake a lecture tour to earn the expenses if need be.<sup>8</sup>

In the meantime, Talbert reported the contributions that the women and their clubs were making to aid her in her "speedy continuance of the trip."<sup>9</sup> Nannie H. Burroughs told her: "Go, and God Bless!", Hallie Q. Brown voiced that "We cannot afford to lose our opportunity now...", and Madame C.J. Walker, whose own passport application rejection prevented her attendance at the Pan-African conference, exclaimed: "Go by all Means!"<sup>10</sup> Adding to these prominent women's expressions came the voices and votes of support from lesser-known activists, who also eagerly pledged money and sent well wishes. For instance, Georgia A. Nugent was happy to report that the Kentucky Federation "went over the top giving \$150" rather than the \$100 that was asked, and that the Louisville club provided \$63 of this total.<sup>11</sup> While it is generally recognized that Talbert attended a number of meetings in Europe during 1920, it is less known that it was these funds of NACW clubwomen that enabled her to continue her plans of winning European support as an important means of improving the African American condition. Thus, when Talbert set sail in mid-April her trip became the first



time that a collective NACW membership raised monies to send a member abroad to represent them in a conference. Unfortunately, it appears that she missed the Women's Division of the Peace Council's presentation of resolutions before the League of Nations Commission on April 10<sup>th</sup>. Nevertheless, she arrived in Europe in time to attend May 12<sup>th</sup>-May 17<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) that was held in Zurich since Germans were not permitted to travel to Versailles, the site of peace treaty negotiations.<sup>12</sup>

This was the first time that African American women participated in a WILPF conference since the organization had only begun to recruit "ideal black women" like Mary Church Terrell after its inaugural conference at The Hague in 1915. In fact, in intending to utilize Terrell as an emblem of its commitment to peace and racial accord, Jane Addams of U.S. WILPF fought to maintain her on the list of delegates when the U.S. State Department cut the list from 30 delegates down to 15. Several women had been impressed by her performance in the 1904 ICW congress in Berlin wherein she delivered her speech in German.<sup>13</sup> Terrell, who was then working as a member of the War Camp Community Service, was enthralled by her inclusion since the consideration of more prominent and well-to-do White women could have easily led the League to "leave the colored delegate out." Instead, she departed along with the rest of the delegation on April 9<sup>th</sup>.<sup>14</sup> Some of Terrell's endeavors within this conference can be gleaned through organizational proceedings and her autobiography, but the same cannot be said about Hunton or Talbert who do not appear in the minutes nor do any of their surviving papers refer to the meeting. It can be assumed that the women supported

Terrell's good contributions even if Talbert was dismayed that as the current president of NACW and a member of WILPF she was not invited to participate in "representing the colored women of America."<sup>15</sup>

Since Terrell was in fact the sole Black member of the American delegation, she again asserted that she was the sole representative of "the dark races of the world."<sup>16</sup> She delivered two speeches as a part of the International Council of Women's program: a public one on women's part in the League of Nations and one before the WILPF meeting on racial equality that reflected this perspective.<sup>17</sup> Possibly incorporating views that she developed out of her most recent communication with Ida Gibbs Hunt in the latter address, she proclaimed: "White people could talk about peace until doomsday," but in failing to consider People of Color including the plea put forward by Japan in the Peace Conference, "the world will never have it."<sup>18</sup> Terrell also submitted a resolution to WILPF on racial equality that directed the organization to grant its full attention, power, and efforts to ending discrimination based on race or color. In her memoir, Terrell says that though American delegates attempted to weaken the text of the resolution the night before, the translator mistakenly failed to note the changes so the original one that she authored was unanimously adopted. It is in this way Terrell aided in setting the foundation of the WILPF's formal stance on race and racial discrimination.<sup>19</sup>

Terrell's efforts won her invitations for several speaking engagements in Europe, but she decided to dedicate her remaining five weeks to sightseeing and renewing old acquaintances, including a surprise visit with Hunt.<sup>20</sup> Talbert too remained abroad, but decisively turned her attention to her agenda that had been interrupted a couple of months

earlier. According to a special article run in the *Cleveland Gazette*, Helen Curtis accompanied Talbert during several social events after this meeting, which included socializing with C.M.B King of Liberia and his wife who were in Paris to attend the Peace Conference.<sup>21</sup> The women also dined with members of the French Senate and after connecting with Diagne of this body, they established contact with the president of the National Council of Women in France, whose husband was also a senate member. With Curtis serving as a translator, the women spent an enjoyable afternoon in the Councilwoman's home discussing at length both the hope and status of African American women. Hoping to solidify the connection, the NACW president then pulled out a letter of introduction from the U.S. Council of Women. This connection to the U.S. likely meant a lot to Talbert especially since Josephine Silone-Yates had appointed her as proxy to the May 1900 meeting when the NACW was formally accepted for membership.<sup>22</sup>

Curtis and Talbert were also cleared to travel to Chamberry and Aix-Les-Baines where they were "splendidly received" due to the good reputation of the African American soldiers who took rest there. In Chamberry, a reception was hosted in their honor, and Talbert and Curtis spent all afternoon speaking with both French and American women alike.<sup>23</sup> In Aix-Les-Baines, they reported similar fanfare, though it was here that Curtis provided a formal introduction of Talbert to an even larger French crowd filled with socialites and distinguished families from the local area. She told them of the Talbert's connection to African American women's club work in the U.S. and of Black people's contribution to the war. When she finished speaking, a great burst of enthusiasm filled the room as guests shouted their congratulations and appreciation.<sup>24</sup>

Talbert's commitment to instructing Europeans on the status of African Americans in hopes that their support would lead to full citizenship was steadily realized over the next few months as she continued to make her case before foreign audiences. Even more, her's and her fellow clubwomen's tenacity to overcome any difficulties that stood in the way of this agenda shows in real form "the newly emerged woman" that developed out of the First World War. In recounting Black women's contributions to this world event and its subsequent effect on their lives, Alice Dunbar-Nelson declared that the women were "more serious-minded, more responsible, with a higher opinion of [their] own economic importance; with a distinct and definite aim and ambition to devote [their] life to the furthering of the cause for which [their] men died."<sup>25</sup> This cause then, to win justice and peace, meant that the women remained ever busy throughout the inter-war period, which, while lacking major military conflict between the world's powers, was defined by mass racial violence and discrimination within the U.S.

This chapter explores African American clubwomen's continued pursuit of bettering their world during the 1920s which showed a continuance of community-based and inclusionary activism as well as continued discussions about connections with Africa through Pan-African conferences, support of the endeavors of missionaries, and the establishment of branches and club work on the African continent. Taken up is a discussion of the embarrassments and utter disappointments that African American clubwomen often faced in their interactions with others. Rather than allow these incidents to remain unproductive, however, "the newly emerged woman" transformed them into something dynamic. First, within these national and transnational organizations

and in the eye of larger public, the women unceasingly called for their White organizational colleagues not only to go on record in defense of Blacks in the U.S. and abroad, but also to bring actions to their words. Second, incidents suggesting a disregard for the African American female perspective led some Black women to form independent organizations like the Women's International Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races. The members of these bodies purposely participated within larger groups, but in creating autonomous spaces African American women were free to examine women's rights and equality, peace, poverty, imperialism, and labor from their own viewpoint. This development also showed that "black women's national organizations would never be the same."<sup>26</sup>

The activities of these groups and their duration do more than indicate the tremendous hurdles that these women faced. These ventures make abundantly clear that Black women in inter-war America persisted in their longing to shape national and international policy-making and contribute to its implementation. These organizations frequently shared a common leadership and membership base with the National Association of Colored Women and operated alongside it. Thus, the discussion in this chapter as well as the next simultaneously interrogates Black women's organizations during the inter-war period in relationship to one another and parallel organizations dominated and led by White women and Black men since expanded and diverse networks of activism was a key characteristic of the period following the First World War.

When Mary Talbert arrived back in the U.S. from France in the fall of 1919, she immediately resumed her activist lifestyle that was even more committed to bringing

about equality and freedom in all forms. She returned to her organizing efforts for the NAACP, to which she was connected since its Niagara Movement days.<sup>27</sup> She threw her support behind Missouri Congressman Leonidas Dyer's Anti-Lynching Bill—a legislative effort introduced in April of 1918 because of the deadly riots the year before. In 1919, the country was experiencing an even more massive wave of racial violence that engulfed some 36 of the nation's cities. At its core, these horrors were caused by a fundamental mismatch of African Americans' rising expectations with many post-war Whites' desire for "normalcy" rather than the confidence and militancy they now viewed among their Black neighbors. The terror and bloodshed of the period earned the season the infamous label "Red Summer," and more than ever before efforts to pass Dyer's anti-lynching bill quickened. Talbert became the "guiding force" behind the NAACP's efforts in this regard, which while better funded and much more organized was not disconnected from women's past efforts to combat lynching. Not only was Talbert working with Dyer prior to the NAACP leadership's formally working for the bill's passage, but also once it did, she still called upon African American clubwomen and the networks they deepened during the war to bring it to fruition.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout the rest of 1919 and into the fall of the next year, Talbert also traveled from her Brooklyn home to as far away as Cleveland, Ohio to speak on a variety of topics including the need for anti-lynching activism, connections she made with French women, and soldiers' experiences during the war.<sup>29</sup> None of the texts of these speeches survive, but it is highly probable that they echoed a letter that she wrote to the *Cleveland Gazette* while she was still abroad. The letter connected Black soldiers' unjust treatment by

“American scoundrels” in France with the troops’ “more than miserable treatment” upon their arrival back to American shores. Talbert like Terrell and countless other women who traveled to Europe for study or activism could not help but note how the color line in the U.S. found its way to France. Thus, Talbert’s addresses likely called into question White Americans’ loyalty and patriotism, finding their actions to be “shameful, disgraceful, and inexcusable.”<sup>30</sup>

Nannie H. Burroughs, an NACW clubwoman and founder-leader of the Washington, D.C. National Training School for Women and Girls, could also be found delivering similar speeches.<sup>31</sup> For four months in the fall of 1917, she was under investigation by the War Department for her activism that pointed out the duplicity of America’s expressed fight for democracy in the Spanish American War and now the one in Germany, yet denied equality to its Black citizens. In a 1918 speech entitled, “We Fought Every Race’s Battle But Our Own,” she argued that Wilson was excellent at writing and “us[ing] up all the adjectives and adverbs,” but terrible at actually applying the doctrine that he proclaimed.<sup>32</sup>

In October 1919, Burroughs was joined by other clubwomen in protest of Black women’s exclusion from an international meeting occurring in the nation’s capital. It was the inauguration of the First International Congress of Working Women. The women pointed out to the summit that claimed more than 200 women from 19 of the world’s nations, how White American women failed even to consider the whole of their nation’s female population though these women too expressed interest in shaping international labor feminism. Remarkably, the only time that unionization was mentioned in this

meeting was in the reading of the protest letter by “Representative Black Women of the United States of Behalf of Negro Women Laborers of the United States.”<sup>33</sup>

The topic of overcoming exclusion within national and international entities was taken up in full at the NACW’s first post-war convention. In July of 1920, NACW women met together in Tuskegee, Alabama. The meeting represented the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of African American women’s meeting together in 1895 in Boston and the establishment of the National Federation of Afro American Women. Now, in the hometown of the NFAAW’s first elected president, Margaret Murray Washington, the NACW commemorated the gathering, paid respect to Washington’s husband who died in 1915, and turned their attention to discussing the “Needs of the Hour,” as one lecture was so entitled. Other speeches brought attention to “The Call to Women of Our Race,” and “The Negro Woman’s Part in Reconstruction,” illustrating the focus on reviewing and discussing methods to improve community work and gaining the most out of affiliations with larger entities like the Young Women’s Christian Association, the National Council of Women of the U.S., and the Women’s Christian Temperance Union.<sup>34</sup>

In a review of their activities over the previous years, the women decided that their current work showed how “we have begun to lengthen our cords and strengthen our stakes for the larger program which must be undertaken.”<sup>35</sup> The telegram that they received on behalf of Senator William Harding who was vying for the American presidency spoke well about the group’s growing success in this regard and perceptions of their importance. Nonetheless, the women were aware of the high level of work that needed to be completed, thus they commended the Urban League and the NAACP for



bringing about some of the justice that the population now experienced and condemned the American nation for all that was still absent.<sup>36</sup> In celebration of the part that African Americans played in the war, delegates called for local clubs to build up libraries so that the youth would know “the great men and women of our race, who have thus far shaped, and are shaping, our destinies.”<sup>37</sup> In the absence of Addie Hunton and Helen Curtis, who were supposed to offer lectures in the “Overseas Program,” NACW acknowledged their great service, and announced a recently published account of these women’s experience in the war theater.<sup>38</sup>

In her presidential address, Talbert provided an overview of her national and foreign travels. Within the U.S., she traveled from the “Atlantic to the Golden Gate,” to inspire African American clubwomen to come into the Association fold and to support its program. As she told the women, she spent time abroad not only as a nurse, but as a representative of the NACW. She confirmed her invitation to the upcoming ICW meeting in Norway. The meeting was postponed for a year due to war, and was to be held in Kristiana/Christiania, a city that carries the present day name of Oslo.<sup>39</sup> It must have felt like a dream coming true since in March of 1919 Talbert never imagined being able to attend the May 1919 WILPF Congress *and* the ICW Congress that next year. She stressed the importance of this inclusion by arguing that although African American women appeared before the ICW previously, she was NACW’s first official delegate. It resembled Terrell’s claims about being the first and only accredited Black delegate at the 1904 ICW and the 1919 WILPF congresses despite the fact that Hallie Q. Brown was

awarded full credentials in the 1899 ICW congress and that Talbert, as the sitting president of the NACW, attended the 1919 Zurich Congress as well.

Undeniably, these claims had some of its roots in pettiness, yet they still illustrate the Association members' perception of opportunity in the inter-war period. Talbert's language connected the NACW's historic efforts to bring its members' activism under its larger umbrella. She was attempting to show that no longer was the NACW content with individual women's representation and token participation within the initiatives of White women. The Association now demanded to be recognized as the official body representing Black womanhood and expected outside entities to be in conversation and collaboration with its leadership and not just certain members. The move, while bold and justifiable, soon became unrealistic for three major reasons. First, leaders of White women's organizations like WILPF were only interested in courting certain African American participants, namely the ones they already knew through other endeavors. This meant that if the NACW desired to claim affiliation with this body as a part its campaign for national and international prestige, it needed to recognize these women as the organizational representatives even when it did not officially appoint them. Second, the NACW still faced financial struggles, which required it to rely on those women who could actually afford to serve as its representatives in outside endeavors. Third, African American clubwomen rarely had the ability to make and to execute long-range plans in their inter-organizational and international activism, but when they participated in these meetings they often attributed their work back to the NACW. And this credit was gladly received by the organization.

In wrapping up her speech before the NACW, Talbert also informed her fellow clubwomen that though Margaret Murray Washington had been appointed to attend alongside her, she had written to ICW leadership to allow Mary F. Waring serve in place of Washington who was ill. Even more, Talbert considered herself to have more in common with this suggested alternate, who was retired teacher in Chicago Public Schools, a physician and a clubwoman who the NACW had aided in gaining formal recognition to the planning committee for the Illinois' Half-Century Anniversary of Negro Freedom in 1915.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, in speeches and in writing, Waring already showed herself adept at pointing out that America's world leadership was hampered as "a prejudiced and divided people continue[d] to make and enforce laws of segregation." Waring was also to take photos during the trip to be sold in an organization fundraiser. NACW clubwomen agreed, that there were no two clubwomen who were more "fitted intellectually and spiritually. . . .to represent us across the water."<sup>41</sup> Members so appreciated the opportunity for representation that they decided to contribute to Talbert's expenses though financial constraints did not permit the same for Waring. In the end, the amount that the NACW offered to Talbert did not come remotely close to paying for her trip or matching the funds had contributed towards her 1919 trip. Nevertheless, in holding the opportunity to put their cause before women's groups and the general public in Europe, Talbert was eager to go and simply requested additional funds upon her return.<sup>42</sup>

Talbert's appearance before the September body was the first time that a NACW leader appeared before the body since Terrell's 1904 participation. The ICW met in Toronto, Canada in 1909 and Rome, Italy in 1914 and though a NACW article leaves

open the possibility that an African American could have been present at the latter, it reported that no representative of the Association appeared at either.<sup>43</sup> Certainly, clubwomen desired to build upon the work of prior Black participants, but finances and otherwise poor planning undoubtedly presented insurmountable hurdles. Talbert declared: “From this time on we must never allow a quinquennial to pass without representation.”<sup>44</sup>

In combining ICW materials with articles in the Black press, NACW records, and Talbert’s private letters, it is possible to determine that almost from the time she left her Brooklyn home, the trip was marred. On board the *Patricia*, six southern White women headed to the conference “commenced their racial hatred campaign, telling lies that they kept up for 78 days.”<sup>45</sup> Talbert expressed her happiness that Waring was there to refute the stories and that the two could at least console one another. More broadly, these statements speak to the difficulty that lone African American female participants must have faced in earlier years when they stood up in audiences composed of White American and foreign women alike and recounted humiliating tales of discrimination.<sup>46</sup>

Oddly enough, Talbert’s only recorded contribution to the ICW meeting in the minutes was a resolution concerning the legal status of children born outside of marital unions. While the suggestion certainly spoke to her interests in child welfare and appears to be the one that she was assigned to read, in not delivering an address during the congress on African American achievement and injustices, she departed from Black women’s traditional use of these settings.<sup>47</sup> The NACW organ, based on a letter that she wrote on November 8<sup>th</sup>, indicates that she was one of five American women to speak in

the “Storting House of Parliament,” but provides no additional detail. The lecture trip that Talbert took up after the conference ended was going as planned and yielding good results until the NACW president experienced the embarrassment of being refused entry into the dining room of the YMCA’s Paris hotel by the American Women’s Club. Although Waring gained entry to the dining room due to her lighter skin tone, Talbert’s darker hue led Harriet Dunn of the YWCA to turn her away to find other accommodations. Both Waring and Talbert immediately capitalized on the incident to protest.<sup>48</sup>

In writing to *Competitor*, a short-lived Black periodical in Pittsburgh, Waring informed editors of how the “door was closed in our face[s].” She went on to say that European women could not understand their mistreatment and recommended that American prejudice be “washed out by the broad expanse of the water of the Atlantic.”<sup>49</sup> Talbert’s comments were printed more widely in the Black press including the *New York Age*. Du Bois’ *Crisis* also discussed the incident and the YWCA’s response, which declared that the incident did not happen the way Talbert and Waring described. In his correspondence with the YWCA, the Pan-Africanist leader clearly laid out a pattern of response by most White organizations accused of racism: 1) declare that it did not happen; 2) argue that the Black victim was imprudent; and 3) argue that the person was not intelligent enough to grasp the difficulty of the race problem. As historian Nancy Marie Robertson shows, the YWCA hardly offered a public apology to Talbert, but continued to fault her for going to the press with her complaints.<sup>50</sup>

Over the course of the next several months, Talbert and Waring visited eleven European countries studying the conditions there and speaking before audiences about America. Through newspapers in Denmark, Holland, and Sweden, the women reached an even broader public.<sup>51</sup> The address that Talbert gave before reporters of foreign newspapers was printed in *NAN* for all clubwomen to read. It is one that covers African American soldiers' bravery in the First World War and America's failure to respect them by failing to improve racial conditions at home. Although surprisingly lacking a gendered perspective like her other messages, the speech stressed Blacks' American-ness and squarely connected Europeans to "the darker races" and their problems if Europe desired peace.<sup>52</sup> Upon the women's return in late October or early November, Talbert undertook a national lecture tour telling of her experiences complete with copies of foreign newspapers with such topics as "Citizenship: A World Asset" and connections between the NACW and ICW. Although she desired to write a series on her campaign for the Associated Negro Press that would come out in December, the articles do not appear to have been published.<sup>53</sup>

In her efforts to ensure peace and racial equality, Talbert also took her concerns to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Though similar to the National Council of Women of U.S. in that African American women never formed a large portion of League membership (representing less than 1% from 1915-1975), scholars have recently begun to note how more Black members were able to influence policy in and through WILPF.<sup>54</sup> One reason is that the WILPF actively recruited African American women for some leadership positions. Much to the White leaders' surprise,

though this inclusion fundamentally altered WILPF's views on peace and freedom (or at least stated ones) as African American women worked to convince their colleagues that peace could not be achieved without granting sufficient attention to racial injustices at home and abroad.<sup>55</sup> In fact, after their inclusion in Zurich Congress, African American WILPF members kept race-related issues before this body and others. First, they pressured the peace organization to take up its stance on U.S. engagement with Haiti. Since the First World War, the U.S. extended American imperialism and the color line when it effectively took over this country's finances and military along with others in the Caribbean and in Central America. In 1920, responding to pressure and inquiries by Black Leaguers, Emily Green Balch, the Vice President of the U.S. section and a member of the international executive committee, recommended to the Board that a commission be appointed to investigate.<sup>56</sup> Black WILPFers like Talbert continued to call for action, but earlier in 1919 Talbert also decided to write to the NAACP after learning about inhumane murders there from a Marine from Minnesota who bragged about slaughtering "helpless and defenseless women and children" as part of larger campaign rumored to have claimed the lives of at least 2,000 Haitians.<sup>57</sup>

While the *National Association Notes* dared not reprint the details that Talbert learned, she repeated them again in a November 16<sup>th</sup> letter to James Weldon Johnson and claimed her satisfaction at having brought this to attention of the NAACP and its appointing him to go investigate. She urged him "Go! Go at once and bring back witnesses and any other data you can. . ."<sup>58</sup> After a six-week study, Johnson published a series on what he found and led the NAACP's petitioning of the American government as

it related to Haiti's sovereignty and conditions there. While the campaign reported little success in changing government policies, it did bring increased national attention to the crisis in Haiti while granting no credit to Talbert who initially encouraged this endeavor.<sup>59</sup> Talbert became frustrated that her contribution and views went unrecognized.

Black clubwomen had more success in resolving other controversies in WILPF and bringing to light the issues of the Black population. Despite lingering animosity between her and her White colleagues concerning the Zurich resolution, Mary Church Terrell successfully managed to shift WILPF's perspective concerning allegations of Black men sexually assaulting German women in March of 1921. In the face of a request for her to sign a petition that accused Black men of "horrible crimes" against German women, Terrell offered to provide facts that she discovered through her own investigation. Also convinced by Jane Addams who also offered conflicting testimony, the League decided to drop this campaign.<sup>60</sup>

Two months later, Helen Curtis, one of the first African American members of the New York City WILPF branch, served as the Pan African Congress' representative at the July 1921 congress in Vienna, Austria where she spoke on "The Use of African Troops in Europe." The selection of this Curtis' topic was influenced both by her time in Europe as a nurse and her time as a resident of Liberia since her husband's service there as Foreign Service Officer. Although the British section was already paying attention to the issues that Liberian soldiers faced, the American section and others were not. Curtis' address noted that many of these men who were stationed in Europe were mistreated in hospitals and restricted from engaging with White women, which led many to visit



brothels wherein they contracted diseases. In her current role as an unaffiliated missionary to Liberia, Curtis also had intimate knowledge of the ways in which a soldier's disease or death impacted not only his family, but also the general population. After her speech, the WILPF passed a resolution on "Military Use of Native Populations."<sup>61</sup>

Curtis, who could be proud of the work she did at the Vienna meeting, next made her way to the August and September 1921 meeting of the Pan African Congress. The PAC was still meeting in Europe, but this time in three locations: London, Brussels, and Paris. Also different from the previous congresses, African delegates made up almost one third of conference goers. Some made their homes in West Indies and Europe though the majority of them came from the African continent. Like Curtis, a number of these latter attendees were emigrants from the U.S. Unfortunately, little is known of the meeting, which makes it difficult to uncover the attendance and the parts played by African American women. Even more, with this continuous shift in location, the composition of delegates changed each time.<sup>62</sup> One important female participant, however, was Jessie Fauset, a graduate of Cornell University where she studied languages, a first time attendee, and literary editor of *The Crisis* magazine alongside Du Bois.<sup>63</sup>

In this periodical's November and December issues, Fauset presented to readers the aims and activities of the conference as well as published a list of delegates. This directory makes it possible to determine that there were at least 12 other Black female attendees who came in roles as ministers' wives, teachers, and religious workers, or some combination of these. Helen Curtis, Harriet Gibbs Marshall, and Ida Gibbs Hunt, and

Selena S. Butler of Atlanta, Georgia had connections with the NACW.<sup>64</sup> Butler attended the founding conference of the organization and her paper on the convict leasing system was adopted at its 1897 congress in her absence. She was attending PAC as a representative of the Georgia Colored Parent-Teacher Association that she founded.<sup>65</sup> Another interesting representative is Ruth Anna Fisher, a 1906 graduate of Oberlin College and a former teacher at Tuskegee Institute. Fisher was currently living in Denmark for her post-graduate work. Oddly enough, this list places her as a delegate for England.<sup>66</sup> The same peculiar designation recorded Ida Gibbs Hunt and Rayford Logan on the list for France. This error may derive from the fact that these two provided valuable English-French translation services during the meeting, but even more it means that a number of delegates listed under other nations might actually have been Black American women.<sup>67</sup>

During the conference, Hunt and Fauset both served as members of the executive committee with the latter increasingly performing secretarial duties for Du Bois.<sup>68</sup> Hunt's biographer indicates that Hunt likely delivered a paper entitled "Imperialism and the Darker Races," in both English and French, but this goes unmentioned in official write-ups in *Crisis*, which again Du Bois and Fauset edited.<sup>69</sup> These reports indicate that Curtis also spoke, but it can only be determined that her speech "dealt with the state of affairs in Liberia."<sup>70</sup> The most detail on any female delegate is available on Fauset who "spoke on the subject of colored women in America... [as] a great moving force behind all the movements for emancipation." After talking about women's club activities, which included "rescue" work of girls in urban areas, she asked the "African delegates to carry a

message of friendship and encouragement to African women from the Colored women in America.”<sup>71</sup> Despite the fact that Fauset was not a NACW member, certainly, a number of activists within this body would have been happy to have her and the African women she invited to affiliate. Fauset did, however, attend the PAC as a representative of a Black women’s group, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, a community-service organization of college-educated women founded 18 years earlier. In fact, when Mary F. Waring, a member of this same organization and a clubwoman, indicated an interest in attending and presented an appeal for financial support, Fauset encouraged her to try to find an organizational sponsor as well. Unfortunately, Waring’s absence indicates much like that of clubwoman Florence Randolph of New Jersey who also indicated interest, finances continued to be a problem.<sup>72</sup>

In the November following the conference, Helen Curtis briefly returned to the U.S. where she was arrested alongside Kathryn M. Johnson and three other NAACP supporters while picketing the *Birth of a Nation*.<sup>73</sup> During this same month, Florence J. Hunt of the NACW, whose husband had attended the recent PAC Congress, joined with Addie Hunton to appear at the National Council of Women meeting being held in Philadelphia. Hallie Q. Brown, who was now serving the Association president, appointed them. Throughout her presidency (1920-1924), Brown was widely celebrated for her belief in inclusive interracial activism, which led representative women to be appointed as proxies before various conferences in hopes of gaining regular participation.<sup>74</sup> In this instance, Hunton and Hunt were accompanied by a “large number of [NACW] women [and] . . . accorded all the courtesies of the convention.”<sup>75</sup> Hunton

reported on this and other work at the NACW convention in Richmond, Virginia that next fall and she scheduled Hunt to deliver a paper on “Values of Affiliations with National and International Organizations.”<sup>76</sup>

The lecture was designed to be a part of NACW’s Peace and Foreign Relations focus, which Hunton revamped to include a global focus when the department was reinstated in 1922. Hence, she invited Fauset to appear before the NACW and to talk on the recent PAC Congress. The trip to Richmond was Fauset’s first one south of Washington, D.C. and her first appearance at an Association convention. In reporting to *Crisis* readers, she told how the gathering of 456 women left her “tingling” and “bristling with impressions.”<sup>77</sup> She described the regular business meetings that tackled restructuring of the *National Notes*, which had begun to appear quarterly rather than monthly because of poor funding and the organization’s constitutional revisions that were made necessary by exponential growth. Most impressive was the organization’s discussion of their work to improve communities, halt lynching, and guarantee real citizenship that were joined in by capable members of the NAACP, Urban League, the National Woman’s Party, and the National Women’s Republican League. In addition to being fascinated by NACW’s rescue of the Frederick Douglass home, Fauset found that “the National Association of Colored Women had its hand in all possible activities concerning colored people” including a focus on Africa and Europe through three scheduled speakers.<sup>78</sup>

Rather than a single night of services, the internationally oriented guests that Hunton invited were welcomed throughout the program. For instance, in the mass

meeting on August 6<sup>th</sup>, the audience that gathered in Ebenezer Baptist Church not only heard a number of speeches from sectional and state presidents, but also that of others like Mary F. Waring, who reported on the “attitude of women of Europe toward Colored Americans,” and Adelaide Casely-Hayford (Murabah Ecqua Aguinam) of Sierra Leone, who provided “greetings from Africa.”<sup>79</sup> The next day when Richmond officials greeted the NACW, they again put Casely-Hayford before the public as a distinguished guest. Clearly, the women celebrated their time with their first female guest from the African continent. The minutes indicate that when she spoke before them in a convention session about the needs of African women, she held her audience spellbound and in both appearance and language showed that “we had nothing to be ashamed about.”<sup>80</sup>

The Association’s situating Casely-Hayford as “a highly cultured, charming African woman,” in comparison with the rest of “our sisters in dark Africa” matched the viewpoints and language that clubwomen frequently used when working with the “negro masses” in the U.S. It also fit the ideas that many clubwomen held of Africa as they worked to sort through their affinities and views in a milieu of discussions about civilization, history, modernity, and progress. In fact, it was through her attendance at the Zurich conference in 1919 that Terrell finally settled her views on French colonization of Africa after asking “every black Frenchman whom I happened to meet in the street about their status in France.” She decided that the French “did not always treat their Black brethren right,” but that these Africans fared much better than those living under the colonization of the British or another Europeans power.<sup>81</sup> After Casely-Hayford ended

her speech in less than 15 minutes, the NACW audience responded with a generous donation to aid her in erecting a school in West Africa upon her October return.<sup>82</sup>

The women also heard from one of its own--Fannie R. Givens of Louisville, Kentucky and president of the National Historical Art League, who spoke on "An American Woman's Views of West Africa." In it, she paid a glowing tribute to the population's high moral standards and artistic capabilities in the face of swirling rumors about backwardness.<sup>83</sup> To help her audience visualize the talents of the African women whom she met, she provided a woven cloth display and later in the program, bestowed one of these cultural artifacts upon Hallie Q. Brown. Fauset also claimed to represent Africa or at least its diaspora. She brought greetings from W.E.B. Du Bois and discussed "The Pan-African Congress with Relation to Our Women." After a brief overview of the PAC's purposes, she informed delegates of the difficulty of getting resolutions before the League of Nations due to the lack of an African American delegate and how this was overcome by working with a German representative.

Fauset ended her NACW talk by arguing that despite these difficulties and others stemming from close surveillance through Du Bois' leadership, the PAC would become a great force for the advancement of "the darker races." The minutes show that the women responded enthusiastically to Fauset's delivery, which illustrates a well-known fact: most clubwomen preferred Du Bois' Pan-African ideology to that of Marcus Garvey. Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association was an immensely popular racial-uplift and emigration movement among American Blacks, but it weakened when its leader was incarcerated for mail fraud in 1925 and 1927.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, even at its zenith, most

clubwomen likely held views similar to Du Bois when it came to Garvey. They understood the environment that gave birth to Garvey's aspirations, but repudiated his methods that appeared to be nonsensical and lacking in financial astuteness.<sup>85</sup> And, though they agreed with Garveyites that a nation could rise no higher than its women, they were totally uninterested in separatism and in leaving the U.S. for Africa and the Caribbean. Thus, the lectures by Givens and Casely-Hayford, which welcomed African American assistance to foreign populations, but did not encourage emigration, were welcomed along with an impromptu speech delivered by a male native of Africa identified only as "Mr. DeWalt."<sup>86</sup> During his talk, the speaker indicated that he was currently pursuing his education and that he planned to return to his home country and apply all that he learned. After delegate Marion B. Wilkerson of South Carolina expressed appreciation of DeWalt's speech and his work, the entire congress arose and sang "God Be With You Till We Meet Again." The program shows that the meeting was next supposed to go into general discussion of "Peace: Our Part in the Program of the Coming Year." Not only was this second component reflective of the work of the Peace and Foreign Relations department, but it also showed that Black clubwomen saw peace and race work at home and in Africa as going hand in hand.

During the 1922 program, NACW women finally heard the experiences of Curtis and Hunton on their service during the war, thanked James Weldon Johnson for his Haitian investigation, and listened to Talbert tell of her and Waring's ICW experience. Talbert undoubtedly relayed how she used the American racism in France that they encountered as a political opportunity and encouraged clubwomen to persist in doing the

same while calling upon White American women to assist them in the work that they were undertaking. As such, three months later, Talbert went to the NCW meeting in Des Moines, Iowa where she won the support of the National Council of Women that passed a resolution that recognized the “anti-lynching crusade recently launched by the colored women of this country” and supported the group’s actions.<sup>87</sup> In writing to Mary White Ovington, Talbert told her that she secured the NCW’s support as well as that of the National Council of Jewish Women and asked Ovington to add her name to the Anti-Lynching Crusaders’ campaign to gain the support of one million women.<sup>88</sup>

Talbert was not content to stop here in her quest to improve the lives of Blacks within the U.S. and beyond its borders. She became one of the founding members of the International Council of Women of the Darker Races (ICWDR), which sought to build upon the international interests and discussions of African American women by ensuring a more “definite piece of work.”<sup>89</sup> To date, the organization represents one of the most discussed aspects of Black women’s internationalism, but the lack of an archival record and the fact that the organization was never centrally managed, makes its history somewhat elusive. Even its date of origin has been reported as early as 1920 (which is when its founder Margaret Murray dates it) and as late as 1923. Most scholars point to a founding sometime within these years.<sup>90</sup>

In considering NACW and ICWDR records, it is clear that ideas about the ICWDR were being discussed as early as 1920, but the organization was formally developed in 1922. Even so, there needs to be a correction to ICWDR history as most scholars have disagreed with Washington’s date, citing her sickness and absence from the



1920 NACW meeting in Tuskegee. While the minutes do record that Washington was ill, NACW members did visit her bedside on Monday, July 12<sup>th</sup>. This gathering must have invigorated Washington for she briefly appeared in session on Wednesday, July 14.<sup>91</sup> In both instances, the topic of conversation is unclear, but Washington may have spoken privately to those she wanted to work alongside her in an organization where the world's Women of Color were "banded close together." Even more, in drafting the history of the ICWDR for Washington's approval, member Mary Jackson McCorey reported that the idea "lay in embryo" in the heart and mind of Mrs. Washington," and that it developed when her husband showed his interest and support the project. Her interests, at least, dated as far back as Tuskegee's African education project at the turn of the century and her husband's 1912 International Conference on the Negro that came later.<sup>92</sup> Booker T. Washington's death in 1915 caused "sorrow and heavier responsibility," which delayed Washington's plan beyond discussing it with a few friends and supporters, but it soon reignited her thinking about the council by the time the NACW met in Tuskegee in 1920 and Richmond in 1922.<sup>93</sup>

At the close of Richmond convention, Washington and other NACW women who were interested in the council idea traveled to Washington, D.C. to continue their talks. From the start of this meeting, ICWDR was intentionally formed as a small cadre of African American women "who have done a definite and outstanding piece of work" and who showed commitment and interest to a global sisterhood. At the first meeting in Washington, D.C. the slogan, "Better Homes, Better Schools, Better Churches and a Better Country," was adopted to show that ICWDR stood for "justice and fair play for

every woman of every land.”<sup>94</sup> Even so, the organizational constitution and an official slate of officers would not be finalized before 1923 at its next meeting. Since members were inducted by election only and the organization never numbered more than 41 members, it can safely be assumed that nearly all councilmembers were familiar with one another. Many like Talbert, Terrell, Curtis, Burroughs, and Hunton were NACW members, who also recommended other club members for membership.<sup>95</sup>

The ICWDR purposefully excluded activists with whom the leadership was antagonistic like Ida B. Wells whom they considered too outspoken and brash and who had dared to criticize Booker T. Washington openly. Additionally, though Hallie Q. Brown was clearly identified as possessing international interests, personality clashes that occurred around NACW meetings seem to have blocked her initiation. Finally, Anna Julia Cooper, who had clear global interests, was at the Sorbonne at the time that the organization was founded, and thus was not invited to join.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, despite wanting to go beyond the African American clubwoman network, ICWDR continued to call upon the NACW for members and also utilized Association relationships with outside entities in order to build up its base. For instance, Eva Del Vakia Bowles, YCWA’s Secretary of Colored Work who constantly appealed to the NACW about affiliation as a mechanism of expanding leadership opportunities in the postwar period, became a member. Even more, in its first meeting, ICWDR called upon Adelaide Casely-Hayford and made her its vice President for Africa.<sup>97</sup>

Early on, ICWDR adopted a three-prong focus: education, political affairs, and social uplift. The decision that “the first thing we are doing” was to focus on education

reflected not only the members' professional backgrounds, but also work that could immediately be taken up and an initiative that the NACW had already recommended in its first post-war convention. The ICWDR began asking prominent educators like James H. Dillard and William T.B. Williams, and Carter G. Woodson, initiator of Negro History week and the founder of the *Journal of Negro History*, to promote their program in their national educational tours. ICWDR members were expected to distribute knowledge for an organization-developed curriculum by Terrell, Burroughs, and Addie Dickerson of Philadelphia through local "committees of seven."<sup>98</sup>

The women also sought to undertake investigation and study trips abroad, but were limited in this regard by both time and money. Thus, Washington requested that fellow members aid funding an already-planned trip of Tuskegee educator Emily Williams, who was traveling to Haiti to investigate the status of women and children there.<sup>99</sup> Williams reported that the trip went well and decided that people there "lived as if in Darkest Africa" and that they "need[ed] help."<sup>100</sup> In a formal lecture during the organization's second meeting, which was held in Richmond, Virginia during the summer of 1923, she introduced the members to Theodore Holly, a woman she met on her trip and whose father had immigrated to Haiti. As highly involved racial activist, Holly would also come to serve briefly as a French editor for *The Negro World*, the newspaper of the United Negro Improvement Association.<sup>101</sup> The fact that these ICWDR never before met Holly, but sought to rely upon her to introduce their mission and to educate Haitian women on "the world-wide progress of Woman in general and of their Colored sisters in particular," and named her as Vice-President for her country, suggests

the difficulties that the women faced in beginning their movement. In fact, beyond Holly and Casely-Hayford, the organization remained limited by the fact that its representation outside the U.S. was still African American women who were traveling or living abroad. Though these women were “banded together for a definite purpose---to study the conditions of all the women of the darker races and to work out plans by which we might all be benefitted,” the organization faced extreme dilemmas that led to slow development. Most of the ICWDR’s activism and recruitment required continuous reliance upon preexisting structures, personal relations, and even mere acquaintances.

While it was always recommended that members pursue activism in broader groups, Addie Hunton was one ICWDR member who created her own organization.<sup>102</sup> Just months after their April meeting, Hunton became one of the many ICWDR members to express interest in the PAC congress that was to be held in London and Lisbon in late November and early December. Du Bois heroically saved the congress after the previous conference planner resigned over lingering issues between Francophone and Black American members and of course, poor finances.<sup>103</sup> Yet, the prominent activist lacked the funds that he needed to travel to Europe to actually be in attendance. It was then that Addie Hunton who was not only a vice president of ICWDR, but chair of NACW’s Foreign and Relations Department, called together a group of Black women in New York to raise funds for his attendance. It is interesting to note how the moniker that the women developed, the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, bears remarkable similarity to Hunton’s Association work. Little information persists on the organization, beyond of membership lists that included Du Bois’ wife, Nina, and a number of non-NACW women

like Dorothy Peterson, Lillian Alexander, and Sadie Stockton. Minnie Trotman of the NACW and the ICWDR and Addie Hunton's 24-year old daughter, Eunice Hunton Carter, also participated. The Circle directly tied its support to the PAC and described themselves as "a group of women believing in the universality of the race problem."<sup>104</sup>

Of course, Hunton wanted to attend the PAC meeting, but in recognizing the importance of Du Bois' inclusion, sacrificed herself to this end. When Du Bois arrived in Europe he joined a relatively small conference that reflected the issues that the PAC faced, last minute preparation and members' own financial issues. For instance, for months Ida Gibbs Hunt labored in the background as "a sort of ambassador of Pan-Africa," preparing the conference including giving much of her own money and facilitating donations like those of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations. Other than Du Bois, she held chief responsibility for the program. Hunt was the only known African American woman in attendance and gave a talk on the "The Colored Races and the League of Nations" during the evening session on the first day.<sup>105</sup> Overall, most conference goers described the meeting as a poor one especially in light of its predecessors. Du Bois grieved that African Americans knew too little of the state of affairs with Africa and as such could do little to contribute to the rich dialogue he desired.<sup>106</sup>

While this lack of knowledge likely defined a number of NACW women, they were certainly very interested in attending the congress, which in part might have been stimulated by Fauset's presentation. Their interests might also have been stimulated by all of the international topics that appeared before the women in the broader American

and African press or by their education provided in the Peace and Foreign Relations and Legislative departments of the NACW. In one issue of *NAN*, Mossie Mossell Griffin, listed all of the passed and rejected bills affecting the national and international situation.<sup>107</sup> In the end, though Hallie Q. Brown elected to stay the course with her national tour for the organization rather than leave the country for the meeting. When the women met again in convention in Chicago in August of 1924, they were still trying to decide what to do with the funds that had been raised for Brown's PAC appearance as well as mourning the death of Talbert who died the previous October. The NACW attributed her unexpected expiration to her working night and day to aid the cause of African Americans and the organization especially.<sup>108</sup>

At the public meeting of the 1924 convention, Fannie Givens again brought NACW "greetings from 19,000 miles across the sea" and was now joined by Florence Randolph, the NACW's chaplain. Randolph's "Africa Waiting and the Opportunity of America" told of her recent missionary work in Liberia and stressed the need for American and African American attention to the nation, but not their leadership of it. In fact, she pointed to these groups' incompetency as the reason for the current state of affairs. During the convention session on the fourth day, the NACW also welcomed Ruthen Bower from the Virgin Islands, who was appealing for its support. It is unclear if Hallie Q. Brown, who provided the introduction, invited Bower to attend or if she appeared as the guest of Addie Hunton or Grace Jones of Braxton, Mississippi, who were now co-chairs the Peace and Foreign Relations Committee.<sup>109</sup> During the evening session on this same day, Margaret Washington ably lead the women in discussion on peace and

foreign relations and interracial cooperation. Nonetheless, not all NACW women were happy about NACW's direction and it showed when a delegate from Michigan singled out the women from Canada as the reason for crowding when the members were voting. She argued that these persons should not be permitted to vote since "this is national and not an international organization."<sup>110</sup> This argument about the NACW's geographic focus would continue for years and showed the good sense that Washington possessed in not attempting to pursue a global agenda in an organization encumbered by this sort of disagreement.

The ICWDR met at the conclusion of the NACW meeting during which time International Council members voted to contribute money towards Casely-Hayford's school in Sierra Leone after receiving a letter from her.<sup>111</sup> This year also represented the first time that the ICWDR hosted a public meeting during which it featured Holly from Haiti and four Indian women including a local University of Chicago student. The unnamed missionary from the Virgin Islands might have been Bower who spoke during the NACW convention.<sup>112</sup> ICWDR hoped to have presented a report on Cuba by Minnie Trotman, a member of this organization and the Circle For Peace and Foreign Relations, but she was unable to attend.<sup>113</sup> Another absent member was Lugenia Burns Hope of the Atlanta Neighborhood Union, who sought to offer some key suggestions about the group's current and future direction. She encouraged them all to try to secure speakers and foreign members, but also to "try to secure [representation] on Committees of White women. . .for our own women."<sup>114</sup> Washington reported that she found the recommendations sound, but to some degree, Hope's advice was already in play. Nearly

all of these women's lives were defined by heavy organizational work, some of it interracial. Alongside finances, this is actually what precluded the ICWDR from meeting as often as members would have liked. Thus, while the organization worked on becoming something separate and apart from the NACW, it was all too convenient for the members who belonged to this body to meet at this time especially now that one of its own members, Mary McLeod Bethune, was just elected as the Association's president (1924-1928).

Citing the copious amount of work before them, Bethune called the NACW leadership to a meeting in the nation's capital in May of 1925. Though many wired their regrets due to transportation cost or illness, 65 women accepted and they were glad that they did. The Association called the meeting "providential" since it permitted its members to be in position to respond to discrimination faced by Hallie Q. Brown and a band of African American singers at the ICW meeting there in D.C.<sup>115</sup> Bethune had chosen Brown as her proxy and distributed the organization's other delegate tickets among the membership. In responding to a 1923 request by the U.S. National Council of Women, Brown had also pulled together a music program that showcased African American music. But when she learned that the 250 singers that she brought together were being segregated to one side of the auditorium, she promptly she went on stage and succinctly announced: "The American Council of Women has broken its written contract and because colored people are segregated in this audience their the singers refused to sing."<sup>116</sup>



Janie Porter Barrett, Chair of the NACW Executive Board and an ICWDR member who was in the audience, expressed how proud she was of Brown's stance and declared "she was very grave and dignified and did not say a single unnecessary word, yet she did say everything that was necessary to make it clear where the National Association stood."<sup>117</sup> Brown herself argued that where Black women stood was on the side of democracy thus they would not permit themselves to be "humiliated in the eyes of foreign women."<sup>118</sup> Although the moment was obviously an embarrassing one for Brown and the singers, Brown's demonstration connected with her past political usages of international women's conferences. This time as a result of her protest, six foreign women who were visiting a local AME church, echoed their support along with that of many others.<sup>119</sup>

While this racial incident was splattered across national newspapers on June 6, only one Chicago paper reported the death of Margaret Murray Washington that occurred just two days earlier. Soon though, letters poured in from across the nation as the Tuskegee community and her organizational colleagues especially strongly felt Washington's absence.<sup>120</sup> Within the ICWDR, Addie Hunton eventually stepped up to provide leadership for the next two years. Although there is no evidence of the women's activities from 1926 to 1928, it is likely that within their local communities, ICWDR members continued to focus on educating themselves and others about "women of darker races around the globe."<sup>121</sup>

Much of ICWDR's documentary absence during these years has to do with Hunton's full activist life. In 1925, she resigned as a field secretary for the NAACP due

to health, but continued to serve as president of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations. She was also appointed to YWCA's Council for Colored Work and the National Board of Girls Reserves, and in addition to serving the NACW as its chair of the Programs and Literature Department, she now presided over its Empire State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of the NACW.<sup>122</sup> In February 1926, when WILPF finally followed up on renewed appeals to investigate the situation in Haiti, Hunton joined with Charlotte Attwood to become the second African American on the six-person team. Attwood was also an NACW member and a teacher at Dunbar High School in Washington D.C. Though taken under the League's auspices, Hunton presented herself as president of ICWDR. She also provided the only discussion of racial relations in the published account of the trip.<sup>123</sup>

When Hunton attended the NACW meeting in Oakland, California in August of this same year, she reported on the work of the New York Federation, which included "support[ing] a child in South Africa." She and Maria Lawton, who had been the president of the Empire State Federation for the last ten years, basically switched places, with the latter now heading up NACW's Peace and Foreign Relations department. Despite Lawton's absence, the department's report was read aloud and deemed good, and international guests including four visitors from India still appeared before the convention.<sup>124</sup> No information was provided of the speeches of these guests or any discussion that ensued afterwards, but their inclusion still showed the Association's interest in developing foreign relations especially with People of Color in other lands.<sup>125</sup>

In fact, the National Organizer's report claimed that since the last meeting, "Africa" was accepted into the body.

It is likely that this unnamed African organization referred to a Liberian one started by Helen Curtis since she participated in the organizational roll call and told of her work at the meeting.<sup>126</sup> She addressed NACW on Liberia, saying that though many American representatives lived in splendor within the country, there was widespread poverty—"our people . . . need our attention." From a strictly Western perspective, she described native Liberian women as having no freedom whatsoever, being mistreated as field workers, and bound in polygamous marriages. After her talk, NACW delegates immediately showed signs of support. Ella P. Stewart of Ohio encouraged at least 12 different clubs to provide a barrel of flour each. In addition to the \$116.40 collection, individual women as well as clubs from Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco, pledged to provide the food item. The Martha Ann Wilson Memorial Club promised bandages and clothing.<sup>127</sup>

The women's response was in line with Bethune's presidential address that she delivered just a short while later wherein she spelled out "the international mission of the NACW" that was to be reflected in a headquarters in the nation's capital and the organization's service as "a significant link between people of color throughout the world."<sup>128</sup> During the following summer, Bethune made good on this point as she participated in what she called a "tour of investigation and good-will" wherein she visited European countries that included England, Scotland, and Italy. Although most days were filled with visits to Christian sites and museums, Bethune made efforts to meet with the

women of these countries. Through the NACW's relationship with the ICW she met with Edith McLeod of Scotland's National Women's Council and talked with her about the conditions of African American women.<sup>129</sup> In publicizing the May-August tour, Bethune declared: "If Ethiopia is to stretch forth her hands, then those hands must belt the seas, and to belt the seas, it is fitting that the women of the N.A.C.W. should know from actual observation and touch, how to go about their work." Although the tour did not include the African continent at all, Bethune obviously held Europe as a part of her conceptualization of the Association's global work and shared it as such in her biennial reports before the NACW and NCW. Beyond her own efforts, Bethune noted that many other Black women traveled to Europe during the summers to widen their visions and establish contacts.<sup>130</sup>

Bethune returned stateside in the first couple of days in August. During her absence, African American clubwomen and Pan-Africanists worked again to save the upcoming PAC meeting, which was in dire financial straits. Under the umbrella of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, which now touted the participation of Ida Gibbs Hunt, Jessie Fauset, and Adelaide Casely-Hayford, Black women from all over the country conducted fundraisers to cover the \$3,000 bill, coordinated local groups, staffed committees, and secured meeting halls.<sup>131</sup> Beyond the representation of Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, women from a number of organizations were represented on numerous committees including finance and registration, publicity and press, and reception. The greatest number of these women, however, served in the capacity of hostess, whose functions also included serving as flag wavers as a means of capturing the international nature of the meeting.<sup>132</sup> A write-up in the *Chicago Defender* shows that

hostesses were most often prominent women who represented women's clubs in both urban and rural areas alike. For instance, from Portland, Oregon was Beatrice H. Cannady, a clubwoman, an attorney, a co-editor of the *Portland Advocate*, the state's sole Black newspaper editor; while Addie E. Hutto, a schoolteacher, travelled all the way from the small town of Bainbridge, Georgia to be in attendance.<sup>133</sup>

On the first day of the conference, Hunton provided Du Bois' introduction to an audience that captured 208 delegates and more than 5,000 observers—largely from the U.S. and the West Indies since these women had few international connections.<sup>134</sup> Attendees included both local and national clubwomen whose financial circumstances had frequently prevented their participation when meetings were held abroad. For instance, Helen Curtis, who attended the meeting as a member of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, was now joined by fellow NACW and ICWDR member Addie Dickerson in speaking at a session of African missions. Likely reflecting their growth through ICWDR's educational program, the women advocated that missionaries focus on health and education rather than superficial and false perceptions of superiority pertaining to culture and religion.<sup>135</sup>

After departing from the PAC where she served as a hostess and visiting both Texas and Mexico, Beatrice H. Cannady, a clubwoman, an attorney, a co-editor of the *Portland Advocate*, Oregon's sole Black newspaper editor, returned home to take up her own plans that reflected her participation. Most immediately, she collaborated with the Fellowship of Better Interracial Relations to put on a miniature two-day Pan African Congress that reflected her belief in interracial cooperation.<sup>136</sup> Meeting at the Portland

City Library, the integrated staff decorated the room with foreign flags borrowed from a department store, maps and charts from a local high school, and African curios became a part of one of the cultural exhibits loaned by the African American clubwoman who lectured on her recent trip to Liberia. The president of the Federated Clubs of Washington and Jurisdiction provided an address on “Federated Club Work and World Peace” that was followed by others delivered by White speakers including a representative of the National Council for the Prevention of War. At the meeting’s close, the gatherers passed resolutions that called for African American periodicals to be placed in the libraries of Portland’s schools libraries and pledged their support for the upcoming PAC meeting that was to be held in Africa. Cannady informed Du Bois that local clubwomen planned to send her as their representative.<sup>137</sup>

In 1928, NACW women met in Washington, D.C., the birthplace of the NACW and now the home of its new headquarters. Bethune opened the meeting by telling the women how she “tried to represent us day and night, in the swamps of Florida and on the Mediterranean and that she had given her best.” In line with her goal for the NACW, this convention continued to reflect a strong focus on Africa. Greetings were offered from three Liberian delegates and a fourth, Sarah Brown Lee, provided full details about the work of the Woman’s Culture Club there. Afterwards, Bethune inquired about the desire of native Liberian women to study early childhood education in the US and several clubwomen from Chicago and another from Cleveland promised to aid any who came to their city. To this same end, the annual report of NACW’s national music department

suggests that funds from the Kansas Music Contest and the state meeting were given to Liberia as a component of the organization's "Lifting as We Climb" mission.<sup>138</sup>

This year also represented the first time that newly formed Young Woman's Department of the NACW appeared on the program and the first time Alice Dunbar Nelson spoke to the women on the American Interracial Peace Committee, an organization that claimed both her and Hunton as members, and an initiative of the American Friends Service Committee to end American racism. In addition to her employment with this agency, Nelson had recently been elected to US WILPF leadership, which was likely covered in a convention address by Dorothy Detzer, the executive secretary of the U.S. WILPF.<sup>139</sup> Both women's discussions fed well into one led by Mary V. Parish of Kentucky, who was filling in for Jennie Dee Booth, the wife of Tuskegee's current leader. Parish presented and perhaps even authored the Peace and Foreign Relations report that encouraged support of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, a multilateral agreement that sought to outlaw warfare. She also told of improved relations with Mexico, but like many Americans questioned the nation's engagement in Nicaragua's civil war. Although trying to understand the concepts of intervention and peacekeeping, Parish still argued that the American domestic situation required the focus to be at home. In addition to suggesting NACW resolutions that these sentiments be written up as NACW resolutions, which Bethune then wanted to share throughout the world, Parish recommended that clubwomen cooperate with agencies that targeted peace and goodwill at home and abroad and offered educational materials.<sup>140</sup> Parish's sentiments matched those of Janie Porter Barrett, who spoke her good experience in

representing the Association at a recent NCW meeting, but that she felt she needed more knowledge of the national and international issues.<sup>141</sup>

After hearing from Dorothy Boulding Ferebee, the grandniece of Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, who had died in 1924, and voting the WCTU from a minor to major department, Bethune “closed her administration... with all debts paid.”<sup>142</sup> Her work especially built upon that of NACW’s first president in the inter-war period, Mary B. Talbert, whose foreign service as a nurse represented a key way that the NACW had begun to lengthen the cords of its national and international activism and strengthen its stakes within American democracy. Upon her return to the U.S., Talbert told of her time abroad, which included her participation in the 1919 meetings of WILPF and PAC. Through the first half of the inter-war period, Talbert was but one NACW activist who simultaneously participated in a number of organizational endeavors in the pursuit of peace and justice after the First World War. In fact, she joined with Bethune and other members of the NACW to form the International Council of Women of Darker Races, which was designed to reflect Black women’s international interests in freedom from racism, sexism, and imperialism more freely.

The ICWDR, which drew upon NACW membership, also served as a response to the discrimination that Black women faced as members within entities predominated and led by White women and Black men. While hoping to bring together the women of the “darker races” into a global sisterhood, ICWDR members still valued their place within broader organizations. They not only called for organizations like the WILPF and the NAACP to respond to racial incidents at home, but also to answer appropriately



accusations concerning African American soldiers and German women and stories of the abuses of Haitians by American soldiers, respectively. Under its own auspices, ICWDR members turned their attention to an educational program, which remains one of its most successful and visible undertakings. Nevertheless, in a number of ways, the ICWDR could not fully separate itself from the NACW. The fact that most of its members were clubwomen even meant that it held meetings alongside the Association's biennial conferences. Under the helm of Hallie Q. Brown from 1920-1924, the NACW and the ICWDR steadily shared visitors and the NACW president welcomed the discussions of international topics on the convention agenda especially through the reports of the missionaries from Africa.

When Bethune took over from Brown in 1924, she expanded the international focus, even arguing for an International National Association of Colored Women that linked Black women in the U.S. with People of Color the world over. While Bethune was unsuccessful in this regard, she had managed to establish a national headquarters, enrich the scholarship fund, publish a national directory, and build a caretaker's cottage at the Douglass Home. She had also served the organization during a crucial point in its history that included the deaths of two previous Association presidents. But if Bethune helped the NACW to weather these hard times, the burden on the next president who served during the early years of the Great Depression was even heavier. The 1930s and the coming of the Second World War gave rise to different forms of activism and agitation including a new and invigorated following led by the Association's previous president.

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<sup>1</sup> Mary B. Talbert to Mary W. Ovington, June 5, 1922, Papers of the NAACP: Part 1: Meetings of the Board of Director, Records of Annual Conferences, Major Speeches, and Special Reports. Accessed through ProQuest History Vault.

Talbert likely did not leave until January or February of 1919 since an article in the *National Association Notes* provides a recounting of her visit with some Marines, who were home for the Christmas holiday. "Hon. Mrs. Talbert Returns from Abroad," *National Association Notes* (October-December, 1920): 12.

<sup>2</sup> Clarence G. Countee, "Du Bois, the NAACP, and the Pan African Congress of 1919," *The Journal of Negro History* (January 1972): 23; Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, trans. Ann Keep (London: Methuen, 1974), 234-235. To read of African American women's attraction to France during the interwar period, See T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Bricktop's Paris: African American Women in Paris between the Two World Wars* (Albany: State University of New York, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 235-238; Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 15-17; and Countee, "Du Bois, the NAACP, and the Pan African Congress of 1919," 19.

<sup>4</sup> Sharynn Owens Etheridge, "Charlotta Spears Bass," in Jessie Carney Smith, ed. *Notable Black American Women* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992), 62.

<sup>5</sup> Michelle Rief, "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally: The International Agenda of African American Clubwomen, 1880-1940," *The Journal of African American History* (Summer 2004): 210-211. Walker was hoping to represent the International League of Darker People, an organization born in her home in January of 1919, specifically for the purposes of uniting African American organizational activism towards the Peace meeting at Versailles. Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 16; and Countee, "Du Bois, the NAACP, and the Pan African Congress of 1919," 18.

Alice Dunbar Nelson also remained unsuccessful in her application to get to Europe once the war was over through her work as a war correspondent for the White newspaper, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. Rief, "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally," 211.

<sup>6</sup> Adele Logan Alexander, "Women of the World: African-American Women as Internationalists, 1890-1940" (Unpublished paper for Seminar on U.S. Foreign Relations, Department of History, Howard University, June 1987), 30; and Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 239-240.

<sup>7</sup> Mary B. Talbert to Co-Workers, March 9, 1919 in *The National Notes* (February-May 1919): 4. Several years later, Talbert was still clearing up her non-attendance to this meeting, explaining that it was not because of a passport issue that she did not go. See "Internat'l Council of Women," *The National Notes* (May 1923): 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 5

<sup>9</sup> "Notes from Our Women," *The National Notes* (February-May 1920): 6-7.

<sup>10</sup> Countee, "Du Bois, the NAACP, and the Pan African Congress of 1919," 19.

<sup>11</sup> "Notes from Osur Women," *The National Notes* (February-May 1920): 6; and Georgia A. Nugent, "Report of Executive Board," *Minutes of the National Association of Colored*

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*Women, Tuskegee, AL, July 12-16, 1920*, p. 42, from the *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

<sup>12</sup> Dorothy C. Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1990), 228; and Fannie Fern Andrews to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 20, 1919 in the International Council of Women Records, Box 2 Folder 5, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Accessed through Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds., *Women and Social Movements International, 12840 to Present database*. Hereafter cited as WASMI.

<sup>13</sup> "At the Congress, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell...", *The Washington Bee*, June 21, 1919; and Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1996), 370.

<sup>14</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 370; and Melinda Plastas, *A Band of Noble Women: Racial Politics in the Women's Peace Movement* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 21-22.

<sup>15</sup> This is Terrell's designation in the conference. See, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, *Report of the International Congress of Women, Zurich, May 12 to 17, 1919* (Geneva, Geneva Canton: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1919), 463, WASMI.

<sup>16</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 374.

<sup>17</sup> *Report of the International Congress of Women, Zurich*, 29 and 210-217. The actual resolution is printed on 110.

<sup>18</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 375 and Adele Logan Alexander, *Parallel Worlds: The Remarkable Gibbs-Hunts and the Enduring (in)significance of Melanin* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 185. For a conversation between Terrell and a Japanese statesman that helped to shape her views see, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 389.

<sup>19</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 356-376 and Plastas, *A Band of Noble Women*, 21. Although Dorothy Salem writes that Ida Gibbs Hunt was also in attendance, Hunt's own biographer does not place her there. Salem, *To Better Our World*, 228; and Alexander, *Parallel Worlds*, 185.

<sup>20</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 376 and 394-396; and Alexander, *Parallel Worlds*, 185-186. Through her communication with other People of Color and non-Americans in France, Terrell managed to get around the "big allopathic dose of race prejudice" administered by White Americans who were abroad. This included touring French battlegrounds—an activity that her fellow WILPF delegates attended yet they did not contemplate extending an invitation to her. *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 384-387.

<sup>21</sup> "Mrs. Mary B. Talbert President of the National Association of Afro-American Women—Splendidly Received," *Cleveland Gazette*, August 23, 1919.

Hunton and Johnson also described a dinner attended by "one of our number" in honor of the Liberian delegates to the Peace Conference, see, Addie W. Hunton, Kathryn

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M. Johnson, and Addie W. Hunton, *Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces* (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Eagle Press, 1938), 186-187.

<sup>22</sup> "Ibid.; and "National President Tours the South," *The National Notes* (May 1923): 1.

<sup>23</sup> "Mrs. Mary B. Talbert President of the National Association of Afro-American Women—Splendidly Received," *Cleveland Gazette*, August 23, 1919. To read more on African American soldiers at Aix-Les-Baines and Chamberry, see Hunton and Johnson, *Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces*, 186-187.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "Negro Women in War Work," in *Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, ed. Emmett J. Scott (New York: Arno Press, 1969 [1919]), 397.

<sup>26</sup> Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 146.

<sup>27</sup> Nettie L. Napier, "Mary Burnett Talbert," in *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*, ed. Hallie Q. Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988 [1926]), 217-220.

<sup>28</sup> Salem, *To Better Our World*, 232-234; and Tiffany A. Player, "The Anti-Lynching Crusaders: A Study of Black Women's Activism," (M.A. Thesis, University of Georgia, 2008), 10-34.

As one of the foremost activist concerning lynching, Ida B. Wells-Barnett criticized the women for not doing enough towards the passing of this bill and not dedicating enough time to it during convention sessions. She also held the women at fault for having NAACP leaders speak on the legislative subject rather than senators. See Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 194-195.

<sup>29</sup> "Colored News Notes," *The Lexington Herald* (Lexington, Kentucky), October 19, 1919; "Colored News Notes: Noted Club Leader to Deliver Address Here, December 3," *The Lexington Herald* (Lexington, Kentucky), November 23, 1919; and "Mrs. Mary B. Talbert," *Cleveland Gazette*, November 22, 1919.

<sup>30</sup> "Scoundrels in France," *Cleveland Gazette*, November 8, 1919. Mary Church Terrell remarked that it appeared as if White Americans packed racism into their suitcases and took it with them when traveling abroad. *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 106, 118 and 121.

<sup>31</sup> Traki L. Taylor, "'Womanhood Glorified': Nannie Helen Burroughs and the National Training School for Women and Girls, Inc., 1909-1961," *The Journal of African American History* (Fall 2002): 392-393.

<sup>32</sup> This address was given in a Baptist Women's Convention in September of 1918. Quotation in Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 225. For another work on Black female Christians' social and political activism, see Bettie Collier-Thomas, *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice: African American Women and Religion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010).

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<sup>33</sup> Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: W. Morrow, 1984), 154-155; and Lara Vapnek, "The 1919 International Congress of Working Women: Transnational Debates on the "Woman Worker," *Journal of Women's History* (Spring 2014): 160-184.

<sup>34</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Tuskegee*, 7-8.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 40.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 54-55.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 and 29; and "Mrs. Mary B. Talbert Rightly Honored," *Cleveland Gazette*, May 22, 1920. Talbert reported that the only incident of trouble occurred in Oregon when the clubwomen there publicly boycotted her through speech and the press. Although she recommended their expulsion from the NACW, it was decided that the women could stay upon issuing an apology. It was a half-hearted one. See *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Tuskegee*, 11-12, and 29.

<sup>40</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Tuskegee*, 15.

<sup>41</sup> "Pleasant Tour Through the South," *The Broad Ax* (Chicago, Illinois), July 31, 1920; and "Notice," *National Association Notes* (October-December, 1920): 5. Even though the *National Association Notes* reported that Talbert represented the women at a conference in Geneva, this is likely not the case since Talbert was still in the U.S. in June of 1920. Additionally, since the article says that Waring accompanied her, this signals that this meeting was most likely the ICW Congress.

<sup>42</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Tuskegee*, 15 and 26. Letters discussing the trip's cost and Talbert's debt of more than \$1,000 are as follows: Mary Talbert to Mrs. John R. Shillady, April 10, 1920; and Mary B. Talbert to James Weldon Johnson, November 16, 1920, and Talbert to My Good Friend [NACW?], November 8, 1920, NAACP-Papers, Part 1.

<sup>43</sup> "National President Tours the South," *The National Notes* (May 1923): 3.

<sup>44</sup> Talbert to My Good Friend [NACW?], November 8, 1920, p. 2, Reel 6, Correspondence, 1918, 1921, Undated, in the *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Part 1*.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Talbert's name is misspelled "Talbot" here, but since she is the only American delegate with a similar name, it is safe to assume that this is her. International Council of Women, *International Council of Women: Report on the Quinquennial Meeting : [Sixth Quinquennial Period] = Conseil International Des Femmes : Rapport De L'Assemblée Quinquennale : [Sixième Période Quinquennale] = Internationaler Frauenbund : Bericht Über Die Generalversammlung : [Sechsten Geschäftsperiode]: Kristiania, 1920* (Aberdeen, Scotland: The Rosemount Press, 1920), 210, WASMI.

<sup>48</sup> Nancy Marie Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906-46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 71-74.

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<sup>49</sup> Quoted in Nadya J. Lawson, "Mary Fitzbutler Waring," in Jessie Carney Smith, ed., *Notable Black American Women, Book 2* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996), 681.

The story was also picked up by a larger news market, see "Prof. William Pickens Flays Prejudiced American Women. . .," *Cleveland Gazette*, February 21, 1921.

<sup>50</sup> Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood*, 71-74.

<sup>51</sup> "Untitled," *National Association Notes* (October-December 1920): 11-12. Following up the request of editors of *Tidens Tega*, Talbert produced a story on African American children that appeared in its September issue. "Untitled," *National Association Notes* (October-December 1920): 11.

<sup>52</sup> "Untitled," *National Association Notes* (October-December 1920): 11-12; and "Hon. Mrs. Talbert Returns from Abroad," *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> "Untitled," *Lexington Herald* (Lexington, Kentucky), June 17, 1921; "Colored People Hear of 'Y' Work Overseas," *Patriot* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), March 21, 1921. Talbert's same letter; however, did appear in "Brilliant Race Woman Reports her Trip to Far-off Norway," *Topeka Plaindealer* (Topeka, Kansas), November 19, 1920.

<sup>54</sup> Joyce Blackwell, *No Peace Without Freedom: Race and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1975* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), 6-7.

<sup>55</sup> Blackwell, *No Peace Without Freedom*, 11; and Susan Chandler, "Addie Hunton and the Construction of an African American Female Peace Perspective," *Affilia* (Fall 2005): 270-83.

<sup>56</sup> Plastas, *Band of Noble Women*, 116.

<sup>57</sup> Hon. Mrs. Talbert Returns from Abroad," *National Association Notes* (October-December, 1920): 12; and Mary B. Talbert to James Weldon Johnson, November 16, 1920, NAACP-Papers, Part 1. To read more on African Americans' interest in Haiti, see Henry Lewis Suggs, "The Response of the African American Press to the United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934," *Journal of Negro History* (Winter 1988): 33-45; Millery Polyné, *From Douglass to Duvalier: U.S. African Americans, Haiti, and Pan Americanism, 1870-1964* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010); "The Afro-American Response to the Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934," *Phylon* (June 1982): 125-143; and Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

<sup>58</sup> Mary B. Talbert to James Weldon Johnson, November 16, 1920, NAACP-Papers, Part 1.

<sup>59</sup> Mary A. Renda explores the development of Johnson's Haiti project, but situates it as a part of a Republication campaign and William G. Harding's presidential election. *Taking Haiti*, 185-228. For Johnson's write-up, see *Self-determining Haiti... Four Articles Reprinted from The Nation Embodying a Report of an Investigation Made for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Together with Official Documents* (New York: Nation, 1920).

<sup>60</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 402-405; Blackwell, *No Peace Without Freedom*, 94-96; and Mary Church Terrell to Jane Addams, March 18, 1921, in *Social Justice Feminists in the United States and Germany: A Dialogue in Documents, 1885-*

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1933, eds. Kathryn Kish Sklar, Anja Schuler, and Susan Strasser (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 280-82, WASMI.

<sup>61</sup> Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, *Third International Congress of Women, Vienna, July 10-17, 1921* (Geneva, Geneva Canton, WILPF, 1921): 73, 78, 226, and 314, WASMI.

<sup>62</sup> Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 241.

<sup>63</sup> Carolyn Wedin, "Jessie Redmon Fauset," in Jessie Carney Smith, ed. *Notable Black American Women* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992), 337.

<sup>64</sup> Jessie Fauset, "Impressions of the Second Pan-African Congress," *The Crisis* (November 1921): 12-18; and Jessie Fauset, "What Europe Thought of the Pan-African Congress," *The Crisis* (December 1921), 60-69. For the complete list of delegates see pages 68-69.

<sup>65</sup> Selena S. Butler, "The Georgia Colored Parent-Teacher Association," *Child Welfare Magazine* (September 1921): 369.

<sup>66</sup> Stephanie J. Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers during the Jim Crow Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 164.

<sup>67</sup> Alexander, *Parallel Worlds*, 176-177.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>70</sup> Nikki L. M. Brown, *Private Politics and Public Voices: Black Women's Activism from World War I to the New Deal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 89.

<sup>71</sup> Fauset, "What Europe Thought of the Pan-African Congress," 66.

<sup>72</sup> Jessie Fauset to Mary F. Waring, March 21, 1921 and Jessie Fauset to H.A. Hunt, July 9, 1921. Available online at Special Collections and University Archives: W.E.B. Du Bois Library. Hereafter cited as the Du Bois U-MASS Papers.

<sup>73</sup> Mark Ellis, *Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 266, FN: 88; and "Convicted NAACP Pickets Freed," *Negro Star* (Wichita, Kansas), November 11, 1921.

<sup>74</sup> This is echoed in her presidential address of 1922. See the *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Richmond, VA, August 6-12, 1922, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): 29.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 42 and 84.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>77</sup> Jessie Fauset, "The 13<sup>th</sup> Biennial of the N.A.C.W.," *The Crisis* (October 1922): 257.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.

<sup>79</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Richmond*, 10-11 and 17.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>81</sup> *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 379.

<sup>82</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Richmond*, 32-33. NACW minutes originally reported the collection as \$142.52 while Fauset recorded it as \$154. It

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is likely that women continued to donate after the fact since Casey-Hayford also acknowledged this larger amount in a letter of gratitude later in the minutes. Fauset, "The 13<sup>th</sup> Biennial of the N.A.C.W.," *The Crisis* (October 1922): 257; and *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Richmond*, 44.

<sup>83</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Richmond*, 32.

<sup>84</sup> Ula Y. Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey: The Life & Times of Amy Jacques Garvey* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 46-52 and 160.

Charlotta Bass who attended the 1919 Pan-African Congress actually returned to California and within a few years was serving as co-president of the Los Angeles branch of the UNIA. Etheridge, "Charlotta Spears Bass," 62.

For more on Garveyism including the important role played by female adherents see, Barbara Bair, "True Women, Real Men: Garvey, Ideology, and Social Roles in the Garvey Movement," in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, ed. Dorothy O. Helly and Susan Reverby (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 155-166; Ula Y. Taylor, "Negro Women Are Great Thinkers as Well as Doers: Amy Jacques-Garvey and Community Feminism in the United States, 1924-1927," *Journal of Women's History* (Summer 2000): 104-126; and Jeremie Kroubo Dagnini, "Marcus Garvey: A Controversial Figure in the History of Pan-Africanism," *Journal of Pan African Studies* (March 2008): 198-208.

<sup>85</sup> Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*, 36.

Amy A. Jacques Garvey, the second wife of Marcus Garvey, was hardly fond of clubwomen and claimed that they often tended to be preoccupied with frivolous interests around dress and public behavior rather than showing ambition and intelligence. Nevertheless, Garvey's editorials may have still fed clubwomen's international interests. Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*, 68-69. For other early criticisms of clubwomen, see White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 80-82.

Ida B. Wells is one clubwoman who, early on at least, could be identified with Garveysim. In time, however, even she distanced herself, writing that the movement would have survived if Garvey "had . . . not become drunk with power too soon." Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 381.

Du Bois succinctly stated his own opinion as follows: "Garvey is a sincere, hard-working idealist; he is also a stubborn, domineering leader of the mass; he has worthy industrial and commercial schemes but he is an inexperienced business man. His dreams of Negro industry, commerce and the ultimate freedom of Africa are feasible; but his methods are bombastic, wasteful, illogical and ineffective and almost illegal. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Marcus Garvey," *The Crisis* (January 1921): 115.

<sup>86</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Richmond*, 67.

No additional information could be found on "De Walt" and "DeWalt" as it appears in the organizational proceedings. In one instance, the individual was also referred to as "Mrs." though it is more likely that this individual was male.

<sup>87</sup> "Amen" and "Anti-lynching Crusaders," *Crisis* (November 1922): 8.

<sup>88</sup> Mary B. Talbert to Mary White Ovington, October 21, 1922, in the NAACP Papers, Part 7: The Anti-Lynching Campaign, 1912-1955, Series B: Anti-Lynching Legislative



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and Publicity Files, 1916-1955, Library of Congress (Microfilm, Reel 3, Frame 289), WASMI.

<sup>89</sup> "Account of the Origins of the International Council of Women of Darker Races, November 10, 1924, Box 102-12, Folder 238, Terrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>90</sup> Eleanor Hilton Hoytt, "International Council of Women of the Darker Races: Historical Notes from Margaret Murray Washington," *Sage* (Fall 1986): 54.

Serving ICWDR documents can be found in the collections of its members and leaders such as Nannie Burroughs and Mary Church Terrell (the latter of which, was at best a halfhearted participant). Unfortunately, no papers of Addie Dickerson, the longest serving organizational president from 1929 to 1940, have been located. Additionally ICWDR correspondence can be found in the Du Bois Collection at the University of Massachusetts. Of surviving ICWDR documents, the Women and Social Movements International database houses an impressive 42 resources, which are introduced by a scholarly essay.

Though there remains no published comprehensive work on the ICWDR, the organization is considered in a number of scholarly writings including, but are not limited to: Eleanor Hinton Hoytt, "The International Council of Women of the Darker Races Historical Notes," *Sage* (Fall 1986): 54-55; Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 200; Dorothy Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920*, vol. 14 of *Black Women in United States History*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1990), 236;; Michelle Rief, "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally: The International Agenda of African American Clubwomen, 1880-1940," *Journal of African American History* (Summer 2004): 203-222; Lisa G. Materson, "African American Women's Global Journeys and the construction of Cross-ethnic Racial Identity," *Women's Studies International Forum* (January-February 2009): 35-42; and Grace Victoria Leslie, "United for a Better World: Internationalism in the U.S. Women's Movement, 1939-1964," (PhD. Diss. Yale University, 2011), 40. The most in-depth of all of these works is Michelle Rief, "'Banded Close Together': An Afrocentric Study of African American Women's International Activism, 1850-1940, and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races," (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 2003).

<sup>91</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Tuskegee, AL*, 13 and 29.

<sup>92</sup> For Booker T. Washington's educational model in Africa, see Sven Beckert, "From Tuskegee to Togo: The Problem of Freedom in the Empire of Cotton," *Journal of American History* (September 2005): 498-526; and Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010). On educational policy on Africans in America in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries more generally, see Kenneth J. King, "African Students in Negro American Colleges: Notes on the Good African," *Phylon* (1970): 16-30.

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<sup>93</sup> Mary Jackson McCrorery to Margaret Murray Washington, May 16, 1924, Box 102-12, Folder 240, Mary Church Terrell Papers, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University. Hereafter cited as Terrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>94</sup> "Constitution," n.d., in the Mary Church Terrell Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, D.C., Containers 20-21, Reel 14. Hereafter cited as Terrell Papers, LOC, WASMI Resource.

<sup>95</sup> The following document introduces each officer and the work in which she participated: "The International Council of Women of the Darker Races of the World, Statement from the Organization," (1923) p. 4, Reel 14, Terrell Papers, LOC.

<sup>96</sup> Mary Talbert to Margaret Murray Washington, November 7, 1922, Box 102-12, Folder 240, Terrell Papers, MSRC; and Rief, "'Banded Close Together': An Afrocentric Study of African American Women's International Activism, 1850-1940, and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races," (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 2003), 191-192.

It is also likely that Cooper would have been denied an invitation anyway due to unresolved issues between her and the Terrells. Rief, "Banded Close Together," 191.

The *Crisis* lauded Brown's internationalism in "Men of the Month," *Crisis* (November 1920): 32.

<sup>97</sup> Adelaide Casely-Hayford to Margaret Murray Washington, November 18, 1922, Box 102-12, Folder 240, Terrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>98</sup> "The International Council of Women of the Darker Races of the World, Statement from the Organization," [1923], Reel 14, Terrell Papers, LOC.

<sup>99</sup> Margaret Murray Washington to Dear Friend, November 9, 1922, Reel 5, Terrell Papers, LOC, WASMI Resource.

<sup>100</sup> Emily H. Williams to Margaret Murray Washington, December 12, 1922, Box 102-12, Folder 240, Terrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>101</sup> Robert A. Hill, ed., *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), ccxix-ccxx; "Washington, D.C.," Press Release, [1923], Box 102-12, Folder 238, Terrell Papers, MSRC. Also see, Theodora Holly to Margaret Murray Washington, June 14, 1923, Box 102-12, Folder 239, Terrell Papers, MSRC; and Theodora Holly to Margaret Murray Washington, June 30, 1923, Box 102-12, Folder 239, Terrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>102</sup> "Statement from the Organization," (1923), p. 4, Reel 14, Terrell Papers, LOC.

In some ways, Margaret Murray Washington thought it best for the ICWDR to develop slowly. Margaret Murray Washington to Mary Church Terrell, September 20, 1922, Reel 5, Terrell Papers.

<sup>103</sup> Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 248-251.

<sup>104</sup> "The Fourth Pan African Congress," *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, 1910 -1932*, comp. Herbert Aptheker, vol. 3 (New York: Citadel Press, 1993 [1973]), 548. For another member list, see, "Pan-African Congress Holds Fourth Annual Meet in N.Y.," *The Chicago Defender*, August 27, 1927.

In fact, Trotman was already a member of the Equal Suffrage League of Brooklyn when its organization president, Sarah J. Garnett, traveled to the 1911 PAC Congress.

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<sup>105</sup> Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 252; and Brian Russell Roberts, "Artistic Ambassadors and African American Writing at the Nation's Edge, 1893-1940," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Virginia, 2008), 184.

In Ida Gibbs Hunt's biography, Adela Logan Alexander even cites this contributing organization as that of the NACW. *Parallel Worlds*, 201.

<sup>106</sup> Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 253.

<sup>107</sup> "What Congress Did," *The National Notes* (April 1923): 5.

<sup>108</sup> "The Cost of Leadership," *The National Notes* (December 1923): 3 in the *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Chicago, IL August 4-8, 1924, p. 12, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

ICWDR leaders were upset about Hallie Q. Brown's role in the memorial for Talbert, claiming that she did not sincerely care about Talbert. Nannie H. Burroughs to Margaret Murray Washington, July 23, 1924, Box 44, Folder 12, Nannie Helen Burroughs Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; and Rief, "Banded Close Together," 192-193.

<sup>109</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Chicago, IL*, 5.

Grace was originally from the North and moved to Mississippi in 1912. She was remembered as "a Colored Yankee" whose northern connections created for her an enthusiastic following. She was also celebrated for bringing NACW to this rural area. She died in 1928. Alferdteen Harrison, *Piney Woods School, An Oral History* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982), 56-64.

<sup>110</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Chicago, IL*, 19.

<sup>111</sup> Adelaide Casely-Hayford to Margaret Murray Washington, November 28, 1922, Box 102-12, Folder 240, Terrell Papers, MSRC, WASM-I Resource.

<sup>112</sup> "Account of the Origins of the International Council of Women of Darker Races, November 10, 1924, Box 102-12, Folder 238, Terrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>113</sup> Minnie Trotman to Margaret Murray Washington, December 3, 1924, Box 102-12, Folder 240, Terrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>114</sup> Margaret Murray Washington to Terrell, December 19, 1924, Reel 5, Terrell Papers, LOC, WASMI Resource.

<sup>115</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Chicago, IL August 4-8, 1924*, 56.

<sup>116</sup> "Six Foreign Women Protest the Insulting Segregation of Our People at the Nation's Capital," *Cleveland Gazette*, June 6, 1925. This newspaper article registers another form of protest by the NACW in terms of the NCW-U.S. It reported that in 1920, Talbert protested the exclusion of her and Brown's photograph from the quinquennial program and ordered the programs reprinted.

<sup>117</sup> Jane Porter Barnett, "Report of the Chairman of the Executive Board" in the *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oakland, CA August 1-5, 1926, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1:*

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*Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): 56-57.

<sup>118</sup> "Colored Singers Refuse to be Jim Crowed..." *Kansas City Advocate*, May 8, 1925.

<sup>119</sup> "Six Foreign Women Protest the Insulting Segregation of Our People at the Nation's Capital," *Cleveland Gazette*, June 6, 1925.

Terrell also discussed the incident as one of the most serious "frictions" between Black and White women in organized clubs, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 410-411.

On the campaign to place African American literature in schools, see Lugenia Burns Hope to Margaret Murray Washington, September 21, 1922, Box 102-12, Folder 239, Terrell Papers, MSRC; and Julie Ellyn Des Jardins, "Reclaiming the Past: Women, Gender, Race and the Construction of Historical Memory in America, 1880-1940" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 2000), 265.

<sup>120</sup> The following advertisement appeared on the cover of the June 13<sup>th</sup> issue of Chicago's *Broad Ax*: "This newspaper was the only paper published in this city to carry the announcement of the death of Mrs. Booker T. Washington and to run her picture in the issue of Saturday, June 6. It was a real scoop!"

<sup>121</sup> Janie Porter Barrett to Margaret Murray Washington, February 12, 1925, Box 102-12, Folder 239, Terrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>122</sup> "Empire State Voice Official Organ of the Empire State Federation," *The National Notes* (February 1926): 16. For broader reading on Black women and the YWCA, see Stephanie Y. Felix, "Committed to Their Own: African American Women Leaders in the YWCA. The YWCA of Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1870-1970," (PhD diss., Temple University, 1999); and Nancy Marie Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906-46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

<sup>123</sup> Emily G. Balch, *Occupied Haiti: Being the Report of a Committee of Six Disinterested Americans Representing Organizations Exclusively American, Who, Having Personally Studied Conditions in Haiti in 1926, Favor the Restoration of the Independence of the Negro Republic* (New York: The Writers Publishing Company, 1927), v, WASMI Resource. For Addie Hunton's article, see pages 113-121.

<sup>124</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oakland, CA*, 6-7, 32, 45.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 39

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, "Report of the National Organizer," 58.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 34. In 1947, the NCNW honored Helen Curtis, who was a life member, for her foreign efforts, which also showed when she came back stateside, bringing with her five Liberian children who lived in her home. Eleanor Curtis Dailey to Mary McLeod Bethune, April 9, 1948, Box 16, Folder 269, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>129</sup> "The Onward March of the 'Jolly 14,'" Box 1, Folder 26, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, 1923-1942, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. Also see, "Off to Europe? Who's Off?" [1927] in this same folder.

<sup>130</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune, "President's Report," *National Association Notes* (July 1928): 5; and Mary McLeod Bethune, "The National Association of Colored Women, 1928," in

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Mary McLeod Bethune: *Building a Better World: Essays and Selected Documents*, ed. Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 167.

<sup>131</sup> Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 256-257; and Aptheker, *Documentary History*, 547.

<sup>132</sup> "Pan-African Congress Holds Fourth Annual Meet in N.Y.," *The Chicago Defender*, August 27, 1927.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 256-257; and "Pan-African Congress Holds Fourth Annual Meet in N.Y.," *The Chicago Defender*, August 27, 1927.

<sup>135</sup> Rief, "Banded Close Together," 163-164.

<sup>136</sup> "Mrs. Cannady Sees end of Race Trouble: Says West Coast is Setting Pace," *The Chicago Defender*, August 20, 1927; "I Dress to Vamp the Judge": So Says Mrs. E. D. Cannady, an Attorney ..." *The New York Amsterdam News*, August 27, 1927; and "Educators Meet to Study International Racial Problems," *Philadelphia Tribune* December 8, 1927.

<sup>137</sup> "Notes from the Northwest," *National Association Notes* (January 1928): 15; and Mrs. E.D. Cannady to W.E.B. Du Bois, October 14, 1927, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers, U-MASS.

<sup>138</sup> Report, National Music Department, 1928 in the *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): n.p.

<sup>139</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oakland, CA*, 16; and Plastas, *Band of Noble Women*, 64.

<sup>140</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oakland, CA*, 16; and Report, Peace and Foreign Relations Department, 1928, in the *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993): n.p.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 60; and Lavonne Leslie, *History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service* (S.I.: Xlibris, 2012), 115-119.

**Chapter 4**  
**“The Freedom Gates are Half Ajar: We Must Pry Them Fully Open!”**  
**Peace, Justice, and the Building of a New World, 1930-1944**

Sallie W. Stewart, an Indiana clubwoman and Mary McLeod Bethune's vice president, succeeded her in becoming the Association's next leader. Even before her election, issues of discord concerning the direction of the organization were readily apparent. When Stewart arrived at the 1928 meeting she came prepared to reject Rebecca Stiles Taylor, the NACW's Executive Secretary appointed just three weeks earlier and to replace her with Minnie Scott. Scott was one of the two women who supposedly sought to warn Stewart of Bethune's and Taylor's impending plans to “ruin” her and the NACW more largely.<sup>1</sup> At Stewart's insistence, Scott replaced Taylor. This “ruining” also seemed readily apparent in Bethune's insistence on having a headquarters in Washington, D.C., which, according to her, would better allow clubwomen to lobby American Congress effectively as well as permit them to form relationships with national and international dignitaries. Another source of disharmony was that Stewart and Scott obviously disagreed with the NACW's growing focus not only beyond grassroots efforts, but even more so beyond the American borders.

In her 1929 January report, Joanna C. Snowden, a clubwoman from Chicago who was elevated from regional president over the Northwest Federation to the National Organizer, at the same time of Stewart's election, clearly expressed her interests in the

NACW's continued expansion and indicated that beyond clubs in Africa and Canada, the NACW looked forward to promise "of one or more in Spain." In her new role, she wanted to commit the NACW to developing organizations in foreign countries that showed "our colors flying and our motto working."<sup>2</sup> Although she tried to connect it with Stewart's plan, to the new president, nothing seemed further from NACW's original purpose. Stewart's goal to narrow the focus of clubwomen's attention to "Better Homes" became apparent in the September 1929 issue of the *National Notes*, one month before the stock market crash that followed on the heels of other signs of economic trouble such as high national debt from the war and rising unemployment due to industrial mechanization and corporate rhythms.<sup>3</sup>

At the Great Depression's arrival to the U.S., President Hebert Hoover attempted to "cushion the situation" and to restore the public confidence by calling upon the voluntary efforts of businesses to maintain wages and employment and to continue investing. Given the relatively small size of the federal government at the time, he believed that relief should come along state and local lines, but soon enough realized that direct interventions for home loans sponsored by a federal bank and public utility projects that generated employment were actually necessary.<sup>4</sup> Despite the shift in Hoover's attitude and efforts, the abject poverty around them caused most Americans to consider it ineffective. With many Whites willing for the first time to work jobs once classified as the natural lot of African Americans, the latter population faced not only strict competition, but also even high levels of unemployment, which now accompanied

unremitting discrimination in welfare programs. For Black women, who typically found work as domestics or farm laborers, the situation moved from bad to worse.<sup>5</sup>

Under Stewart's leadership in the early 1930s, the NACW demonstrated its intent to combat the worsening economic situation by collapsing twenty-two departments into just two: Mother, Home, and Child and Negro Women in Industry.<sup>6</sup> The first focused on adult education—how to serve as better parents in the rearing of children and the second on employment—how to become better workers through attention to work habits and potential opportunities.<sup>7</sup> Stewart also formed the National Association of Colored Girls, which was designed as a feeder program into the NACW and served to trained young women for uplift work. It would eventually become a department.<sup>8</sup> The new president sought to convince the women of this approach and to determine the healthiness of the Association by taking up a lecture tour to more than 39 cities that included at least five statewide meetings.

In Atlanta, Georgia, Stewart provided a Sunday afternoon lecture at the Liberty Baptist Church on August 18<sup>th</sup>, beginning first with the history of the NACW and how it responded to the needs of that time and how the organization needed to do the same in the present-day.<sup>9</sup> She explained that more than anything this meant aiding Black youth to develop racial pride. As the “backbone of the race” these leading Black women could ensure this by concentrating their attention on “wiping out the indebtedness” of its two greatest monuments and accomplishments—the Frederick Douglass Home and their organizational headquarters. Other than that, each club needed to focus its attention only on “work in its own block,” which meant instructing mothers on how rear their children



so that they may “grow to love law, regularity, and order.” In addition to health-related agenda items concerning food and water contamination, ventilation, and sanitation, which could actually prove quite helpful, clubwomen were to stress the importance of mothers providing a home and a yard that was “beautifully sweet and clean.” After all, Stewart said it was “matters of cleanliness, order, and propriety” that led to the great racial divide. In deepening the sentiments that very much shifted the blame for mistreatment to the very population that it was visited upon, Stewart argued in a very matter of fact manner that if African Americans could correct these issues they would be found less “repulsive... and shall not be despised and evaded at home and abroad.”<sup>10</sup>

Stewart’s approach was not disconnected from statements and views that many previous Association leaders and club members espoused or held. But the iteration of this approach in the 1930s came precisely at a moment when a number of African Americans grew tired of being blamed for squalor, oppression, and violence. Throughout the nation, in urban and rural areas alike, more African Americans were attracted to militant movements or at least different or more radical forms of activism that promised to target the systems of oppression and power structure rather than the Black population itself.<sup>11</sup> It was this very environment that gave birth to Bethune’s insistence for a National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). Different from the Association, the Council sought to propel Black women into the political affairs of the nation and beyond as a means of ensuring systemic change. NCNW’s ability to draw in members of the NACW immediately, even those who originally expressed opposition and doubt, alongside activists from other groups like the International Council of Women of Darker Races

(ICWDR) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), enabled the new organization to call upon these individuals' skills, experiences, and perspectives and to set its aims quite early on.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, the NCNW became one of the most enduring and successful organizations created by African Americans during the depression era or ever.

While the NCNW was something new, its formation was a part of continued trend that showed a number of African American female social reformers fully committed to engaging every possible opportunity before them to better the conditions of the population. And, when an opportunity did not present itself, the poverty around them made apparent the need to "pry open" the doors that barred their entry. This chapter shows that while the pre-war period revealed "knocking," in terms of the NACW, which to some degree indicated the need for an invitation to enter, some of these same activists, influenced by shifts in the 1920s and even more the 1930s among the African American public, now intended to wrench or "pry" open these doors themselves. The NCNW did not create the impetus to engage with the political mainstream since a number of partisan organizations like the National Republican Colored Women's League had been created to improve women's voting power after the passage of the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment.<sup>13</sup> Different from these organizations, however, the one that Bethune founded claimed to rise above party politics. Nevertheless, there is no denying that as the Director of the Division of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration from 1935-1942, Bethune was strongly connected with Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Democrats, which aided much of the Council's successes and helped to generate its prestige in its early years.<sup>14</sup>

During the 1930s, the NACW and the NCNW both focused on domestic problems, which were varied and many, but this did not mean an absence of international activism. Besides the fact that several of their members continued to engage in work with the larger international women's organizations designed for peace, freedom, and equality, NCNW and NACW were marked by endeavors within their own structures. The NACW continued its Peace Department and now happily associated with the American Inter-racial Peace Committee. One of its members created the World Union of Colored Women for Peace and International Concord, which sought to call upon the club network in its efforts to improve domestic and global conditions. At biennial conventions, internationalism came less in the form of visitors and discussions concerning establishing chapters in Africa, but an interest in organizational participation in international women's conferences remained important.

For the newly created NCNW, internationalism meant taking up a number of activities and initiatives as inspired by its YWCA and ICWDR members. In addition to welcoming foreign dignitaries at annual conferences and social events, the Council developed a journal that explored activism among women of the world as well as planned study trips that internationalized the struggle for equality. The latter most especially was a venture that the ICWDR had desired to put on since its birth, but with little success to that point. Nevertheless, as this chapter shows, the organization outlasted the Great Depression and faded only after Addie Dickerson's death a few short months after World War II's beginning. The chapter ends with a consideration of NACW's and NCNW's international pursuits during wartime. Limited not only by its locally oriented focus on

the home, but also its dire finances, the Association lagged far behind the Council during these years. Still, the NACW proved more ready to contemplate how the post-war period might look without Black women's perspectives, guidance, and inclusion. Considering the thought too frightening to bear, Bethune, who was a member of both, persisted in encouraging fellow activists to realize that though "the freedom gates are half ajar" everyone need to do her part to "pry them fully open." This, of course, meant gaining seats at the programming and negotiating tables.<sup>15</sup>

During NACW's 1930 convention at Hot Springs, Arkansas, the members responded to the NAACP's six-month protest of the discriminatory treatment of the Colored Gold Star Mothers and Widows who traveled to Europe as a part of the American pilgrimage programs that permitted these individuals to visit the gravesites of loved ones who died in overseas service during the First World War. Even before being placed on inferior ships to carry them across the Atlantic, the grieving women were made to endure segregated lodgings in Harlem. Thus, the NACW urged the American government to recall that "our colored boys fought in the same trenches at the same time, fac[ed] the same guns, and made the sacrifices for the democracy of the world" as other (White) Americans.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, with new and narrowed focus on better homes and child welfare, the NACW elected to outsource the creation of literature for its departments on legislation, education, and peace and foreign relations. In terms of the latter, Stewart thanked Alice Dunbar Nelson for introducing the American Interracial Peace Association to them and in aiding in the affiliation process. Believing this to be a strong and right attachment, the NACW permitted the organization to organize activities

on its behalf, to create a yearly program for clubs, and to print reports within *National Association Notes*.<sup>17</sup> It also accepted the revision of its peace program to be conducted along regional rather than local lines as a means of generating cohesion and harmony.

In her NACW presidential address, Stewart followed up the comments she made in her lecture tour earlier that year. But now she told that she was “reconsecrated” to this purpose while listening to a sermon in Westminster Abbey during her 1930 trip to the ICW’s Conference in Vienna, Austria.<sup>18</sup> For the first time in the Association’s history, nine of its members attended the conference together. Of them, only Hallie Q. Brown, a past president, ever addressed the ICW. The party came from all over the country and urban and rural areas alike, but collectively they represented the higher echelons of NACW leadership at the state and national level. Along with Brown, Jane Hunter, who made her home in Ohio, served as the national chair of the Phillis Wheatley Department. Meta Pelham, Sue Wilson Brown, and Nellie W. Green also resided in the American Midwest. The first two women were trustees of the Frederick Douglass Historical and Memorial Association (FDHMA), and Green served on its advisory board. Brown was also serving as the president of the Des Moines chapter of the NAACP and had been a part of the organization’s national committee on resolutions in 1926.<sup>19</sup> Lucy Jefferson and Emily Miller lived in Vicksburg and Yazoo, Mississippi, respectively. Jefferson was the president of their state association, while Miller served the association as a member of the headquarters committee. Cora M. Allen, who made her home in South, where she served as the State President of the Louisiana Federation, rounded out the group.<sup>20</sup>

Given these women's high status in the NACW and their strength in numbers especially when compared to experiences of past African American women who traveled abroad to attend such conferences, it is surprising that none of them advocated on behalf of African Americans through speeches. Instead, Stewart suggested that the group's biggest contribution came through their presence. She imagined what it must have meant to see nine well-dressed articulate African American women walking together as a group in the streets of Europe.<sup>21</sup> The delegation told a New York newspaper reporter that their behavior was so at odds with the usual image of them that one European proprietor who inquired whether "we were [a] sample of the people America wished to keep down and persecute." Knowing that they were being watched at every moment, the women gave their full attention to the conference proceedings and paid close attention to their table manners, style of dress, and overall appearance. Stewart's point is undoubtedly true and well taken especially since respectability, centered on behavior and appearance, had always been counted as an important part of race work.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that none of these women addressed their American condition within their speeches at the conference or in the entirety of their 50-day trip indicates a growing shift in African American women's participation within the ICW. As Stewart argued, the women who accompanied her to the 1930 ICW Conference did so primarily for the purpose of "searching for a keener insight and knowledge into the world problems of the day."<sup>23</sup>

Afterwards, the women remained in Europe, seeing Paul Robeson perform as Othello in England before traveling to Austria and then on to Germany and Italy. In Rome, the women were awed to see the Pope's entrance and exit of the Vatican. Brown

reports the exceptional nature of that day, which she said was completed only by their laying eyes on Benito Mussolini and Victor Emanuel III, Italian fascist leaders who would in a few years time invade Ethiopia.<sup>24</sup> Given the women's scheduled activities, which did not appear to have included any lectures, it is clear that while racial issues were certainly not abandoned, they now were taken up in physical form and became a part of wider social reform agenda. Nevertheless, this shift was unquestionably reflective of Stewart's 1929 appointment as fourth vice president of the National Council of Women. Rather than noting the move as a tactic of the NCW to save face before foreign women since the last embarrassing scene during the 1925 D.C. meeting, Stewart and the NACW stressed the historical magnitude of what her appointment meant and considered it an indication of acceptance and arrival.<sup>25</sup>

Next, the NACW convention delegates congratulated Charlotte Hawkins Brown, founder and leader of the famed Palmer Memorial Institute and one their vice presidents, for her travel to Bournemouth, England earlier that year as one of America's delegates to the Congregational Churches of the World Conference. It also announced that Hunton and Dickerson served as official delegates to WILPF conference that met in Prague, Czechoslovakia (present day Czech Republic) in August of 1929.<sup>26</sup> In August of the previous year, Hunton became the leader of the League's new and very controversial Interracial Committee. As aptly described by Linda Schott, the venture that sought to enroll more African American members to work alongside White Leaguers started with hurt feelings and misunderstandings. Soon after beginning her new work, Hunton wrote to Terrell, her NACW and ICWDR colleague, to inquire about her WILPF experience.

Given the women's close association, Hunton received a candid response wherein Terrell told of the League's segregation and the fact that she could only recall a few instances in which White WILPFers demonstrated "grit."<sup>27</sup> Taking seriously her new role, Hunton decided to follow up with the White leadership. Her actions, however, led Terrell to feel as if her confidences were betrayed. She wanted the conversation to stay between two African American women—not move out into White circles in particularly damaging ways. Although Hunton still agreed to head up the committee after the debacle, in the 1930s, she increasingly shared Terrell's indictment concerning racism at the grassroots level.<sup>28</sup>

Unlike the delegates at the ICW congress, during the Prague meeting, Hunton and Dickerson both pressed the issue of race in their contributions to "The Conditions, Development, and Emancipation of Coloured People in the United States of America" before an audience composed of women from more than 20 countries.<sup>29</sup> In line with the agenda of the ICWDR, which she now headed as third, final, and longest-serving president of the organization, Dickerson wrote to Nannie Burroughs from Vienna, urging her to "see that the Associated Press has mention of our council being represented at the World Peace Conference held in Prague, and that its President was a delegate." She also wanted to tell "Negro women [that they] may feel sure of the W.I.L. as a medium "practicing what it preaches."<sup>30</sup> Dickerson's actions suggest that ICWDR women were very much active and aware that their organization was very much alive—an important point to consider since most histories tend to date this organization's demise to the start of the Depression in 1929.<sup>31</sup> This misinformation also reflects the fact that after the



1928 meeting, many ICWDR leaders were voted out of their NACW positions and the women no longer felt it necessary to align ICWDR meetings with those of the Association since members did not appear in high numbers on its programs. Thus, it was much easier to see the ICWDR's activism when it fell alongside that of the NACW's.

Despite this change in meeting structure, Dickerson did not permit the International Council to fold during the Great Depression. In fact, she worked to make it all the more visible and accessible. In the early months of her presidency, she called an ICWDR meeting in conjunction with an NCW convention in New York. Contrary to Dickerson's account, the NACW claimed these women's appearance before the NCW as its own activism.<sup>32</sup> During the ICWDR's November affair, Dickerson arranged for Du Bois to lecture before the membership about Pan Africanism, building on the enthusiasm that she and Bethune shared for the PAC's upcoming Tunis and Algiers meeting. It was only in connecting with Du Bois in New York that Dickerson learned that the next meeting was cancelled when the French withdrew approval. Nevertheless, the women enjoyed their time with the Pan-Africanist.<sup>33</sup> Dickerson was also busy giving the organization a public face and fine-tuning its purpose. She created new letterhead that importantly carried the members' names in the left margin as a means of increasing recognition, visibility, and indeed prestige.

Dickerson also produced a pamphlet that showed that while the organization still focused on education, it emphasized "uniting with other national and international peace and world fellowship organizations, working against discriminatory class legislation of all kinds on account of race or color, emphasizing world peace as a corollary to

civilization, and denouncing “the inconsistency between ideals and acts of governments and religions.”<sup>34</sup> The new objective showed that the International Council knew the value of building and sustaining relationships as a part of its short-term and long-term goals for the organization, but also the race more broadly. Probably no other member of the ICWDR likely understood this more than Terrell, which was the reason she became so upset when Hunton publicly revealed her true feelings about WILPF. Although she personally kept her distance from Hunton and the WILPF she responded affirmatively to the League’s request that she draft a pamphlet for membership recruitment purposes. In 1932, Terrell authored “Colored Women and World Peace,” wherein she described WILPF as one of the foremost organizations concerned with peace and inter-racial relations. This, she claimed was evident through its protest against slavery in Liberia, consideration of Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia, attention to Japanese military aggression against China, and the completion of its Haitian study trip.<sup>35</sup>

In 1933, Dickerson, Hunton, and Burroughs were members of a WILPF and NAACP delegation to the Secretary of State to urge U.S. intervention in Liberia as the Americo-Liberian-led government trafficked native Africans into the rubber plants of the Firestone Corporation. While actions of Liberian officials showed that they were between a rock and hard place in attempting to satisfy outstanding loans to the British and the U.S. or risk losing their sovereignty, African Americans decried not only their actions, but the actions of the U.S. that got them there. The scandal finally ended when Firestone and Edwin Barclay, Liberia’s new elected leader, renegotiated terms in 1934.

This same year marked the withdrawal of American troops from Haiti, though the American government still heavily weighed in on the affairs of this nation.<sup>36</sup>

A couple of months after the meeting with the State Department, the ICWDR broke its developing tradition and met after the 1933 NACW meeting in Chicago. The Association had actually postponed its 1932 gathering at the president's insistence that the 18-month delay would permit her to deal with mounting debt and project issues. In gaining approval, Stewart importantly pointed out that now the women could meet during the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition—the first time they considered meeting with a national exposition in nearly three decades.<sup>37</sup> President Franklin Delano Roosevelt viewed the fair medium as “a remedy for depression” and a “prescription for utopia,” and thus called for it in his New Deal Plan. The enterprise did much more than showcase science, it proselytized social responsibility.<sup>38</sup> Since the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the ICW's Women's Representative Congress was slated to meet in Chicago at the time and would permit African American women to represent themselves before delegates there, the NACW and ICWDR declared “All Roads Lead to Chicago” and the intent to “further the cause of Internationalism among women the world over.”<sup>39</sup> Elizabeth L. Davis made sure to have her book, *Lifting as They Climb*, the first organizational history of the NACW, ready in time for the 1933 exposition.

During at least one ICW session, Stewart was accompanied by at least three NACW members, though it is likely that many others sat in the audiences of these sessions. Akin to her performance at the 1920 ICW meeting, Stewart decided to contribute to the women's congress in a different form. She presented a play on July

21<sup>st</sup> in the Palmer House, which in the 1893 fair was largely devoid of Black women's contributions in the cultural exhibits that filled the space. In line with the type of program that she encouraged in the NACW, Stewart's four-part production, "Ethiopia: Lifts as She Climbs," followed a from-primitive-to-progress narrative.<sup>40</sup> While some clubwomen might have agreed with it, others likely did not. Rather than show how out of touch the NACW was with the more militant and unapologetic Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanist elements of the 1930s, Stewart's action, just like her second presidential address that she would soon give, showed her actively trying to combat them. While Stewart and others clung to the past and its language, Terrell, Bethune, and a number of others, who remained in the NACW, were increasingly moving more towards the left and the center and found themselves "do[ing] less theorizing about womanhood."<sup>41</sup>

This more militant attitude became evident in the NACW meeting. Three days after Stewart's production in the Palmer House, the NACW convention opened and the women largely set as their goal the economic and social dilemmas facing African American female workers and mothers. During one session, Prince Allamoumi of Nigeria and his party, who were attending the exposition, visited the women. During his talk, Allamoumi provided a cultural history and informed the women how native Nigerians were already resisting their exploitation by British colonizers, but would likely have to take up warfare to ensure real freedom. He declared that the Nigerian youth "will not submit to what their fathers suffered. By the sword, if need be, [we] will conquer." At this point, the audience broke into prolonged applause. As the Nigerian guests departed from the meeting, Terrell motioned for a vote of thanks to "our friends and brothers of

Africa” and the convention, “giving vent to their feeling, rose and proclaimed them as brothers.”<sup>42</sup>

After the NACW meeting, ICWDR members gathered together and learned of Dickerson’s plans for them for the following year. Part of this proposal included representation at the WILPF’s upcoming Zurich congress. However the invitation came only a month before the meeting, and financial circumstances as well as the geographical diversity among councilmembers, which largely meant written correspondence, made it clear that no organizational member would be able to attend the September event.<sup>43</sup> Although the women certainly should have received better notice, the invitation pointed out other enduring problems. The ICWDR hardly had the resources to do any work on its own. Consequently, it was never able to follow up on a Burroughs’ suggestion from 1925 to host a meeting abroad or to carry out its own study trips, having always to coordinate endeavors with those of individual travelers.<sup>44</sup>

Rather than allow the ICWDR go unrepresented at the Zurich meeting, however, Dickerson made a bold and unprecedented move in choosing Mildred Olmstead, a prominent WILPF member and White pacifist to represent the international council. She then requested that ICWDR members contribute towards Olmstead’s expenses, and in letters written in August and December of 1934, stressed that Black women needed to coordinate their participation in the Haitian Celebration that would occur in the U.S. and to be present on a Goodwill commission to Latin America. As she told them, “all of these things affect the darker peoples.”<sup>45</sup> In response, ICWDR women contributed twenty-five dollars towards Olmstead’s trip and agreed to make gaining Black representation on the

WILPF's Latin American excursion a priority. They also voted to approve several new members, to cut membership fees in half to attract and retain members, and to seek more publicity for the organization in the coming year.<sup>46</sup>

In 1935, the ICWDR once again held a short meeting following the closing of a NACW biennial in Cleveland, Ohio. Dickerson urged the members to appear by reminding them that over the last two years, most of their attention to the development of national and global events had occurred through and been limited by letter writing. Although the NACW program was "always so crowded," she desired ICWDR women to get a moment alone with one another.<sup>47</sup> Dickerson was right: the Cleveland meeting was indeed a busy one. Mary F. Waring was now serving as the Association's president and encouraged the women not to fret over the Association's financial woes, but instead to keep busy working and putting their case and their successes before the public. It was an important statement since so many women's clubs became inactive during the Depression and others were unable to and/or neglected to pay dues to the National. Even the Southeastern Federation, which was composed of five southern states that were usually well represented, largely faded away during this time.<sup>48</sup>

Beyond reports that granted attention to rural women's dire circumstances, the plight of female workers in industrial areas, and legislative efforts towards lynching, the Cleveland agenda was marked by a lecture by John C. Dancy that suggested the perception of left-leaning movements more generally. As the executive secretary of the National Urban League, Dancy encouraged the NACW to not only keep to the "middle of the road," but to ensure that that others did the same, arguing that communism and

socialism might offer redistribution of wealth, but that it decried religion. Dancy's talking points were a part of a much larger conversation that spoke to a loosely developed communist network in the U.S. and efforts by various portions of the national population to identify and suppress it. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) that was born to investigate these "un-American" or subversive activities formally, also contributed to the hysteria of the period, which only increased in the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>49</sup>

Next, Waring used her presidential address to speak about the NACW-NCW relationship and ongoing issues of bitterness within the Association. To this last point, she admonished the women not to burn "bridges over which you pass that those who come after you may not cross." Waring was referencing the NCW executive council meeting held the previous November where she and some ten other Association women witnessed Stewart not only concede her seat as fourth vice president of the NCW, but outright encourage that it go to another organization.<sup>50</sup> Despite the fact that Stewart never used it as some thought she should, the NACW valued its representation within this body. Two days after Waring's address, Fannie R. Givens, who now chaired the Association's headquarters committee, informed the NACW women about a group that she founded, the World Union of Colored Women for Peace and International Concord (WUCW). She founded WUCW sometime in or around 1933, most likely as a branch organization to a larger body known as the World Union of Women for International Concord that developed in Geneva in 1915. The international organization was greatly focused on peace and encouraged support of the League of Nations.<sup>51</sup> Although Givens became a member-at-large of the latter group in 1927, she elected to create a group that specifically

brought together women of color to concentrate on peace and inserted “Colored” in the name.

Throughout WUWC’s existence, Givens and her co-workers put their efforts toward aiding and addressing “underprivileged children, the Boy and Girls Scouts, lynching, juvenile delinquency, and proper housing.”<sup>52</sup> The development again points to the fact that African American women conceptualized peace in broader terms, connecting it in many ways to domestic concerns and their racial ills at home. Although archival records for WUCW do not exist, making it difficult to determine its activities between its birth and the talk that Givens gave on it at the 1935 convention, two newspaper articles just a couple of months later show the organization’s ability to draw upon as many 250,000 Black women supporters in its petition for League of Nations support for Ethiopia in the war against Italy. No names were provided in these articles, but Givens no doubt called upon her the club network for support through letters since the *National Notes* was suspended from July 1936 through July of 1941 due to financial strain.<sup>53</sup>

Another big event occurred in the wake of the NACW convention when Mary McLeod Bethune, who also belonged to its headquarters committee, finally succeeded in creating the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). For more than seven years, Bethune tried to inspire others to recognize the need an umbrella organization of Black women’s organizations to facilitate Black women’s political participation and representation.<sup>54</sup> Historians have clearly laid out the nationally responsive environment that helped to enable the organization’s birth at this time rather than earlier as Bethune so desired. In her role as advisor of the Negro Youth Advisory Association during the



Roosevelt administration, Bethune developed a good working relationship with the president and his wife, which permitted her to petition successfully for more Black women in visible leadership positions, which was thought to be a quicker and more successful way of quickening racial progress and status.

In organizing for this approach, the National Council of Negro Women called upon all organizations--“educational, fraternal, religious, civic, and otherwise.” Although NACW higher-ups and a number of members within this group could not see the need for the Bethune’s new Council, those occupying lower ranks of NACW leadership such as Dorothy Ferebee and Eunice Hunton Carter responded enthusiastically and provided the NCNW’s early leadership.<sup>55</sup> In noting this shifting membership, Waring angrily charged that the NCNW was developed only as a rival organization borne out of members’ inability to exercise control within the Association. Terrell did not think another national organization would mean that earlier mistakes would be avoided, but she agreed to support it. The situation, though messy enough, was further complicated by the fact that Bethune was a lifelong chair of the NACW’s headquarters trustees board. In the face of accusations of sabotage, “mistrissism,” and “separatist organizing,” Bethune doubled her energies on the NACW headquarters committee, though this action was still rooted in her hope that the NACW would eventually come to agree with the Council’s umbrella structure and to affiliate accordingly.<sup>56</sup> Even during all of this, Bethune worked with those who had expressed interest in the “Council idea” to whip it into working order. In April 1936, Bethune was elected president, and Dickerson and Terrell became treasurer and a vice president, respectively. Three months later the NCNW was incorporated.<sup>57</sup>

As an organizer and institution builder, Bethune recognized the importance of welcoming and attracting prestigious, hardworking, and like-minded activists into the Council. One group that reflected these characteristics and that was otherwise untapped by the NACW were the traveling secretaries of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). When taking leadership of the NCNW, Dorothy Height and Sue Bailey Thurman brought with them not only their organizing skills, but also an international perspective that they developed through conditions and populations they met during their YWCA travels. The importance of realizing these women's perspectives and contributions means understanding that the Council's internationalism came from a variety of sources including Addie Dickerson and Mary Jackson McCorey who provided it meaning and focus in its earlier years.

Sue Bailey Thurman attracted the attention of the African American public after her travels to India, Burma and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in 1935 and 1936. It was not her first time traveling abroad since she served as an advisor to YWCA girls in Europe in 1928 and two years later she traveled to Cuba where she was detained by immigration as a part of a larger argument that blamed Blacks that migrated to Cuba for its economic woes. Despite the fact that Thurman was not going there as a laborer, she only permitted to enter after the intervention of the local YWCA.<sup>58</sup> After leaving Cuba, Thurman headed to Mexico for her honeymoon in 1931 and later that year returned to take part in a seminar of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America. In 1935, Thurman told *Crisis* readers that she again found herself on "a quiet street in Mexico City..." to conduct a general study of race relations.<sup>59</sup> Although in her preparation for the trip, she

reportedly faced issues as Mexican authorities delayed her passport application, after this issue was resolved and upon her visit, Thurman recommended the country as not only a good tourist destination but also a site of emigration and study rather than Europe.<sup>60</sup>

From October 1935 to April 1936, Thurman served as an important part of the four-member delegation of African Americans on the Pilgrimage of Friendship to the East, an initiative chaired by her husband under the egis of the YMCA and the World Student Christian Movement (WSCF), whose purposes were to unite Christian students of different nationalities and races in a dialogue about conditions within their respective nations and their activism to change them.<sup>61</sup> After this trip, Howard Thurman would increasingly become known as an influential theologian and educator, but through the NCNW, Sue Bailey Thurman would soon become important in her own right. In going abroad to India, she desired to be known not only as Howard's wife, but also as an individual with independent thinking.<sup>62</sup> Thus, when the two became the first African Americans to meet Mohandas Gandhi, Sue Bailey Thurman richly contributed to their three hour conversation about African American affairs and the usefulness of nonviolent resistance to effect social change in the United States.

The Pilgrimage of Friendship venture was rounded out with Sue Bailey Thurman's meeting Rabindranath Tagore, an Indian writer who became internationally famous for not only for his literary productions, but also for his protest of British policies in India. Thurman happily enrolled in classes at Tagore's university as she continued her lectures before some 45 Indian audiences. In these talks, Thurman provided the female perspective through discussions of the plight and progress of African Americans and

women. She also sought to learn the same from Indian women, which led to rich exchanges, which as Gerald Horne suggested, far outlived this remarkable venture.<sup>63</sup> Three years after her return to the US, Thurman could still be found lecturing on her travels and on the need for relationships between African Americans and Indians. She was also busy organizing an education fellowship to India that memorialized the work of her colleague and fellow budding internationalist, Juliette Derricotte, who died tragically in November of 1931 after racist treatment prevented her from receiving proper medical attention after a car accident in Dalton, Georgia.<sup>64</sup> Derricotte's work featured so prominently into that of Thurman's that it is worth discussing it briefly here.

In 1918, Derricotte began serving as national secretary of the YWCA. Her main job was organizing interracial conferences across the nation that centered on discussions around the need for unity and peace, which of course meant, tackling discrimination and segregation.<sup>65</sup> These interests and enterprises soon led Derricotte to take up WSCF travels. In 1922, she spent nearly a week in Canada discussing changes wrought by the First World War. Less than two years later, she traveled to related conferences in Germany and England. When back at home in the U.S., she served in host of activities, which included a short stint in 1925 as chair of the New York state junior federation of the NACW.<sup>66</sup>

By the time she attended the World's Student Conference in Mysore, India in 1928, Derricotte's understanding of colonialism as stimulated by White supremacist notions deepened alongside her belief in Christian internationalism to overcome this worldview and the peril that it caused.<sup>67</sup> On the opposite end of the spectrum then was

her New York YWCA colleague Mabel Byrd whose travels convinced her that love and moral suasion were only conversation starters and that life improvement for People of Color required direct challenges to White power structures through intellectually rooted work.<sup>68</sup> In considering these women's travels, Lauren Kientz Anderson writes: "Harlem did not send just its ambassadors to Europe in the form of jazz bands and New Negro Poets. It also sent highly educated skilled young women to participate in diplomacy, international dialogue, and Christian conventions."<sup>69</sup>

Bethune also sought to capitalize on the skills of another YWCA activist: Dorothy Height. In the mid-1930s, Height was tapped to serve in New York's Welfare Department alongside Anna Arnold Hedgeman, the welfare commissioner's special adviser on minority affairs, and an African American. Height enjoyed this work and more than once "thanked God for Anna..." but even more she relished her activities within the Harlem Youth Council, the National Youth Congress of A. Phillip Randolph's National Negro Congress, and Christian groups like the United Christian Youth Movement and the New York State Youth Council. Height claimed that her full engagement with these and other groups during the depression brought her into frequent contact with liberals, socialists, and communists, and enabled her to grasp America's fundamental flaws fully and the need for militancy in women's activities. In expressing how she lacked fulfillment in satisfying a calling for human service that went beyond her current job with the Welfare Administration, Amy Green of the New York State Youth Council recommended that Height travel to England in 1937 to attend the World Conference on Life and Work of the Churches.<sup>70</sup>

Of the 35 young people permitted to attend the World Conference on Life and Work, ten were selected from the U.S. and Height, at a young 25 years old, was one of those ten who were led by Benjamin Mays, dean of the Howard University's School of Religion, and his wife. In addition to being encouraged by the global conference that applied an ecumenical perspective to worldwide social and economic situations, Height treasured her experience as part of a small delegation that met Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie, who was in exile after the Italian invasion of his country.<sup>71</sup> The military attack on Ethiopia that began in October of 1935 had long roots in Benito Mussolini's efforts to conquer the country. Not only had Selassie unsuccessfully turned to the League of Nations for assistance, African Americans steadily lobbied nationally and internationally to dismantle Italy's occupation of the Black sovereign nation.<sup>72</sup>

Upon Height's return, Cecelia C. Saunders of the New York YWCA recruited her to serve as executive director rather than take a position with the New York State Youth Council. This work introduced her to the "Bronx Slave Market," as women without regular employment were economically exploited or sexually abused in their work as day laborers. The job also permitted Height to meet Bethune when the YWCA appointed her to attend the organization's annual conference in December, where she was to greet Eleanor Roosevelt on their behalf. Although Height suggested that she almost failed at her one assigned task due to Roosevelt's side entrance rather than the grand one that she was expecting, she regained her composure and introduced herself to the First Lady before she delivered her address. After the women serenaded Mrs. Roosevelt in song, Bethune turned to Height and told her: "We need you at the National Council of

Women.” After a private meeting between the two of them, Height was drawn into Bethune’s “dazzling orbit of people in power and people in poverty” and immediately joined the NCNW and provided her secretarial skills at no cost.<sup>73</sup>

In the fall of 1937, Bethune went to the NACW biennial that met in Fort Worth, Texas to fulfill her duties to this organization while also hoping to convince the Association to affiliate with the NCNW. She remained unsuccessful. The highlight of this program belonged to the ICWDR. This meeting marked the first one in years to feature a number of ICWDR members prominently on the program. For instance, Mary Jackson McCrorey, who now assumed chair of the NACW’s Peace Bureau, encouraged clubwomen to continue to give their full support to the national emergency peace campaign, a program developed by the American Friends Society in hopes of preventing the American entrance into war and achieving world peace more broadly.<sup>74</sup> Although “foreign relations” was dropped from this committee’s title within the NACW, McCrorey made certain that women did not lose sight of how domestic and international peace relations were intertwined. Reflecting on the First World War, she encouraged all who were in attendance to “make a contribution to the effort to prevent the repetition of bloody tragedies[,] let us act quickly, definitely, and effectively.” In addition to reading the NACW literature on the topic, McCrorey instructed clubwomen to seek out literature from other national and international organizations and to use these items to organize localized club programs creatively, which could take the form of a pageant or dedication, and should be interracial if at all possible.<sup>75</sup>

If McCrorey departed from the NACW and attended an ICWDR meeting, this is unclear since no traces of a council meeting can be located for this year or the next. It is possible that the women met collectively or in small groups after the conventions of the National Negro Congress (NNC), an organization formed by Young Turks of Howard University, a vibrant idealistic community of young male college professors who desired a sort of second emancipation for American Blacks. The name of the group signified these activists' growing frustration with White American leaders and a desire to overthrow the systems of oppression that bound their lives—much like dissenters did in 1911 in the Ottoman Empire. Although far from aligning with either working or upper-class Blacks, the rhetoric and approach of the Young Turks found wide appeal among African Americans as the NNC promised to give attention to their economic needs. The ICWDR would have found the NNC's shows of support for Spain in the face of German and Italian fascism and for Ethiopia in the Italian invasion attractive. In fact, as plans were being generated for the 1937 meeting, Dickerson encouraged NNC leader John P. Davis to reach out to Jennie B. Moton, the newest NACW president and an ICWDR member. The NACW and the NCNW became two of the nearly 200 organizations that lent their names and support to NNC movement. That is, until accusations of the House Un-American Activities Committee made it unsafe to do so.<sup>76</sup>

But even if 1937 and 1938 signaled some hiatus and ICWDR did not meet during these years, its members, though aging, did not simply fade from existence. Terrell's 1940 publication *A Colored Woman in a White World* especially showed how she was "still carrying on." In addition to appearing before Congress several



times on anti-lynching legislation, she continued her work with the NACW, and served in leadership with community-based organizations in the nation's capital. In July 1937, Terrell went abroad to the International Fellowship of Faiths, where she delivered an address on the conditions of African Americans. During the speeches, Terrell remarked that the parallels in the experiences of East Indians and African Americans especially struck her.<sup>77</sup> The conversation was one that other African Americans would take up within this time period.

Especially within WILPF, Hunton and other African American women particularly those within the organization's two strongest chapters, Philadelphia and New York, continued to pressure fellow White Leaguers to turn their attention to the Scottsboro case and to make it an agenda item. It was an incident that occurred in the Summer of 1931 when nine young African American males between the ages of 13 to 19 departed from their homes in Scottsboro, Alabama enroute to Memphis, Tennessee in search of employment. A lack of funds led them to hop a train and while on board they got into a fight with White youths. When the train was stopped to deal with the incident, two young White girls who also jumped the train falsely accused the young Black men of rape. All were immediately found guilty and sentenced to death. Finally, after reviewing the evidence that Hunton and others put before them, U.S. WILPF agreed to take up the issue. Even so, when Hunton tendered her resignation from the Interracial Committee, Bertha McNeil, beginning in 1937, began to build upon the efforts of her predecessor, and in her appearance before the WILPF congress in Czechoslovakia and called

international attention to the Scottsboro case. Her efforts culminated in a resolution that called for the freedom of the four remaining Scottsboro youth.<sup>78</sup>

In addition to her own activities with women's groups, Bethune steadily attracted attention as she and several of the NCNW women she appointed lobbied before Congress on behalf of African Americans and African American women. As an advisor of the National Youth Administration, she also showed her knack of "making bricks with no straw," frequently calling on the support of the First Lady and the American President despite the latter's particularly lukewarm relationship to civil rights. In 1937 and 1938, the Roosevelt administration authorized and endorsed Bethune to organize two White House conferences, the first on federal employment and the second on African American women and children. In the latter case, NCNW issued a statement of suggestions one of which was that an African American woman be placed in every federal bureau concerned with women and children.<sup>79</sup> Not only did a number of NACW members attend the conferences and see the councilwomen in action for themselves, the Black press fully covered these and other NCNW events.

One highly publicized NCNW affair was its 1938 annual conference, held at the New York City YWCA. During the meeting, the Council tackled a number of tasks, which included a decision to focus its activism on encouraging and training African American women for the ballot and civil service. Mary Jackson McCorey, who chaired the Council's International Relations Department, provided a legal lesson concerning Jews' loss of their human rights in Germany and in turn Charlotte Hawkins Brown likened their treatment to Blacks in the U.S. and Africa. Afterwards, the NCNW passed a

resolution that supported President Roosevelt's expression of sympathy for the Jews under Adolph Hitler, but it also called for the U.S. to do more to ensure justice for all.<sup>80</sup>

During its annual dinner event, the women heard from Frances Bolton, who was a well-known activist in a number of organizations including the Ohio Republican State Central Committee. She was also the wife of Chester C. Bolton, an Ohio state congressman. In 1940, after her husband's death, Bolton campaigned for his congressional seat in a special election and won. In preparing to hear from Bolton, the distinguished crowd of African American women, dressed in beautiful evening wear, marked the status and prestige of the occasion and generated a buzz about the Council in countless newspapers. In noting this, Claude Barnett of the Associated Negro Press at once wrote to Jennie B. Moton, who was now serving as the NACW president. The letter encouraged her to not permit herself or the NACW to "stand back" of "friend Mary" and the Council by taking second place. He stressed that the NACW had a "mass of regular women to work with, and they are the backbone of any real movement."<sup>81</sup> But as historian Elaine Smith writes: "Regardless of lacking the 'mass of regular women,' in just two and a half years the National Council outranked the National Association in popular thinking." Even more, in just five years, the NCNW began to address this fundamental issue of representation by moving beyond its original intent to function only as a board of directors to national organizations to one that now included Junior Councils and Metropolitan Councils. These formations permitted young women and women in rural areas and small cities to become involved.<sup>82</sup>

While Addie Dickerson was proud of the development of the NCNW and her participation within it, this did not distract her from her efforts to generate good and strong publicity for the ICWDR. In fact, Dickerson represented the entity in many of her activities including her participation in a Philadelphia Black teachers' conference in 1937 that showed a review of the curriculum with the theme: "In Meeting the Needs of the Individual." Dickerson also joined with Du Bois to become the sole African Americans listed as sponsors of the Emergency Peace Campaign "No Foreign War Crusade."<sup>83</sup> In other ways she tried to strengthen the body by calling upon her fellow members who headed up other organizations to lend their efforts back to the Council. In October 1938, she was in contact with member Jennie D. Moton. On the 12th, she urged Moton to speak with her husband, who was still the president of Tuskegee, about possible foreign contacts for an upcoming meeting concerning Black employment in Philadelphia.<sup>84</sup> Two weeks later, she relayed her intent to host an ICWDR meeting alongside the national YMCA conference being held in Washington, D.C. in November. The event promised to be a large one since it featured a 50-year celebration that marked the services of the organization's African American male members, and by having an international council meeting alongside it, Dickerson could be sure that members would be present and that the organization would be seen.<sup>85</sup>

To this same end, in February 1939, Dickerson wrote to inquire about Moton's upcoming appearance on "Wings over Jordan," a popular Black gospel show that enjoyed national and later international fame as a part of a golden age of radio's usefulness in mounting support for anti-discrimination activism.<sup>86</sup> Dickerson told her that the NACW

“really needs no advertising” unlike the FDHMA and the ICWDR. After pointing out that the two were “both out-growths of the National,” Dickerson then described a conversation she once had with Sallie Stewart, who became a member at the suggestion of Margaret Murray Washington in 1924.<sup>87</sup> According to Dickerson, she was told: “Every time you talk, Addie, mention the International Council, and have as many other people do so as possible.” As a fellow ICWDR member, Dickerson hoped that Moton would understand this request and keep the “promise and pledge” she made to the council.<sup>88</sup>

Sometime over the next few months, Dickerson prompted Moton to convince the NACW to meet in New York in line with the 1939 New York World Fair so that the ICWDR could convene afterwards. Since Association members met in Boston that July it appears that she was unsuccessful in this regard.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, not only did the usual announcements of international endeavors occur at this meeting, but also for the first time since its birth the ICWDR found a welcome place on the NCNW program. Here, Dickerson was formally introduced as president of the ICWDR, and she gave a brief history of the organization from its 1920 formation at the Richmond meeting. In reporting its most recent activities, she noted that ICWDR had attempted to prevent Italy’s capture of Abyssinia in Ethiopia, but failed. Nevertheless, she explained, the ICDWR pressed forward with the conviction that “when real peace comes to the world, the African, the Haitian, the Turkish, the Indian, the Chinese women will have become the proud mistress of their homes unfettered and free; and finally, the Negro woman, having thrown off the shackles of segregation and discrimination, will stand [as] a queen in her own right.”<sup>90</sup>

When she announced the members, it was clear that the body still had but one African representative, though it listed members in China, Japan, Haiti and Cuba. Interestingly enough, membership now included Hallie Q. Brown and Meta Pelham who had attended the 1930 ICW congress in Vienna, Austria.

Dickerson next introduced a Japanese visitor, Yesuithi Kidaka, who spoke on his most recent work, “The Negro in America.” During his presentation Kidaka, said that though the Japanese found America to be a great inspiration, most could not understand its labeling of its Black citizens as inferior. After naming a few Black individuals, whom he claimed received wide recognition among the Japanese, Kidaka defended his country’s recent aggression against the China, claiming that the military actions were actually an attempt to save this nation’s population from White influence.<sup>91</sup> Undoubtedly a number of clubwomen in the audience were perplexed. Most African Americans were originally exuberant over Japan’s resistance against Russia in 1905, but few knew what to make of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Even the NAACP was split on the issue and though WILPF did not equivocate with its disagreement concerning Japanese aggression, the event opened an international debate about race, nationalism, and imperialism.<sup>92</sup>

The same issue showed itself in Sue Bailey Thurman’s Derricotte Foundation when she finally achieved success in sending her first Black female “social ambassadors” to India in 1938. In addition to enrolling at the University of India for six months, Marian Martin and Anna Vivian Brown were to attend the All-India Women’s conference.<sup>93</sup> While there, Brown was busy making plans for White male students at her home

institution of Oberlin to obtain educational scholarships rather than African American females, which she also was not authorized to do. Believing her to be ignorant of international news, Celestine Smith of the YWCA wrote to Thurman that it was her desire to talk to Brown about the importance of cementing friendships between African Americans and foreign People of Color and help her to develop an intelligent understanding of foreign issues that included the Japan-China situation.<sup>94</sup>

Fannie R. Givens, who appeared before the NACW's public meeting following the ICWDR session, next reported on her activities as the Association's accredited delegate to the 1938 ICW conference held in Edinburgh, Scotland. In her attendance, she also represented the WUCW.<sup>95</sup> To make the importance of the conference even more apparent to NACW members and their visitors, Givens provided an exhibit on the ICW conference as a part of the Fine Arts Department. The contents of the message that she delivered before the Edinburgh gathering cannot be found, but personal correspondence shows that Moton's commitment to her federal government job and the financially-strained NACW is what led her to appoint Givens in the first place. Even more, Moton's written instructions to Givens concerning her assignment was stated succinctly: "let[] that august body of women hear words of achievement and commendation concerning our organization." A *Chicago Defender* article records that Givens was "fully authorized to give the message of the race women of the United States of America to the women of the world."<sup>96</sup>

In preparation for her talk, Moton had instructed Givens to write to the Association's executive secretary concerning facts and figures, and if, at all possible, to

write the NACW while she was abroad if time permitted. There is no evidence that Givens corresponded with the NACW from Edinburgh, but the letters between her and Moton in the months leading up to the conference indicates that the two held the attendance of Black women at the ICW meeting as a real opportunity that that permitted the world's attention to be turned to African American women's endeavors to combat the social ills at home and abroad. Givens' interests in this sort of work were evident in a WUCW presidential address that she gave before a group of fifty women in Louisville, Kentucky two years earlier. Gaines had maintained that when women are thoroughly aroused, peace will come" and encouraged them to believe in their purpose, arguing, "it is a big thing to be in touch with the women of the world so that [these groups]. . .will send to us a report of what [they are] doing." "Givens ended by telling the women "we are not here in this world to entertain ourselves. We are here for great purpose."<sup>97</sup>

Givens' sentiment was held by many Black women of her time and was reflected in the NACW's peace report that year. Roberta J. Dunbar, a clubwoman from Rhode Island, now headed the Peace Department and when she took the podium during the 1939 convention, she announced the results of her investigation of the Association's "No War at Anytime" campaign. The previous May, Dunbar had written to all of the presidents of the state federations to request information about their peace-related endeavors and to inquire about suggestions for work that she could make a part of the Association's national efforts.<sup>98</sup> In response, the women of Missouri reported that clubs there held membership in organizations like the National Committee for the Cause and Cure of War, WILPF, and the Peace Action Council of Greater St. Louis. Clubs in Ohio reported



participation in cities with Peace Parades on Mother's Day and vaguely told of their cooperation with endeavors for peace throughout the nation. The Georgia Federation did not write of its activities, but from a national scope, suggested that women concentrate on bettering home life especially that of the underprivileged population, which Dunbar adopted as a part of her overall suggestion. In the grand scheme, though, Dunbar advised that it was best that the women have few rules on what they called peace and what they labeled peace work as long as their actions were constructive and ongoing.<sup>99</sup>

After the NACW convention ended, Givens, Moton, Bethune, Waring, Dickerson, and a number of other NACW and ICWDR members traveled to New York where the clubwomen welcomed them to their July 31<sup>st</sup> program as a part of the 1939 New York World Fair. Here, they enjoyed a performance by world-famous Bill "Bojangles" Robinson and received greetings from the fair administration that included Addie Hunton. Nannie Burroughs delivered the key address, entitled "New Frontiers," through which she attempted to inspire the hundreds that were to aid the world in developing "right living, peace, tolerance, and patience, which result in harmonious action."<sup>100</sup> Several African American clubwomen reported that they were very proud of Burroughs' accomplishments and Moton was happy to note how her speech "placed Negro womanhood in the front ranks" of social activism targeting peace and harmony. But these women's jubilation would be short-lived for less than two months later Italy and Germany's continued aggression led to the Second World War.<sup>101</sup> When the latter invaded Poland in September, Britain and France declared war.

While keeping a watchful eye on the war situation, the majority of Americans expressed extreme gratitude for the ocean that separated them from the conflict. They were even more jubilant when Roosevelt signed the bill for neutrality that November though it was soon followed by actions demonstrating that though the U.S. would not be a combatant, it fully intended to be an arsenal for democracy.<sup>102</sup> Wartime manufacturing to this end transformed the nation and the lives of its citizens. Among the populations flocking to plants and factories were African Americans who welcomed these jobs both as economic relief and a show of patriotism. While the NACW exhibited some interest and action towards stimulating legislation that demanded this population's inclusion and good treatment, the NCNW more fully entered this arena. In October 1940, the NCNW purposively met in Department of Labor in the nation's capital under the theme "Women are Facing New Frontiers."<sup>103</sup>

Before entering the official business of the conference, the women dedicated a portion of the conference's opening on Friday, October 25<sup>th</sup> to recently deceased members and officers. On this short list was Addie Dickerson, who had died in May.<sup>104</sup> Just a few short weeks before she passed away, Dickerson penned one of her last letters concerning the ICWDR. It was one encouraging Burroughs to commence working on a set of articles that showed ICWDR's position on the war. The letter is especially chilling considering Dickerson's half-hearted joke that their activism was so slowed because "we are all getting old and dilapidated."<sup>105</sup> Dickerson's statements point to a fundamental issue that she must have realized: the ICWDR did not have a younger generation to sustain it. With Dickerson's death, the ICWDR perished and according to one local

Philadelphia clubwomen the NACW's work in this state declined also. Nevertheless, the "promise and pledge" made by ICWDR members, were largely continued in their other endeavors.<sup>106</sup>

The dual international and domestic concerns were evident in the first day's program. During their Friday afternoon session, 403 NCNW members and supporters visited the White House where they heard from Eleanor Roosevelt on "Women in Club World and Organizations." After her talk, Sue Bailey Thurman ceremoniously presented to the First Lady the first two issues of the *AfraAmerican Journal*, the NCNW's organ developed earlier that year. It was an idea that Thurman brought to the Council and another way that she sought to connect African American women with the world's women and People of Color. The journal was frequently translated into French and Spanish for this reason.<sup>107</sup> The second of these issues concerned the Council's first study abroad trip to Cuba completed just a few months earlier. It was the realization of a venture that the ICWDR desired to put on since its birth, but had achieved little success until this time.<sup>108</sup>

While this Cuba trip is discussed more fully in chapter 6, it is important to mention here that during the war, the NCNW utilized this venture to gain entry into predominately White national and international women's organizations and governmental meetings alike.<sup>109</sup> For instance, in March of 1941, Sue Bailey Thurman petitioned Mary N. Winslow, chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women, for inclusion in an upcoming April program.<sup>110</sup> She provided to Winslow copies of the *AfraAmerican* in order to show that as an organization, the NCNW had done "as much as most of theirs,

for [it] [had taken] the time and money to make the visit Cuba for study.”<sup>111</sup> In May, Winslow invited the NCNW to join in hosting Graciela Mandujano, a Chilean woman who was coming to the U.S. the next month to study the activities of women’s organizations and to determine the application of this methods in her native land. That November, Winslow took her place in a Council round-table discussion led by Mrs. Roosevelt, wherein the women and members of the audience discussed how women could aid in “bring[ing] about a civilized and peaceful world.”<sup>112</sup>

The remainder of the NCNW’s 1941 convention program showed council women’s consideration of conditions beyond American borders and their interest in developed foreign relationships as a part of its plan to “prepare for peace now.” In her presidential address Bethune called for Black women to be appear in even greater numbers in the postwar conferences when compared to their inclusion after World War I.<sup>113</sup> A couple of weeks later, she delivered a similarly worded speech before the NACW convention urging clubwomen and all those in the audience at the Tabernacle Baptist Church in Oklahoma City to take full hold of all available opportunities, especially federal employment.<sup>114</sup> Bethune’s brief listing of nine women who were already employed in such agencies included NACW women like Moton of the Farm Security Administration, but the Association never formally adopted a lobbying effort despite its president’s heavy concentration on this sort of activism through formal lectures on the annual program that year.<sup>115</sup>

Even in the midst of its heavy schedule, NACW delegates managed to hear from an Ethiopian native, who had attended the NACW’s public meeting before making his

way to the Tuesday session as an observer. Recorded only as “Bishop Griffin,” he told of his personal association with Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie and provided a brief cultural history. His remarks also included his prediction that Ethiopia would soon be independent as a result of the ongoing East African campaign of the war. He proclaimed Ethiopia’s return and suggested that it would soon be followed by a United States of Africa. His speech was met with great applause.<sup>116</sup> Griffin was not the only person to speak on Ethiopia. At the public meeting, Bethune also shared the stage with another interesting speaker, Audley Moore, who was both an Association and Council member who resided in New York and was a recent attendee at the Council’s D.C. meeting.<sup>117</sup> Before it petered out, Moore was heavily involved with the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Beginning in the 1930s, she became an avowed communist, who believed in working and talking with “who I could see, [and] who could see me.”<sup>118</sup> On this particular day, Moore used her platform to speak about the Ethiopian World Federation on behalf of its organizational president who did not attend. Moore’s participation in mainstream Black women’s groups like the NACW and the NCNW revealed, as Eric McDuffie writes, Black communist women’s inclination to work across political and organizational boundaries. It also showed Black clubwomen’s willingness, at least occasionally, to agree to these alliances.<sup>119</sup> Moore likely found the NCNW a better base for her Pan-African interests given this organization’s commitment to undertaking global activism in a plethora of ways.

Since its birth in the interwar period, but especially since America’s formal entrance into the Second World War after the Pearl Harbor attack in December of 1941,

the NCNW steadily welcomed high-ranking government officials and representatives to speak before them concerning domestic and foreign events and relations.<sup>120</sup> The following year, Muna Lee, the director of the State Department's Division of Cultural Affairs addressed the annual convention and served as a guest editor of that year's issue of the *AfraAmerican*.<sup>121</sup> In 1943, the Council lent its energies to coordinated events that welcomed visitors to the U.S., which included Chinese Nationalist Party head Chang Kai-Shek and Liberian president Edwin Barclay. To Barclay and his wife, the Council presented a letter addressed to Liberian women. Obviously Bethune and others had not given up the dream of associating Black women's efforts in the U.S. with those on the African continent.<sup>122</sup>

Bethune and her organization also stepped more fully into the Second World war environment with campaigns such as "We Serve America" and "Hold your job!" that tackled employment within American industries and simultaneously called for African American women's inclusion and equality in the military.<sup>123</sup> Along with other members of the Council's leadership, Bethune encouraged all African American women, but especially those within the NCNW to keep their eyes on the domestic and foreign situation. Thus while largely centered on war and citizenship issues, the pages of the *AfraAmerican* continued to carry articles on Latin America and the Caribbean including one very long quiz entitled "How Well do you Know your Latin America?"<sup>124</sup> In addition to publishing these items out of interest, the Council published "women's exchange articles from the Virgin Islands, Haiti, and Cuba," to aid the financially struggling

Council as the unique nature of these articles was sure to generate prestige and to increase subscriptions.<sup>125</sup>

In the “Voter’s Education and Citizenship” issue of the *AfraAmerican*, circulation manager Harriet Curtis Hall steadily encouraged councilwomen to contribute to their community by paying attention to national and foreign policies. As she told them: “The year 1944 must be one of decision” in comparison with “the years of 1942 and 1943[,] [which] were years of preparation rather than ones of action.”<sup>126</sup> Hall, in many ways was echoing sentiments that Councilwomen had come to know for themselves. In 1944, NCNW sections and affiliated organizations were alive with activity as members could be found studying, debating, and participating in discussions about recent international events of significance, primarily those of Bretton Woods Conference and Dumbarton Oaks Peace Talks, which had occurred over Summer and Fall months of 1944. The former had as its topic the reconstruction of the international economic system while the latter had formed the basis for the San Francisco United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO).<sup>127</sup>

While Black and White women alike were excluded from these official policy meetings, NCNW members participated in other national conversations about these topics. Anna M.P. Strong, an NCNW life member, and Frances Gaines, President of the Colored Graduate Nurses, a NCNW affiliated organization were joined by Mary McLeod Bethune, Venice T. Spragg, and Jeanetta Welch Brown, all of the national leadership, in attending a June 1944 White House Conference on “How Women May Share in Post-War Policy-Making.” Here, women’s groups from across the country explored such

themes as "Women's Responsibility in World Affairs," and "Women's Experiences on Recent International Conferences." The NCNW also attended an off-the-record conference held by the State Department in Washington, D.C. and an all-day event of the Women's Conference on International Affairs. At the former, over one hundred national organizations came together to discuss and debate the International Security Plan. At the latter, the NCNW was introduced to the United Nation's Relief and Rehabilitation Administration or UNRRA.<sup>128</sup>

That October, the Council sought to make its own way in global activism by hosting its first international night program, which occurred in the auditorium of the Labor Department under the theme of "Human Relations in Transition to Peace." The event featured a large contingent of representatives from foreign embassies including the Philippines, Liberia, Costa Rica, and China.<sup>129</sup> As so often happened at NCNW formal programs, the Howard University Choir performed, but this time its contributions were joined by song and dance provided by foreign visitors. In hearing from Florence Harriman, the former U.S. Ambassador to Norway, Rayford Logan, a member of the advisory committee of the Coordination of Inter-American Affairs, and a number of embassy representatives, the international program was developed out of a commitment to "show how peoples of all countries must work together if world freedom is to exist, and we are to gain universal peace."<sup>130</sup> Resolutions passed during the working sessions of the convention showed that the Council was still working to prepare a comprehensive program of proposals for the protection of oppressed groups, but that it had already developed a clear understanding that Dumbarton Oaks was only a beginning, and that the



outline devised there was yet to be filled in. The NCNW pledged to work towards this objective by advocating for an “unequivocal statement of equality” and “specific plans for self-government for those living in colonized nations” to be inserted into the UN charter.<sup>131</sup>

Taking seriously this pledge, councilwomen’s activities on the local level served to deepen national ones. Only three reports from local councils were printed in the journal issue following the convention and all three illustrate these women’s interest in discussing international plans for the post-war world. That of the Baltimore Council was the most full and indicated that the group, though very much in its infancy (having been established just two months prior), recently attended a meeting sponsored by the Maryland League of Women Voters. Here, participants discussed and debated the Dumbarton Oaks Peace Plan in great detail just as the local council leader Vivian Alleyne did when she became a part of a local YWCA study group.<sup>132</sup> In both cases, the Baltimore Council made clear that this was the first time that African American women in their area were invited to such meetings, which indicated the widespread feeling that somehow the post-war situation would be different, that it would be better. Councils in Detroit and Philadelphia took up similar educational activities, and in their public events on the topic, presented Bethune as a platform guest.<sup>133</sup> Although brief, these women’s reports demonstrate that much like the broader public, these local councilmembers enthusiastically supported the idea of the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) and counted it as the most capable vehicle for bringing about change in the various institutions that restricted the lives of women and People of Color

in the U.S. as well as in countries abroad. More than ever before, African Americans linked conversations about global and domestic peace with those of freedom and equality for all.<sup>134</sup>

Even in the rural parts of Georgia when historian and college administrator Horace Mann Bond interviewed African Americans across occupations and classes, he found that even if they could not recite the names of the countries that were to be present at the San Francisco meeting or the policies that were to be addressed, there was often a sense of hope concerning it. Succinctly, he reported that Africans American looked towards the outcome of the conference as one that would finally permit them to “live their simple lives with simple wants in unity and peace at home as well as abroad.”<sup>135</sup> Most still questioned the likelihood of this and, even more, whether its impact would be a lasting one. Even those who were the most optimistic about the UNCIO shared this same sense of realism. Accordingly, the NCNW membership and leadership argued that only with their inclusion would UNCIO’s full potential be realized. Moreover, the organization also hoped to be able to count their participation within the UN and the international conferences of other groups—namely those run by White women—as its chief forms of internationalism in the post-war period.

Though the NACW like the NCNW had headquarters in D.C., which similarly could have enabled the women near this area to come together despite travel restrictions during the war, the NACW elected not to meet at all during the war. Nor did it really start any new programs as reflective of the desires of its constituents who maintained that they needed to conserve funds and to attend to local conditions. What little members gave to

the national leadership was earmarked for paying outstanding bills not taking up new projects. During the war, the NACW largely kept this approach that had developed during the Depression era, while also stressing to its members the importance of their participation within the federal thrift program and petitioning of the government to abolish lynching and voting discrimination.<sup>136</sup> Nevertheless, it was the Council's full-scale approach that permitted it to achieve greater success and to win prestige. A struggling NACW was left behind with a real desire to close the gap in future years.

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<sup>1</sup> Daisy to Sallie W. Stewart, January 7, [1928?], Reel 7, Sallie W. Stewart Administration in the Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, ed. Lillian Serece Williams (Bethesda: University Publications of America, 1994), Part 1.

<sup>2</sup> "The Season's Greetings...", *National Notes* (January 1929): 9.

<sup>3</sup> David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52-55.

<sup>5</sup> For works on Black female domestics, see Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); and Rebecca Sharpless, *Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens: Domestic Workers in the South, 1865-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). A unique resource on Black women's 1940 domestic labor and their attempts to unionize is in Eric McDuffie, "Esther V. Cooper's 'The Negro Woman Domestic Worker in Relation to Trade Unionism': Black Left Feminism and the Popular Front, *American Communist History* (2008): 203-209.

<sup>6</sup> Elaine M. Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women: Pursuing a True and Unfettered Democracy* ([Washington, D.C.]: Alabama State University, for the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, National Historic Site, National Park Service, 2003), 31.

<sup>7</sup> Joyce Ann Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune & Black Women's Political Activism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 115-116.

<sup>8</sup> See the Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, AR, July 11-18, 1930, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), 68.

<sup>9</sup> "National Association of Colored Women," *National Notes* (September 1929): 2-5; "With the President," *National Notes* (October 1929): 3-5; and "The Visit of Mrs. Sallie W. Stewart...", *National Notes* (October 1929): 9.

<sup>10</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, Ark.*, 21 and 22.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, See Victoria W. Wolcott, "Economic Self-Help and Black Nationalism in the Great Depression," in *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 167-206; Lashawn D. Harris, "Running with the Reds: African American Women and the Communist Party during the Great Depression," *The Journal of African American History* (Winter 2009): 21-43; Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Erik S. McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of Black Left Feminism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); and Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1986).

<sup>12</sup> Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 165-170. Histories of the National Council of Negro Women include Bettye Collier-Thomas, *N.C.N.W., 1935-1980* (Washington,

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D.C.: National Council of Negro Women, 1981); Elaine M. Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women: Pursuing a True and Unfettered Democracy* ([Washington, D.C.]: Alabama State University, for the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, National Historic Site, National Park Service, 2003); and Joyce Ann Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune & Black Women's Political Activism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003).

<sup>13</sup> Jo Freeman, *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 162-163.

<sup>14</sup> Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 146- 147.

<sup>15</sup> Dorothy I. Height, *Open Wide the Freedom Gates: A Memoir* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 83.

<sup>16</sup> "Gold Star Mothers' Segregation..." *Negro Star* (Wichita, Kansas), August 25, 1930; and *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, AR*, 21-22. Also see John W. Graham, *The Gold Star Mother Pilgrimages of the 1930s: Overseas Grave Visitations by Mothers and Widows of Fallen U.S. World War I Soldiers* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland &, 2005), 135.

<sup>17</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, AR*, 42 and 48.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>19</sup> To read more on the Brown's role in the development of the NAACP in Des Moines, see Jack Lufkin, "The Founding and Early Years of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," *The Annals of Iowa* (Fall 1980): 439-461.

<sup>20</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, AR*, 4-10, and 14.

<sup>21</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, AR*, 71.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*; and "Colored Women in an Interesting Tour of Europe," *Plaindealer* (Topeka, Kansas) July 18, 1930.

<sup>23</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, AR*, 63.

<sup>24</sup> Diary of Hallie Q. Brown quoted in Annjennette Sophie McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown: Black Woman Elocutionist, 1845 -1949 – 1975," (PhD diss., Washington State University), 86-86-87.

<sup>25</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, AR*, 65 and 72.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 73-74.

<sup>27</sup> Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1996), 426-427; Nina Mjagkij, *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations* (New York: Garland, 2001), "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," 702; and Linda K. Schott, *Reconstructing Women's Thoughts: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Before World War II* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1997), 138.

<sup>28</sup> Harriet H. Alonso, *Peace As a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 102-105; and Joyce Blackwell, *No Peace without Freedom: Race and the Women's*

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*International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1975* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), 72.

<sup>29</sup> Addie Dickerson to Nannie Burroughs, October 14, 1929, Box 44, Folder 12, Nannie Helen Burroughs Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, D.C. Hereafter cited as the Burroughs Papers, LOC; and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "International Summer Schools," in *Report of the Sixth Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Prague, August 24th to 28th, 1929 by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-* (Prague, Stredocesky: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1929), 11, 105-112, 166, and 190. WASMI-Resource.

<sup>30</sup> Addie Dickerson to Mildred Scott Olmstead, November 18, 1929, cited in Michelle Rief, "'Banded Close Together': An Afrocentric Study of African American Women's International Activism, 1850-1940, and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races," (PhD diss., Temple University, 2003), 199.

<sup>31</sup> Defining ICWDR mostly as a 1920s organization is a characteristic found in the following staple works, and which has since then been carried though in a number of others: Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989) 130-132; Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 145-146; and Dorothy C. Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1990), 236-237.

<sup>32</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, Ark., 27.

<sup>33</sup> Addie W. Dickerson to W. E. B. Du Bois, November 6, 1929, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, Available online at Special Collections and University Archives: W.E.B. Du Bois Library; and Mary McLeod Bethune to W.E.B. DuBois, February 14, 1929, *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> "ICWDR Leaflet," n. d., in Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, 1910-1932* (Secaucus: The Citadel Press, 1973), 616-618.

<sup>35</sup> Mary Church Terrell, "Colored Women and World Peace", (1932) in the Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection, Temple University Libraries, WASM-I Resource.

<sup>36</sup> Blackwell, *No Peace without Freedom*, 117-131.

<sup>37</sup> Daisy E. Lampkin to Executive Board, July 7, 1931 to Stewart in the Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Hot Springs, Ark., July 11-18, 1930, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

<sup>38</sup> Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 106.

<sup>39</sup> "All Roads Lead to Chicago," *National Notes* (March 1933): 1; Addie Dickerson to Mary Church Terrell, June 21, 1933, Reel 7, Mary Church Terrell Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, D.C. Accessed through WASM-I. Hereafter cited as Terrell-LOC; and Marie Hélène Lefauchaux, *Women in a Changing World: The Dynamic*

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*Story of the International Council of Women since 1888* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1966), 65-66, WASMI-Resource.

<sup>40</sup> The parts of the play were entitled: "In Jungles of Africa," "The Depth of South," "In the Wake of Freedom," and "In the Midst of Civilization." See "Kokomo Woman Again Honored With Office," *The Kokomo Tribune*, (Kokomo, Indiana), August 29, 1933; "Postscripts: Interesting Things about Big Chicago," *The Plaindealer* (Topeka, Kansas), July 28, 1933; and *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Chicago, IL July 21-28, 1933, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), 17.

<sup>41</sup> Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 146.

<sup>42</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Chicago, IL*, 23.

<sup>43</sup> "Mrs. A. Dickerson Re-elected to Head Council of Women," *Philadelphia Tribune*, August 10, 1933.

<sup>44</sup> Nannie Burroughs to Margaret Murray Washington, Circa 1925, Box 102-12, Folder 240, Terrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>45</sup> Addie Dickerson to ICWDR, August 27, 1934, Reel 7, Terrell Papers, LOC.

<sup>46</sup> Rief, "'Banded Close Together,'" 204.

<sup>47</sup> Addie Dickerson to Fellow Members, July 3, 1935, Reel 7, Terrell Papers, LOC.

<sup>48</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Cleveland, OH July 19-27, 1935, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), 42-45.

<sup>49</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Cleveland*, 17 and 44; and Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998).

<sup>50</sup> "Women Attend Nation Confab," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 2, 1933; and Nannie H. Burroughs to Mary F. Waring, January 25, 1934, Folder 12, Box 44, Burroughs Papers, LOC.

<sup>51</sup> Bob Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 2009), 193.

<sup>52</sup> "Women's Peace Group in Louisville Meet: Organization Fights Lynch..." *The Chicago Defender*, November 28, 1936.

<sup>53</sup> "The World This Week," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, August 3, 1935; and "Women Plead with the League of Nations for Peace: 250,000 Women to Sign Petitions," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, August 17, 1935.

<sup>54</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 33-39.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 49-50.

<sup>56</sup> Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 156-157; and Lavonne Leslie, *History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service* (S.l.: Xlibris, 2012), 135.

<sup>57</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 43.

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<sup>58</sup> Frank Andre Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 158. Sue Bailey Thurman, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Langston Hughes' discriminatory treatment became a part of a NAACP battle against transportation led by William Pickens. See Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 156-162.

<sup>59</sup> "Passport Held up a Month-She's in Mexico Now," *Afro American* (Baltimore, Maryland), March 9, 1935; and Hebert C. Herring to Sue Bailey Thurman, February 6, 1932," Box 2, Folder: H: 1932-1969, Sue Bailey Thurman Papers in the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University. Hereafter referred to as the Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC. This research predates the processing of the Sue Bailey Collection.

<sup>60</sup> "How Far from here to Mexico?," *The Crisis* (September 1935): 267 and 274.

<sup>61</sup> "Student Delegation to India Next October," *The Crisis* (July 1935): 219; and "The Student Christian Movement of India Burma & Ceylon: The Negro Mission of Friendship from America, Visit to Trivandrum, November 19-21, 1935," Box 136, Folder "Far East Delegation," the Howard Thurman Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University.

<sup>62</sup> Autobiographical Sketch, Box 1, Folder: Autobiographical Sketches of the Sue Bailey Thurman Collection, in the Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC; and Marion Cuthbert to Mrs. Edward Carroll, August 1, 1935, Box 2, Folder: C, 1930-1969, Bailey-Thurman Papers, HGARC.

<sup>63</sup> Trudi Smith, *Sue Bailey Thurman: Building Bridges to Common Ground* (Boston: Trustees of Boston University, 1995), p. 10-11, Box 5, Folder 26, Bailey Thurman Families Papers, 1882-1995, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University; and Gerald Horne, *The End of Empires: African Americans and India* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 99.

<sup>64</sup> "Autobiographical Sketch," page 2, Box 1, Folder: Autobiographical Sketches of the Sue Bailey Thurman Collection, Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC; and Winifred Wgal and W.E.B. Du Bois, "Juliette Derricotte, Her Character and Her Martyrdom," *The Crisis* (March 1932): 85.

Bailey Thurman's lecture announcements include the following: "Dr. and Mrs. Thurman in Howard Concert," *The Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), April 10, 1937; "Zion Baptist Church Plans Charity Benefit," *Reading Eagle*, (Reading, Pennsylvania) November 8, 1937; and "HU Stylus to Open Fall Competition," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), November 14, 1937; and "Lectures on India," *Chicago Defender*, June 18, 1938.

<sup>65</sup> Winifred Wgal and W.E.B. Du Bois, "Juliette Derricotte, Her Character and Her Martyrdom," *The Crisis* (March 1932): 84-85; Unknown Author, "Her Unfinished Task," n.d., Box 4, Folder 13, Ken Oilschlager-Juliette Derricotte Collection, Department of Archives and Special Collections of the University of Mississippi. Hereafter cited as the Oilschlager-Derricotte Collection, UMISS; and Lauren L. Kientz, *Untrammelled Thinking: The Promise and Peril of the Second Amenia Conference, 1920-1940* (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2010), 196-200.



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<sup>66</sup> “Department of the Junior Federation,” *National Notes* (January 1925): 6; and Kientz, *Untrammeled Thinking*, 200-215.

<sup>67</sup> Juliette Derricotte, “The Student Conference at Mysore, India,” *The Crisis* (August 1929): 267 and 280-282; and Horne, *The End of Empires*, 87-90.

Derricotte’s letters to her family are particularly detailed and tell of the physical conditions of her travel, but also the conversations and themes she took up at conferences and in personal meetings. Derricotte’s letter dated December 27 describes the constant flooding of her living quarters, but in it she declares “Now all of that sounds as if I am a cold, damp, achy, miserable, unhappy creature, but the fact is, I am having the time of my life.” Juliette Derricotte to My Very Dear Family, December 27, 1928, Box 1, Folder 11, Oilschlager-Derricotte Collection; Juliette Derricotte to My Dear Folks, December 20, 1928, Box 1, Folder 10, Oilschlager-Derricotte Collection, UMISS; Juliette Derricotte to My Very Own Family, January 6, 1929, Box 1, Folder 11, Oilschlager-Derricotte Collection, UMISS; and J.B. to Jane Sweets, n.d., Box 3, Folder 50, Oilschlager-Derricotte Collection, UMISS.

<sup>68</sup> Kientz, *Untrammeled Thinking*, 124 and 195.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>70</sup> Height, *Open Wide the Freedom Gates*, 57-63.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-73.

<sup>72</sup> James Hunter Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 27-56. Also see, Joseph E. Harris, *African-American Reactions to War in Ethiopia, 1936-1941* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 82-83; Minutes of the National Council of Negro Women, December 1937, p. 4, Box 1, Folder 4, Series 2, National Council of Negro Women Papers, National Park Service-Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, NHS, Washington, D.C. Hereafter cited as NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>74</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Fort Worth, TX, July 25-30, 1937, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, 1895-1992, Part I: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President’s Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), 66.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 67..

<sup>76</sup> Kientz, *Untrammeled Thinking*, 349 and 799-822; and Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 156-157. Dickerson was on the 1937 National Negro Congress program to participate in the ceremonious acceptance of the gavel, while Charlotte Hawkins Brown of the NACW and NCNW was to provide an address. Although Moton expressed interest, she found it impossible to do attend. Jennie D. Moton to John P. Davis, September 17, 1937, *Part I: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President’s Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993); and Jennie D. Moton to John P. Davis, September 23, 1937, *ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Terrell, *A Colored Woman*, 445.

<sup>78</sup> Blackwell, *No Peace Without Freedom*, 74-75, 82-83, and 100-102; and Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, “*Report of the IXth International Congress*

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of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, at Luchacovice, Czechoslovakia, July 27<sup>th</sup>- 31st, 1937 (Geneva, Geneva Canton: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1937), 109.

<sup>79</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 48-52.

<sup>80</sup> Minutes of the National Council of Negro Women, November 26, 1938, p. 23, Folder 4, Box 1, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>81</sup> "Frances Payne Bingham Bolton," in *From Suffrage to the Senate: An Encyclopedia of American Women in Politics*, Suzanne O'Dea Schenken, (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio, 1999), 81; and Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 54.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 55; "Resolutions," *Women United* (January 1950): 13, Box 1, Series 13, Box 1, Folder 28, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 170.

<sup>83</sup> "Philadelphia is Scene of Nat'l Session of Teachers," *The Capitol Plaindealer* (Topeka, Kansas) August 6, 1937; and "Emergency Peace Campaign," *Plaindealer* (Topeka, Kansas) April 4, 1937.

<sup>84</sup> Addie Dickerson to Jennie D. Moton, October 12, 1938, D-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951 of the Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence, Part 1 (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

<sup>85</sup> Addie Dickerson to Mary Church Terrell, October 31, 1938, Reel 8, Terrell Papers, LOC.

<sup>86</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 179; and Barbara Dianne Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom: Radio, War, and the Politics of Race, 1938-1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 313.

<sup>87</sup> Addie Dickerson to Jennie Moton, February 27, 1939, D-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951 of the Records of the National Association, Part 1; and Margaret Murray Washington to Mary Church Terrell, October 4, 1924, Enclosure: Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the National Council of Women of the Darker Races of the World, p. 2 and 8, Reel 5, Terrell Papers, LOC, WASMI-Resource.

<sup>88</sup> Addie Dickerson to Jennie Moton, February 27, 1939, Reel 9, D-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951, Records of the National Association, Part 1.

<sup>89</sup> Addie Dickerson to Jennie D. Moton, November 17, 1938, Reel 9, D-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951, Records of the National Association, Part 1.

<sup>90</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Boston, MA, July 21-29, 1939, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), 32

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 33-34.

<sup>92</sup> Melinda Plastas, *A Band of Noble Women: Racial Politics in the Women's Peace Movement* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 206; and Yuichiro Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism: Afro-Asian Solidarity in Twentieth-Century Black America, Japan, and Okinawa* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2013), 1-93.

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<sup>93</sup> Untitled document, "International and Intercultural Activities," Box 1, Folder: International and Intercultural Activities," Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC; and "Our Social Ambassadors to India," Box 4, Folder: Derricotte Foundation, Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC.

<sup>94</sup> Celestine Smith to Sue Bailey Thurman, March 3, 1939, Box 4, Folder: Derricotte Foundation, Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC.

<sup>95</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women Boston, MA*, 52.

<sup>96</sup> Jennie D. Moton to Fannie B. Givens, April 26, 1938; Moton to Givens, June 4, 1938; and Moton to Givens, January 24, 1939. All are located in Reel 9, G-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951, Records of the National Association, Part 1; and "Delegate to Scotland," *Chicago Defender*, July 9, 1938.

<sup>97</sup> Jennie D. Moton to Fannie B. Givens, April 26, 1938, Reel 9, G-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951, Records of the National Association, Part 1; "Women's Peace Group In Louisville Meet: Organization Fights Lynch..." *The Chicago Defender*, November 28, 1936. The same appears in *The Pittsburgh Courier*, "Women's Peace Union Holds Meet At 'Y.W.'," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, November 28, 1936.

<sup>98</sup> Roberta J. Dunbar to Dear Friend, May 22, 1939, D-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951, Reel 9, D-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951, Records of the National Association, Part 1.

<sup>99</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Boston, MA, July 21-29, 1939, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), 32.

<sup>100</sup> "Activities of Women's National Organizations," *The Chicago Defender*, February 18, 1939.

<sup>101</sup> Jennie D. Moton to Dr. Dwelle, August 19[?] 1939, Reel 9, D-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951, Records of the National Association, Part 1; and Jennie D. Moton to Roberta J. Dunbar, circa October 1938, Reel 9, D-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951, Records of the National Association, Part 1.

<sup>102</sup> Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 425 and 433-434.

<sup>103</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 139.

<sup>104</sup> Minutes of the National Council of Negro Women, Official Secretary's Report, October 25-26, 1940, p. 1, Box 1, Folder 4, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>105</sup> Addie Dickerson to Nannie Burroughs, May 3, 1940, Box 44, Folder 12, Burroughs Papers, LOC.

<sup>106</sup> Maisie Griffin to Christine Smith, n.d., Reel 11, Folder: Christine S. Smith, Executive Secretary, 1942-1946, Records of the National Association, Part 1.

<sup>107</sup> "From the Editor," *The AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* (Spring 1940): p. 16. Trudi Smith, *Sue Bailey Thurman: Building Bridges to Common Ground* (Boston: Trustees of Boston University, 1995), p. 12, Box 5, Folder 26, Bailey Thurman Families Papers, 1882-1995, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University; and "Editors of the Afro American Woman's Journal Names," *The Chicago Defender*, May 29, 1943.

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<sup>108</sup> Some scholars consider this trip to be a co-opted ICWDR initiative, but this perspective ignores two important points. First, Thurman was by already this time a proponent of Black women's international activism. Second, this idea, if not introduced by Pedro Portondo Calá, Sylvia Grillo, and her spouse, José, was certainly facilitated and directed by this bunch. Beyond this, Henry Grillo told that Thurman initiated the idea. See "Cuban-American Goodwill Association," July 5, 1954, Box 3, Folder 25, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 143; and Elaine M. Smith, "International Council of Women of the Darker Races," in *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations*, ed. Nina Baym, (New York: Garland Publishing, 2001), 278-281; and Lisa G. Materson, "African American Women's Global Journeys and the Construction of Cross-Ethnic Racial Identity," *Women's Studies International Forum* (January-February 2009): 40.

<sup>109</sup> "Data on Non-Governmental Organizations," April 16, 1946, Box 34, Folder 497, Series 5, NCNW-NABWH Papers. Or see Mary McLeod Bethune to Lyman C. White, March 21, 1947, *ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> For more on inter-American women's activities, See Katherine Marino, "Transnational Pan-American Feminism: The Friendship of Bertha Lutz and Mary Wilhelmine Williams, 1926-1944," *Journal of Women's History* (Summer 2014): 63-87; and Megan Threlkeld, "The Pan American Conference of Women, 1922: Successful Suffragists Turn to International Relations," *Diplomatic History* (November 2007): 801-28.

<sup>111</sup> Sue Bailey Thurman to Bethune, March 22, 1941, Series 4, Box 1, Folder 17, NCNW-NABWH Papers.

<sup>112</sup> Mary N. Winslow to Mary McLeod Bethune, May 20, 1941, Box 1, Folder 19, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH; "The Women's Centennial Congress, November 25-27, 1940, Hotel Commodore, New York City, The Round Table Discussion," *AfraAmerican Woman's Journal* (Conference Issue: 1941): 14-28 and 37, Box 1, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>113</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune, Presidential Address 1941, n.p., Box 1, Folder 10, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>114</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oklahoma City, OK, July 26-August 1, 1941, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), 72-75.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 25; and Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 138.

<sup>116</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oklahoma City, OK, 19.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 19; and Audley Moore, "Conference Impressions," *The AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* (Summer and Fall 1941): p. 16.

<sup>118</sup> "Audley Moore," Black Women Oral History Project, p. 22, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 23; Erik S. McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of Black Left Feminism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 132.

<sup>120</sup> Leslie, *History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs*, 135- 140; and Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 175-179. More broadly see, Lionel Kimble, Jr., "I Too Serve America: African American Women War Workers in Chicago, 1940-1945," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Winter 2000): 415-34.

<sup>121</sup> Frank Andre Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 176 and 183.

<sup>122</sup> "Metropolitan Council Reports of 1943," *AfraAmerican* (1944): 18, Box 1, Folder 12, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 134.

<sup>123</sup> Joyce Ann Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune & Black Women's Political Activism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 181-186.

On the northward migration for employment, see Carole Marks, *Farewell--We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); and James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

<sup>124</sup> Memorandum, Two-Day Conference on National Defense, Mary McLeod Bethune to Eleanor Roosevelt, June 3, 1941, Box 1, Folder 20, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>125</sup> Thurman to Bethune, July 10, 1941, Box 32, Folder 480, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>126</sup> "A Message from the Circulation Manager," *AfraAmerican* (Spring 1944): 24, Box 1, Folder 13, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>127</sup> Stanley Meisler, *United Nations: The First Fifty Years* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1995), 39 and 223; and "Untitled Document," Box 34, Folder, 498, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>128</sup> "Conferences Attended and Participated in by the National Council of Negro Women," *AfraAmerican* (Fall 1944): 12-13, Box 1, Folder 15, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>129</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 238.

<sup>130</sup> *AfraAmerican* (October 1950): 3-4, Box 1, Folder 15, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>131</sup> Findings of the NCNW, October 13-15, Box 2, Folder 22, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>132</sup> "Baltimore Metropolitan Council," *AfraAmerican* (March 1945): 8, Box 1, Folder 16, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>133</sup> "Detroit Metropolitan Council, *AfraAmerican* (March 1945): 9, Box 1, Folder 16, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>134</sup> For a discussion of the NAACP and the UN, See Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955*

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(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Also see Michael L. Krenn, *The African American Voice in U.S. Foreign Policy since World War II* (New York: Garland Pub., 1998),

<sup>135</sup> Horace Mann Bond, "What the San Francisco Conference Means to the Negro," *The Journal of Negro Education* (Autumn 1945): 630.

<sup>136</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oklahoma City, OK; and Grace Wilson Evans to Ada Bell Dement, February 19, 1923, D-Miscellaneous, 1935-1951, Records of the National Association, Part 1.

**Chapter 5**  
**“And the Curtain Rises on the Drama”:**  
**NACW and NCNW United Nations Activism and Support, 1945-1958**

On the morning of March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1945, New York’s first African American Assistant District Attorney, Eunice Hunton Carter, was in the nation’s capital attending a special business meeting called by the National Council of Negro Women. The star-studded guest list included many prominent White American women such as the nation’s First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, Katherine Biddle, the wife of the U.S. Attorney General, and Congresswomen Helen Gahagan Douglas and Emily Taft Douglass.<sup>1</sup> Laura Dreyfus-Barney, a prominent leader within the International Council of Women, was also present to provide recommendations to the NCNW leadership. Most especially, NCNW desired advice concerning the Council’s organizational structure and mechanisms with respect to how these factors would shape the success of current and future goals. After becoming informed about NCNW history and activities, general discussion about the needs of the organization and the minority groups that it served ensued.

In discussing matters such as labor, health, adult education, and veteran benefits, Council leaders repeatedly stressed to their visitors their need to cultivate strong contacts with the American government and with national and international groups. They also reiterated the importance and the urgency of a massive financial campaign. Only then, they said, would the NCNW be able to perform its best work in protecting and

representing Black women on important issues in the postwar world. In putting forth such statements, these participants were situating the NCNW as the premier African American women's organization of the day and demonstrating, if not addressing, the faltering condition of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Although the NACW's dwindling numbers were really no different from a number of other organizations of the time, it never regained its pre-war membership strength. Importantly, the Association did not have the ear of the White House, which Bethune did. It allowed her and her Councilwomen to have seats at many federal tables. The NCNW's growing stature also commanded the attention of White activists like the important women who appeared in its headquarters for the aforementioned meeting. When these guests signed on as members of an advisory committee, thereby lending their names and access to the NCNW, the seminar's chief goal was accomplished and the Council appeared to be ever more on its way.<sup>2</sup>

In writing to Bethune a few days later, Assistant District Attorney Carter called the assembly a great success and one that she was privileged to attend. The event gave her "added impetus and mean[s] to go on and do a better job for the Council in particular and the cause of inter-racial understanding in general." Carter then referred to a private conversation she shared with Bethune and Edith Sampson, the third vice-president of the Council and a Chicago lawyer, after the meeting concluded. The topic was the upcoming San Francisco meeting for the establishment of the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) as the League of Nations' successor.<sup>3</sup> Carter's letter expressed her confidence in Bethune's hard work towards accomplishing NCNW



representation at this meeting, which of course implied her calling upon the Roosevelts. Finally, Carter suggested that by accompanying Bethune, she could make available to the UNCIO her insight as African American Assistant District Attorney of New York.<sup>4</sup>

Bethune agreed with Carter, realizing the usefulness of not only her legal skills, which she provided to the council as its legal advisor, but also her extensive rearing and engagement in Pan-African issues and her marriage to a West Indian migrant to the U.S. For years, Carter's mother, Addie, and Bethune worked alongside each other as members of the International Council of Women of the Darker Races. When Addie Hunton created the Circle for Peace and Foreign relations, Eunice became a valued member. Carter was also the sister of the famous William Alphaeus Hunton Jr., the educational director of the Council on African Affairs, a New York City-based organization created in 1937 to influence American foreign policy towards Black self-determination and liberation. This connection allowed Bethune to get to know Carter even more.<sup>5</sup> Of course, it cannot be ignored that Bethune hoped that as an attorney Carter could pay her own way.

Two days later, Bethune reported to Carter and shared the bad news from the State Department that no official observers would be accredited. It was then that Bethune and Carter entered into a different conversation, one that included the latter's membership on an unofficial Council delegation to UNCIO, which also included Edith Sampson and Sue Bailey Thurman, other NCNW board members. All of these women hoped that the American government would formally recognize the team when it provided accreditations, but either way they were committed to trying to "work [themselves] into UNCIO sessions."<sup>6</sup> When Sampson sent regrets about her inability to

participate, she suggested Eslanda Goode Robeson in her stead, claiming that Robeson was eager to represent the Council and understood its financial situation.<sup>7</sup> Importantly, Robeson was already attending the meeting as a correspondent for the East-West Association and the Committee on African Affairs, which would also bring added prestige to the Council.<sup>8</sup> There are no records to show that anything came of Sampson's suggestion. Even so, it is likely that this outcome had little to do with Robeson's socialist leanings since several members of the Council actually admired her work.<sup>9</sup>

Three weeks later, Thurman's reply indicated acceptance of both Bethune's appointment and her request that she take along with her fellow members of the San Francisco Metropolitan Council. Thurman's answer also included an appeal for press credentials since as the retired editor of the *Afro-American Journal* now turned Californian, she desired to conduct interviews and to write feature articles for the Black press and the NCNW.<sup>10</sup> That very day, Bethune wrote Thurman back and provided her with instructions concerning registration for press credentials. The Council leader was especially happy to hear this news in light of the fact that the NCNW's persistent campaign to gain recognition met staunch resistance.<sup>11</sup> Even after the State Department reversed its earlier negative decision on the incorporation of accredited American organizations into sessions in order to gain support from the American public, it rejected the NCNW, citing no need for a separate Black women's organization since the five predominately White women's organizations that were invited and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) would adequately cover their concerns.<sup>12</sup>

Understandably, members of the NCNW and their supporters vehemently disagreed with the notion that either White women or Black men could understand their unique experiences and the specific burdens that Black women carried. They strongly contended that only the “Darker woman” could explain and help to address the handicaps that this population faced. To bolster its likelihood for acceptance, the NCNW also claimed to possess a membership of 800,000, which it stated more broadly represented a population of more than six and a half million women in the U.S. and abroad. The Council even went so far as assert that it was the sole organization in the world committed both to the study of women’s problems in general and those affecting Women of Color in particular.<sup>13</sup> While this was certainly not the case, like the women’s meeting at its headquarters on March 24<sup>th</sup>, it showed the Council’s willingness and ability to point to the National Association of Colored Women’s (NACW) fading into the backdrop of activism and its own rise to the top. To the claims, Bethune spoke from a unique vantage point, since she still, in fact, was a part of Association leadership and knew the internal dynamics and issues that it faced. But other NACW leaders also pointed out that a steady stream of “discord, illness, and death” rendered their efforts “almost futile” since meeting together in Oklahoma in 1941.<sup>14</sup>

In the end, none of NCNW’s exaggerations bore fruit. Even more, President Roosevelt’s death just 13 days before the conference’s opening and the First Lady’s mourning, meant that Bethune was unable to call upon this relationship in her efforts. Undeterred, the NCNW team remained committed to its participation and attendance, even if informally. Neither a non-existent organizational budget nor a reluctant State

Department would inhibit Black women's engagement in this important international meeting. These councilwomen and the Council's mobilization of limited, personal resources in order to *produce* a political opportunity where one really did not exist, continued to be one of the most defining characteristics of African American women's public and international engagement.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the configuration of the Council's UNCIO delegation certainly speaks to the varied relational levels on which such activism occurred and thereby underscores the necessity of studying African American women's global interests and endeavors in terms of individuals as well as collectives. For instance, not only were members of the NCNW team present in San Francisco, but there were countless other Black women like Blanche Wilson, Ida Jackson, and Crystal Bird Fauset, and Lucille Arcola Chambers who represented other organizations and in turn became a part of a larger, but familiar crowd of Black activists gathered at UNCIO.<sup>16</sup> Although the NACW did not vote to appoint members, for at least part of the time Ella P. Stewart, a recently retired pharmacist and NACW's treasurer, attended the meeting at Bethune's invitation. While she was happy with the internationalism she saw influencing Hallie Q. Brown and Bethune's NACW reign, Stewart credited her UNCIO attendance with sparking her own interest in global work.<sup>17</sup>

Over time, the limited academic scholarship and popular accounts of Black women and the United Nations have lost these women's efforts and participation and what the UNCIO meant to them for the remainder of their lives. The few short entries on the topic have been factually incorrect and largely about Bethune, who gained a last hour appointment as an associate consultant of NAACP delegation.<sup>18</sup> Part of this can be

attributed to Bethune's national prominence as well as her participation as a consultant-observer alongside W.E.B. Du Bois and Walter White, while Ralph Bunche served as an advisor to the U.S. delegation.<sup>19</sup> Bunche's position more readily permitted him to influence policymaking particularly as it pertained to dependent territories and trusteeships. Trusteeships referred to the mandated period before a colonial territory could declare full independence and was one of the most contentious issues in diplomatic discussions concerning the postwar world. As such, it had been strategically avoided at Dumbarton Oaks.<sup>20</sup> Importantly, Bethune and her supporters frequently stressed her unique (solo) position to gain inclusion on future boards. In other instances and sometimes in the same breath, Bethune noted African Americans' wide participation as a means of underscoring this population's interest in and association with global affairs. Bethune boldly claimed that NCNW's unofficial delegation's "influence was felt among the other women of America and the world."<sup>21</sup>

The writings of delegation members—some intended for public audiences, other more private—stressed the importance of their contributions and indicate their unique and full understanding of the global event unfolding around them. One of the first pieces to interpret the UNCIO for the NCNW membership was Sue Bailey Thurman's April 1945 write-up for the *AfroAmerican*. Thurman described the UNCIO through the metaphor of a play. As she saw it, "The beautiful Opera House of Francisco [was] the setting, the pounding of a redwood gavel the cue." From this point forward, "the curtain rises on the drama which may yet be conceded greatest in the massive annals."<sup>22</sup> Thurman's use of the play imagery, while assuring accessibility for her readers also

serves as useful conceptualization in the retelling of UN activism for both the NCNW and NACW alike and serves as the basis of this chapter's thematic approach. First, it serves as a useful metaphor in the telling of this story as Council members were indeed serious about their roles of supporting and furthering the United Nations. Second, this representation certainly describes the multiple stages on which this UN support played out: internationally, nationally, locally, as well as organizationally. Third, as Sue Bailey Thurman readily admitted, the NCNW delegation was but a minor performer on the UNCIO stage. In moving beyond the metaphor, however, the Council's delegates were, in fact, well-known leaders who gained even more visibility in their careers, which included championing the United Nations. In this campaign, they read from the scripts provided by the UN, the American government, and outside organizations, though in some cases they rewrote their lines to better incorporate the needs of African Americans. Also considered here are the programs and initiatives of the NACW and its newest leaders, Christine Smith (1945-1948), Ella P. Stewart (1948-1952) and Irene McCoy Gaines (1952-1958), who all attempted to steer the NACW through the organizational distress that contributed to its earlier ineffectiveness. The latter of these presidents showed that the NACW's UN activism was not only about establishing the organization's place in post-war internationalism, but also about challenging the NCNW, which had continued to surpass it in popularity and prestige.

While information on the Association is captured mostly in annual reports, the abbreviated news columns in NCNW's periodicals frequently offered such details on a monthly basis, which again, despite its brevity in this area, still makes it one of the richest

resources on Black women's United Nations engagement. This chapter heavily calls upon these sources as a means of pointing more broadly to how African American women, like White female and Black male activists, sought to count this new international body as a valuable fulcrum in their fights for equality.<sup>23</sup> With respect to this last point, the final stage of UN activism shows how Black women, in the NCNW especially, sought to carve out their own space within the movements around the UN and created International Nights as highlights of its annual conference. The events were so star studded that the Black press called them "little United Nations," and the NACW, try as it might, could not compete with the dinners that regularly featured American Congressmen and women, foreign dignitaries, UN leadership, and at one point the actual sitting president of the U.S.<sup>24</sup>

While the NCNW hoped to count these activities and its engagement in a number of United Nations endeavors as a signifier of progress and inclusion, it would realize soon enough that this was not the case. Rather, these enthusiastic activists like so many others would soon come to feel the sting of their misplaced energies, faith, and support as Cold War entrenchment clearly limited their activism. Rising anti-communism sentiments greatly narrowed the political and social landscape at home, and the United Nations came to be cast as a threat to the American way of life and a means of conspiring with the enemy. Hoping to escape repression, organizations were forced to purge members and to jettison strong critiques of American democracy. As members of the UN framework, Councilwomen and Association members began a delicate balancing act of trying to be true to their cause while also holding on to seats at a lop-sided table.

Thurman's April 1945 article in the *AfraAmerican* introduced the readership to the women who represented them at the United Nations Conference on International Organization. As the only one living within California, Thurman was made chair of the delegation. This decision also reflected Thurman's transnational interests and activism discussed in chapter four. Next, she introduced Eunice Hunton Carter and Anna Arnold Hedgeman as being "there to assist in these efforts." Besides serving as New York's first African American Assistant District Attorney, Carter was first African American woman to graduate from Fordham School of Law and a long-time active member of her New York Community. In the 1920s and 1930s, she participated in the Young Women's Christian Association through the well-known Harlem branch and found her way into the Nation Association of Colored Women. Carter might have depended on Edith Sampson to aid her in financing this trip, and records suggest that the latter reentered the group briefly some time later.<sup>25</sup>

Dr. Dorothy Boulding Ferebee was likely made a member of the delegation to fill the place of Sampson and because Ferebee served as Bethune's primary care physician. While she was reportedly there to care for an ill Bethune, subsequent organizational reports and Ferebee's own copious note taking and involvement indicate that this design simultaneously and shrewdly circumvented denials to Council representation. Ferebee was a sound choice in that she was highly regarded in the African American community. She was not only the grandniece of the very important early clubwoman Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, but she was particularly well known for her work as a physician and as president of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, a national community-service organization



made up of college-educated women.<sup>26</sup> Since no information could be located on Ferebee's international interests prior to the San Francisco Council, it is possible that the UNCIO was her introduction to such activities.

Though not technically assigned by NCNW, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, too, was considered to be "in the group."<sup>27</sup> Hedgeman's career for which she became well known was just budding. In fact, just one year prior to the San Francisco Conference, Hedgeman was appointed the executive director of the National Committee for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). The organization was founded to secure passage of the FEPC bill that would guarantee the right to employment without regard to race, creed, or color.<sup>28</sup> Hedgeman's labor concerns surely led her to the conference, but an article published on the eve of the San Francisco Conference and entitled "The Role of Negro Women," indicates that Hedgeman believed that Black women had a special role to play not only at home, but also abroad. Passionately and powerfully she put forth:

Many Negro women have been saying in recent months that the Negro is perhaps the most significant group of people in the world at the moment. They realize that the color issue is a potent force in the world situation. They believe that brown, yellow, and black people listen to official Washington but watch to see whether America's practice toward people of color is in line with governmental pronouncements. So American Negro women have a new sense of mission. They believe that America can be a great leader for the democratic cause. They believe profoundly in the Four Freedoms, but they know that lip service to the democratic ideal is not enough. They believe that if they can help America face her moral

obligation to practi[c]e what she preaches, they might not be helpful to the American Negro; but that they may. . .help America assume an honest role in the world struggle.<sup>29</sup>

Hedgeman's commitment perfectly aligned with the ideals of the Council and the delegation that represented it before the UNCIO. When she showed up in California, she was welcomed as another means of showcasing what Bethune described to fellow Councilwomen as women's "maturing political vision . . .[and] growing awareness . . .of their contribution as citizens of the world."<sup>30</sup> More descriptively, Thurman told this same audience that the Council delegation elected to make "appreciative interpreter of racial cultures" one of its preeminent functions. Alas, it was important work since the needs of those in "Africa, Indonesia, and the West Indies" were not given adequate space though the voices of "the colonials who... [had] not been permitted to appear in person here. . . [rose] again and again . . .off stage."<sup>31</sup> These women's commitment to arguing for equality for the world's People of Color bound them to the African American community gathered there in San Francisco as well as Bethune, whom they served as a support system and a team of experts. These women's labors cannot be understated in considering even the small democratic concessions gained by non-governmental organizations and individuals.

True to her physician's training, during her time in San Francisco, Ferebee took some 152 pages of notes, recording in great detail her five-day cross-country train ride and daily conference proceedings.<sup>32</sup> These writings convey that much of her twenty-one

days in attendance was spent in awe of the historical event and her participation within it. In fact, Ferebee repeatedly recorded her seat number and even the information printed on her credentials ticket. Her description of the great Opera House in which the San Francisco Conference was held in many ways rivals that of Thurman's, who desired to cover the meeting not only for the *AfroAmerican*, but also *Chicago Defender*. In the end, Thurman's articles appeared to have been picked up by the *San Francisco Teacher's Journal*, rather than the *Defender*.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, in both of these delegates' accounts—one meant for a private audience and the other a public one—the two women scrupulously described the grandeur of the edifice, which greatly signified to them the importance of the occasion. Ferebee noted “square gold pillars across the platform stage,” and “the spiraling flags of the United Nations” which could be taken in from attendees’ “red plush seats.”<sup>34</sup> Considering Ferebee's notes alongside Thurman's unpublished writings and Bethune's memorandums and UN scrapbooks, which are filled with newspaper clippings of meetings and events that the group attended, it is possible to begin to reconstruct the activities undertaken by the delegation and the significance that they attached to them.

The women, though not official consultants themselves, relished their ability to provide Bethune their insight and to inform her of their perspectives, which she in turn took back to Walter White and W.E.B. Du Bois, fellow members of the NAACP delegation, and to the larger and smaller sessions of the UNCIO. The delegation's role was not dissimilar to a goal set by the ad-hoc group, the National Negro Organizations of America for World Security and Equality, which was created to unify representatives

from seven national organizations so that they might advise the African American delegates and be heard through them.<sup>35</sup> When Bethune appeared before the group on April 27<sup>th</sup> at the Third Baptist Church in San Francisco, she indicated that the delegation was having some problems since White and Du Bois had already slighted her twice. The first time occurred as they traveled to the conference by train and the men initially disappeared until the locomotive pulled into the California station. The second incident occurred after they arrived.<sup>36</sup>

Before the official opening of the conference, the two men released a statement on behalf of the NAACP delegation that Bethune had neither read nor even heard about. The statement reported on surveys of the African American community and White organizations that the NAACP had conducted about the need for an international bill of rights, colonial reform, and the elimination of the color line in the U.S. and abroad.<sup>37</sup> The collection of information from 151 groups, including many African American ones showed that civil rights activists were committed to taking this agenda to the global stage, illustrating the internationalization of the American Civil Rights Movement and how for so many among this population civil rights were increasingly synonymous with human rights.<sup>38</sup> Despite, or perhaps because of, the important task ahead of them, Brenda Gayle Plummer writes that Du Bois and White were, in fact, unhappy that Bethune's White House connections rather than her own credentials placed her on the team. Moreover, they questioned her competency. Throughout the entire conference, White undertook subtle gestures to sabotage her performance and inclusion.<sup>39</sup>

Bethune was not fooled and told the National Negro Organization that ideas about her intelligence were the root cause for her treatment. Some of it might have even been tied to sexist conceptualization of women's roles that did not include policy-making. Most certainly, women were grossly underrepresented in positions of leadership at this conference. In reply to her mistreatment, Bethune quipped that that she might not know a lot about international relations, but she possessed common sense.<sup>40</sup> And for what she lacked in terms of information, the NCNW team that possessed high levels of education, legal skills, and international knowledge through their travels and activism, were there to help fill in the gaps. It was a role that these women took very seriously so that Bethune could count the NCNW among the organizations that "are making a plea for the colored masses who cannot speak or plead for themselves."<sup>41</sup> During UNCIO sessions Dorothy Ferebee frequently sat on the floor with Bethune. According to Thurman, this position "practically enabled her to become Bethune's deputy consultant" and in terms of physical appearance was meant to signify a larger presence than had been ascribed.<sup>42</sup> Ferebee's own day notes show that she understood and valued her service role as a secretarial assistant.

Carter and Thurman sat together in what was known as the UNCIO "dress circle", sometimes accompanied by local and visiting NCNW members whom Thurman declared served as council observers as well. During open meetings, daily briefings, and study sessions, all of the women were not only able to witness the statements of international delegates, but also plead the cause of human rights and freedom themselves and "make further contributions" in relation to those of Bethune. Here, they frequently engaged with

observers from more than a dozen other African American organizations, who made their presence among “hundreds of interesting people.”<sup>43</sup> All who were seated there must have shared the perspective of Eslanda Robeson who wrote the following about her participation: “Alice in Wonderland couldn’t have felt half as adventurous as I did. For I was a NOBODY, dipping into the business of making a NEW World.” As Barbara Ransby points out, Robeson was far from being a “nobody”. Thus these statements do much more to capture a profound understanding of the significance of the unfolding events around her.<sup>44</sup> When Robeson spoke up in one of the sessions on the issue of trusteeships, Thurman wrote that she found the activist’s insights not only to be forthright and intelligent, but also eloquently expressed.<sup>45</sup> Clearly, Black women were making an impression in these meetings and in the talks and lectures beyond the corridors of the Opera House.

Nevertheless, Thurman and Robeson both expressed regret about the large absence of women in official positions. Most especially, Thurman regretted that Haitian, Ethiopian, and Liberian women were not there to speak even privately about their concerns.<sup>46</sup> While writing publicly about the strong positions and appearance shown by these nations’ delegates, including the need for Americans in general to study foreign languages more intently, Thurman’s private writings point out more complexity that showed that the representatives of these states struggled to respond to the call from Black conference goers in terms of issuing strong statements concerning human rights and decolonization and their own thoughts on how best not to jeopardize independence in a rapidly developing geo-political framework and long-existing colonial nexus.<sup>47</sup> NCNW

women likely hoped to talk to these women as their UNCIO participation reflected a heavily woman-centered perspective, which showed them trying to connect and reconnect with women and women's groups from around the world. This participation was a part of the NCNW delegation's expressed commitment to speak for the voiceless, the downtrodden, and the misunderstood at home and afar. Thus, they were frequently involved in numerous press conferences, dinners, and cultural events during which they talked with international guests, especially women, as official representatives of the NCNW. Thurman communicated that Hedgeman and Carter were especially good at filling these roles and Ferebee stuck close to Bethune's side during events, even high-profile ones, which again communicated a larger African American female presence.<sup>48</sup>

At most of the events that they attended, NCNW delegates freely circulated among the diverse and large audiences, which were nearly always composed of councilwomen who traveled there as representatives of other organizations or simply as attendees and supporters of the activities. For instance, Ida Jackson, who became a part of the National Negro Organizations of America for World Security and Equality, mingled with other NCNW members at an interracial tea on May 5<sup>th</sup> given in honor of Bethune. Here, and in other places, Black women from Oakland and Berkeley came to participate in celebratory events held for the delegates from independent Black nations.<sup>49</sup> Within San Francisco, the church where Thurman's husband preached, the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples in San Francisco, became a major hub of activity as large events and meetings were held there throughout the course of the conference. Of most

importance to the NCNW delegation though was the private meeting that they held with Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit on May 9<sup>th</sup>.

Pandit had come to the UNCIO to represent the India National Congress, which she claimed better represented the majority of India rather than the official delegation that was there “sailing under false colors.”<sup>50</sup> During the meeting with Pandit, members of San Francisco Metropolitan NCNW section and non-local Councilwomen rounded out the event. At this assembly, the women discussed their issues as Women of Color and stressed the importance of trans-national collaboration. By the end of the talk, Pandit was convinced to obtain NCNW membership.<sup>51</sup> The writings of those attending this meeting indicate not only a clear respect and veneration for Pandit, about whom Ferebee remarked, “speaks flawless English, smokes endless cigarettes, and converses in low pitched beautiful voice,” but that these delegates maintained a clear comprehension and appreciation of less formal roles.<sup>52</sup> Thurman’s writing for the journal and her own notes show that the NCNW team was especially impressed at how this “self-appointed” “private citizen,” along with others like Mbonu Ojike of Nigeria, sought to enter into this world and to insist on pleading for their countrymen. Consequently, the *AfraAmerican* carried articles not only from Mary McLeod Bethune, but also Sue Bailey Thurman and Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. Within a few years, Pandit’s affiliation would become an important resource in NCNW’s attempts to gain membership from foreign Women of Color.<sup>53</sup>

Despite being fairly middle class, these NCNW delegates still could not afford to remain for the conference’s April through June duration. Ferebee may have maintained



the most consistent attendance since her diary lists her departure as May 10<sup>th</sup>, which was still more than six weeks before the conference ended. Thurman appears to have attended area events long after her departure from the conference as a recorder. In the place of Ferebee, Mamie Mason Higgins arrived some time later to aid Bethune as a secretary.<sup>54</sup> Regardless of the length of time that these delegates spent, their written reflections and actions after the fact illustrate that the UNCIO meeting had significant bearing upon their lives and their perspectives. Their conclusions concerning it were far less condemning than that of Rayford Logan who declared the meeting a “tragic joke,” and more in line with those of Du Bois, who succinctly described it as “a beginning, not an accomplishment.”<sup>55</sup> Thus, most immediately, Carter and Thurman, the two delegates who were already predisposed to international involvement and dialogue, set out on a path of supporting and defending this newly developed international organization as well as advising the population on how they could aid it in “reach[ing] high noon.”<sup>56</sup> In the coming years, Ferebee, and Hedgeman too, would count it as an important means in ensuring equality for People of Color throughout the globe.

Shortly after returning home, Carter provided a brief report to the NCNW, which suggested that members’ enthusiasm was welcomed and important, but that it needed to be tempered. Akin to the rhetoric used by her brother in the Council on African Affairs, Carter firmly tied African Americans’ lived experiences to those of foreign “darker” populations and told how sections of the UN Charter were “a step in right direction, but . . . far from just and adequate.”<sup>57</sup> It was clear from the start that the inclusion of non-governmental organizations was nothing more than “window dressing.” This meant that

the number of tasks that the NAACP set out to do and to which the National Negro Organizations of America for World Security and Equality were holding them was nearly impossible. After an uphill battle and numerous joint efforts among UNCIO consultants, the “Big Four”--Britain, China, the U.S., and the Soviet Union--agreed to insert a human rights clause into the UN’s formal charter. It was a momentous accomplishment, but African American delegates, official and otherwise, would find that the road stopped there. Southern conservatives on the U.S. delegation, and even those who did not expressly hold these conservative views, remained unwilling to go on record in denouncing American segregation and discrimination, or more largely, rights to fair employment. Most especially, they did not want a battle with Congress for trying to bring an international organization to bear on domestic policies.<sup>58</sup> Carrying this disappointment with her, Carter remarked that the Council had a lot of work to do, which involved becoming more educated about the issues going on in the world, especially as it related to women. This advice was well taken and from this point forward, NCNW publications frequently carried pieces on foreign women’s activism and issues.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, the material remained largely informative rather than analytical, which was meant to illustrate not only genuine interest, but also a desire to balance the budget by increasing organizational stature among outside groups and attracting membership.

Within the journal, Carter’s articles were by far the most methodical of all the writings that emerged from the delegates as she attempted to spell out for the Council just how its UN activism should look. In fact, soon after the San Francisco Conference, she became one of the organization’s earliest connections to the new body. From 1945 to

1954, she served as the NCNW's first official UN observer, granting her, as she described it, a "ringside seat in the arena of world diplomacy."<sup>60</sup> As the Council's representative, she became a member of various observer groups like the Conference Committee of the United States Organizations for the UN and Women United for the UN. These connections enabled Carter to contribute to resolutions that went before the U.S. delegation and to voice NCNW's views and positions on agenda items like the atomic bomb and dependent peoples. In representing the interests of the Council, Carter paid particular attention to the work of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, who was now serving as the UN's Director of Trusteeships.<sup>61</sup>

Through Carter, the Council increasingly advocated strong positions on the Arab-Israeli conflict and developments in African nations. For instance, in 1948, it joined with several African American organizations in a stance against Italy's regaining African colonies lost in World War II.<sup>62</sup> Throughout her tenure as observer, Carter provided updates to her fellow Councilwomen about her UN work in New York. In these essays, Carter followed the trend that she set in 1945, doing her best to de-romanticize the United Nations—a sentiment that she noted was rampant in NCNW. In the March 1946 issue of the journal, she followed the script that was given, spelling out for Council members how "Russia's interventions in Iran was a source of conflict in the Security Council of the new United Nations." Also importantly, Carter said that regarding the UN meetings being held at Hunter College, "There are no fabulously costumed men and women, there are no gaping crowds." Instead, "The eleven members of the Security Council with their advisors and secretariats" were "working grimly day and night."<sup>63</sup> Unlike the stage play

metaphor that Thurman used to capture the San Francisco Conference, Carter's reports moved from a captivated audience to describing how the goals that the women wanted to accomplish were being held captive. Consequently, the NCNW needed to put together strong initiatives of support to enable the UN to reach its full potential.

Bethune's own understanding of this showed in just a few months after the conference as she entered into the early stages of connecting herself to the Truman administration (though to a much lesser degree than her relationship with the Roosevelts). Having seen the opportunities made available in courting the nation's leadership, Bethune held the connection as a sacred one. Thus, when Max Yergan of the National Negro Congress, who alongside Bethune worked at the UNCIO, reached out to her once more to aid his organization in putting on a program that would re-stimulate UN petitions, the reply Bethune offered was in line with her new view. Very succinctly, she chided his activist approach and told him that the issues that African Americans faced were national problems to be worked out domestically. In turn, Yergan declared Bethune "star struck" and ignorant of the fact "that all problems of oppression are international."<sup>64</sup>

Bethune and Carter's keen understanding of the internal and external pressures facing the Council and their belief on how the NCNW should operate because of these characteristics enabled the two to work well together for quite some time. It was not until four years later that they were led into a heated argument. Upon receiving an invitation from the 1949 World Town Hall Seminar, Carter had rushed to tell Bethune about this program opportunity and what it could mean for the Council. The venture was a popular American public institution that organized, "periodical broadcast meetings for discussion

of important public issues and which stimulates the democratic process of free debate and thinking on national and international issues affecting the United States of America.”<sup>65</sup> Rather than choose Carter to represent the organization, however, Bethune turned to Edith Sampson, who would have to foot the full \$5,000 bill herself, but would have the honor of representing the Council abroad. The financially struggling Council still did not have the funds to participate in projects even when it deemed them worthwhile.<sup>66</sup> Also importantly, by the late 1940s Sampson was indeed leading a promising career, but as Helen Laville and Scott Lucas make clear, “had it not been for the tension of the Cold War, government interaction with private interests, and chance, Sampson probably would have remained an effective, but low-profile lawyer.”<sup>67</sup> The World Town Hall Seminar launched both the NCNW and Sampson on new paths.

That summer, Sampson became one of 26 delegates on a two-month, 35,000-mile odyssey around the world, stopping in seventeen capital cities. Along with prominent African Americans like Max Yergan, Channing Tobias and Walter White, Sampson spoke before many international audiences on the progress and status of Blacks in the U.S. As she reported to the NCNW, she also spelled out what the Council was and what it sought to do, connecting it to these women’s groups.<sup>68</sup> The women were also able to hear her broadcast from Paris on July 19<sup>th</sup> when she spoke on “Can the United States and France Help Promote a Stable and Prosperous Europe?” Particularly in Pakistan, India, and Japan, areas where people had “little or no contact with an American Negro woman,” Sampson was a big hit.<sup>69</sup> As she explained before a women’s group in Pakistan, she was led to participate because: “I wanted to see and understand the world we live in and I

wanted to know what the other women of the world were going through. And second I thought that there should be a Negro Woman along to answer the questions about racism in America.”<sup>70</sup> Before leaving Pakistan, she bestowed upon the women honorary membership in the NCNW not “as a superficial gesture . . . [but as] bona fide credentials,” which would to permit them to “be counted in, and to be a part of the [NCNW].”<sup>71</sup> Sampson’s loyalty was crystal clear. She remained “immensely proud and grateful to be an American.” At the seminar’s conclusion, Sampson was elected president, happily assuming the responsibility of detailing the group’s findings to the broader American public.<sup>72</sup>

Sampson’s work with the World Town Hall Seminar drew her and the NCNW closer to the United Nations when soon after she was appointed as the first Black alternate delegate on the American delegation to the United Nations. Though largely discredited and shunned by the Black press due to her blatant denial of American racism to populations of foreign nations, councilwomen lauded her work and defended her publicly, and through her reports and directions, the NCNW drew even closer the body.<sup>73</sup> In 1950, the Council applauded her efforts with an award for her “international interpretation of the social political and economic life of the Negro in America” which showed that the Council counted its seat at the table as the biggest outcome of this inclusion.<sup>74</sup>

Along with Sampson, Carter continued to provide directions concerning the UN serving as its organizational observer until her 1954 resignation. Shortly thereafter, Carter began to work with International Council of Women in this same capacity, but agreed to

chair the NCNW's International Relations committee when Sampson's new schedule no longer permitted her to fill this role. After a string of interim observers that included Hortense Tate, Marian F. Croson, a life member of the Council and a New York resident who had recently traveled abroad to speak before Trinidad and Tobago Council of Women, then succeeded Carter as the organization's UN liaison and maintained statements of advice that were similar to her predecessor's. The reports she provided reported that the UN was far from perfect and that it needed great efforts, especially those of women, to live up to its potential. They also showed the nation's changing attitude toward the UN.<sup>75</sup>

Anna Arnold Hedgeman's UN activism, spurred by her time at the San Francisco Conference, is a bit harder to trace for a number of reasons. First, the majority of her archival records pertain to her extensive domestic work from the 1950s through 1980s. A second reason is that Hedgeman seemingly wrote the Council out of her life as time wore on. Not only does the organization not appear in any of her saved documents and files, Hedgeman hardly mentions the Council in either of her books, *The Trumpet Sounds* and the *Gift of Chaos*.<sup>76</sup> Such actions may be tied an organizational rift that occurred in 1949 when Bethune announced that she would be stepping down from Council presidency. Before this time, Hedgeman had served the organization during a very tough period of its history when accusations of communism led to the firing of four staff members who then threatened legal action. Hedgeman stepped in during January 1947 to serve as executive director for six weeks and helped to stabilize the organization. Nevertheless, when it came time for the NCNW to choose Bethune's successor, Hedgeman lagged far behind

the other candidates.<sup>77</sup> According to the Black press there were a number of prominent councilwomen in line for office: Sadie T. Alexander, Arenia C. Mallory, Vivian Carter Mason, Estelle Massy Osborne, and all of the NCNW UN delegation with the exception of Sue Bailey Thurman who was busy in her husband's racially-integrated, intercultural church in San Francisco. Organizational in fighting about who was most fit to take the lead of the NCNW was very public, dirty, and unfortunately very embarrassing. When the voting finally occurred, Dorothy Ferebee, Bethune's personal candidate, was elected president.<sup>78</sup>

Though Hedgeman's association with NCNW seems to have ceased by 1950, her interest in the United Nations remained strong. Throughout the 1950s, Hedgeman participated heavily in the Speakers Research Exchange Committee to the United Nations and the United Nations Association of New York. It was also during her time as an assistant to the Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing that Hedgeman became increasingly involved with international ventures, including UN related ones.<sup>79</sup> In reflecting upon the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the UN, Hedgeman returned to San Francisco as New York City's official observer to hear the presentations made to commemorate the anniversary. When speaking before the Interfaith Department of the National Council of Churches, Hedgeman's experiences led her to insist that through the United Nations had made a number of mistakes, it still had great value and potential. She posited that the use of "spiritual, political, and military" strength to bring about peace and freedom was appropriate.<sup>80</sup> In 1954, at the suggestion of Mayor Wagner, she began serving on the United Nations New York Hospitality Committee and alongside Eleanor Roosevelt



welcomed visitors to the country. In 1961, she served as chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on South Africa, which urged the U.S. delegation to the UN to push for South Africa's ambassador to be recalled and for an investigation into how American economic interest in South Africa upheld apartheid.<sup>81</sup>

Sue Bailey Thurman shared some traits with Hedgeman, especially in that much of her work for the United Nations was tied to her connections with outside agencies or her own efforts. For instance, on September 14, 1949, Thurman, who was the director of the Intercultural Workshop of Fellowship Church, set sail along with twelve church representatives, headed for the Fourth General Conference of UNESCO in Paris. Upon her return, she reported her findings to the Council through the *AfroAmerican*, partly attributing her involvement to the NCNW.<sup>82</sup> The Council gladly counted this representation and visibility as evidence of its internationalism, along with the activities of several other women who attended international and internationally themed conferences abroad and at home.<sup>83</sup> Thurman also displayed her UN support through cultural mechanisms. In 1955, she published an NCNW cookbook that collected recipes that commemorated famous African Americans and special dates in Black history. The book even included a recipe section of the United Nations with a full printing of *The Declaration of Human Rights*.<sup>84</sup>

This venture is in many ways similar to Thurman's United Nations Doll Collection, which traveled throughout the country and was supposed to represent in physical form the United Nations—but not the grand meetings, which were controlled by men. Instead, they represented the world's women and children—ordinary people. Many

of the dolls were collectors' items and were exhibited by Eleanor Roosevelt in New York when she was working to raise money for the United Nations International Children's Fund. Thurman hoped that by viewing the dolls, Americans would "look[] at them, think of people around the world, their culture, hopes and desires, and of the many things we have in common with them."<sup>85</sup> This initiative was one of Thurman's efforts to connect ordinary people to the United Nations and its principles and to get them to see that people everywhere were interconnected in a struggle for rights and equality.

More than any other member of the delegation, it was Ferebee's UN support that was most imbedded within the NCNW upon her ascension to Council presidency (1949-1953). Even so, in studying the NCNW through organizational behavior principles, it is evident, at the outset at least, that this new president held legitimate power, but no real influence as the organization slowly moved from what Tuckman and Jenson would call the forming stage (wherein the group relies heavily upon its founder) to the secondary stage of norming (wherein conflict has be overcome for the organization to endure).<sup>86</sup> This was due to her having succeeded the much-lauded Bethune, though it also stemmed from the fact that organizational leadership experienced little transition during her reign.<sup>87</sup> Confusion also ensued as Bethune continued to exercise considerable control, once even calling together a workshop of some 100 women while Ferebee was serving on a government assignment in Germany.<sup>88</sup> In all actuality, Ferebee likely understood and accepted this role. As Bethune's friend and mentee, she valued Bethune's wisdom and guidance, and as president of the struggling Council during the volatile McCarthy era, she understood the fragility of its reputation.

On the organizational level, Ferebee employed a “business as usual” approach, using references to Bethune to encourage the Council’s sections to invite foreign speakers and to combat dwindling membership due to non-interest. For instance, in her earliest remarks to the NCNW constituency, she expressed: “Bethune has given to us an instrument through which we can work for full citizenship for all peoples, and I dedicate myself to the work with the members and friends of NCNW for the full realization of her dream.”<sup>89</sup> Consequently, Ferebee wrote to Council members instructing them to call special attention to their local communities and to organize listening parties on December 10, 1949 to hear the speeches made in coordination of UN Day from Carnegie Hall. Speeches were to be made by Carlos P. Rumulo, President of the General Assembly, Trygve Lie, UN Secretary General, and Eleanor Roosevelt, Chairman of the Human Rights Commission. Ferebee told the Council to “focus public attention and understanding to the importance of universal human rights. This activity tied in with the first recommendation you adopted on Human Rights in convention and will show our continued support of the work and accomplishments of the United Nations.”<sup>90</sup>

During Ferebee’s presidency, the NCNW gave greater attention to youth involvement and healthcare, but the biggest change was the enlargement of activities. These events were the ones that captured national attention such as the welcoming of foreign dignitaries and leaders and awarding honor scrolls to national and international leaders. In June 1950, the NCNW’s goal of developing international friendships led it to entertain guests from a number of countries including Germany, Nigeria, and Indonesia.<sup>91</sup> This activity followed on the heels of cooperation with the American State Department to

contribute a social activity to the visit of ten Japanese women in March. As guests of the Inter-Cultural Committee of NCNW, these women visited NCNW headquarters, where they were “served tea and had conversation.”<sup>92</sup> Although the topic of the discussion is unknown, the Japanese visitors likely told of their experiences among councilwomen when upon their return to their country they “met with close to 45,000 people from Hokkaido and Kyushu, sharing results of their first on-the-spot study of democratic processes in the United States.”<sup>93</sup>

The National Council of Negro Women also conducted national activities that, although not directly tied to the UN, showed the connections they had made. For instance in June of 1950, the Council decided to host a reception in honor of twelve women whom they considered “outstanding women of America.” Among the honorees were Hilda M. Bolden, a physician in D.C. who was honored for “sacrificial services in the hinterlands of Africa and the blighted area of America”; Minerva Bernardino, the Minister from the Dominican Republic, who was recognized for “distinguished leadership and unselfish service in the struggle for equality of women throughout the world”; and Edith Sampson, who was lauded “for international interpretation of the social political and economic life of the Negro in America.”<sup>94</sup> Both Bernadino, a major force in the founding of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, and Sampson, who had by this time completed the Around-the-World Town Hall and was appointed as an alternate to the American Delegation to the United Nations, were and would continue to be well known in UN circles. The awarding of honor scrolls in this manner reflected the NCNW’s

support of the UN across a multitude of levels, and importantly, showed the organization's claiming such space and status for itself.

Nationally, Ferebee was named as a Vice President of the Nation's Citizens Committee for UN Day. In providing the rationale for her appointment, chairwoman Eleanor Roosevelt stated: "The work of the National Council of Negro Women to increase the knowledge of the American people concerning the achievements, the problems, and the purposes of the United Nations is well known. Since it is only through such knowledge that real understanding and support of the UN will grow, we shall benefit from your advice and experience in this field."<sup>95</sup> Roosevelt was right. The Council heavily supported the UN and this included the local efforts of councilwomen from the very start.

While local councilwomen's activities and interests are often overlooked in a discussion of the NCNW's UN support, when President Bethune and members of the NCNW delegation set out for the UNCIO meeting in 1945, local councils throughout the country continued to do their part to generate public support for the international organization that was to emerge. Their actions built upon earlier work when they not only studied policies concerning the UNCIO meeting but also worked to get Bethune and the NCNW delegation accredited. One example made public to fellow Council members was reported in the same issue of the journal that carried Pandit and Thurman's articles and involved Eleanor Dailey, president of the Chicago Council. The communication was originally addressed to the American Secretary of State, the four permanent members of the Security Council, Mrs. Bethune, and other members of the NAACP delegation.

Dailey reminded all of these persons of their serious responsibilities: claiming: “You must create for us a world organization in which not only announced principles envision for us a world where all men can live and develop free from the primitive principles of racial and religious hatreds, but one in which sincerity of purpose and faith ushering in the dawn of spiritual awakening, will actually lead us into such a world.” In ending, she wrote: “TO DO LESS WILL BE SUICIDAL FOR WORLD CIVILIZATION.”<sup>96</sup>

Dailey’s letter was a significant sign of her budding international and intercultural work that would later lead the Midwestern region of NCNW to earn an organizational award in 1946 and prompt her to be named as a NCNW honoree some time later.<sup>97</sup>

When Bethune was finally appointed as an associate consultant for the NAACP, the women did a small leap of joy while saddened that they did not succeed in gaining the real recognition that they sought. Nevertheless, they went forward in supporting the UNCIO in hopes that Bethune and the women who were representing them would bring about change soon enough. That Spring, many councils hosted “World Security Month” just as they had done the year before. In Chicago, Eleanor Dailey encouraged her group’s participation in discussions that included round tables with members of the YWCA.<sup>98</sup> Similar activities occurred in the nation’s capital and in Atlanta, Georgia where a two-day conference was held. The event was held at Spelman College, and though it was NCNW-sponsored, it showed the overlap of the women’s religious identity, occurring under the theme: “The Role of the Church Woman in Establishing World Security.” On the second night, E. Beulah Winston, Dean of Women at Clark College, presided at a panel discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks Peace Proposals. The next week the women continued

the discussion this time as part of its creation of an inter-organizational People's Forum at the West Church.<sup>99</sup>

Members of the Norfolk Council conducted similar work and reported that its chairwoman attended the Washington D.C. Leaders Conference on World Security on April 10<sup>th</sup>. Upon her arrival back to the area, the women held a public meeting to share the information they had received.<sup>100</sup> Farther south, the Jackson, Mississippi metropolitan council sponsored a tea on April 25<sup>th</sup> in honor of Mamie Mason Higgins, the personal aide and secretary for Bethune. After Higgins spoke, the women again turned their attention to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. And finally, the Daytona Beach council, founded in the city where Bethune's famous educational institution lay, hosted a program that featured Assistant Secretary of State, Archibald MacLeish as a guest speaker and attracted some 1, 200 guests.<sup>101</sup>

Before, during, and certainly after the UNCIO meeting, local councilwomen kept abreast of United Nations activities through attendance at local and national meetings, materials that the leadership collected and disseminated from other entities, and the NCNW organ. The *AfroAmerican* not only showed NCNW members as a receptive audience to messages put before them by the NCNW's UNCIO delegation and UN representatives, but it also indicated that a number of women were also eager to be cast in their own roles as well. For example, in the March 1946 issue, Marjorie McKenzie Lawson, who worked in the President's Commission on Fair Employment Practices, provided a journal article in which she sought to describe, "what our responsibility as women, particularly as Negro women, is to the cause of international friendship."<sup>102</sup>

Recalling an unfriendly racial incident between three women on a train from New York to Washington, Lawson was initially unsure if African American women were ready to expand their gaze abroad. She felt that the women first had to acquire the strength to embrace unity at home before they could embrace the problems of women of the world. However, after much thought and reflection, Lawson concluded that the world was truly interconnected and it was up to the council to “. . .reach out our hands in friendship . . . [and] to save our sisters across the seas and ourselves.”<sup>103</sup> The UN represented part of the saving. Thus later that year, 35 councilwomen were selected to participate in a “Spend a Day with the United Nations” program that November. During the morning session, the women met with members of the State Department and that afternoon accompanied them on a visit to an ongoing United Nations session at Long Island.<sup>104</sup>

The Summer-Fall 1947 issue of the journal featured several pieces on the United Nations including an article by NCNW member Helen Elsie Austin, an Ohio lawyer who would go on to become a successful U.S. Foreign Service Officer in Africa.<sup>105</sup> Austin reported that through her representation, the NCNW could count participation in the First General Conference of International Organizations called by the United Nations. Eunice Hunton Carter, who originally attended the San Francisco UNCIO Conference, accompanied her. Although both women were actually there as members of the International Council of Women (of which NCNW was a member), they made clear that they really saw themselves as representing the NCNW. At the conference, Carter spoke up for the necessity for recognizing the employment power of minority groups while



Austin addressed the necessity for international standards that would bar and discourage the promotion of ideas and practices founded upon bigotry.<sup>106</sup>

Immediately following Austin's article was a report by Isa C. Clark of the Philadelphia Council, who had represented the NCNW at the first national conference of United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, (UNESCO) in Philadelphia earlier in the Spring. Clark and other NCNW participants planned their attendance so that NCNW would be represented at the informal reception given by the local United Nations council and all general sessions and section meetings. In informing fellow councilmembers of their work, Clark closed her article by emphatically stating: "Now that the NCNW has permanent representation at the United Nations we can direct our effort so that every phase of our program be extended to include ways of carrying out the aims and programs of UNESCO."<sup>107</sup> Articles in the 1947-1948 Winter and Spring issue, which were written by a number of women at different levels of Council leadership and outside of it, made this clear and showed that NCNW members were "Learning to Think Internationally," becoming even more "Rededicated to Our Task [of] Building a Bridge of Universal Peace through Understanding," an article written by President Bethune, which served as the theme of the annual conference.<sup>108</sup>

After 1948, the *AfraAmerican* was briefly converted to the *Woman United*, which lasted only a year. In utilizing their replacement, the *Telefact*, a concise monthly bulletin rather than a journal, and correspondence from 1950 forward, it is still possible to determine that nationally, locally, and organizationally, NCNW continued its strong support of and participation within various UN entities particularly the American

Association of the United Nations and the United Nations International Children's Fund. The NCNW also encouraged and appointed local councilwomen to meetings wherein they "peep in on national and international things."<sup>109</sup> Such language not only speaks to the Council's ambiguous position within such entities, but is illustrative of how the leadership frequently accepted visibility (rather than true engagement) as a marker for success.

While this had always been the case, the situation grew increasingly worse with ensuing accusations of Communism hurled at members. While Bethune had been accused in 1942 and 1943, she was quickly exonerated. This would not be the case for Vivian Carter Mason, the first vice-president of the Council who extensively participated in American Congress of Women (ACW), which had been named a "communist dominated organization." The ACW belonged to the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), which, though an international organization that brought together female activists, was different from organizations like WILPF and the ICW in that it drew support from the Soviet Union and "won adherents throughout the Third World through its commitment to 'win and defend national independence and democratic freedoms, eliminate apartheid, racial discrimination and fascism.'"<sup>23</sup> As Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Vivian C. Mason were then attending the WIDF's 1946 meeting in Moscow, Bethune telegraphed and warned that they (Mason especially as the NCNW's first vice-president) "cease immediately using [the] National Council's name in any activities or speeches."<sup>110</sup> The rift between Bethune and Mason over the fallout from this was short-lived. The latter rejoined the Council in two years and in 1953 became its third president. Nevertheless,

the lesson the women learned was clear and in line with one that Eunice Hunton Carter had offered earlier. In August 1950, Carter warned the NCNW to stop signing its name to everything labeled as peace. The Council regularly relied on other organizations for materials to distribute to its members and did so indiscriminately. Although Carter wanted them to continue to critique American racism, the language and operation of this criticism had to fall within the Cold War limitations. It was imperative that all members and leaders walk a tightrope so that the NCNW could avoid repression.<sup>111</sup>

Though the NCNW also worked to take the lead on its own stage for United Nations activism, it is imperative also to see how and to what degree the NACW developed its support for this international organization after the San Francisco Conference. Although featuring far fewer written pieces on the United Nations, the *National Association Bulletin* (finally successfully resuscitated in 1947 in shorter, less costly, form), did capture some sure signs of UN support, especially those formulated at the biennial conventions. Even more, the *Bulletin*, correspondence, and papers of local leaders shows that the NACW's UN activism was most visible at the grassroots levels until 1955 when the national leadership undertook work to gain a UN observer. Until then the national leadership largely focused their attention to aiding the association to rebound from all the difficulties that had, to that point, rendered its activism ineffectual.

The NACW was struggling even more in January 1946 when Christine Smith, who was then serving as the NACW's vice president had the unfortunate task of informing the members of the death of president Ada Bell Dement in November. While a number of letters came in to offer condolences as well as to point out Dement's efforts to

gain a full transfer of the Frederick Douglass Home to the NACW, others spoke of the inaction they saw as plaguing the organization since Dement's election in 1941. Although Smith spoke of the president's short illness, it is unclear how long this illness truly lasted since none of the latter's little correspondence in the months leading up to her death showed any concern for the events leading up to the San Francisco Conference. In response to what she considered to be Dement's insufficient leadership, one member, Vivian Osbourne-Marsh, who claimed to have "[grown] up in the Association," directly addressed these issues when she wrote, "there seems [to be] so much undercurrent, so much petty foolishness, and getting no place."<sup>112</sup> She told Smith that as the interim president, that it was her task to "move the Association forward." It was clear that Smith really hoped to do so starting with the NACW's meeting that July, which represented not only the organization's first real convention since 1941, but also its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

When the women met together in Washington, D.C., they of course faced a number of organizational issues that needed to be worked out. One of the most immediate was the fact that Association membership dropped to approximately 50,000 members, down from the 300,000 that the body claimed before the Great Depression. While celebrating the efforts of their pioneers and desiring to call upon their wisdom in moving forward, the Association leadership also needed advice in constructing a plan that fit the post-war situation. After their discussions, the women passed resolutions insisting upon equal access to housing, jobs, healthcare, and education. They also announced their support for the United Nations and made a decision to send a letter of support directly to

the UN leadership that “advise[d] them of our interests and active participation in the movement for world peace.”<sup>113</sup>

It is clear that some members of the Association were already paying attention to the United Nations and its agencies like the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) that provided provisions and medical attention to victims of war. Their interests in this international relief agency was much in line with the rest of the Black public.<sup>114</sup> At least six women had attended a meeting of the United Council of Church Women in November of 1945 and provided a good discussion that led to a resolution that called for federal funding for the UNRRA. In the report from Atlanta, Georgia, the women reported that they participated in the clothing drive, donating some 15 thousand items.<sup>115</sup> Electing not to take up such work on the national level, Smith still encouraged women to keep informed about the UN and all of its initiatives, and in some instances she secured materials to increase their knowledge in this area and appointed them to conferences.<sup>116</sup>

In resolution form, the 1946 NACW conveners also praised Eleanor Roosevelt, who they thought performed the best work “in the international field for the betterment of race relations.” If this statement had anything to do with Bethune’s appointment as an associate consultant at the UNCIO, they dared not mention it. Even more, Smith’s presidential address included exacting language as she proclaimed that the women needed to be vigilant in watching out for those who sought to speak on their behalf and to “carry us around in a vest pocket for bargaining purposes.” She argued that it was always best to provide a statement that expressed the collective views of African Americans;

otherwise these actions leaned toward individual aggrandizement. Its unclear to whom Smith was referring since the statements could have applied to Sallie Stewart who had conceded the NACW's seat within the National Council of Women at the end of her time in 1933 and which Stewart only recently regained, or Bethune, who was seemingly always called upon as the spokesperson for African American women by members of the national government. Even if Smith had Bethune in mind when she made the statement, when the Association hosted Eleanor Roosevelt during its convention and presented her an award, it was Bethune who conducted the celebration since she was the one who made the visit possible.<sup>117</sup>

Even more interesting about Smith's presidential speech is the path she charted for the organization. Though acknowledging that the problems in the post-war world were very different, she argued that more than ever the nation and the world needed the sort of uplift program that the Association provided since real change emanated from the home and then upward and outward. Akin to a number of her predecessors before the war, she emphasized local works and reminded the organization that as a civic *association*, the women were only to come together to share ideas about what was working and what was not, beyond taking up a few national projects like the headquarters, the scholarship fund, and the Frederick Douglass home. The legality of the latter consumed most of Smith's time until illness rendered the last few months of her time in office unproductive. Locally, clubwomen supported numerous NACW projects while also giving attention to international developments.

Most interesting are the efforts of Rosa Gragg and Irene McCoy Gaines, who would go on to serve as future presidents. In August of 1947, Rosa Gragg of the NACW's Central Association worked to bring Eslanda Robeson before the women of Detroit, Michigan as part of their Dumbarton Oaks Celebration in April 1947.<sup>118</sup> In Chicago, Gaines went even further, reflecting her long-standing interests in global matters. In 1945, while serving as the president of the Chicago Council of Negro Organizations she sent a telegram the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization. Remarkably, she received a reply from Edward Stettinius that thanked her for her communication that "advocate[ed] acceptance of the goal of eventual independence of all dependent peoples." Stettinius promised her that there was "no modification in the historical and traditional attitude of the United States," and the U.S. delegation was doing all that it could to help these people to attain liberty.<sup>119</sup>

Two years later, as a part of nine-member delegation representing the Chicago Congress of American Women (CCAW), Gaines appeared before the UN General Assembly at Lake Success, New York on May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1947. The women of the CCAW were there to present a peace pledge and plea that the UN gain control of the atomic bomb, but Gaines took the opportunity to address the status of African American women.<sup>120</sup> In speaking before United Nations Secretary General, Trygve Lie, and 75 other UN leaders, Gaines' delivered a speech insisting that there was a direct correlation between African American women's experiences with the lack of full access to health care, education, jobs, and housing in the U.S. and African women living under colonialism. As she saw it, both populations needed international aid, more specifically

the UN, to help end these injustices.<sup>121</sup> After this meeting, she encouraged clubwomen in the Illinois Association of Colored Women (IACW), a federation of the NACW, to increase their knowledge of national and international events and organizations, and to “become a stronger part of the great women[’s] movement of the world” by making the focus a regular part of the club agenda.<sup>122</sup>

In issuing the call for the upcoming 1948 convention in the place of Smith, Sallie W. Stewart hoped to stir the women to action by pointing out that a steady stream of “discord, illness, and death” rendered their efforts “almost futile” since their meeting together in Oklahoma in 1941.<sup>123</sup> When Ella P. Stewart was elected to succeed Smith at this convention, Stewart surprisingly decided to stay the course despite her clear excitement resulting from her attendance at the UNCIO three years earlier. In even stronger language and action than Smith, she demanded that NACW members, foremost “mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of men of the race,” focus their efforts narrowly on “combatting the source of evils that give the race the unenviable place it holds in the United States.” As she saw it, it was proper home training that best prepared individuals to serve their communities, the nation, and the world.<sup>124</sup> Stewart upheld the decision made in 1930 that reduced the twenty-two departments into just two, but during her tenure decisively renamed them “Family Life” and “Vocational Guidance,” which she thought was more fitting with the time. She also stressed a continued focus on the National Association of Colored Girls.<sup>125</sup>

Stewart was not opposed to international or transnational work. In fact, she held it to be important and accepted the traditional ways that many of her forerunners used,



which was organizational affiliation and member participation in other international organizations and their conferences, especially the meetings of the International Council of Women. During conventions, the NACW regularly passed resolutions that reaffirmed its support for the UN as a domestic and international problem solver, and invited a lecture by Ben F. Carruthers of the Human Rights Division on this subject.<sup>126</sup> Stewart also found it appropriate and necessary for African American women to participate in the endeavors of outside entities and she appointed several women to represent the Association in such endeavors when activities occurred in their cities and when she could not attend herself. After her participation in one UNESCO program, Iola W. Rowan became enthralled and was eager to take up a campaign that solicited names for employment within this agency.<sup>127</sup>

Most often though, Stewart relied upon Margaret L. Caution who made her home in Atlantic City, New Jersey. In addition to representing the NACW at multiple meetings of the UNICEF in her area, the state leader of the New Jersey clubs drew the women into a number of local programs including an October 1950 UN forum, which required coordination with the American Association of United Nations and the Newark Press and a public lecture that featured Edith Sampson as the main speaker that next year.<sup>128</sup> One member of this same federation, Ida Mae Daniels, who was the president of the New Jersey Junior Federation, encouraged the NACW more broadly to develop cooperation with world organizations and to consider study abroad as a form of activism. She suggested that the first trip feature six girls from the organization's National Association of Colored Girls' program.<sup>129</sup>

In May 1950, Stewart appointed Irene McCoy Gaines, Alva Delaney, and Fannie Carter of Chicago to serve on the local committee to work with the United Nations Association of Chicago and the Women's International Association to greet the UN Secretariat Personnel who were passing through Chicago. These women participated in preliminary meetings and contributed as hostesses to UN leaders, which included some ten individuals from countries including Indonesia, Iran, and India. In her legislative report to the Illinois Association of Colored Women, Gaines, who was also now the national first recording secretary, spoke of her role as a hostess, but went further in bringing attention to the Genocide Sub-Committee of the UN, which was then considering adopting a bill concerning mass murders. She encouraged her fellow clubwomen to consider the importance of American support, which required them to come together to collectively appeal to Illinois state senators. For several years as a president and chair of the legislative department, Gaines did her part in keeping such issues before the IACW.<sup>130</sup>

Information about the UN also appeared in the NACW *National Notes*, where clubwomen could gain general information or more specific details about a set of meetings. Some articles tackled world peace thematically; others were reproductions of articles generated by the National Council of Women or the American Association for the United Nations. In some instances, club members like Rosa Gragg, who chaired the Association's Public Relations Committee, provided reports of attendance at large national meetings like that of the second national meeting of UNESCO, declaring "We are UNESCO. We must work in our own families, in our communities and states, also on

a national and world level. We must build a community in which human rights will flourish and in which human freedom is not only an ideal but a reality.”<sup>131</sup> Stewart not only supported the printing of these articles, but she encouraged local women to take up international activism. Yet in stressing that the NACW was a civic organization that had much work to do and was crippled by its financial situation, she made little effort to incorporate such initiatives into the national program. Thus, when Leona Boytel, wrote to Stewart at Gaines’ suggestion concerning possible affiliation with the Crusade for Freedom, an American propaganda campaign that secured funding for anticommunism work in Europe, the representative received a reply that there was no room on the agenda or the national program for this type of work, but that she could contact local and regional federations.<sup>132</sup> Stewart’s approach then was much different from the NCNW that so freely associated with countless outside bodies that Carter needed to remind them to be more thoughtful in their involvement. In fact, Stewart was so committed to the tasks at hand that nearly all requests for support, whether financial or merely verbal, were quickly rejected by her or her executive secretary when Stewart was away.

Such denials included petitions from UNICEF and the W.E.B. Du Bois’ African Aid Campaign. In the first instance, when Stewart received an inquiry about the work that the organization was completing to aid foreign children, she replied in turn that the NACW did not do this type of work though its members in the islands (the Hawaiian territory and Haiti) had this concentration.<sup>133</sup> In the second instance, in the face of Du Bois’s plea that even if the NACW could not give money, it should offer its name to aid

generating prestige, Stewart replied that she understood the need of Africans, but that the NACW's headquarters in Washington, D.C. also needed financial assistance.

In her last year of her leadership, Stewart's internationalism grew as a consequence of her spending some time abroad. While she remained unsuccessful in securing Ralph Bunche as a featured speaker for the 1952 convention, she reported her success in attending the March-April 1951 ICW meeting in Greece, a trip fully financed by the NACW. She made the trip with Florida clubwoman Alice Mickens of Florida, who originally went as an observer but was formally named as Stewart's alternate. Before the conference and their visits to places like embassies and welfare departments, Stewart and Mickens told the NACW that they had succeeded in letting the people "of these countries [know] that they had brown women over there representing the brown women of America."<sup>134</sup> A month later, Stewart was elected to a vice-presidency in Pan Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association (PPSEAWA), a transnational organization created in 1928.<sup>135</sup> The organization was rooted in cultural internationalism as it sought to promote greater cooperation among women of the Pacific with a focus on anti-racist and social reform activism and pro-peace principles.<sup>136</sup> In June of the same year, she also authorized Cora B. Colyer, a clubwoman in West Germany, to form NACW affiliates among soldiers' wives there and encouraged her to send reports of their work for the *National Notes*.<sup>137</sup>

In her final speeches before the NACW that August, Stewart told the audience how her international experience convinced her to study at least one foreign language. She recommended that the association do more towards supporting the United Nations

and educational exchange programs. Reminiscent of Bethune's platform in the late 1920s, she encouraged clubwomen to realize the need for securing lobbyists in their favor.<sup>138</sup> Even though Stewart's attitude towards internationalism on the Association's national program was now more favorable, it is still likely that her early rigidity paid off since in her last year in office, the NACW showed increased membership numbers. Though it was far less than her assertion of doubled figures, the newly named organization, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC), did claim at least 10,000 more members.<sup>139</sup>

At this same convention, Irene McCoy Gaines, who was nominated even after declining the position of presidency, took leadership of the NACWC. Soon into her presidency, she pointed out two fundamental differences between the National Association and the National Council. Like other NACWC members, she called attention to the fact that their organization was the older of the two and that it was a family and civic welfare organization. As such, she argued the NACW had true purpose even if the NCNW conducted more glamorous activities.<sup>140</sup> In realizing the constant attention and credit given to the NCNW, one member encouraged Gaines to incorporate Edith Sampson into the national program in order to keep "NACW on the map." Gaines understood the point, and in hoping to address the NCNW issue head on, she implored clubwomen to realize that some change was necessary.<sup>141</sup> Much like her work within the Illinois Association of Colored Women, she encouraged her organizational colleagues to turn their attention to political activities including the ongoing Civil Rights Movement developing in the South.<sup>142</sup> For her part, Gaines linked the NACW with the Crusade for

Freedom, the UN, and UNESCO. At the 1955 convention in Washington, D.C., NACW women heard from Robert F. McLaughlin, Board of Directors of the American Association of the United Nations, who delivered a short speech that declared that the UN was far from perfect and that great patience and work was needed to aid it in living up to its true potential.<sup>143</sup> By 1955, Gaines succeeded in gaining an NACW UN observer and appointed Thomasina Norford to the position. Norford, who was also a long-standing member of the National Council of Negro Women and Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., had presented the latter organization's interest on the UN charter before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate just one month after the 1945 UNCIO conference. Norford's UN observer appointment represented the NACWC's "accelerated program on the road to international relations" and Gaines' commitment to a "one-world program."<sup>144</sup>

Through reports, Norford shared with the NACWC that she put in many hours of studying so that when the time came, she could be happy with her contributions and her ability to proclaim, "I am observing for the National Association of Colored Women."<sup>145</sup> In giving advice to the organization, she recommended that it drop "peace" from the title of its Peace and Foreign Relations Committee since she could not see how you could have one without the other. She also suggested that the NACWC make Foreign Relations a department, with several committees within it including those like letters abroad, PPSEWA, and the like. In essence, Norford advocated fuller development of its internationalism, believing that the Association had "but scratched the surface of international affairs." She reported that she "looked forward to the day when such topics

would be covered at every session, state meeting, and local level,” which needed to be accompanied by a year-long program that included the dispersal of literature, the creation of a news column in the *National Notes* concerning its working relations with other associations, and possibly even a visitation program that permitted NACWC members to travel abroad as well as to host foreign visitors.<sup>146</sup> Many NACWC women seemed to value what Norford had to say, while others questioned or flat out rejected the direction that Gaines obviously intended to lead the organization. Increasingly, over the next four years a number wondered why Gaines seemingly declared herself as the only one fit to steer the NACW.

In 1954, despite these grumblings and rumors that the Gaines was attempting to align the organization with the Republican Party rather than remain non-partisan, Gaines still managed to pull off a major publicity feat for the organization—having U.S. Vice-President Richard Nixon speak at the 1954 convention.<sup>147</sup> Whether they liked Nixon or Gaines or not, clubwomen had to agree that the American leader’s attendance at their convention bode well for the organization especially in line with rumors that it had been replaced by the NCNW.<sup>148</sup> The NACW president’s biggest issues, however, came at the next biennial meeting when she decided to seek a third term as president, defying the two-term limit set after Mary Church Terrell’s reign, which had in fact caused many New England clubs to drop their NACWC affiliation. Her margin of victory was a close one with two votes, and it soon spilled over into legal action. The debate not only came from the grassroots, but it also involved a number of past presidents like Ella P. Stewart and Mary F. Waring.<sup>149</sup> While Waring accepted the Association’s support of civil rights

work, she like many others rejected the inclusion of the word “Clubs” in the National Association of Colored Women’s appellation as well as Gaines’ acceptance of another term no matter how reluctant she claimed it was. Until Gaines turned NACWC leadership over to Rosa L. Gragg, which was in fact her candidate of choice, the internal dynamics of the Association remained so volatile that little work was completed, especially in terms of its new internationalism and the UN. Even more, the NACWC remained unsuccessful in expanding to Africa as Gaines had hoped.<sup>150</sup> Only “one month and five days into her term,” Gragg called a national emergency conference so that the organization could get back on track.<sup>151</sup>

During this time, the NCNW had not missed a beat. They continued their UN related work on a large, public stage—one that was created and in many ways directed by the Council. They hosted “International Nights” that were open extravaganzas of the annual convention programs, while the rest of the conference was often closed to the general public. The events signified a grand stage for which NCNW leaders and members relied on stage props, music, and the like in order to entertain, educate, and, importantly, impress their audiences. It was also one with which the NACWC could not compete. The National Council of Negro Women was accorded much recognition and fame as various members of the American government, the United Nations, and the diplomatic community addressed and attended these events. In the themes and the conversations that it held, this unique space was one that showed the NCNW’s belief in the UN as “a critical institution in the fight against colonialism and ne-colonialism, a place to garner



international attention, and a springboard for building solidarity among former colonies.”<sup>152</sup>

At the 1945 convention, which also marked the Council’s 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary, NCNW members continued to focus on international issues and their support of the United Nations. As indicated by Bethune’s annual report, “Since our last annual workshop, the world has passed through the events of most tremendous import—a world security conference at San Francisco, the signing of a World Charter, the end of WW II with victory in Europe and the Pacific, and the fearful entry of the peoples of the world into the Atomic Age.”<sup>153</sup> At this convention, the women passed resolutions to send messages of greeting and support to the Women’s All India Conference as well as one that argued that atomic energy should be controlled by the United Nations.<sup>154</sup> They also voted to support a United Nations Clothing Collection Drive, encouraging local Councilwomen to gather clothing to be sent to Europe, the Philippines, and the Far East. At the International Night at this year’s program, touted as the “World Community Night”, Eunice Carter, Dorothy Height, and Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India offered messages and reports on the services that the NCNW had rendered “towards the adjustment of world issues.” Pandit, who attracted the admiration of a number of African American groups, also appeared before the United Nations Council in Philadelphia upon the invitation of Crystal Bird Fauset, an African American member of this body, who was in attendance at the UNCIO Conference. Approximately five years later, she took up Pandit’s invitation to spend one month at the founding ceremonies of the Republic of India.<sup>155</sup>

At the 1946 NCNW conference, two types of meetings were held: general assemblies and workshops. At one public meeting, aspects of international problems were presented by Channing H. Tobias, then general secretary of the Phelps-Stokes program, and Estelle Massey Riddle, a vice-president of NCNW. Both individuals stressed the significance of the treatment of darker people throughout the world in relation to peace and urged the united and sustained action of African Americans.<sup>156</sup> Another component of the convention's five-point program, was the topic of World Unity. Only the panels of "World Unity" and "Council Building" were granted extra time, while participants on the conference's other panels were limited to five minutes and principal speakers were granted fifteen. On the World Unity panel, the *AfroAmerican Journal* reported that the topic of greatest concern was the subject of world security, specifically the concern of the United Nations and the Commission on the Status of Women in relation to the International Labor Organization. It was recommended that there be a standard set of regulations for workers of skilled and unskilled abilities which would equally apply to women as well as men, regardless of race, creed or color. This same issue of the journal included articles on "World Food" and the "American Information and Cultural Program in Africa."<sup>157</sup>

Regarding their international night during the 1948 convention, which shared the theme of Bethune's "Building Bridges" article, NCNW women proclaimed, "It was almost like a miniature United Nations was assembled. An interested audience filled every seat in the vast auditorium, listening with appreciation to the addresses and responses of these people, who joined the women of the National Council in an

expression of their determination to help build a bridge of universal peace through understanding.”<sup>158</sup> NCNW’s commitment to the United Nations continued throughout 1949. They received and honored the wives of several ambassadors with tea. Embassy visits also replaced the annual White House visit due to the ongoing restoration of the home.<sup>159</sup> Nonetheless, the women would not be disappointed. The international night at this meeting was undoubtedly one of the grandest in NCNW history as American President Harry S. Truman graced the stage.<sup>160</sup>

In front of Mrs. Bethune, Madame Pandit, Dr. Ralph Bunche, and other distinguished guests from some twenty odd embassies, Truman correctly pointed out that a significant feature of NCNW conventions for many years had been an evening devoted to the furtherance of international goodwill and understanding. This conference, more so than all others before it, seemed to illustrate best NCNW’s concern for the world’s condition and its dedication to “making [the] United Nations successful in achieving a true and lasting peace.”<sup>161</sup> In addition to resolutions concerning citizenship education, labor and industry, the women passed resolutions on the atomic bomb, peace, and of course the United Nations. In a resolution entitled “International Relations,” the women further professed their support for UNESCO, United Nations Day, Human Rights, and Human Rights Day. They also vowed to cooperate with organizations in America and abroad that held similar interests, especially those concerning the United Nations.<sup>162</sup>

That next year, the Council chose as its theme: “Women Looking Forward toward Peace and Security.” In the call for the conference, NCNW’s thinking rang clear: “Today the world faces momentous decisions. The members of the National Council of

Negro Women and other women are concerned about these decisions in a great country crusading for democracy. We must help to fashion a practical national and international program of friendship, cooperation, and goodwill.”<sup>163</sup> Particularly, the women expressed their own fears about American safety as indicated by the “Striking example upon the attack upon the peoples of South Korea. It is not only a breach of the peace as outlined by the United Nations, but is a definite threat to our own national security.”<sup>164</sup> Edmonia Davidson, Chairman of the Intercultural Committee, conducted visits to foreign embassies for the Convention. American Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who served as the guest speaker at the International Night event, stood before an audience of 1,500, which included many distinguished guests. Present were NCNW recent honorees, Minerva Bernardine, Edith Sampson, and Eunice H. Carter. As the UN celebrated its fifth year and the NCNW its dedication to and entrance into this organization, there was much about which these women could be proud. In the closing, Sampson did much to back up Acheson’s statements about the United States’ need to move beyond its “isolationist mindset to go forward and to not look back.” As Sampson succinctly put it: “our very survival depends upon taking a truly world view.”<sup>165</sup>

Sampson’s and Acheson’s statements sounded good, but since the inception of the organization, American leaders had warned Black activists that this “worldview” did not mean airing America’s dirty laundry to the world. In fact, they needed to remain isolationist in that way. Thus, while usage of the UN to this end had been difficult since the organization’s inception, as the late 1940s and then the 1950s wore on, internationalists were seen as betraying the country as “human rights and the United

Nations became synonymous with the Kremlin and the Soviet-led subversion of American democracy.”<sup>166</sup> The organization that the National Council worked so hard to support and change would in many ways be gutted of its budding powers during Dwight Eisenhower’s first year in the American presidency. His election paralleled the rise of NCNW’s third president, Vivian Carter Mason, but also the resignation of Eleanor Roosevelt from the U.S. delegation to the UN and the Commission on Human Rights. Although Mrs. Roosevelt made clear her refusal to work under the Eisenhower administration, historian Carol Anderson points out that the call for her resignation, which came so soon after Eisenhower’s arrival to the White House, symbolized increasing cries for the U.S. to rescue itself and its posterity from the UN and world leadership.<sup>167</sup>

While Mason’s road was a tough one already given ongoing internal issues in the NCNW, it was made even tougher when the Eisenhower administration showed its willingness to weaken the United Nations in the face of the Bricker Amendment. Ohio Senator John W. Bricker was so intent on “rein[ing] in the ‘eager beavers of the UN’” that he proposed a constitutional amendment to alter the approval process for treaties by granting more power to Congress and state legislatures rather than the American president. Rather than face reduced executive power, Eisenhower replied that he would indeed jettison UN human rights covenants and the Genocide Convention, protocols that were particularly important to the Black struggle for equality.<sup>168</sup> In the end, the American president stepped up to defeat much of the Bricker Amendment, but the outcome still showed more a determination to save executive power rather than a

commitment to human rights. In fact, the U.S. still did not ratify the Genocide Convention nor did it rejoin in the conversations concerning Covenants on Human Rights.<sup>169</sup> The NCNW was disappointed in this news, but in fact, it had always been cautious in supporting such initiatives anyway for fear of falling out of the good graces of the federal government. Nevertheless, when the change in course and outlook towards the UN occurred, it became even clearer that the organization that the Council had worked so hard to enter and to so cautiously support was gutted of its just budding power.<sup>170</sup>

Even more, American activists' calls for equality and change, especially ones that tied the U.S. to global movements, were also increasingly quieted. Suddenly anyone who desired to alter the social and economic conditions of the United States was aiding the Soviet Union and they had to be dealt with accordingly. Studies of this time period also show that the banner of anticommunism proved invaluable to segregationists and conservatives by providing them with a "more up to date and respectable cover."<sup>171</sup> While the Civil Rights Movement faced dire issues at home due to increasing demands for the status quo, by 1955 rather than a fulcrum for human rights and the resolution of world problems, the UN simply became a place where the U.S. heard and made recommendations and participated in show-and-tell.<sup>172</sup>

Even though the Council continued to host International Nights and to participate in and host UN Day celebrations, these conversations undeniably shifted away from ones about the UN's transformative elements lest the NCNW face repression like the Council of African Affairs and the rest of the Black Left.<sup>173</sup> Like the NAACP and the NACWC, NCNW activists wrapped themselves in the fabric of the American flag.<sup>174</sup> When Irene

McCoy Gaines of the NACWC attended her first NCNW International Luncheon and night programs in 1954, she wrote of its decline in prestige and popularity, noting fewer people at the events than the reception that the Council had held for the Association.<sup>175</sup> The next few years showed the NCNW's International Nights shifting to lessons about the UN's organizational make-up and initiatives to aid the world's children.<sup>176</sup> In 1957 at the International Night, the Council stuck within Pan American and youth-directed themes. Attendees were chosen as "Ambassadors of Good Will," and ate and talked with others about internationalism.<sup>177</sup> By 1959 even the National Council of Women was informing its members that the main emphasis of the UN was Child Welfare and "self-help" initiatives through UNESCO and specialized agencies that utilized technical consultants.<sup>178</sup>

Unfortunately, this shift made up only one of the major issues faced by the Council. When Bethune died in May of 1955, the organization seemed destined to pull apart at the seams due to organizational distress, making its experiences during this time similar to that of NACWC. Increasingly, affiliates and local sections were reporting that they had lost faith in the Council structure and suggesting that headquarters only corresponded when money was desired. Far more members were interested in civil rights activism, which appeared to be more spirited and engaging and seemed to offer quicker outcomes since civil rights reform was now a propaganda item in the Cold War.<sup>179</sup> Accordingly, Mason spent the remainder of her presidential tenure trying to engage the civil rights movement from within the Council structure, which required her to utilize Bethune's life and legacy as the organization's founder in unique ways. Mason especially

called up her experience as a social service administrator, which enabled her to shape leadership behavior by interpreting the Council's program in a way that that would lead to cohesion among the organization's many parts.<sup>180</sup> In 1957, she passed a better, but still tattered NCNW to Dorothy Height, whom Bethune had successfully recruited in the summer of 1937. In presiding for more than 40 years, Height led the organization even longer than its founder, but narrowed perspectives concerning the UN also constrained her. In June of 1958, in a reply to Stanley Rumbough, the chair of the U.S. Committee for the United Nations, Height told him that the Council fully intended to cooperate with his suggestion of a Round-the-World-Dinner in celebration of the UN's birthday.<sup>181</sup>

While most write-ups about the Council in the Black press considered the organization to be a fading one, the thirteen-year period since the 1945 birth of the United Nations showed just how busy the organization was in supporting this international organization. Not only did Bethune travel to the UNCIO as a delegate of the NAACP delegation, but she was accompanied and assisted by members of the NCNW leadership, and dozens of African Americans from other organizations, who were committed to taking their place in conversations about freedom, peace, equality and rights. Afterwards the members of the unofficial UNCIO delegation took up their own activism within and outside of the Council, which showed a dedication to the UN, but also an understanding that the organization was not all that they hoped that it would be. While Thurman had initially described the UNCIO conference in the metaphor of a stage play, Carter's experiences at UN meetings during the Cold War led her to try to correct this image.



Yet, Thurman did get some things right, particularly when she declared that the birth of the UN represented a curtain rising on the drama. The drama was one that the NCNW had never imagined as it worked to temper its language, its tactics, and its expectations in order to avoid repression in Cold War America as the UN could no longer serve as a basis for a global campaign for rights and equality. Although the NACWC was absent at the beginning stages of the UN, it steadily rebounded and showed its own dedication to the organization through articles in its journal and the appearance of UN leaders on convention programs. Nevertheless, financial struggles and conservatism still relegated such activism largely to the grassroots of these women. While most scholars have cast the NACWC as a domestic-focused organization, this perspective does not speak to the efforts of local women and the shifts in national leadership in establishing an international agenda particularly evident in Irene McCoy Gaines' administration and that of her predecessor Rosa L. Gragg, which is discussed more fully in the next chapter. In fact, chapter six shows that both the NCNW and the NACWC showed commitments to internationalism during the 1950s and 1960s and they sought to take this activism up through foreign study travels under their own auspices, but also in the lectureships of educational exchange programs.

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<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Conference, March 24, 1945, Box 8, Folder 138, Series 5, National Council of Negro Women Papers, National Park Service-Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, NHS, Washington, D.C. Hereafter cited as the NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>3</sup> Stanley Meisler, *United Nations: The First Fifty Years* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1995), 39 and 223.

<sup>4</sup> Eunice Carter to Mary McLeod Bethune, March 29, 1945, Box 6, Folder 109, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>5</sup> Bethune and Carter both lent their signatures to the Council on African Affairs petition addressed to the U.S. President and the State Department concerning the need for the “united nations” to bring democracy and self-determination to Africa. Alphaeus Hunton *et al*, *Proceedings of the Conference on Africa – New Perspectives* (New York: Council on African Affairs, 1944), 36-37. To read more about Eunice H. Carter, see Wendy Brown, “Eunice Carter,” in Darryl Lyman, ed., *Great African-American Women* (Gramercy Books, 2000), 335; and Christine Ann Lutz, “The Dizzy Steep to Heaven: The Hunton Family, 1850-1970,” (Ph.D. diss., Georgia State University, 2001), 268-299.

<sup>6</sup> Bethune to Eunice H. Carter, March 31, 1945, Box 31, Folder 109, Series 5, NCNW-NABWH; and Mary McLeod Bethune to Edith S. Sampson, March 31, 1945, Box 31, Folder 467, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>7</sup> Sampson did not receive Bethune’s original letter instead hearing the news from Carter who both wired and phoned her. On April 6<sup>th</sup>, Jeanetta Welch Brown forwarded the original to Sampson with apologies. Jeanetta Welch Brown to Edith Sampson, April 6, 1945, Box 31, Folder 467, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Edith Spurlock Sampson to Mary McLeod Bethune, April 16, 1945, Box 31, Folder 468, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH. In this last letter, Sampson indicated that although Eslanda Robeson believed that she was already an NCNW member, an office assistant needed to make certain. If not, she recommended that Bethune facilitate this process. Sampson then informed Robeson of this course of action and sent her carbon copy of the letter. Finally, Sampson sent well wishes as it pertained to Robeson’s contributions in San Francisco. Edith Sampson to Eslanda Robeson, April 16, 1945, Box 31, Folder 468, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>8</sup> In fact, in only the second year of its honor scrolls program, the NCNW granted Robeson a recognition award for her activism. “Awards to Twelve Outstanding Women of 1946,” the *AfraAmerican* (March 1946): 5 and 16, Box 1, Folder 20, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and “1946 Honor Roll,” n.d., Box 16, Folder 267, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>9</sup> Barbara Ransby, “Madrid to Moscow: Political Commitments Deepen, 1936-1939,” in *Eslanda: The Large and Unconventional Life of Mrs. Paul Robeson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 122-136.

<sup>10</sup> Sue Bailey Thurman to Bethune, April 18, 1945, Box 33, Folder 488, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>11</sup> Bethune to Sue Bailey Thurman, April 18 1945, Box 33, Folder 488, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

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<sup>12</sup> Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 40. These women groups were the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National League of Women Voters, the American Association of University of Women and U.S. section of the International Council of Women. For letters from the State Department concerning NCNW representation, see Francis H. Russell, Chief, Division of Public Liaison to Mary McLeod Bethune, April 17, 1945 and W.L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State to Mary McLeod Bethune April 13, 1945. Both are reprinted in Hanes Walton Jr., Paul David Seldis, and Mary Wickizer Burgess, *Black Women at the United Nations: The Politics, A Theoretical Model, and the Documents* (San Bernardino, CA: R. Reginald/Borgo Press, 1995), 46 and 50.

<sup>13</sup> Emphasis added. Letters to the State Department include the following: Jeanetta Welch Brown to Edward Stettinus, Jr., April 11, 1945, Box 34, Folder 93, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>14</sup> Sallie W. Stewart to NACW State Presidents, Past Presidents, and Interested Members of the NACW, May 21, 1948, Box 2, Folder 7, Irene McCoy Gaines Papers, Chicago History Museum, Research Center. Hereafter cited as the Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>15</sup> Discussions of resource mobilization, framing, and the availability or the construction of political opportunities are prominent ones in the study of social movements. See J. D. McCarthy, & M. N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* (1977): 1212–41; David Snow, et. al, "Identifying the Precipitants of Homeless Protest Across 17 U.S. Cities, 1980 to 1990," *Social Forces* (March 2015): 1183-1210; Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); and J.D. McCarthy, & M. N. Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>16</sup> "Mary McLeod Bethune, 'Memorandum to Mrs. Harold V. Milligan, the NCNW Report, 1943-1946,'" in *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World: Essays and Selected Documents*, ed. Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 183. In the June 1945 issue of the journal, one of the NCNW's affiliates shared that Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.'s concern for world peace and security had led the organization to send an observer to the San Francisco Conference. "To the Friends of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority," the *AfroAmerican* (June 1945): 5 and 16, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

On Lucille Arcola Chambers, see her letter to Irene McCoy Gaines, September 14, 1959, Box 7, Folder 7; and "Announcement of a Pictorial Review of America's Tenth Man," n.d., Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>17</sup> Ella P. Stewart, 1<sup>st</sup> person, n.d., Box 1, Folder 18; and Ella P. Stewart, Side Two, Box 8, Folder 1, Ella P. Stewart Papers, Bowling Green State University. Hereafter cited as the Stewart Papers, BGSU.

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<sup>18</sup> For example, an encyclopedia article on Ida L. Jackson that appears in *Notable Black American Women, Book 2*, incorrectly cites her as one of only three African American women observe the United Nations in session in the early years of the 1940s.” (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996), 322; Another encyclopedia entry on the National Council of Negro Women recognizes that from World War II forward the organization pursued an international agenda, but it only names Bethune in the discussion of the United Nations. See Nina Mjagkij, *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations* (New York: Garland, 2001), 389’ and Francine D’Amico’s “Women Workers in the United Nations: From Margin to Mainstream?” names the members of the NCNW delegation, but beyond this brief mention, the article does not explore the topic any further. The essay appears in Mary K. Meyer, Elisabeth Prügl (eds.), *Gender Politics in Global Governance* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 19-40.

<sup>19</sup> Only two works address African women at the United Nations more broadly, concentrating on women who were formal delegates or alternates in later years. Hanes Walton, Jr., *Black Women at the United Nations: The Politics, a Theoretical Model, and the Documents*, ed. Paul David Seldis and Mary Wickizer Burgess (San Bernardino, CA: R. Reginald/Borgo Press, 1995); and “The National Council of Negro Women, Human Rights, and the Cold War,” in *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945-1985*, eds. Kathleen A., Laughlin and Jacqueline L. Castledine. (New York: Routledge, 2011), 80-98.

<sup>20</sup> Brian Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche: An American Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), 111-113.

<sup>21</sup> “Mary McLeod Bethune, ‘Memorandum to Mrs. Harold V. Milligan,’” 183; “Mrs. Bethune Reports on Security Conference,” *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 26, 1945; and Mary McLeod Bethune to Dear Friends, May 10, 1945, Box 34, Folder 497 Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>22</sup> Sue Bailey Thurman, “Behind the Scenes at San Francisco,” *AfroAmerican Woman’s Journal* (July 1945): 4, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>23</sup> Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Grace Leslie, “One World or No World, 1945-1947,” in *United For a Better World: Internationalism in the U.S. Women’s Movement, 1939-1964* (Ph.D. Diss: Yale University, 2011), 174- 258; and James R. Pope, “The Intersection of Race, Culture, and Human Rights Discourses: A Critical Assessment of the Contributions from the African American Freedom Struggle from 1940-1970” (PhD diss., Howard University, 2012). On human rights more broadly, See John H. F. Shattuck, *Freedom on Fire: Human Rights Wars and America’s Response* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), Paul Gordon Lauren, “First Principles of Racial Equality: History and the Politics and Diplomacy of Human Rights Provisions in the United Nations Charter,” *Human Rights Quarterly* (February 1983): 1-26; and Paul Gordon Lauren, *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

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<sup>24</sup> Several scholars have altogether ignored local councilwomen's United Nations work, while Elaine Smith's work, one of the foremost publications on the NCNW, claims that grassroots work focused only on local issues. *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women: Pursuing a True and Unfettered Democracy* (Alabama State University, for the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, National Historic Site, National Park Service, 2003), 239.

<sup>25</sup> Christine Ann Lutz, "The Dizzy Steep to Heaven: The Hunton Family, 1850-1970," (PhD diss., Georgia State University, 2001), 301. On the financing of Hunton Carter's trip, see Sampson to Bethune, April 16, 1945, Box 31, Folder 468, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>26</sup> Two of Dorothy Ferebee's most well-known projects were the Mississippi Health Project and the Southeast Neighborhood House, the latter of which was a health care facility for impoverished African Americans in Washington D.C.'s Capitol Hill. "The Alpha Kappa Alpha Mississippi Health Project," Box 183-14, Folder 11, Dorothy Boulding Ferebee Papers, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University. Hereafter referred to as the Ferebee Papers, MSRC; and "Dorothy Boulding Ferebee," Black Women Oral History Project, p. 433-481. Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Also see such published works as Tom Ward, "Medical Missionaries of the Delta: Dr. Dorothy Ferebee and the Mississippi Health Project, 1935-1941," *Journal of Mississippi History* (Fall 2001): 189-203; Earnestine Green McNealey, *Pearls of Service: The Legacy of America's First Black Sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha* (Chicago: Alpha Kappa Alpha, 2006), 219-220.

<sup>27</sup> Sue Bailey Thurman, "Behind the Scenes at San Francisco," *AfraAmerican Woman's Journal* (July 1945): 4, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>28</sup> For more on Hedgeman's domestic work, See Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008), 4-14; Also see, Jessie Carney Smith, "Anna Arnold Hedgeman," *Notable Black American Women*, Jessie Carney Smith, ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992), 483-485.

<sup>29</sup> Anna Arnold Hedgeman, "The Role of Negro Women," *Journal of Educational Sociology* (April 1944): 469.

<sup>30</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune, "Our Stake in Tomorrow's World," *AfraAmerican Women's Journal*, (July 1945): 2, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>31</sup> Sue Bailey Thurman, "Behind the Scenes at San Francisco," *AfraAmerican Woman's Journal* (July 1945): 4, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Mary McLeod Bethune to Dear Friends, May 10, 1945, Box 34, Folder 497 Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>32</sup> Dorothy Boulding Ferebee, *Notes and Impressions En Route to San Francisco, CA for the United Nations Conference on International Organization*, Box 181-14, Folder 29, Ferebee Papers, MSRC.

<sup>33</sup> Sue Thurman, "Opinions of the Dress Circle," *San Francisco Teachers Journal* (June 1945): 10 and 23.

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<sup>34</sup> Ferebee, *Notes and Impressions En Route to San Francisco*, 14-15.

<sup>35</sup> Later, dissention led some members of the organization to form another body known as the Federated Organizations for Colored People of the World. Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 149.

<sup>36</sup> "Untitled Article," *Cleveland Call and Post*, April 28, 1945; "Mrs. Bethune, Walter White Feuding" *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 3, 1945; and Plummer, *Rising Wind* 135-136.

In her journal, Ferebee wrote daily about the day's travels, events, and discussions. *Notes and Impressions En Route to San Francisco*, 2-12.

<sup>37</sup> Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 132; and Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 41.

<sup>38</sup> Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and Jacqueline Jones Royster and Molly Cochran, "Human Rights and Civil Rights: The Advocacy and Activism of African- American Women Writers," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* (2011): 213-30.

<sup>39</sup> Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 135-6. Plummer also writes that Bethune's last hour notification was also the result of the NAACP, which even in passing along this information, did not offer to pay her fare at first.

<sup>40</sup> "Mrs. Bethune, Walter White Feuding," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 3, 1945.

<sup>41</sup> "Mrs. Bethune Reports on Security Conference," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 26, 1945.

<sup>42</sup> Thurman, "NCNW Participation in UNCIO," n.p., Box 1, Folder "NCNW Participation in UNCIO," Sue Bailey Thurman Papers in the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University. Hereafter referred to as the Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC. This research predates the processing of the Sue Bailey Thurman Collection.

Ferebee is actually referred to as Bethune's secretary. See, "Mrs. Bethune Reveals Hope for United and Brotherhood," [Paper not listed], Microfilm Reel 9, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers: The Bethune Foundation Collection, Part 1: Writings, Diaries, Scrapbooks, Biographical Materials, and Files on the National Youth Administration and Women's Organizations, 1918-1955. Hereafter referred to as the Bethune Foundation Papers.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.; Thurman, "Opinions of the Dress Circle," 10; and Ferebee, *Notes and Impressions En Route to San Francisco*, 108-116.

<sup>44</sup> Emphasis in the Original. Quoted in Barbara Ransby, *Eslanda: The Large and Unconventional Life of Mrs. Paul Robeson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 246.

<sup>45</sup> Thurman, "NCNW Participation in UNCIO," n.p., Box 1, Folder "NCNW Participation in UNCIO," Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.; and Ransby, *Eslanda: The Large and Unconventional Life of Mrs. Paul Robeson*, 147.

<sup>47</sup> Thurman, "Behind the Scenes at San Francisco," 5; Thurman, "Opinions of the Dress Circle," 23; Thurman, "Negroes in Action at the UNCIO," n.p., Box 1, Folder "Negroes in Action at the UNCIO," Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC; Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 138-

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139; and Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 8-9.

<sup>48</sup> Thurman "NCNW Participation in UNCIO," n.p., Box 1, Folder: NCNW Participation in UNCIO, Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC; and Ferebee, *Notes and Impressions En Route to San Francisco*, especially 13, 18 and 120-121.

<sup>49</sup> "Untitled article," [Newspaper Source Unknown], Scrapbook #17, p. 37, Microfilm Reel 9, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers: The Bethune Foundation Collection, Part 1: Writings, Diaries, Scrapbooks, Biographical Materials, and Files on the National Youth Administration and Women's Organizations, 1918-1955. Hereafter referred to as the Bethune Foundation Papers.

<sup>50</sup> "Moslem Touches off First Row on Question of India," [Newspaper Source Unknown], Scrapbook #18, p. 4, Reel 9, Bethune Foundation Papers, Part 1; and Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 147-148.

<sup>51</sup> Ferebee, *Notes and Impressions En Route to San Francisco*, 132-135; "Untitled article," Scrapbook #17, p. 37, Reel 9, Bethune Foundation Papers, Part 1.

<sup>52</sup> Ferebee, *Notes and Impressions En Route to San Francisco*, 132; Thurman, "Behind the Scenes at San Francisco," *AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* (July 1945): 5; and Thurman, "NCNW Participation in UNCIO," n.p., Box 1, Folder: NCNW Participation in UNCIO, Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC.

<sup>53</sup> Sue Bailey Thurman, "NCNW Participation in UNCIO," n.p., Box 1, Folder: NCNW Participation in UNCIO, Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC; Mary McLeod Bethune, "Our Stake in Tomorrow's World," *AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* (July 1945): 2; Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, "Freedom for India," 3; and Sue Bailey Thurman, "Behind the Scenes at San Francisco," 5, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 13, NCNW-NAWBH Papers.

<sup>54</sup> "Church News," [Newspaper Source Unknown], Scrapbook #17, p. 9, Reel 9, Bethune Foundation Papers, Part 1.

<sup>55</sup> Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 55. Ralph Bunche declared that the UNCIO was the "hardest working conference" of his life. Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche*, 111-124.

<sup>56</sup> Thurman, "NCNW Participation in UNCIO," n.p., Box 1, Folder: NCNW Participation in UNCIO, Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC.

<sup>57</sup> Quotation in Eunice H. Carter, "Brief Analysis of the San Francisco Conference, United Nations Charter and Related Problems for the National Council of Negro Women," (ca. 1945), Box 34, Folder 497, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>58</sup> Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 149-154.

<sup>59</sup> Gallagher, "The National Council of Negro Women, Human Rights, and the Cold War," in *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945-1985*, eds. Laughlin, Kathleen A., and Jacqueline L. Castledine (New York: Routledge, 2011), 89.

<sup>60</sup> Eunice H. Carter, "Following the UN," in *Women United, Souvenir Year Book*, Ruth Caston Mueller, ed. (Washington, D.C.: National Council of Negro Women, 1951), 61. I must thank Susan M. Hartmann, who not only brought this book to my attention, but also donated it to my personal library.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>63</sup> Christine Lutz, "Another Post-War Settlement: Eunice Hunton Carter and Mary McLeod Bethune," Proceedings of Florida Conference of Historians, Jacksonville, February 2009, n.p., doi:[http://fch.ju.edu/fch\\_vol\\_16.pdf](http://fch.ju.edu/fch_vol_16.pdf).

<sup>64</sup> Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 83-84.

<sup>65</sup> Program, "What are Democracy's Best Answers to Communism," September 13, 1949. Box 9, Folder 192, Edith Spurlock Sampson Papers, 1927-1979, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

<sup>66</sup> Christine Lutz, "Another Post-War Settlement: Eunice Hunton Carter and Mary McLeod Bethune," Proceedings of Florida Conference of Historians, Jacksonville, February 2009, n.p., doi:[http://fch.ju.edu/fch\\_vol\\_16.pdf](http://fch.ju.edu/fch_vol_16.pdf).

Lutz also points out how Sampson's appointment caused a number of issues between Carter and Bethune.

<sup>67</sup> Helen Laville and Scott Lucas, "The American Way: Edith Sampson, the NAACP, and African American Identity in the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* (Fall 1996): 568. For other treatments of Sampson, see such works as Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 132; Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 203-206.

<sup>68</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 244.

<sup>69</sup> Chester S. Williams to Mary McLeod Bethune, August 12, 1959, cited in Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 244; and "World Town Meeting," *Woman United* (August 1949): 5, Box 1, Folder 26, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>70</sup> Quotation in Laville and Scott Lucas, "The American Way: Edith Sampson, the NAACP, and African American Identity in the Cold War," 570.

<sup>71</sup> The Annual Report of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Negro Women, November 10, 1949, p. 2-3, Box 4, Folder 47, Series 2 NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>72</sup> "No Prejudice of Her Own," *Toledo Blade*, October 26, 1949.

<sup>73</sup> Hanes Walton, Jr., *Black Women at the United Nations: The Politics, a Theoretical Model, and the Documents*, ed. Paul David Seldis and Mary Wickizer Burgess (San Bernardino, CA: R. Reginald/Borgo Press, 1995), 54-66.

<sup>74</sup> "Council Honors Famous Women," *Telefact* (June 1950): 13, Box 2, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Program, "What are Democracy's Best Answers to Communism," September 13, 1949, Box 9, Folder 192, Edith Spurlock Sampson Papers, 1927-1979, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

<sup>75</sup> Daisy S. George to Dorothy Guinn, October 22, 1956, Box 4, Folder 36, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Vivian Thomas Mason to Jean Deputy, January 4, 1954, Box 3, Folder 21, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Dorothy B. Ferebee to Marian Fletcher Croson, July 9, 1953, Box 2, Folder 17, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH.



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<sup>76</sup> Anna Arnold Hedgeman, *The Trumpet Sounds: A Memoir of Negro Leadership* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); and *The Gift of Chaos: Decades of American Discontent* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977). Hedgeman also does not discuss the 1945 UNCIO Conference, moving straight from a discussion of the FEPC to picking up her passport for her travel to India. *The Trumpet Sounds*, 86.

<sup>77</sup> "Honorees 1949: The National Council of Negro Women," *Women United* (August 1949): 20, Box 1, Series 13, Box 1, Folder 26, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 278.

<sup>78</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 278.

<sup>79</sup> "And on Capitol Hill," *Women United* (August 1949): 1, Series 13, Box 1, Folder 26, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>80</sup> Untitled Address, Interfaith Department, 1956, Box 6, Anna Arnold Hedgeman Papers, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center. Hereafter cited as Hedgeman Papers, NAAMCC. My study in these papers pre-dates the processing of this collection, and as such, only box numbers are available.

<sup>81</sup> Richard C. Patterson, Jr. to Anna Arnold Hedgeman, May 19, 1954, Box 3, Hedgeman Papers, NAAMCC; and Press Release, Ad-Hoc Committee on South Africa, May 31, 1961[?], Box 8, Folder 7, Anna Arnold Hedgeman Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

<sup>82</sup> "To UNESCO Conference," *Women United* (October 1949): 29, Box 1, Folder 27, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and The Howard Thurmans to Dear Friends, [circa December 1949], Box 219-8, Folder 15, Merze Tate Papers, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University. Hereafter referred to as the Tate Papers, MSRC.

<sup>83</sup> As a part of larger studies on organizational culture, artifacts are symbols and indicators of organizational culture and usually occur through ceremonies, rituals, accounts, and personal tales. E.H. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1985), 9; and C.D. Sutton and D.L. Nelson, "Elements of the Cultural Network: The Communication of Corporate Values," *Leadership and Organization Development* 11 (1990): 3-10.

<sup>84</sup> "Historical Recipes abound in NCNW's unusual cookbook," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), December 20, 1958.

<sup>85</sup> "Doll Collection," (Exhibit Material), n.d., Box 8, Folder: Dolls of Democracy, Bailey Thurman Papers, HGARC.

<sup>86</sup> B. Tuckman, "Developmental Sequence in Small Groups," *Psychological Bulletin* (June 1965): 384-399; and B. Tuckman and M. Jensen, "Stages of Small-Group Development," *Group and Organizational Studies* (December 1977): 419-427.

<sup>87</sup> J. P. Kotter, "What Leaders Really Do," *Harvard Business Review* (1990): 103-111; A. Zalenick, "HBR Classic—Managers and leaders: Are They different?" *Harvard Business Review* (1992): 126-135.

<sup>88</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 288.

<sup>89</sup> "A Second President Takes Over," *Telefact*, (January 1950): 1, Box 2, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

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- <sup>90</sup> Untitled document, n.d., Box 34, Folder 498, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>91</sup> Ibid., 2.
- <sup>92</sup> "N.C.N.W. Hostess to Japanese Women," *Telefact* (March 1950): 1, Box 2, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>93</sup> "Thanks to NCNW!," *Telefact* (October 1950): 4, Box 2, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>94</sup> "Honorees," *Telefact* (June 1950): 2, Box 2, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>95</sup> "Dr. Ferebee Named..." *Telefact* (April 1950): 2, Box 2, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>96</sup> Emphasis in the original. Eleanor C. Dailey to the San Francisco Conference, World Security Organization, April 25, 1945, Printed in the *AfraAmerician Woman's Journal* (June 1945): 25.
- <sup>97</sup> "Honorees, 1949," *AfraAmerician Woman's Journal* (August 1949): 21.
- <sup>98</sup> "Mrs. Bethune Addresses Chicago Metropolitan Council," *AfraAmerician Woman's Journal* (June 1945): 16, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>99</sup> "Atlanta Council Sponsors 'World Security' Conferences," *AfraAmerician Woman's Journal* (June 1945): 13, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>100</sup> Ibid., 13.
- <sup>101</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune to Wilhelmina Colston, April 9, 1945, Box 26, Folder 109, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>102</sup> Margaret McKenzie Lawson, "The Women of the World," *AfraAmerician Woman's Journal* (March 1946): 5, Box 1, Folder 2 Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>103</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune, "United Nations Day for the U.N," n.d., Box 34, Folder 497, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>104</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>105</sup> Helen Else Austin, "Emphasis on the United Nations," *AfraAmerican Woman's Journal* (Summer-Fall 1947): 12, Box 1, Folder 23, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and "Former Local Woman, Ohio Asst. Atty. General," *The Indianapolis Recorder*, January 16, 1967.
- <sup>106</sup> Helen Else Austin, "Emphasis on the United Nations," 12, Box 1, Folder 23, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH
- <sup>107</sup> Ida Coker Clark, "At the UNESCO," *AfraAmerican Woman's Journal* (Summer-Fall 1947): 13.
- <sup>108</sup> Madame Henri Bonnet, "Learning to Think Internationally," 23 and 32; and Mary McLeod Bethune, "Rededicated to Our Task: Building a Bridge of Universal Peace through Understanding," p. 3 and 31, Box 1, Folder 23, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>109</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune to Anna L. Butler, May 4, 1946, Box 34, Folder 498, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.
- <sup>110</sup> Joyce Ann Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune & Black Women's Political Activism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 188.

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<sup>111</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune, Annual Presidential Report, 1943, Box 1, Folder 18, Series 1, NCNW Papers, NABWH. At this point, Mason felt the need to clear her name once again due to a recently circulating report from 1951. Vivian Thomas Mason to Harold H. Velde, May 18, 1953, Reel 6, Vivian Carter Mason, 1949-1956, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers: The Bethune Foundation Collection, Part 2, Correspondence Files, 1915-1955.

<sup>112</sup> Vivian Osbourne-Marsh to Christine Smith, March 7, 1946, Reel 11, Christine S. Smith, Executive Secretary, 1942-1946 in the Records of the National Association of Colored Women, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

<sup>113</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Washington, D.C., July 27-August 2, 1946, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), 68.

<sup>114</sup> Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 121- 123.

The NCNW hosted a social celebration for African American Vinita Lewis upon her UNRRA appointment to China. Harold E. Snyder to Mary McLeod Bethune, September 21, 1945; and "Some of the Guests of the Venita Lewis Tea," [sic], September 15, 1945, Box 30, Folder 447, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>115</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Washington, D.C.*, 78 and 106.

<sup>116</sup> Eliza McCabe to Christine Smith, June 2, 1945, Reel 11, Christine S. Smith, Executive Secretary, 1942-1946 in the Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Records, Part 1; and Genevieve M. Walker to Christine Smith, May 11, 1945, Reel 11, Correspondence, 1946-1947 in the same.

<sup>117</sup> *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Washington, D.C.*, (1946) 100.

<sup>118</sup> Rosa L. Gragg to Mr. Soup, March 17, 1945, Box 3, Folder: Dumbarton Oaks Correspondence, Rosa L. Gragg Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library. Hereafter cited as Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>119</sup> Edward Stettinus to Irene McCoy Gaines, June 7, 1945, Box 2, Folder 4, Gaines Collection, RCC. As early as 1920, Gaines held clear ideas about women's roles as "desirers and greatest proponents and advocates of peace." In February 1921, she participated in a Peace Day program held at the Quinn Chapel C.E. Society in which she played the part of England in the League of Nations. See Armistice Day Speech, November 11, 1918; and League of Nations Program, Quinn Chapel C.E. Church, February 21, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, Gaines Collection, RCC.

For more reading on Gaines, see Sandra M. O'Donnell, "'The Right to Work Is the Right to Live': The Social Work and Political and Civic Activism of Irene McCoy Gaines," *Social Service Review* (September 2001): 456-78.

<sup>120</sup> President's Report, June 25, 1945, in Box 1, Folder: Chicago Council of Negro Organizations in the Irene M. Gaines Papers, University Archives Library of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Hereafter cited as the Gaines Collection,

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UIUC; and “Irene Gaines Makes Plea for Race at UN Session,” *The Chicago Defender*, May 24, 1947 in Box 2, Folder 6, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>121</sup> Statement before Trygve Lie and Chester Williams, May 19, 1947, Box 2, Folder 6, the Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>122</sup> “Annual Report of the Legislation Department, Illinois Association of Colored Women, June 19, 1947,” 3-4, Box 2, Folder 6, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>123</sup> Sallie W. Stewart to NACW State Presidents, Past Presidents, and Interested Members of the NACW, May 21, 1948, Box 2, Folder 7, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>124</sup> “Women’s Responsibilities Discussed by NACW President in Pittsburgh,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 26, 1959, Box 3, Folder 9, Stewart Papers, BGSU.

<sup>125</sup> National Association of Colored Women, *National Association of Colored Women* (n.p., n.d), 20-21 in Box 3, Folder 10, Stewart Papers, BGSU.

<sup>126</sup> Resolution Passed by the National Association of Colored Women, August 4, 1950 and Reaffirmed August 3, 1951, n.p., Box 3, Folder 2, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>127</sup> Iola W. Rolan to Dora N. Lee, February 7, 1952, Reel 18, Correspondence with States, Hawaii, 1952, 1954-1955, Records of the National Association of Colored Women’s Records, Part 1.

<sup>128</sup> Margaret L. Caution to Ella P. Stewart, June 20, 1949; and Margaret L. Caution to Ella P. Stewart, June 24, 1949; Margaret L. Caution to Ella P. Stewart, April 19, 1951, and Margaret L. Caution to Ella P. Stewart, October 31, 1951, Reel 15, Correspondence with States, New Jersey, 1946-1952 in the National Association of Colored Women’s Records, Part 1.

<sup>129</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Atlantic City, NJ, July 29-August 5, 1950, from the Records of the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President’s Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), 22.

<sup>130</sup> Irene McCoy Gaines, Annual Report of the Legislation Department, Illinois Association of Colored Women, 1949-1950, n.p., Box 3, Folder 1, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>131</sup> Rosa L. Gragg, “Report of the U.S. Commission of UNESCO held in Cleveland, Ohio,” *National Notes* (January-March 1950): 13. Also see Rose P. Parson, “National Council of the United States Bulletin,” *National Notes* (January-March 1950): 9; “Peoples Section: How Should the US Implement Point 4?,” *National Notes* (January-March 1950): 11; Mary T. Davy, “Peoples Section of the United Nations to the NACW,” *National Notes* (April-June 1950): 15; “World Peace: Its Price,” *National Notes* (Fall 1951): 11; “National Citizens Committee,” *National Notes* (Fall 1951): 17; and “What Others Say: Women’s Work Key to Peace,” *National Notes* (Fall 1951): 11.

<sup>132</sup> Leona Boytel to Ella P. Stewart, July 14, 1952; and Ella P. Stewart to Leona Boytel, July 21, 1952, Reel 15, Correspondence with the States, New York 1952, *Records of the National Association of Colored Women, Part 1*.

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<sup>133</sup> The Hawaiian club was largely composed of African American women, a number of which previously resided in the American South. "The Cotillion Club of Hawaii," *National Notes* (January-March 1950): 24;

<sup>134</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oklahoma City, OK, August 4-8, 1952, 449, Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1; and Ella P. Stewart to Ralph Bunche, January 25, 1952, Reel 15, Folder Correspondence with States, New York, 1952, NACW Papers, Part 1.

<sup>135</sup> Report of the International Council of Women Triennial Convention," *National Notes* (Summer 1951): 3-5; and "A Delegate of Colored Women of America," *National Notes* (Summer 1951): 7; and "Mrs. Stewart Elected to Serve in the Pan Pacific Woman's Association," *National Notes* (Summer 1951): 8.

<sup>136</sup> Fiona Paisley, "A Geneva in the Pacific: Reflecting on the First Three Decades of the Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association (PPSEAWA)," in the Women and Social Movements International Database, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds.; and Fiona Paisley, "From Nation of Islam to Goodwill Tourist: African-American Women at Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women's Conferences, 1937 and 1955," *Women's Studies International Forum* (2009): 21-28.

<sup>137</sup> Ella P. Stewart to Iola Rowan, June 11, 1951, Reel 14, NACW Correspondence with States, Georgia, 1947-1952, Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993); and Iola Rowan to Cora B. Colyer, June 19, 1951, NACW Papers, Part 1.

<sup>138</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oklahoma City, OK, 8-14 and 452 and 459; and Ella P. Stewart to Ralph Bunche, January 25, 1952, Reel 15, Folder Correspondence with States, New York, 1952, NACW Papers, Part 1.

<sup>139</sup> L.T. Patterson to Ella P. Stewart April 16, 1949; Reel 11, Correspondence, 1949, in the National Association of Colored Women's Records, Part 1; Ella P. Stewart L.T. Patterson, n.d., NACW Parts, Part 1; and "Wires Senators," *Courier* [Pittsburgh?] January 23, 1954, Box 4, Folder 1, Gaines Collection, RCC.

After 1954, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) utilized the name National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC), which followed the trend set by its state federations in prior years. For historical accuracy, this paper uses "NACW" prior to 1954 and "NACWC" from 1954 onward.

<sup>140</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Oklahoma City, OK, 121-126; Radio Transcript, NACW, July 26, 1953, n.p., Box 1, Folder: National Association of Colored Women, Gaines Collection, UIUC; and "Signs Point to Broadening of Activity by the NACW," [Newspaper Source Unknown], August 25, 1943, n.p., Scrapbook, Box 9, Gaines Collection, RCC.

Alice Dunning repeated the same point about glamorized activities in her newspaper column, *Washington Afro American*, September 5, 1953.

<sup>141</sup> Iola W. Rolan to Eleanor I. Hardy, March 7, 1952, Reel 15, Correspondence with States, New York, 1952, Undated in the Records of the National Association of Colored Women, Part 1; and La Ursa Hendrick to Irene McCoy Gaines, May 19, 1953, n.p., Box

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3, Folder 5, Gaines Collection, RCC. For a brief biography of La Ursa Hendrick, see "La Ursa Hendrick Doing Fine Job for NACW in Washington," *Chicago Defender*, [Date unknown] Box 7, Folder 7, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>142</sup> Radio Transcript, NACW, July 26, 1953, n.p., Box 3, Folder 5, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>143</sup> Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Washington, D.C., Volume 5, 283-288.

<sup>144</sup> Thomasina Norford, "United Nations Charter," Presentation before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, July 12, 1945, Box 219-19, Folder 7, Merze Tate Papers, Howard University, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center; Another Milestone on the Road of Progress by the National Association of Colored Women, Representation in the United Nations, 1955-1956, p. 1, Box 5, Folder 1, Gaines Collection, RCC; and "Negro Women See Progress," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 2, 1957, n.p., Scrapbook, Box 9, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>145</sup> Another Milestone on the Road of Progress, 5, Box 5, Folder 1, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 7. Also see Norford's 1958 report entitled, "The Role of the National Association of Colored Women," Box 6, Folder 1, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>147</sup> "Vice President Nixon Speaks to Friday Session of the NACW," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 14, 1954, Box 4, Folder 2, Gaines Collection, RCC; and Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Washington, D.C., Volume 5, p. 421-A-429; and Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Miami, FL, July 30-August 3, 1956, p. 23, from Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1.

<sup>148</sup> Ella P. Stewart to Irene McCoy Gaines, September 17, 1952, Box 3, Folder 3, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>149</sup> Ora Perry Stokes to Irene McCoy Gaines, October 10, 1955, Box 5, Folder 1, Gaines Collection, RCC; and Mary F. Waring to Members, May 3, 1956, Box 1, Folder: T-Z, Gaines Collection, UIUC; Irene McCoy Gaines to Mary F. Waring, June 27, 1956, Box 1, Folder: T-Z, Gaines Collection, UIUC; and Ella P. Stewart to NACWC Members, June 7, 1956, Box 1, Folder: National Association of Colored Women, Gaines Collection, UIUC.

<sup>150</sup> "Mrs. Gaines re-elected President of NACW Following Bitter Debate," [Source and Date Unknown]; Irene McCoy Gaines to Ella P. Stewart, July 3, 1956; and Irene McCoy Gaines to Ella P. Stewart, February 7, 1956, Box 5, Folder 2, Gaines Collection, RCC; and Acceptance Speech, Iota Phi Lambda, 1953, Box 3, Folder 5, Gaines Collection, RCC. Here, Gaines told the audience that she was inspired to expand the NACW to Africa because she that everywhere women were slaves.

<sup>151</sup> Rosa L. Gragg to Clubs of the NACWC, February 20, 1959, Box 4, Folder: National Association of Colored Women, Illness, July, 1959, National Emergency Conference, Jan. 24, 1959, Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>152</sup> Ransby, *Eslanda: The Large and Unconventional Life of Mrs. Paul Robeson*, 146.

<sup>153</sup> Annual Report of the President, 1944-1945, Box 2, Folder 24, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

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<sup>154</sup> The National Council of Negro Women, Inc., Annual Workshop, Resolutions Committee, Box 2, Folder 24, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>155</sup> "Autobiographical Sketch," p. 2 and 8, Box 33-5, Folder 1, Crystal Bird Fauset, 1893-1965 Collection, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University. Fauset declared that joined the Philadelphia Committee and the United Nations Council in Philadelphia and precisely because she desired to see "the realization of a long-cherished dream—more personal knowledge about the continent of Africa and creation of an interest on the part of American educators in Africa, particularly West Coast Africa." In the United Nation's Council, one of Fauset's first tasks involved determining how to implement an interracial and intercultural committee to draw attention to national and international human relations." Upon the merger with the Philadelphia Chapter of the Foreign Policy Association, the new World Affairs Council of Philadelphia continued this committee and implemented Fauset's idea for a "Builders of Democracy" youth program. "Autobiographical Sketch," p. 1 and 2, Fauset Collection, MSRC. Fauset's name is also commonly spelled "Fausett." This paper takes the spelling that she used in her autobiography.

<sup>156</sup> Estelle Massey Riddle, "The 1946 Conference," *The AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* (Winter 1947): 4, Box 1, Folder 23, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>157</sup> Gove Hambridge, "World Food Proposals," *The AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* (Winter 1947): 10-13, Box 1, Folder 23, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Margaret McDonald, "American Information and Cultural Program in Africa," *The AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* (Winter 1947): 14-17, Box 1, Folder 23, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>158</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune, "Rededicated to Our Task: Building a Bridge through understanding," *AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* (Winter 1947-1948): 3, Box 2, Folder 24, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>159</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 47.

<sup>160</sup> "International Night Program," n.d., Box 34, Folder 498, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Reports of the Resolution Committee, Adopted Nov. 18, 1949, Box 4, Folder 47, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>163</sup> "Women Looking Forward," *Telefact* (October 1950): 1, Box 2, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> "Dean Acheson Addresses NCNW Meeting," *Telefact* (December 1950): 1.

<sup>166</sup> Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998), 181; and Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 5.

<sup>167</sup> Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 215-218.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 218-224; and Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 173.

<sup>169</sup> Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 256; and Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 210-211.

<sup>170</sup> Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 218-229; Gallagher, "The National Council of Negro

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Women,” 92; and Lutz, “The Dizzy Steep to Heaven,” 325-327.

<sup>171</sup> Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, 391; and Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 12.

<sup>172</sup> Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize*, 225-229.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 261-274.

<sup>174</sup> Carol Anderson, “Bleached Souls and Red Negroes: The NAACP and Black Communist in the Early Cold War, 1948-1952,” in *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, ed. Brenda Gayle Plummer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 107.

<sup>175</sup> Handwritten Notes on the Program of the NCNW 29<sup>th</sup> Convention, p. 4, Box 4, Folder 2, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>176</sup> NCNW Resolutions, November 14-18, 1956, p. 3-4, Box 23, Folder: National Council of Negro Women, Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>177</sup> Vivian Cater Mason to Mr. T. Antoine, September 27, 1957, Box 11, Folder 112, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Ambassadors of Goodwill, Draft, n.d., Box 11, Folder 112, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Gallagher, “The National Council of Negro Women,” 93. For Marian Fletcher Croson’s recommendations concerning the UN and a focus on youth, see NCNW Annual Report of the Representative of the United Nations, August 7, 1957, Box 12, Folder 119, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>178</sup> Kurt Janson, Report of the UN Series Meeting, February 9, 1959, Box 21, Folder National Council of Women, Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>179</sup> See such works as Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000); Paul Gordon Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Azza Salama Layton, *International Politics and Civil Rights Policies in the United States, 1941-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>180</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 13; A.W. Halpin and B.J. Winer, “A Factorial Study of the Leader Behavior Descriptions,” in R.M. Stogdill, and A.E. Coons (eds.), *Leader Behavior: Its Description and Measurement*. (Columbus: The Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, Monograph No. 88, 1957) 39-51; and E. A. Fleishman, “Leadership Climate, Human Relations Training, and Supervisory Behavior,” *Personnel Psychology* (1953): 205-202.

<sup>181</sup> Gallagher, “The National Council of Negro Women, Human Rights, and the Cold War,” 93-94.



**Chapter 6**  
**“Must Have Their Place in the Sun...Must Be Ready When the Call Comes”**  
**Black Women as Goodwill Ambassadors, 1940s-1960s**

In all capital letters in its first ever issue of the *AfroAmerican Woman's Journal*, the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) posed the following question: “WOULD YOU LIKE A TRIP TO BEAUTIFUL CUBA?” The Spring 1940 announcement revealed that the “lucky lady” who sold the highest number of journal subscriptions would accompany the Council’s International and Archives Committees on its trip that coming August.<sup>1</sup> During the expedition of “recreation and enjoyment,” participants would “see firsthand the life of Cuba and her people,” and aid in demonstrating the achievements of African American women “in the land of the Mother of Maceo,” a moniker that reflected a woman-centered representation of General Antonio and his mother’s role in his military exploits during the Cuban War for Independence (1868-1878).<sup>2</sup> The NCNW especially tied its collaboration and solidarity with foreign women and People of Color to the improvement of racial conditions at home and abroad.

As founding editor of the Council’s journal and creator and inspirer of the Council’s International and Archives Committees, Sue Bailey Thurman was certain to attend. This was now her third trip to the island and this time she was accompanied by Jeanne Young, Bertha Lomack, Ada C. Fisher, and Dorothy B. Porter. Nearly all of the women made their home in nation’s capital where the NCNW headquarters strategically

lay.<sup>3</sup> Three were connected to the famous Howard University: Thurman was the wife of the Dean of the Chapel, Porter was the Librarian and Curator who was achieving real success in developing a collection of African American historical documents, and Fisher was a Howard university graduate and a member of the Federation of Young Negroes.<sup>4</sup> Lomack was a member of both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Council of Social Workers while Young was a University of Chicago graduate student. Only three of them possessed Council membership: Porter and Thurman belonged to Archives and International Committees and Young worked on the journal.<sup>5</sup>

The delegation was led by three “Afro-Cubans”—a term analogous with these individuals’ self-identification and one that recognizes the diasporic perspective that the participants all possessed. Sergio Grillo—known in American circles as Henry—served as the seminar’s business manager.<sup>6</sup> As a former student at Bethune-Cookman College, he maintained a close association with Mary McLeod Bethune and the Council throughout his lifetime. His brother, Evelio, resided with the Thurmans prior to enrolling at Xavier University, a historically Black college in New Orleans. He aided with translations for the journal after the seminar’s end, which was then sent to 22 countries in Latin America as well as to women’s groups in Hawaii, India, and China.<sup>7</sup> The youngest sibling, Sylvia, and her spouse, Jose Griñán, developed the seminar program and established the contacts. In viewing this trip within the wider vein of organized Black women’s interests in tours that permitted them to “go to black countries to see one’s own

people,” but their continued lack of success to this end, it is impossible to overstate the Grillos’ roles as emissaries.<sup>8</sup>

In Cuba, the Unión Fraternal and Club Atenas—organizations well known among American Blacks for their appreciation of diasporic interactions—received the women and provided entertainment. The Women’s Cultural Association (ACF), an independent organization of women founded in 1935, consented to serve as host. The society represented the interests of elite and aspiring Afro-Cuban women in its concentration on “racial uplift” endeavors, which made it more in line with the National Association of Colored Women. It was its dual emphasis on political participation that made it most similar to the Council.<sup>9</sup> Throughout the trip that appears to have been reduced from three weeks to just one, the women assembled at ACF headquarters and heard nine lectures on Afro-Cubans’ social and political activism and achievements in education and the arts. Three of the presenters were leading women including Anna H. Echegoyen, the first Afro-Cuban professor at the University of Havana.

The delegates also participated in social gatherings at the homes of ACF members, attended a wedding, and sampled the “finest delicacies of the Cuban cuisine” at the Polar Gardens, a popular, outdoor venue on the outskirts of Havana where many Afro-Cuban societies held dances.<sup>10</sup> Hardly any detail was provided about the trip’s social events in line with ideas about respectability. However, on one such occasion, it is clear that the women from both parties rendered cultural song led by Afro-Cuban soprano, Zoila Galvez, who was often referred to as the “Marian Anderson of Cuba” and Ada Fisher of the Council, whose interpretation of “the worship moods of two early Negro Spirituals”

was “warmly received.”<sup>11</sup> On the final day, Teodoro Ramos Blanco, a highly esteemed sculptor, unveiled a bust representing “the basic unity of [the] White, Negro, and Mestizo woman.” Seminar members found it to be an eloquent and appropriate closing.<sup>12</sup>

Sue Bailey Thurman dedicated the next journal issue to the Cuban tour and how it achieved its important goal of “granting negro women a great place in the sun.”<sup>13</sup> Deepening the Good Neighbor policy and Pan-Americanism of the New Deal coalition, the women hoped to illustrate how Black Americans contributed to and were an important part of democracy in the Western hemisphere.<sup>14</sup> If conversations moved beyond such themes of progress and achievement, they are not recorded in the journal or any enduring form of communication. Consequently, it might be possible to conclude that participants deemed issues of sexism, racism, extra-legal politics, and intra-racial strife to be off limits or at least non-publishable.<sup>15</sup> While other speeches certainly downplayed these issues, Echegoyen’s adamantly proclaimed that racism did not exist in Cuba as it did in the U.S. Thurman’s attention to Unión Fraternal’s “spacious club house,” failed to mention attention that this building along with that of Club Atenas had been bombed during a political coup in 1933.<sup>16</sup> Instead, Thurman’s article focused only on the simple and positive, leading her to express gratitude for “the sparkling eyes of Cuban girls,” Echegoyen’s autographed book, and “the kind Cuban mother” of the Grillo siblings.<sup>17</sup>

The trip’s economic and social footprint is equally hard to determine since only one editorial concerning it was published in Cuban newspapers. Written by Pedro Portuondo Calá, one of the most popular Black Cuban journalists of the day, and a co-organizer of the seminar, the article echoed the delegation’s good feelings while also

pointing out lessons for Afro-Cubans. Calá especially pointed out how the trip showed that African Americans held diasporic study as key to improving status, culture, and economy and that they maintained successful organizations like the Council.<sup>18</sup> The Council could not have been happier with such statements, and having deemed the first conference a success, Thurman sprang into action planning the next. It was an August 1941 tour to Haiti, another country that loomed large in the Black imagination. The idea for this excursion may also have been inspired by Thurman's interactions with this country's legation in D.C. or the Council's connection with the Minister from Haiti to the United States and his wife, Madame Elie Lescot.<sup>19</sup>

Unlike the the Cuban trip, this cultural exchange was open to the first 15 Councilwomen (though still limited by boat size) who could foot the \$185 cost for an excursion that would heavily occur in the countryside rather than urban areas.<sup>20</sup> Finally, though there are no records to indicate that anything went wrong with the Cuban seminar, this advertisement especially called for individuals with a real commitment to "making a significant tour of friendship to the Latin American Republic." Within weeks, letters of interest poured in from across the country. Members or soon-to-be-members who desired to go included Annie Belle Weston of Columbia, South Carolina, an esteemed community activist and professor at Benedict College, and Blanche Williams Anderson, an equally well-known club woman and principal of Berean School, an industrial institute in Philadelphia.<sup>21</sup>

Historical documents also show that the trip also attracted the attention of more nationally prominent women like Mary Church Terrell and Dorothy Height. There was

also Rachel Taylor, executive secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association, Jeanne Young of the Urban League, Ina Bella Lindsay, a Howard University professor, Norma Boyd, a founder of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., and Lugenia Burns Hope, the founder of Neighborhood Union in Atlanta, an NACW affiliate, and wife of the late John Hope, the first Black president of Morehouse College and Atlanta University. Finally, prior to her sister's illness, President Bethune planned to attend the seminar.<sup>22</sup> In her place, she appointed Councilmember Sarah Spencer Washington, manager-founder of the well-known Apex Beauty School in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Bethune told her: "We need you because we should like to present. . . the most outstanding business woman in America."<sup>23</sup> Despite a seemingly open call in the NCNW journal and the wider Black press, it is clear that socio-economic status was paramount in achieving the tour's true objective of demonstrating Black women's progress and achievements.

Even more than the Cuba trip, the NCNW planned to use the proposed Haiti trip to enrich the Council's status at home while hoping to attract admiration of and fellowship with their so-called "sisters" abroad. Alas, as fate would have it, the Council's Haitian expedition never materialized. Nor did the 1942 trip into "South America proper," the 1943 "good will tour to Liberia" or the 1944 "visit to the Orient."<sup>24</sup> With the arrival of the Second World War, the Council turned its attention to war efforts and, soon enough, the United Nations (UN) and the U.S. federal government, as well as groups that supported these entities which especially included international women's groups and Christian-based organizations. From the late 1940s onward, the National Association of Colored Women and the National Council of Negro Women pursued a fundamentally

new form of internationalism defined in large part by the emergence of the Cold War. While the last chapter showed how these organizations unsuccessfully supported the UN as a site for winning civil and human rights, this focus here is on their relationship to government exchange programs and to foreign study trips with similar aims. This activism in this moment required defending and celebrating the U.S., which after the Second World War emerged as one of the world's foremost superpowers alongside its Soviet ally turned adversary.

As the U.S. sought to define itself as the leader and defender of the "free world" and pursued foreign policy that reflected this, a number of African American women showed themselves to be eager participants in combatting America's negative image abroad and in winning far-off converts to democracy among newly independent nations. After all, the words and physical presence of individuals through public diplomacy could and did carry more weight than announcements coming from government officials and even the press.<sup>25</sup> Upon her ascension to NACWC presidency, Rosa S. Gragg built on the efforts of her predecessor by encouraging fellow clubwomen to actively pursue appointments that enabled them to contribute to American diplomacy. Even more directly, she told them that Black women "Must Have Their Place in the Sun" and that "You and I Must Be Ready When the Call Comes."<sup>26</sup> This travel was still about combatting racism, but instead of traveling to foreign countries to link struggles and activism with the world's People of Color there as Black women desired and were only minimally successful in accomplishing before the Second World War, now activists attempted an American-centered internationalism that was to aid the U.S. government in winning its

ideological battle against the Soviet Union and in so doing, hopefully, stimulate the government increased support for civil rights at home.

In detailing the NACW's and NCNW's travel activism and its shifts, this chapter begins by exploring the outcomes of the Council's 1940 trip to Cuba, showing that though it did not cement organizational ties with Afro-Cuban women's organizations, it importantly generated prestige for the Council, which turned out to be a useful political tool for broader inclusion. Additionally, when Afro-Cubans commenced travel to the U.S. for study in the late 1940s, the Council joined with other African Americans who took on roles as hostesses and navigators of the U.S. racial situation. Occurring simultaneously then were Black women's travels beyond American borders as directed and supported by the programs of the American government. From 1946 onward, the U.S. frequently employed African American women as Goodwill Ambassadors, whose assignments cast them as institution builders/organizers, lecturers, researchers, and consultants with most missions reflecting a combination of these tasks.

That these travelers were not involved in high levels of leadership in American Foreign Service should not minimize the significance of their work. While granting attention to the fact that these Goodwill Ambassadors were absolutely invaluable tools of U.S. foreign policy as defenders and indeed symbols of American democracy during the unique historical junction of the Cold War, this chapter also recognizes these women's agency as they, in turn, strategically used exchange programs to their own ends.<sup>27</sup> Nearly all of these women deepened their appointments in ways that permitted them to complete research, to travel the world, to renew old acquaintances and to make new ones, and even



to loosen university budgets at the Historically Black Colleges and Universities where they worked. Even more, these women and the organizations they represented sought to accomplish their own aims and to call upon alliances of the world's People of Color and/or women in foreign nations. At face value, these relationships fell squarely in line with the American foreign policy that advocated democracy, but they also spoke to how Black female activists remained interested in forming direct connections with foreign populations despite a failed United Nations.

While supporting the efforts of these official Goodwill Ambassadors, the NACWC and the NCNW initiated a second form of travel and involvement. Achieving more success in the 1950s than ever before, large groups of African American women conducted cultural trips sponsored by the NACWC and the NCNW. The Council's excursions, both in terms of organizing and framing, and, increasingly, within their "People-to-People" programs, showed that it was fully in line with American aims. Even when NACWC trips did not take this same designation, the advertisement of its tours and organizational endeavors as ones of "goodwill" revealed a similar commitment to democracy and America's global leadership while also showing a keen understanding of how patriotic defense could serve as an instigator of racial progress at home. Uncovering this organizational activism shows that NCNW and NACWC members increasingly came to see freedom and internationalism as "everybody's business."<sup>28</sup> Finally, paying attention to collective travel of women's groups ranging from 30 members to upwards of 90 enriches discussion of Black tourism, which is increasingly gaining popularity and recognition as a valuable topic of study. The most recent works on this topic look at

contemporary “roots tourism” or “heritage tours” in the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and repeats the same lack of class and gendered analyses.<sup>29</sup> Well before the 1980s and squarely within the American Cold War framework, NACWC and NCNW women traveled together to visit religious and cultural sites of Europe and the “Holy Land” as a means of understanding themselves and the world around them.

On June 15<sup>th</sup>, 1945 the NCNW undertook a different form of travel than it had in August 1940—one that was influenced by its budding relationship with the Pan American Union and the Co-Coordinator’s Office on Inter-American Affairs that grew out of its Cuban seminar. The Council maintained that the event served American interests as it reflected “the banners of inter-American goodwill and fellowship.”<sup>30</sup> Rather than travel to Latin America for this purpose, the women sought to transpose this region’s culture to the U.S. through a “South American-themed cruise down the Potomac River” for some 1,600 participants.<sup>31</sup> For the NCNW, the outcome was to be two-fold: “To provide funds for an expanded program that will permit and encourage the full contribution of Negro Women to the life of the nation, and to further acquaint Americans with the cultural and social life of our Latin American neighbors.”<sup>32</sup> A main feature of the “cruise” was the selection of a “Miss South America” or a “Miss Latin America” (titles that the NCNW used interchangeably) to be chosen from “queens” sponsored by participating African American organizations. The twenty queens represented such lands as Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Peru, and Panama.<sup>33</sup> This ship was transformed by “appropriate decorations,” servers in native dress, the performance of the Cuban Rumba, and the singing of the Pan American Hymnal.<sup>34</sup>

On June 15<sup>th</sup>, representatives from Cuba and Haiti (as well as individuals from these embassies) judged the competition while African American opera singer, Lillian Evanti, served as the mistress of ceremonies. Scripts from the event show that throughout the night, African American women were supposed to embody Latin American women by dressing as “queens” in native dress of the country that they represented. In addition to carrying a small flag, the same national banner was worn by members of the sponsoring organization and embassy representatives. As the queens took their place on the stage, the narrative portrayed Latin American women not only as “dark eyed señoritas of great charm who devote themselves to social luxuries, to art, music, or the dance,” but also as “celebrated women of letters, lawyers, journalists, doctors, congresswomen, and feminists”—descriptions that matched concluding statements of the Cuban exchange five years earlier.<sup>35</sup>

Besides the fact that the NCNW counted itself as a credible portrayer of Latin American culture, most interesting is the fact that the cruise occurred aboard the SS Robert E. Lee excursion ship, named for the Confederate army military commander who cited loyalty to his home state of Virginia as his reason to fight against the Union during the Civil War. Its unclear if the Council sought any other ships for its trips, but it planned to make the cruise a mainstay in its programming. Nevertheless, plans for 1947 appear to have been abruptly canceled when the steamboat corporation failed to provide a satisfactory response about recent claims concerning its racist treatment of Black patrons. The NCNW’s attempt to appropriate American foreign policy interests and to creatively

explore its international interests with the bounds of the U.S. turned into a battle over segregation.<sup>36</sup>

One year after the Council's "inter-cultural cruise," Bethune finally reached out to Afro-Cuban women again to invite them to the upcoming annual conference. In a letter vaguely addressed to "the Women of Cuba" and "My dear friends" she encouraged any and all to join with councilwomen in "extend[ing] our hands across borders and clasp them together for a more vigorous fight for democracy around the world."<sup>37</sup> Only after speaking with Henry Grillo a couple of weeks later did Bethune send a letter addressed to the Asociación Cultural Feminina. The letter still lacked personalization, indicating that the NCNW and the ACF did not maintain contact nor had it "cemented ties" as Frank Andre Guridy concluded in the first and only study of the Council's 1940 study abroad. In fact, when learning that Anna H. Echegoyen, a star of the seminar, was currently visiting the U.S. in August of 1946, Bethune again reached out to Grillo. Grillo relayed that Echegoyen's schedule was too crowded for an interview, but that she might return in November for the meeting if at all possible.<sup>38</sup>

Around this same time, Bethune instructed the NCNW secretary to send organizational literature to the ACF about the Council's international nights and other endeavors and to reach out to Ángel Suárez Rocabruna, an Afro-Cuban who frequently traveled to Washington, D.C. Bethune wanted Rocabruna to encourage the "Women of Havana" to create a permanent affiliation with the Council by telling them that Indian women (through Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's affiliation) were already with them and that they would be joined by those from Trinidad and others.<sup>39</sup> Clearly, the NCNW's

connection with Cuban women was beginning anew as the seminar participants did not keep contact with one another or institutionalize this contact for the NCNW. Furthermore, when Mackey Castille wrote to Bethune one year after the trip to express how eager she was to participate in the 1940 seminar but could not because she had departed from Havana suddenly. It appears that Castille's letter went unanswered. In concentrating on its new national defense program, the NCNW also did not take up the offer for Castille's original statement of support.<sup>40</sup>

Although it is undeniable that Bethune and other Council leaders wanted real contact and relationships with Afro-Cubans and foreign women of color in general, it is also clear that these relationships were viewed as bargaining chips and tools of inclusion both as Bethune flaunted Pandit's affiliation and immediately after the tour, Thurman petitioned for the Council's inclusion in the Inter-American Commission of Women on similar grounds.<sup>41</sup> The journal editor sent copies of the *AfroAmerican* concerning the tour, explaining to Bethune that the NCNW had "done as much as most of [White women's groups], for we took the time and money to make the visit to Cuba, and have nine lectures on Cuban culture to our credit."<sup>42</sup> Thurman encouraged Bethune to develop this perspective and to share it with others as she was convinced that "If the white women's organizations will depend on ours to discover and bring to the public the contribution and need of the Negroid population of Latin countries, we will be doing a great thing for all our people in this hemisphere. I don't know whether the council membership as a whole realizes the importance of this, but they must come to do so."<sup>43</sup> Thus, while the Council did not intend to return to Cuba for study or to take up its seminar method fully, it did

continue to seek relationships with foreign women and to compare similarities in terms of progress and needs.

In February of 1947, the NCNW announced that Flemma P. Kittrell, who provided an article on creative uses of space in cramped dwellings in the Council's March 1946 issue, was in Liberia on a State Department assignment helping to ensure the welfare and progress of Blacks there. She completed a six-month study of "nutrition and family life problems of the Liberian people" as a part of a longer existing "all Negro mission" American technical assistance program during World War II.<sup>44</sup> Roosevelt desired to improve health conditions in Liberia since he thought that it would not only improve American relations with the country but also serve U.S. military interests including health precautions for the troops stationed there. As a "Negro American nutritionist of recognized experience presently teaching at Howard University," and the first Black woman to obtain a doctoral degree in nutrition upon her 1936 graduation from Cornell University, the State Department considered Kittrell's appointment to be the right call.<sup>45</sup>

Though originally scheduled to begin her evaluation of Liberia's ongoing home economics program and the national diet in November, Kittrell did not depart until December 22 after the close of classes at Howard University. She also received approval to expand her visit to accommodate two weeks of research of medical facilities in the Gold Coast, which she held as key to understanding Liberia's health needs. Thus, while Kittrell may have been ecstatic for the appointment and her first trip outside of the U.S., she made certain that the terms worked for her. During the trip, she was accompanied by a graduate

of West Virginia State College whose husband was already in the country teaching mathematics at Liberia College under another State Department grant to Hampton University.<sup>46</sup> In describing the activities of her trip more personally, Kittrell said she found it thrilling working alongside mothers to utilize local food supplies in generating a more protein-rich diet.”<sup>47</sup> Her project also took on lecturing—a role that was seemingly not formally assigned, but was common for many African Americans who traveled internationally during this period. Although Kittrell was instructed not to be “too familiar with the bush people, who would quickly lose respect for her and get out of control,” she responded that she knew how to treat people and “could easily be on terms with people at home and abroad.”<sup>48</sup>

Kittrell’s deep affection for nations that were “developing” as well as her support of American democracy and U.S. foreign policy undergirded her work. In her talks that extended into five neighboring countries, Kittrell spoke on “food in general, clothing, shelter, and children.”<sup>49</sup> At the end of her six-month stay, she produced a 21-page report on that clearly laid out a number of vitamin deficiencies and ways to combat them structurally as well as in the home. She also informed the American State Department that there was great public satisfaction in the fact that the investigation was being completed and that the Firestone Rubber Company that had been at the root of so much controversy in the 1930s and 1940s had been “accessible ...at all times.”<sup>50</sup>

Upon her return home, Kittrell undertook a number of lectures and articles that showed her praising the “friendly aid of the United States” as well as “the progressive admission of President Tubman,” and declaring that the “country was headed for a new

day.”<sup>51</sup> She positioned Liberia as the potential leader on the African continent and marveled at that nation’s ties with the U.S. It was then that she decided that if the U.S. could in fact live up to its own constitution then its influence on all of Africa could be “wholesome and strong.”<sup>52</sup> Kittrell’s statements that upheld and celebrated American involvement in Liberia was a bit ahead of a burgeoning trend in the 1950s when many middle class African American activists adopted a depoliticized “vocabulary of modernization” that supported American investment and cooperation in foreign nations rather than use the independence and anticolonial language of previous decades. This type of activism was increasingly born out of the Cold War and federal patronage, which the NACWC and the NCNW both fully intended to pursue.<sup>53</sup> Two months after Kittrell’s return to the United States, she received an award for her services on behalf of the Liberian government, which was also celebrating the opening of its embassy doors in Washington, D.C.

August of 1947 also represented the time when the NCNW’s Cuban seminar came full circle as Thurman served as organizational representative to the inaugural Inter-American Congress of Women held in Guatemala and the Council headquarters in Washington warmly received Afro-Cuban guests.<sup>54</sup> The Unión Fraternal and Club Atenas now developed annual excursions to the United States that allowed Afro-Cubans to “reciprocate the frequent visits of illustrious representatives of our race residing in the United States, but also to establish linkages and relations with sister organizations that effectively contribute to the elevation of our culture.”<sup>55</sup> The 1947 trip was a result of Cuba’s close commercial ties to the U.S., which permitted it to take part in the post-war



economic boom, which served not only to bring more Americans to the island but enabled Cubans to travel abroad as well. Furthermore, in its fight against communism, the U.S. government actively encouraged close relations between Black Cubans and Black Americans, touting the achievements of the latter population as a rationale for why Cubans needed to avoid ties with the Soviet Union.<sup>56</sup> But Afro-Cubans did not permit it to be a one-sided exchange, and in expressing pride for their own achievements and a desire for continued understanding and friendship, they dedicated 68 volumes of Cuban literature to the Howard University Library. Ángel Suárez Rocabrana, who was now a representative of the Havana municipal government, made the delivery.<sup>57</sup> Just as these Afro-Cubans and African Americans continued to interact with one another beyond the purview of the U.S. State Department, travel-based diasporic activism steadily emanated from Black organizations outside of official cultural exchange programs. In reaching out to the Council, Afro Cubans again called upon Henry Grillo.<sup>58</sup>

The “social-cultural” trips, which continued at least through the early 1950s, were largely planned by Romon Raberea Torres, who “reciev[ed] the Council some years ago” as president of the Unión Fraternal, and proved very popular since many Afro-Cubans had only read or heard about African American institutions or came into contact only with representatives. For \$146.50 travelers could enjoy two-and-one half weeks in the United States, which included a Pan-American flight from Havana to Miami.<sup>59</sup> The availability of commercial air travel, which expanded tourism by making it cheaper and quicker after World War II, was a part of a growing market that also included expanded trans-Atlantic carriers.<sup>60</sup> According to Torres’ tour brochure, the group would then board

a Greyhound headed to New York City where they would spend eleven days. Prior to arriving here, they would stop at a numbers of locations throughout the South to rest and to eat, but only at Black-owned establishments in hopes of avoiding racist treatment by Whites in the Jim Crow region.<sup>61</sup> The itinerary called upon the assistance of Claude Barnett, who traveled to Cuba earlier that year along with a group of physicians. Barnett contacted businesses on Torres' behalf and received assurance from Greyhound that the passengers would receive good care. Upon leaving the South, the travelers stopped in various northern cities such as Chicago prior to spending two days in Washington, D.C. where they visited Howard University and NCNW headquarters.<sup>62</sup>

Roles were then reversed and the Council now took on the host function. For their guests, NCNW organized both formal and informal events such as receptions to which they invited members of African American organizations, the Cuban, Haitian, and Liberian embassies, and even the Office of the Dependent Area Affairs in the U.S. State Department to receive the delegation.<sup>63</sup> Although there are few documents in the NCNW records about the events planned, it is clear that in 1948 the Council arranged to have Charles Hamilton Houston of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the pioneer of the legal campaign against Jim Crow, deliver a lecture in Spanish before an audience of 200 attendees.<sup>64</sup> This same year, the NCNW asked other African American organizations to prepare greetings so that they might be placed in a scrapbook and presented to the delegation.<sup>65</sup>

The NCNW also provided organizational information to the party in Spanish. In return, representatives from Club Jóvenes del Vals' presented the Cuban Flag to the

Council.<sup>66</sup> In a letter thanking the Club, Bethune conveyed that the presentation made her “heart glad to see us fellowship together even though we did not understand well our different languages.” The NCNW’s president’s comments emphasized that language continued to separate the two groups even when the feelings of love, admiration, and kinship were ever-present.<sup>67</sup> These excursions, which continued to grow in number, starting with some 60 travelers, but perhaps claiming as many as 100 participants, enabled Afro-Cubans to form connections with other Afro-Cubans who resided in the U.S. It also prompted several of these tourists to enroll their children in historically Black institutions, especially Bethune-Cookman and Tuskegee Universities.<sup>68</sup>

Far more than these tours, these educational ventures and the establishment of a formal organization known as the Cuban-American Goodwill Association did much more towards generating enduring trans-cultural linkages.<sup>69</sup> Of course, this does not mean that these travels did not have real meaning for the women who participated, because they most certainly did. What it does mean is that the exchange seminar idea that the Council had originally embarked upon—to learn about and *to truly connect* and *to work* with the world’s women of color—remained unsuccessful in this important way while striking some victory in others, intended and otherwise. For councilwomen in particular, these exchanges generated local prestige as evident when Robert Moten Williams of the Ashbury Methodist Church in D.C. not only wrote to extend an invitation to the Cuban visitors, but also congratulated the NCNW on having such a “distinguished group” visit Washington and its headquarters.<sup>70</sup>

In August of 1949, Henry Grillo wrote Bethune and expressed to her how much the delegation enjoyed its recent visit at her college in Daytona Beach, Florida where it was able to meet clubwomen belonging to Southeastern Federation of the National Association of Colored Women for dinner. In her reply, Bethune instructed him to convey her extreme happiness at hearing this and that the women been honored to receive them.<sup>71</sup> She then told Grillo about her recent July 12<sup>th</sup>-July 27 trip to Haiti, which came in response to an invitation from President Dumarsais Estime, the nation's second leader since the end of formal U.S. occupation in 1934. Bethune also received the blessing of the State Department, which as she told it felt that her "presence and a few words. . . would be an inspiration to the women there."<sup>72</sup> Accompanying Bethune was Fanye Ayer Ponder of St. Petersburg, Florida and Constance Daniel of Washington, D.C.<sup>73</sup>

Though these women travelled as a NCNW delegation, this trip did not represent a completion of the 1941 venture that the Council imagined, which was to permit a real study of Haitian economic and social conditions especially in the countryside and allow for an open and frank conversation as the basis for a global fight against racism, colonialism, and imperialism. While Bethune declared "[t]he trip and the visit to Haiti as the most thrilling experience of my whole life. . . the best part is that it [Haiti] is ruled by black people," her stance on the country now showed an American-centered internationalism.<sup>74</sup> This view showed in her most recent work to convince the NCNW to change the name of the organ from *AfroAmerican Woman's Journal* to *Women United* so that it appeared more inclusive to women of all backgrounds. While she was successful in

getting the NCNW to change its name to the National Council of Women United, the name without “Negro” in it never took hold. It would not be the last time that the organization considered its appellation in light of both its domestic and international work.<sup>75</sup>

Rather than simply representing Black women, Bethune, as the most prominent member of the Council team, saw herself as going to “serve the people of the [American] nation” and as such she encouraged economic relationships with the U.S. rather than denouncing its racism. Succinctly, Bethune declared that Haiti was still “virgin territory” and that African Americans should join them in their efforts “to press and work until the doors of full opportunity reopen to the Haitian people.” While the language of opportunity matched Bethune’s advice concerning World War II activism, this re-opening seems to signify a romanticizing of American engagement in previous decades.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, while she ultimately declared that all was good and that the Estime government was successful in bringing about unity and democracy, continued corruption and instability since the overthrow of Haiti’s first U.S.-supported dictator, Élie Lescot, meant that a little more than a year later, Estime was also overthrown and exiled.<sup>77</sup>

Haiti and Liberia were not the only countries that loomed large in the NCNW imagination; so too did India. When the organization met in convention that November of 1949, the women welcomed Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit upon its stage for a second time. Little did NCNW know that less than one year later, Kittrell, a non-member whom they frequently called upon to lecture, to serve on organizational committees, and to represent the Council at UNESCO conferences, would travel there as a Fulbright fellow.<sup>78</sup> The

Fulbright Act had established the program only four years earlier as funds accrued through the sale of American surplus items from the war were earmarked for educational exchange programs between the United States and all foreign nations. At its core, the Fulbright program showed a belief in true globalism and international understanding, but this philosophy was undergirded by a firm belief that the program needed to serve American interests, which, in turn, were construed to be the world's interests.

When, Kittrell began her work with Fulbright in August of 1950, she became one of the earliest African American women to gain entrance into the program and her assignment was to lend her expertise in establishing a Foods and Nutrition research program in the College of Home Economics at the just-budding Baroda University. Kittrell originally decided to pursue travel to India since her leave would aid in alleviating an ongoing funding problem at Howard University. The other side as she told the Dean, was her ability to gain a new perspective.<sup>79</sup> Nonetheless, in line with the Fulbright's aims and later those of the State Department, Kittrell's work as a visiting scholar, an exchange person and a Person of Color, was expected to have wider social and political implications for the country, particularly in aiding the U.S. in staving off criticism of American racism.<sup>80</sup> Over the next year, Kittrell's drew up plans for building of a nursery school, developed a curriculum, served as interim dean, and taught classes. The latter of these called not only upon her professional training but also on lessons she learned as a child growing up in rural Henderson, North Carolina.<sup>81</sup>

In November 1950, Kittrell's university colleague, Merze Tate, who was one of earliest female professors in Howard University's History and International Relations

Department, traveled to India. Unlike Kittrell, Tate had traveled and lived abroad before, having first traveled to Switzerland in 1931 where she earned a diploma in international studies. A foreign scholar award from Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., along with one from the Phelps-Stokes Foundation the following year, permitted her to stay abroad until 1935 when she earned a B.Litt. degree in European diplomatic studies from Oxford University.<sup>82</sup> In 1946, the NCNW also called on her to serve as discussion leader of its first ever World Security Workshop. Here, she helped the councilwomen to clarify their stances on international peace and the United Nations.<sup>83</sup> By the fall of 1950, she had earned her doctoral degree, published two books, and served as a State Department appointee as one of only three American representatives to a 1948 meeting at Adelphi College, which had as its task the development of teaching materials on the United Nations. It was these credentials that most interested the Fulbright Program in sending her abroad.<sup>84</sup>

Now she was to serve as a visiting professor at Rabindranath Tagore's World University in West Bengal, India. In fulfilling her assignment, she lectured not only there, but in more than eleven different Indian universities and colleges. Soon after her arrival though, Tate expressed confusion about her award and a month later declared that she and Kittrell received second rate Fulbright accommodations because they were Black. She was immediately labeled a "public relations liability" while Kittrell was declared as asset; but after Tate's funding was corrected there appeared to be few other problems.<sup>85</sup> After the completion of her nine-month assignment, which she declared was much too

short, Tate spent several months traveling through India and on to Western Europe and the Middle East before returning to the U.S. by way of Southeast Asia.<sup>86</sup>

Although the Fulbright lecturer self-financed this portion of her trip and utilized press credentials to gain access into events such as a midnight dinner where she sat next to the wife of Mohandas Gandhi, Tate credited her ability to do this to the Fulbright program and counted her assignment and travel as “one of the most exciting, inspiring, and meaningful” experiences of her life.<sup>87</sup> She professed that she certainly learned a lot about global relations, and while declaring a belief in “one-ness,” she held that educational and cultural exchanges were two-way streets that had little room for beliefs in Western superiority. She also shared that she lectured quite often on the experiences of African Americans and that many Indian youth pointed to parallels in their experiences and that of Black Americans. A number also expressed perplexity concerning not only U.S. racial problems, but also its military policies and materialistic tendencies. Tate declared herself a part of the “we” who needed to correct these conditions. Not only did she share such perspectives and overall general lessons with fellow Americans upon her return to the U.S., she was certain to provide articles for the Black press during her time away. Shortly after her return in October, Tate complained that Howard University was paying her a lower salary than that of her male colleagues. Tate not only pointed out that she carried an equal workload, but she also cited her international travels and extensive education as rationale for higher pay.<sup>88</sup>

That same month, Dorothy B. Ferebee, director of health services at Howard University Medical School and president of the NCNW, reached out for Tate to join with



Sampson as a member of the workshop on international relations.<sup>89</sup> Earlier that year, Ferebee completed her own travels for the American government when the State Department and the International Division of the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department selected her to represent the NCNW as one of eleven non-governmental women's organizations on a fact-finding mission to Germany. All of the women's groups were responsible for paying the full transportation costs of its representatives. After attending the meeting of the International Council of Women in Athens, Greece that included NACWC and NCNW women alike, Ferebee traveled to Germany to take her place on a six-week tour, which reciprocated a German one to the U.S. wherein the women were supposed learn about nation-building, democracy, and community work.<sup>90</sup>

The State Department reported that the women were enthusiastically received and that it was impossible to overemphasize how these women gave "the best kind of publicity of our objectives in Germany..." both at home and abroad.<sup>91</sup> Ferebee emerged as a leader of the panel that visited more than 34 cities and villages and saw the work of reconstruction, rehabilitation, and relief. The women also held group discussions as a means of "interpret[ing] the role of women's organizations in a democratic society and ... help[ing] the German people to a fuller understanding of life in a democracy."<sup>92</sup> As Catherine E. Rymph shows, the venture represented a unique moment in German history that allowed for a redefining of the political system with America's close monitoring, but also renegotiations concerning women's public roles.<sup>93</sup>

Ferebee said that her eagerness to visit Germany came from a realization of this country's essentialness in a realistic defense of Western Europe and because "as president

of the NCNW, I am particularly concerned both with the cultural and economic advancement of women of other nations.”<sup>94</sup> Ferebee reported that she learned many lessons from her German trip, which included: 1) That each international contact represented an investment in friendship and that to rebuild in a country served not only that nation, but was essential in strengthening America; 2) That new words were needed for democracy, freedom, and peace so that they might be meaningful again (as they had been made a mockery of by the racial segregation of Women Army Corps near Munich; 3) And finally, that democracy was an ideal towards which the whole world must strive. To this end, Ferebee claimed that the international and introspective nature of the panel did much to reaffirm her belief in democracy.<sup>95</sup>

Upon her return to the U.S., Ferebee was chosen to broadcast her impressions on NBC and to present “The Future of Democracy in Germany” at a meeting of the State Department. According to the *AfroAmerican*, Ferebee’s speech before this agency was applauded for its conclusions.<sup>96</sup> Although both of these addresses were high profile ones, they were also a part of a larger public campaign as several of these travelers shared their individual stories and the lessons that they learned in radio talks with subjects including “East-West Problems,” and “[The] Situation of Religious Sects in Bavaria.”<sup>97</sup> But in her speeches in the U.S. rather than abroad and even more so privately, Ferebee complained about the segregation in the military forces abroad and told how this continued to be a barrier to convincing Germans that Americans truly valued freedom and equality. The focus likely mirrored Ferebee’s lecture subject abroad since on at least one occasion—before the 24<sup>th</sup> Truck Battalion—she spoke of African American troops.<sup>98</sup> In a letter to

Truman requesting a meeting, Ferebee sought to tell him more of how her defense of America in the face of its current treatment of Black citizens “made bitter mockery of my words.” But at the request of the Federal Republic of Germany, she returned once more and unsuccessfully petitioned for another NCNW member to join with her.<sup>99</sup>

Shortly after Ferebee’s 1951 homecoming, Ferebee contended with some travel-related issues within the NCNW. While the organization was happy that the efforts of its executive director, Jeanetta Welch Brown, paid off in getting Dolores Elizabeth Johnson, a recent college graduate from Memphis, Tennessee appointed to Liberia under the Point Four program of State Department, it was less than enthusiastic about a Caribbean tour that its leader of the Inter-Cultural Committee planned to the Caribbean that summer.<sup>100</sup>

Edmonia Davidson of Washington, D.C. announced the tour in several newspapers and said any and all were welcome to join NCNW women as they traveled to Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Jamaica, and the Dominican Republic for study from June 16 to July 2.<sup>101</sup>

Although the NCNW leadership was originally excited about the tour, and viewed it more than any other activity as a return to its seminar method, they later rejected it on the grounds that Davidson did not follow proper programming procedures. Recent meetings with the State Department concerning future and further inclusion in its endeavors as well as ongoing investigations by the House Committee of Un-American Affairs, likely lay behind the Council’s rejection of the open-call seminar tour under the Council’s name.<sup>102</sup>

Davidson’s trip still took place that July, but it occurred under the name “Washington D.C. Committee on Cultural Relations.” Correspondence dated three years later shows that Davidson and some of these participants elected to formalize their efforts under the

original title of Inter-Cultural Committee.<sup>103</sup> Three years later, the organization elected to focus on Africa and to have William Leo Hansberry, an African History Professor at Howard who had just returned from the continent, to serve as a lecturer. The committee also claimed Merze Tate as a member.<sup>104</sup>

In October of 1951, the State Department sent Edith Sampson on a speaking tour that was far more controversial than any of the above. This was because Sampson's explicit assignment was to deliver lectures as a part of the Cold War American propaganda circuit. It also served to counter images put forth by international superstars like Josephine Baker, who in her concerts choose to talk about segregation and lynching rather than progress and expanding economic opportunities, as the U.S. government would have hoped.<sup>105</sup> On the one hand, Sampson claimed that it was her sincere belief in American democracy that led her to have no qualms about endorsing America's honor and defending its reputation abroad. And while she continued to defend herself as being more than "a kind of Exhibit A in an effort to contravene Russian propaganda," the State Department readily and happily agreed to using Sampson who readily declared "I Like America" to counteract communist propaganda about American race issues.<sup>106</sup> Sampson's first assignment in 1951 required that she spend seven weeks speaking in Germany and Austria, and in early 1952, after fulfilling an NCNW assignment in Paris, France, she spent several weeks lecturing throughout Scandinavian countries.<sup>107</sup>

On each visit, Sampson kept a tight schedule delivering speeches that she had prepared on subjects such as "United Nations Program for Peace," and "World Security Begins at Home." In these addresses, Sampson did not equivocate when it came to her

views on the Soviets and more than once announced that communism offered nothing more than second class-citizenship and slavery. She told the world that Black Americans were not interested in being slaves ever again and that they were willing to share such insight with the world. After her speeches, Sampson nearly always answered impromptu questions related to the status of African Americans.<sup>108</sup> Compared to her highly received speeches and conversations in December of 1951 in Finland, the State Department recorded that the reaction to her lectures in Norway that next month were more mixed. Often Norwegian crowds would cheer when she spoke of Ralph Bunche or America's commitment to freedom and the UN generally, but they also found her remarks on African American entry into American Universities, the movement for civil rights, and the condition and status of Native Americans much too "optimistic" and "too much like the State Department."<sup>109</sup>

From a policy standpoint, the State Department considered Sampson's lectures, which while acknowledging racial issues in America, did much more to emphasize the positive aspects of democracy, to be an important part of the strengthening of America's place in the Cold War world.<sup>110</sup> Not only her commentary, but also her "relaxing, informal tone" and "hearty, confident manner" made her a "Thorn in Russia's Side," as an article in the *Reader's Digest* proclaimed.<sup>111</sup> In a letter to the Assistant Secretary of State, Claude A. Barnett, a now mellowed radical of earlier generations who saw Sampson speak in Copenhagen, defended her as a courageous soul who stepped in front of enemy charges and hecklers to tell the story of Negro progress.<sup>112</sup>

While a quick and mighty defender of democracy, Sampson was not without criticism of the State Department. On one occasion, in a letter to the US High Commissioner to Austria, she quietly expressed that she found the programming of the State Department to be highly inconsistent as “we go forth to tell people in other countries about the American way of life, and about the changing status of the Negro...yet when foreign visitors come to see democracy in action there is no planning attempted so that they might meet with Negro groups and meet Negro institutions.”<sup>113</sup> Despite Sampson’s noting her own token status and African Americans’ general and deliberate exclusion, she nevertheless persisted in defending and upholding the UN and the U.S. and promoting the NCNW.<sup>114</sup> When she returned to the U.S. in April and was able to fully witness how she had been slammed by the press, she privately reached out to several individuals including Pauli Murray to ask her to make a public defense on her behalf. Sampson shared with Murray the speech she gave in Scandinavia that the audience had deemed too “rosy,” but claimed that in fact African Americans’ economic buying power that she discussed was actually underestimated rather than exaggerated.<sup>115</sup>

NACW leaders’ continued show of commitment and defense of the U.S. alongside Liberians’ reverence for Bethune probably led President Harry S. Truman to appoint her as one of America’s four representatives to the presidential inauguration of William V.S. Tubman, Jr. in January 1952. The trip not only answered Bethune’s dream of traveling to Africa since childhood, but it also built upon her attempts to connect with African women since her days as NACW leader in the mid-1920s.<sup>116</sup> While abroad, Bethune was joined by other NCNW life members and the organization’s national

treasurer, who traveled at the invitation of the Liberian government, and she worked to set up the National Council of Women of Liberia and was happy to report her success in “giving to [Liberian women] the connecting link between us here.” In language befitting the ICWDR she proclaimed, “If we, the women of the darker races, or women of all races, can be united all over this world, we will be of great power in bringing about the peace and the freedom that we so much need at this time. I have done my best.”<sup>117</sup> Yet, just as she had done in Haiti, Bethune expressed approval of America’s technical assistance programs at work in the country, and declared Liberia as “...a land of opportunity open for all sorts of business enterprises.”<sup>118</sup>

Once back in the U.S., Bethune provided leadership to the Interracial Women’s Leadership Conference that was held on the campus of her college that April. The event was designed to permit frank discussion about women’s ability to provide deeper contributions to world peace and democracy through a focus on gaining political positions. The idea had come to her during her Liberian travel and she hoped to have such big names as Eleanor Roosevelt and Pearl S. Buck among her supporters though neither attended. Although it was located in the South, the event still claimed more than 127 women representing diverse religious, social, fraternal and labor organizations, with visitors from as far away as the Virgin Islands, Germany, and Turkey. Representatives from the United Nations and the U.S. State Department also contributed to conversations around the theme of “Strengthening the Forces of Freedom.”<sup>119</sup> Bethune was happy that the conference went as well as it did and admitted that she could not have accomplished it without the big three: Eunice Hunton Carter, Dorothy Ferebee, and Dorothy Height. Of

course, she was also thankful for the extensive planning conducted by Arabelle Dennison and the rich contributions that Flemmie Kittrell and Edith Sampson both offered through speech. Ella P. Stewart, the outgoing president of NACW was also in attendance.<sup>120</sup>

A few months after the conference, the NCNW announced that Dorothy Height was departing for New Delhi, India as a member of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) so that she could serve as an instructor of social work. In fact, Height, after teaching the fall semester, was also to attend the International Conference of Social Work, in Madras and the Third World Conference of Christian Youth in Kottaya.<sup>121</sup> All of these experiences permitted Height to not only gain a newfound perspective on India, about which she knew nothing before her trip there, but the activist also came to understand poverty in fundamentally new ways. Moreover, as the sole Black traveler among a group of White Americans, Height served to expand the definition of American citizenship, noting that most Indians thought that this status belonged to Whites only. Height's speeches told not only "what it mean[t] to be an American, [but also] what it mean[t] to be an Black American."<sup>122</sup>

The State Department also selected Anna Arnold Hedgeman to complete a three-month lecture circuit on education and welfare in more than ten cities. On Thanksgiving Day of 1952, Hedgeman departed for New Delhi, India as knowledge of her interest in world affairs led influential friends to recommend that she serve as an exchange leader for the State Department.<sup>123</sup> When she arrived the following Sunday, Hedgeman reported that the smell of cooking meat over a wood fire immediately reminded her of her early childhood in Mississippi, but that even more she viewed it as a symbol of poverty,



exploitation, and human misery.<sup>124</sup> In her task to speak about “the United States and the meaning of democracy” that took her before the Madras School of Social Work as well as multiple civic, youth, and professional groups in numerous cities, Hedgeman became convinced of the courage of the Indian government leaders as they took up their tasks. Still, just as the *Brown v. Board* decision was “not yet the true spirit” in the U.S., the outlawed caste system remained operational in India. Even more, she noted that the color system was still in place when one Indian youth told her “I am glad you are not dark.” Obviously, Height’s skin tone had permitted her to gain better reception from her audiences.<sup>125</sup>

When asked questions about prejudice in America, Hedgeman reported that she answered truthfully and that she worked to convince Indians that the foreign aid programs that they saw at work in their country were about a real desire to aid people more than it was about anti-communism. It was then that she thought that the vocational programs of Booker T. Washington could “be of special service in this Indian setting.”<sup>126</sup> Upon her return to the U.S., Hedgeman resigned from her governmental position reflecting Dwight Eisenhower ascension to presidency. She departed Washington and returned to New York where she worked in community relations.<sup>127</sup> She also took up lecturing on her time abroad and two years later could still be found encouraging African Americans to realize that they “are the most significant group of people in the world.” She implored them to apply pressure in their efforts to find their place in the U.S. democracy and in ensuring democratic treatment for others in foreign lands since those

“who live in mud huts will be looking for a way out and we hope that way out will be democracy.”<sup>128</sup>

Of all of the persons who traveled to India in 1952-1953, Kittrell’s assignment was the longest and most multifaceted as she served as a consultant, institution builder, group leader, and liaison. In August of 1953, Kittrell responded to a call for help from Baroda University and was so hurried to get there and to lend her services that she moved ahead of her clearance from the State Department. By the following March, she was finally cleared to work under the technical assistance program for “developing” countries known as the Point Four Program.<sup>129</sup> In considering the work of more than 2,000 American specialists employed in this manner throughout the world, President Eisenhower declared this human relations program as “the United States’ most effective countermeasure to Soviet propaganda and the best method by which to create the political and social stability essential to lasting peace.”<sup>130</sup> Despite this important assignment at hand, rich correspondence shows that Kittrell frequently reported her work to be simultaneously challenging and full of interest, yet that her mind frequently drifted back to Africa. On many occasions, she shared with close friends and colleagues that she was considering ending her service early in order to travel there for study.<sup>131</sup>

In the end, Kittrell decided to concentrate on the work before her, and November of 1954 found her reaching out to Dorothy Height, who from 1947 to 1956 served as president of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., to inform her of how her work would be made easier if she and her Delta sorors would agree to take up a book donation project for the college. The request for assistance showed how Kittrell intended to call upon

African American women's groups back at home not only to come to her rescue, but also to aid foreign populations.<sup>132</sup> In January of 1955, the State Department shifted Kittrell's assignment to that of group leader as she guided a cohort of 22 Indian women traveling to Japan and Hawaii to study home economics. Kittrell's final report indicates that her responsibility was also to critique this programs' usefulness and outcomes.<sup>133</sup>

In 1953, an NACW member *finally received* her chance to undertake an American governmental travel assignment. Ella P. Stewart's appointment might have come through the hands of Senator Robert A. Taft who was "a close friend," but evidence also shows the importance of Stewart's domestic leadership in women's groups, the fact that she knew "both the north and south," (having been reared in Berryville, Virginia before moving to Toledo, Ohio), and her status as one of first African American women to complete a pharmacy degree. In the months that Stewart's application was being processed, the press also emphasized Stewart's interest in international issues and affairs as shown by her leadership in the Pan Pacific South East Asian Women's Association (PPSEAWA) and participation in the International Council of Women, which developed in her last year of NACW leadership.<sup>134</sup> Clearly, Stewart had come to define African American women's three most important political roles as: 1) consultants and advisors to American presidents; 2) leaders of federal agencies; and 3) goodwill ambassadors.<sup>135</sup> All of these roles enabled women to not only influence national but also international policies.

In October of the next year, it was announced that Stewart was part of a two-person interracial educational exchange team. Her partner was Helen Fowler, a New York journalist who had traveled abroad numerous times to participate in international

conferences and activities related to women and children. The women's schedule extended through January 1955 and took them to India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Pakistan and the Philippines where they provided formal and informal lectures on American life, particularly on women's contributions to politics, education, and community work. The audiences were sometimes as large as 500 participants. The women's other task was to visit hospitals, welfare clinics, and other social service sites. By the time of Stewart's participation, the State Department had "exchanged" nearly 6,000 persons a year among some 70 nations, which included the popular "Jambassadors."<sup>136</sup>

Like all of these performers, Stewart took up very important work, especially considering the fact that her travel occurred in the wake of the *Brown v. Board* Supreme Court ruling. She reported that everywhere she went, there were inquiries about the decision and the degree to which it was being implemented.<sup>137</sup> As Stewart told fellow Americans in her replies, it was her intent to provide a more "hopeful" and more "true" picture of race relations in the United States. She "never allowed them to really indict us," and she spoke of racial progress in these places and at the Pan Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association Conference.<sup>138</sup> Stewart's travels also proved important in other unexpected ways. Charlotte B. Smart of the U.S. Foreign Service reported that Stewart and Fowler's visits to Surabaya, Indonesia, had finally permitted her to get to know the women a lot better, something Smart had been unable to do since her arrival. She closed the letter by saying that it was "certainly a good idea of someone's to send you out here. . ."<sup>139</sup>

It turns out that while there, Stewart's and Fowler's lectures were also used by Indonesian women to express their displeasure over the national president's taking yet another wife without the expressed permission of the First Lady. When President Sukarno arrived in Bandung at the same time as the U.S. visitors, the local women used their visit to avoid picking him up at the station and visiting his summer palace, which was only a few blocks away from where Fowler and Stewart were speaking. Although the women fully intended to vote for President Sukarno in the upcoming elections, they used this moment to express their unhappiness with him.<sup>140</sup> After her return, Stewart provided a final report to the State Department and received acknowledgment that her insight was a real contribution to the Educational Exchange Program and that the document would serve as "invaluable reading for those who visit the country in the future."<sup>141</sup> Of course, Stewart also sought to inform the American public of the information she gained, delivering over 100 lectures, including "A Toledoan in Asia" in her hometown.<sup>142</sup>

While Irene McCoy Gaines of the NACWC was happy to read of Stewart's consideration and participation, it was clear that she too made up her mind to serve her country through foreign travel. In fact, Gaines was undoubtedly embarrassed when a number of letter writers and a few news outlets misstated Stewart's appointment as her own. While *Jet Magazine* announced that Gaines had been "Slated for Far East Post" and would earn \$8,200 a year as a race consultant in Far East, nothing in Gaines' own correspondence or that of the State Department validates this appointment. Nevertheless, it is true that Gaines had long been seeking work that would take her beyond American borders.<sup>143</sup> As far back as June of 1953, she solicited help from her friend Edith Sampson,

but when this did not work she reached out directly to President Eisenhower in September 1954. Gaines acknowledged his most recent greetings at the NACWC convention and commended him on his efforts toward racial equality including executive order that abolished segregation in the nation's capital and the employment of African Americans like J. Earnest Wilkins and Charles Mahoney of Detroit in policy making posts.<sup>144</sup> Akin to earlier letters, she encouraged Eisenhower to appoint women to such positions and informed him that the NACWC was taking up this work directly under its convention theme, "Unitedly [sic] We Work for a Better World."<sup>145</sup>

When Eisenhower did not take the hint, Gaines wrote him again several months later to ask "why none of our members are ever invited or appointed to accompany delegations or committees sent out of the country on special investigations and as Good-Will Ambassadors as are the members of the General Federation [of Women's Clubs] whose work we parallel."<sup>146</sup> Gaines held that employing Black women would show the "women of Asia and Africa the progress and achievements of Negro Women, which they can tell better than members of another race." While the NACWC was not above counting the efforts of its members as its own, Gaines appears to have ignored the travel of Ella P. Stewart, which was likely due to ongoing issues between the two including Gaines' election to a third term as NACWC president.<sup>147</sup>

Gaines kept the pressure up, and six months later wrote to Max Rabb, Eisenhower's secretary and counsel. She began by reminding him of their recent chat at a Republican luncheon and told him that she was now writing in response to his inquiry about how she felt that she could best serve the government through her capacity as

Association president. Gaines again repeated her interest in the State Department's exchange program and insisted that while she would immensely enjoy her travels, she saw her inclusion as more of an opportunity to aid in "offsetting much of the communistic propaganda" about the country's race relations. She urged his consideration of her and informed him that she had a number of lectures and videos including ones on the NACWC's Cedar Hill Project and its "Lifting as We Climb" theme. She could start as early as Liberia's upcoming presidential inauguration.<sup>148</sup>

Clearly, Gaines and the NACWC were fixated on the issue of "Good-Will Ambassadors" even using this name for a special committee to generate contributions to the headquarters fund. The June 1954 issue of the *National Notes* covered this work and also featured a reprinted article by Dora Needham Lee on the importance of technical assistance programs and information about the activities of Lynne Smith, an Association member in Washington, D.C. who was then coordinating her fifth vacation tour to Europe through her employment with the General Tours Company.<sup>149</sup> While Smith's efforts were not conducted as part of the NACWC program, the organization still held the work important enough to give it a two-page spread complete with several pictures. Smith encouraged clubwomen to consider joining and explained that she found the coordination of the tours as a real labor of love since it put African Americans "particularly women and young people into first-hand contact with peoples in other parts of the world, and with the culture of the other races with which that of ancient Africa is comparable."<sup>150</sup> Over the course of 46 days, the crew traveled to six European countries where they visited art galleries, palaces, and famous cathedrals. They also made their way to places

made important in the last few years such as the European UN headquarters and the Peace Palace at The Hague. A number of clubwomen and their spouses attended, and the article declared this delegation's participation and interests as "modern" and fitting with the times and the activities that Black women should be doing.<sup>151</sup>

In 1956, the NACWC followed this advice by conducting its own excursion. Gaines explained that such trips were not "pleasure tours but education tours" and they were to be a mainstay in Association agenda. Other contributing factors had to do with the age of NACWC members, since Gaines felt that so many members spent so much time working for others that they could hardly go and study abroad as they might have wished.<sup>152</sup> Thus, the Association president found no time like the present for giving clubwomen the opportunity to become acquainted with people in foreign countries and to bring about better human relationships. Of course, she also hoped to produce affiliated clubs from these visits.<sup>153</sup> After the NACWC convention ended in Miami, 29 members departed on August 4<sup>th</sup>. Led by Gaines and Russell Scherfer of the International Tours in Miami, the group went first to Haiti and then on to Jamaica.<sup>154</sup> Little is known about the trip since it was the controversy and battle around Gaines' recent election that was covered in newspapers. Even more, it appears that the organization could hardly reflect upon or benefit from the trip given the intense legal battle they faced over the next few months.<sup>155</sup>

Meanwhile, Hedgeman departed New York in June as a board member of United Seaman Service. In Isekenderum, Turkey, Naples and Genoa, Italy, and Bremerhaven, Germany, she conducted inspections of facilities and reviewed the jobs of maritime social



workers. Then and later, she advocated for better supplies for seamen, seeing them as “making valuable friends for the U.S. in one of the world’s ‘hot spots.’”<sup>156</sup> Afterwards, she served as a speaker and leader of the International Conference of Social Work held in Munich, Germany. This trip’s dates also permitted Hedgeman to participate in an ongoing tour of the Middle East sponsored by the American Christian Committee on Palestine, a political lobbying organization created to encourage American support for the Jewish state of Palestine. Although Hedgeman stated that she expected to find “affection for the United States for had we not supported and approved Israel,” she quickly learned that this was not the case.<sup>157</sup>

In speaking to several Israelis, Hedgeman learned of the widespread confusion and dismay that came as a result of the U.S. provision of arms to the people of other countries, but none to them. Even more, there was concern over an arms deal between Czechoslovakia and Egypt, which seemed to put the latter in a stronger position to attack Israel. Hedgeman and her fellow travelers also reflected on American foreign policy as it pertained to ongoing desires of Egypt to construct the Aswan Dam, and claimed that the U.S. should have done more in requiring that Egypt and Israel to resolve their issues when it agreed to assist Egypt in financing the Dam especially since the Middle East “needs peace as much as it needs water.”<sup>158</sup> By the time they returned to the U.S., Hedgeman had published a number of newspaper articles about her travels, but when she reached home she felt “sick at heart” when she learned of Secretary of State Dulles’s most recent announcement of the U.S. complete withdrawal of aid for the dam out of concern for Egypt’s continuing relations with the Soviet Union. Shortly thereafter when

the Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser decided to nationalize the Aswan Dam, France (supported by Israel due to increasingly closer ties) and Britain teamed up for an invasion.<sup>159</sup> In January of 1957, Eisenhower who opposed these actions issued the Eisenhower Doctrine that pledged American economic and military assistance to any Middle Eastern country threatened by aggression, namely that of the Soviet Union.<sup>160</sup>

While Hedgeman was abroad learning of the shortcomings of American foreign policy in the Middle East, the NCNW leadership was contemplating how it could best remain in America's good graces. This meant that its Current Affairs Project #2: Israel and the Middle East, which it developed during the summer of 1957, was "not designed to persuade individuals to take a particular side on problems of the Middle East," but only to inform people of the debates concerning the region and American foreign policy. That September, the NCNW leadership also considered an invitation to attend a seminar on women in Russia. After entering into a discussion concerning the National Council of Women and the State Department, the NCNW decided to decline the invitation.<sup>161</sup>

Council leadership felt a little more comfortable about its new president, Vivian Thomas Mason's travel to Germany and France the following October with the Crusade for Freedom, an organization with which the Council had long-standing relations. Mason took up her invitation as one of 47 travelers on a ten-day inspection of American military installations.<sup>162</sup> Helen G. Edmonds, an NCNW member and a history faculty member at North Carolina College (now North Carolina Central University), wrote to Mason and told her that no other African American woman could have served as a better representative on the German trip. She also placed Mason into contact with people she

met on her own International Educational Exchange Program there in 1955.<sup>163</sup> In nearly every major city, Edmonds delivered lectures in German concerning the status of African Americans in the U.S. as a means of offsetting Communist propaganda. Edmonds later reported that it was her great sense of responsibility that led her to accept this unpaid assignment. As Mason was traveling on her assignment, Edmonds was preparing to serve as President Eisenhower's personal representative at the dedication of the Capitol Building in Monrovia, Liberia. While abroad, she spoke before a number of community and educational organizations and entities.<sup>164</sup>

In learning of Mason's appointment, Gaines of the NACWC was not happy because women of her organization had not been appointed. It was then that she began her campaign to be represented on such ventures, writing to Arch Carey and Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen to advocate for greater use and appointments of NACWC members. The letters expressed her "great embarrassment and chagrin [that] about a month ago Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, then president of the NCNW was sent by our State Department on a 'People to People' trip to Europe for one week!"<sup>165</sup> As a Republican, Gaines believed that she should have been the first to be called, and while she had no problems with Mason and considered her a personal friend she was also certain that Mason was "a staunch Democrat" along with most of NCNW members.<sup>166</sup> Finally, Gaines argued: "our organization should have ALSO been represented. There should have two or three Negro women . . . at the time Vivian went." With only nine months left in office as NACWC president, Gaines urged Republicans to permit her to be in service and wondered if there were any issues in her background that raised alarm. In

1955, she had cleared her name of communist charges that were likely tied to her participation in the Chicago branch of the Congress of American Women. But if there were outstanding issues Gaines desired to “prove my loyalty to the U.S.A. if it is in any doubt.”<sup>167</sup>

Most likely, Gaines’ loyalty was not the issue but rather that the NCNW possessed more name recognition and was fully involved in federal government programs and initiatives. In letters to ambassadors as well as in organizational literature, Mason continuously stressed and celebrated the fact that the Council “worked closely with the State Department and other agencies of the national government in improving our community life.”<sup>168</sup> While the NACWC also hosted foreign visitors brought in by the State Department, the NCNW regularly received these guests at its headquarters, putting on full-scale socials on visitors’ behalf. Additionally, in 1955, the NCNW won approval from the State Department for its African Children’s Feeding Scheme project to provide foodstuff to youth in Johannesburg, South Africa.<sup>169</sup> Three years earlier, the Council even felt comfortable enough to recommend a partnership with the State Department in planning international institutes throughout the country that would teach ordinary people about foreign relations and the nation’s foreign policy. It reflected a growing sense widely occurring among Americans and the Black population especially that internationalism was “everybody’s business.” In fact, storeowners in Harlem, New York strategically played channels with international affairs from their storefronts, which attracted crowds of watchers and potential customers.<sup>170</sup>

In 1954, the NCNW also came to the defense of the State Department when Dorothy Porter, a member of the 1940 Cuban excursion and the Howard University Librarian-Curator, appeared before the Senate Appropriation Committee. In the face of a six million dollar budget cut, Porter argued that the Department's International Exchange Program was too important to the nation's security and image to be adversely affected and undoubtedly would be in the face of financial restrictions. She then told the Senate just how much the NCNW participated in the programs of this agency, which meant not only welcoming "scores of women from Germany, Korea, Japan and many other countries" but teaching these visitors about democracy and how they may contribute to it within their own lands.<sup>171</sup>

Things did not go so well for the NACWC. Gaines' calls for Goodwill Ambassador assignments went unanswered. But Rosa S. Gragg, who also maintained membership in the NCNW and was a 1949 honoree of the organization, did seek to follow up on a number of Gaines' efforts when she assumed presidency of the NACW in 1958. Almost immediately, Gragg gained affiliation with the Federation of Ghana Women through its general secretary, Evelyn Amarteifio, who had traveled to the U.S. that same year under the State Department's International Educational Exchange Program.<sup>172</sup> Gragg also looked forward to taking up a personal invitation to the 1960 Nigerian independence celebration, seeing this action and the full entrance of African American women into political and diplomatic posts as key to helping Negro women to answer the call for "hav[ing] their place in the sun."<sup>173</sup> While creating a scholarship for African students in need at Howard University, Gragg also certified Edra Mae Hilliard, a

clubwoman from Detroit, Michigan, who was conducting a study abroad in Africa, to act as a liaison. The letter of introduction and authorization stated that Hilliard possessed “unlimited authority to establish women's organizations for affiliation within the national body, the young adult department of NACWC, and the National Association of Colored Girls.”<sup>174</sup>

NACWC's action followed on the heels of the NCNW, which in the summer of 1956 approved Nancy Bullock McGhee, a councilwoman traveling to Liberia, to operate in this manner.<sup>175</sup> Soon enough, the NACWC would also begin to grant honor scrolls to individuals whom they considered to be aiding human relations. This included Carmel Carrington Marr, UN political advisor to Henry Cabot Lodge and Eleanor Roosevelt. Roosevelt's speech before the 1960 national convention that included a number of governmental leaders, foreign dignitaries, and ambassadors in the audience, resembled an NCNW event.<sup>176</sup> Later, Gragg would be invited to represent the NACWC as one of the women's groups on a goodwill tour to study the uses of the economic recovery funds distributed through the Marshall Plan.<sup>177</sup>

In September of 1958, Kittrell returned to Africa for a brief cultural tour through the recommendations of “highly respected officers in the [State] Department and the United States Information Agency.” The venture took her to five African countries including Ghana—a recently independent nation presided over by Kwame Nkrumah, a well-known Pan-Africanist. Seeking close relations with the country, the American government steadily observed interactions between the nation's officials and African Americans journalists like Marguerite Cartwright who also taught at Hunter College in

New York and who had become an NCNW life member at Vivian Thomas Mason's urging. Whenever possible, the Council placed Cartwright before the membership so that she could share her insights.<sup>178</sup> Though NCNW women marveled at her journeys and experiences, the American embassy in Ghana provided a report that was quite the opposite.

Five months before Kittrell's arrival, Cartwright had been invited by the Ghanaian government to attend the Independent African States Conference after having attended the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia the previous year. While many African American activists, including women, chose not to go so as to avoid the "pink tinge" that Claude Barnett suggested it would have, others were interested in contributing to conversations among the African, Indian, Middle Eastern, and Asian leaders who sought to strategize about how to best avoid having to choose sides in the Cold War.<sup>179</sup> While Embassy leaders in Ghana appreciated Cartwright's characteristics and efforts, they found her knowledge of current African affairs wanting. Nevertheless, Cartwright was far from a foreign relations risk since in her "rambling" talks, she still conveyed that the U.S. government was anti-segregation. She told audiences in eastern and western Africa that racial inequality came at the hand of local Whites and was contrary to federal statutes.<sup>180</sup> Though Cartwright never succeeded in her attempts to serve in the State Department as a Foreign Service Officer or as a participant in the International Education Exchange Program—jokingly claiming that she was "the applicant most often rejected"—she still did her part in defending the U.S. and advocating for democracy in newly independent nations. Although Foreign Service

Officials managed to find some value in her activities, Black women, especially those in NCNW leadership, highly regarded it and lauded her involvement.<sup>181</sup>

During her Ghanaian visit that September, Kittrell met with government officials and the leaders of women's groups. She desired meetings with more of the latter, but when she found that this would not be the case, she completed her task "without grumbling" much like she had with her 1953-1955 assignment with India.<sup>182</sup>

Advertisements and correspondence about her talks indicated that she there was little doubt that she would "perform with distinction" in her efforts, which included discussions of matters of nutrition and home economics as it pertained to Americans in general and African Americans in particular. The talks were also designed "to give special reference to the home and social life of African women, their leadership positions, and their opportunities for general and higher education."<sup>183</sup> Unlike what had occurred in her lectures in Liberia in 1947, Kittrell fielded several questions about American race relations, which was also common in the visit of Zelma Watson George, a well-known African American opera singer who arrived two years later. George was appointed by the State Department to undertake a six-month tour before audiences in Asia, Europe, and Africa.<sup>184</sup>

Given the rapid rate of independence in Africa, the State Department would have certainly surmised that these women would be asked such questions. And, of course, given Kittrell's track record as an eager and loyal American and as a Goodwill Ambassador, she would undoubtedly answer appropriately. For instance, Kittrell received rather sharp criticism from Evelyn Amartefio of the Ghana Women's



Association concerning recent racial incidents in the U.S. The first question Amartefio asked concerned the incident in Little Rock, Arkansas where the state governor attempted to defy the federal mandate for integration through the use of National Guard. The second was an inquiry about a widely discussed Alabama State Court case when Jimmy Wilson, a fifty-five-year-old African American male, was originally sentenced to the electric chair for stealing \$1.95. In the end, international pressure led Wilson's sentence to be reduced to life imprisonment.<sup>185</sup> To such questions, the State Department recorded that Kittrell responded quietly, but forcefully in her statements that there would be other racial incidents like these, but that they did not undo the progress that African Americans had made since emancipation.<sup>186</sup>

Kittrell indicated that she sought to present an "honest and balanced" picture of American race relations. She recalled that she told her audiences, "At least we have a constitution as a way of working things out. We do not need violent methods. A democracy has room for progress."<sup>187</sup> But at the end of many talks, whether as a tactic or as a simple truth, Kittrell indicated that it was never her intention to "talk politics." She would humbly state, "I am a specialist in family matters not in political and living matters."<sup>188</sup> Undeniably, her strong encouragement for African countries to stay on the path towards democracy and to look critically on what was covered in the news was very much in line with the American narrative and aims. But it also fit Kittrell's goal of fulfilling her moral obligation to the world since she fundamentally believed in democracy and the kinship she felt to Africans. Kittrell always looked forward to spending sabbaticals in Africa because she found it thrilling to "see the people going

forward so dramatically,” and she was committed to “do something to be a part of their progress.”<sup>189</sup>

Once back in the U.S., Kittrell delivered speeches on the trials and triumphs that she witnessed in India and Africa, found funding for foreign students to study in America, worked on publications using the information that she gathered on the side, and continued her work with the State Department on African-centered projects.<sup>190</sup> George also stayed busy performing before audiences that were sometimes as large as 2,700. Her being “a woman and a Negro” won her an alternate delegate seat to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. She also held a private conversation with Lamine Sall of Senegal in which he criticized Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, but claimed that he was really the only suitable leader to unify his nation, and that he would be better able to do so with assistance from a committee composed of delegates of color from Africa and India.<sup>191</sup>

While happy to be included on the U.S. delegation to the UN, George refused to be without her own voice. When a resolution concerning “a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism” in Africa and Asia passed in the 15<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the UN despite America’s abstention, she broke into spontaneous applause, explaining that “for a moment, I felt like a traitor, but I couldn’t help myself.” As George saw it “your personal integrity is all you got...I had to do it.”<sup>192</sup> Her willingness to stand up for her own personal convictions resembled the actions of concert-singer Marian Anderson, who had been appointed to the UN delegation five years earlier. As Brenda Gayle Plummer argues, despite the fact that most Black delegates or alternate delegates to the UN were

appointed as window dressing, Marian Anderson was one who refused to be used in this manner. While Anderson stood before the 1958 meeting of the UN and dutifully read the U.S. delegation's position on Nigeria's claims to the British and French Cameroons, she made her own disagreement fully known after the fact.<sup>193</sup> George's actions, which occurred *during* the UN meeting, won her private respect and admiration from other members of the delegation. She was highly praised by the African American public and organizations like the NCNW and the NACWC. Although she hardly attended the meetings of these organizations, George was a lifetime member of the former and a member of Phyllis Wheatley Association of Cleveland, Ohio, which belonged to the latter. Months after the UN meeting, the Association and Council invited George to provide lectures on the national and local levels and the NACWC presented her an award at its 1962 national convention. Irene McCoy Gaines, who was then serving as a leader of the American Negro Emancipation Centennial Authority, sought to put George before this audience.<sup>194</sup> But George's stance put her increasingly at odds with U.S. foreign policy, which led the U.S. delegation to the United Nations to purposely exclude her from discussions concerning resolutions. She was also placed under government surveillance, but her actions like Anderson's showed Black women as a part of a "maturing tradition of Black men and women influencing America's policy at the United Nations."<sup>195</sup>

In 1958, Edith Sampson and Dorothy Height traveled once again, but this time as "the two blacks" among some 30 participants in a month-long People-to-People discussion tour to Latin America. Height realized that the excursion which, though privately funded, had an obvious political purpose and "government encouragement." It was not simply for

“for the good of the exchange between Latin and North America.”<sup>196</sup> Nevertheless, these goodwill tours and Height’s subsequent one with the Committee of Correspondence the following year seems to have imbued her with the idea of taking up similar voyages under the auspices of the NCNW, which she now headed.<sup>197</sup> Unlike the Cuban voyage of the 1940s and likely the proposed ones that followed, Height’s venture for the NCNW titled “Tour or Vacation with a Purpose” featured large groups of councilwomen, who were in many ways “ordinary” rather than the exemplary types sought in the past. Additionally, these trips were largely to Europe and the “Holy Land” and were influenced by council leaders’ travels to Europe for international women’s conferences and State Department initiatives as well as growing connections with foreign women from these places that derived from participation in hospitality programs.<sup>198</sup> In 1959, the 96 participants came from 13 states with ten percent of these making their homes within urban areas in southern states. These members represented a wide cross-section ranging from housewives to church and fraternal women, teachers, governmental clerks, and meat packers.<sup>199</sup>

Once in Europe, stops included Holland, Belgium, West Germany, and Switzerland, which allowed Councilwomen to make connections with and to learn about foreign populations (especially women’s groups affiliated with the ICW). They also enabled these travelers to engage in historic tourism and, of course, shop while on vacation.<sup>200</sup> As the Council president informed *Ebony Magazine*, then one of the country’s most popular Black magazines, the U.S. State Department sanctioned their trips as “People-to-People” ventures. In fact, the program fell within the new United States

Information Agency that President Dwight Eisenhower created in August of 1953 in order to promote public diplomacy.<sup>201</sup> The NACWC also took “holiday in Europe” at this same time, taking 30 of its members and their friends and family. While these travelers visited historical sites, schools, and social service industries, they did not appear to have met with women’s groups like the NCNW did, whose connections were made by the U.S. State Department’s International Educational Exchange and the International Council of Women.<sup>202</sup>

In 1960, NCNW tour members requested “deviations” or “variations” to the “Holy Land” and Africa tours. During the American Gilded Age, trips to the Holy Land were immensely popular as a key component in aiding many White Americans in contemplating a sense of national identity and the understanding of America’s territorial expansion as providential rather than the imperialistic desires of man. This particular group of women was not interested in the region for this purpose, or even that of Afro-Arab solidarity which captured the imagination of many, but rather for Biblical/religious reasons.<sup>203</sup> For them, Lebanon, Israel, and the Jordan were readily identifiable with Jesus the Messiah and Old Testament. Akin to going “back” or “home” to Africa, days spent in this region were about a spiritual or cultural connection rather than a forging of connections through shared experiences of oppression.<sup>204</sup> In 1960, the weeklong trip to Africa, though highly requested by some travelers, ended up claiming only ten participants. The agenda did not feature any meetings with local women’s groups. Instead they were to visit open-air markets and government buildings, or to check on their own projects, which included one sorority’s home economic undertaking. The Council made

certain that its “ambassadors” traveling to West Africa understood and remained within their roles of enhancing the value of democracy and promoting international understanding.<sup>205</sup>

After NCNW’s first tour abroad, Height wrote to President Eisenhower informing him that “everywhere we went the Foreign Service facilitated quality exchanges which made us take pride in our country as we discussed mutual concerns with people in other lands.” Height then inquired if he or Secretary of State John Foster Dulles would be willing to come talk about “People-to-People” programs at the upcoming convention.<sup>206</sup> Although neither Eisenhower nor Dulles showed up at the September meeting, the women did hear from Charles W. Anderson of the U.S. delegation to the UN on this subject. Kittrell served as chair of the international supper during which tour members shared their experiences as “Ambassadors of Good Will.” The following month, the State Department permitted the NCNW to be added to the schedule of Sekou Toure, a prominent Guinean nationalist who aided his country in gaining independence from France and emerged as its first leader.<sup>207</sup>

The government had carefully designed Toure’s trip to demonstrate American progress towards integration. Guinean relations were particularly important to the U.S. since it hoped to cement ties with the nation and keep it squarely with the democratic fold and out of Soviet hands. Moreover, Guinea was also being watched by other African nations given its new status as the first independent colony freed from French control.<sup>208</sup> While the NCNW women enjoyed their time with Madame Toure, Dorothy Height also stepped up to try to smooth over an incident in the news when a White translator from the

State Department was rejected in a New York City luncheon hosted by Dakota Staton, a jazz singer. While the planner argued that a White person could not interpret Harlem to Mme. Toure, others declared the exclusion to be “undiplomatic and in poor taste” and maintained that “One does not dictate to head[s] of state, you get their consent for everything that is done...”<sup>209</sup> The situation in Harlem was a part of a much larger conversation as African Americans were trying to figure out their strategy for equality and its relations to the world liberation movements.

In July 1960, on the occasion of the first Conference of Women of Africa and African Descent, African American female activists had to answer this question of positionality outright. The meeting captured 119 registered delegates and the 28-member U.S. delegation made up the second largest contingent behind that of Ghana. Although the State Department did not officially sponsor any delegates, it kept a watchful eye on the conference, and identified a bloc of women led by Shirley Du Bois as inimical to U.S. interests. The agency reported that these women’s inclusion and the shift from a conference directed by NGOs to one instructed by the African government meant that the meeting was no longer apolitical. It was especially ironic given America’s own propaganda tours throughout the continent.<sup>210</sup> Information about the conference proceeding was supplied to the U.S. government by a “usually reliable source” and Helen Elsie Austin, an African American woman whom the NCNW aided in gaining employment as an assistant public affairs officer of the Consulate General, Lagos that January.<sup>211</sup>

Despite unexpected shifts in the conference make-up, the State Department declared that views on America were moderate and “due in large part to the vigorous efforts of a small group of dedicated members of the U.S. delegation.”<sup>212</sup> Leading this company was Ferebee, who was representing the Women’s Africa Committee of the African American Institute, an international group of American women (though nearly all White) that sought to bring African and American women “into closer relationship.” As an affiliate of the Committee on Correspondence, the organization was also uniquely tied to funding of the American Central Intelligence Agency.<sup>213</sup> Ferebee’s fellow member, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, who was also there representing the Daughter Elks of America and the Ad Hoc Committee on South Africa (mentioned in chapter five of this dissertation). Hedgeman claimed that her “service . . .to guests from many nations” in New York led her to serve as the keynote speaker. Though giving an address on “Women in Public Life,” she made no mention of the NACW, the NCNW, or any other Black women’s organization in the United States. Hedgeman most important work came when she along with Ferebee, who served on both the steering and resolutions committees, stemmed the tide of criticism against the U.S., until the arrival of Mary Helen Jones, Ophelia Rodgers, Jeanne L. Noble, and Pauli Murray.<sup>214</sup>

When Du Bois introduced a resolution that condemned racial discrimination in the U.S., South America, Algeria, South Africa, and the Congo, the pro-U.S. delegation rejected their nation’s placement in this same group. The delegates circulated a statement to this effect on the fourth and final day of the conference that was signed by ten women. In it, the women tried all at once to uphold and to identity themselves with African



heritage and the current struggle, to combat the surges of nationalism, and to uphold their American “personality, identity, and heritage.”<sup>215</sup> In the end, the State Department declared that while communism was a real threat in Ghana, the meeting was not “unfavorable” to American interests. It also became clear to the agency that it needed draw upon African American women, especially those belonging to organizations represented here in the same way that it included White women’s groups.<sup>216</sup>

A year later, Kittrell again traveled to Africa, this time to Guinea, which came on the heels of her second NCNW honor scroll in 1961 recognizing her internationalism dating back to 1947. Before her departure, she graduated her first class of students in the Home Economics Workshop on African Life—a six-week program that enrolled African women who were already students in American schools. The initiative, which Kittrell developed and directed, was co-sponsored by Howard University, the African American Institute of New York City, and the State Department.<sup>217</sup> Although little information appears in the State Department records related to Kittrell’s trip to Guinea, her private correspondence from Conakry shows that she informed multiple individuals in the Congo that she was “now in Guinea on a mission for our State Department.”<sup>218</sup> She was writing to them because she planned to travel to the Congo after the completion of her assignment, but had achieved little success in planning. This was because since Kittrell’s arrival to Guinea on June 14th, her agenda had been “a very full one” and she stated that this would likely remain a defining feature until her departure on August 1<sup>st</sup>. Afterwards, Kittrell did travel to Congo for her work as an educational consultant to

Congo Polytechnic Institute, a school that she had helped to organize years earlier under the auspices of the Methodist Church of the World.<sup>219</sup>

Kittrell said that her educational assistance and her apparent willingness to answer questions concerning American democracy helped to make “the people [of the Congo] very friendly to the United States.” For instance, although “the Little Rock questions always popp[ed] up,” Kittrell claimed that she usually turned such questions around by answering that “we (Americans) are glad to let the world know what goes on in our country,” which she viewed as a necessary part of working towards a fuller democracy.<sup>220</sup> Upon leaving the Congo, Kittrell continued on to Mozambique and Rhodesia. When attempting to travel into South Africa to study conditions there, she called up her State Department references, who contacted the embassy in Rhodesia and guaranteed that she did not present any risk, and that, in fact, she had recently provided valuable services as an American Specialist grantee to Africa. The local embassies complied with the request, awarded her the visa, and secured her safe accommodations with the Ambassador in South Africa for one week. After all, Kittrell’s missionary work was still important to American interests in that she was helping to ward off Communism.<sup>221</sup> When Kittrell returned to the U.S. in September and soon thereafter was refused service in a restaurant in Laurel, Maryland, the incident became front-page news. In particular, two White women writing in her defense highlighted Kittrell’s intelligence, poise, and character as well as her service to the county as a specialist in technical assistance programs as reasons that she should not have had to endure such humiliation.<sup>222</sup>

This same year and the next found a number of the African American women who traveled abroad as Good-Will Ambassadors filling a number of positions within the American government as well as gaining a number of awards at organizational, local, state, and federal levels. Vivian Carter Mason was appointed an assistant chief of recruitment for the Peace Corps while Sampson's work at the United Nations led to her inclusion on the United States Citizens Commission of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1960 and again in 1962.<sup>223</sup> Stewart worked to make Toledo, Ohio more international through a number of entities like the Toledo Council of World Affairs, and in 1961 the city named an elementary school in her honor. Secretary of State Dean Rusk also appointed her to a three-year term on the U.S. commission for UNESCO.<sup>224</sup> In 1962, while Merze Tate produced a film for the State Department, Height, who retained her position as head of the NCNW, made her organization one of supporters of the African Negro Leadership Conference on Africa. Organizational participants advocated for a "Marshall Plan for Africa," support of newly emergent nations, sanctions against South Africa, increased appointments of Black ambassadors, and a fully integrated State Department.

Even when the members of the African Negro Leadership Conference did not gain appointments in the State Department themselves, Height recalled that most were "asked to be consultants" and that "on several occasions [they performed a number of] specific assignments that we were asked."<sup>225</sup> Height's description sounded similar to the way in which the State Department had often employed African Americans especially women, and how it would continue to do so. But in 1964, there was a bit of a change

when Charlotte Moton Hubbard, the daughter of Jennie D. Moton, the 11<sup>th</sup> president of the NACWC (1937-1941), was appointed to serve as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. In this job, Hubbard made the “State Department seem more human and caused citizens to see that foreign policy is everybody’s business and not solely the concern of some ‘eggheads’ in Washington.” While many African Americans were already happy about Hubbard’s “high post” within the agency, Flemmie Kittrell was among those who also wrote to congratulate her on the “high honor” of representing the State Department abroad in 1963.<sup>226</sup> Hubbard was selected by the State Department to travel to Uganda, Kenya, and Ethiopia “to obtain information on the programs of women’s activities” in line with U.S. missions in these countries.<sup>227</sup> Thus, the State Department utilized Hubbard in a similar manner before hiring her that next year.

In 1964, Dorothy B. Ferebee, who had been serving as a medical consultant for the State Department for years, found herself traveling abroad once more. Ferebee’s medical tour, which was created by Dean Rusk, was the first of its type. Rusk clearly wanted the trip to be the length of one year, but because Howard University permitted Ferebee leave for only five months, it was shortened, and some sixteen rather than forty countries remained on the itinerary. From April through August, Ferebee traveled from South America to West and Central Africa and finally to the Middle East, providing speeches that were often deepened by educational films to both American and native audiences on public health and preventive medicine and health measures. She also spent her time gathering data on the major health hazards and diseases and visiting nearby clinics to collect information for a report that would “advise the Medical Director on the

development of new health-education materials and techniques for more adequate orientation of Foreign Service personnel.”<sup>228</sup>

In her role as consultant and liaison (essentially serving as the face of the State Department in these nations), Ferebee reported that her tour did two things. First, it helped American Foreign Service agents feel that the State Department cared about their wellbeing as they served in these “hardships posts.” Second, it also made the indigenous populations feel that America was a democratic and compassionate nation and cared about their own health and survival.<sup>229</sup> It is likely that the State Department, which agreed to reduce the length and scope of the trip, knew that Ferebee would be well-received in these nations and that the benefits that she mentioned would be the outcome. In fact, the State Department noted that one strong reason for her appointment was that she had already established friendly contacts with several nations in Africa.<sup>230</sup>

This same trip illustrates how Ferebee might have extended the parameters of lecture tour to fulfill her own agenda and/or that the State Department did not mind and anticipated this. Like Kittrell, Ferebee’s previous travels to Africa caused her to fall in love with the continent. Nonetheless, Ferebee really could only afford to travel there only when someone else was footing the bill. Wherever Ferebee went American groups with which she was affiliated made sure that there were women’s groups awaiting her arrival. These groups ushered her off to speak and to participate in assemblies, community visitations, and ceremonies, where she nearly always talked about African American progress, the work of women’s groups, and higher education.<sup>231</sup>

Although stressing that there were not nearly enough exchange programs between the U.S. and Africa, Ferebee counted her 1964 lecture trip as one of great benefit. As she told her audiences and the State Department, she felt, “privileged to learn so much [and] to become acutely aware of the vastness of the[se] countries and the gravity of their problems,” and she was excited to “have had a part in serving these people [and] in helping to advance their level of living.” Ferebee expressed similar sentiments about her role in the Escort Interpreter Training Course within the agency. One of Ferebee’s most well received public lectures, entitled “The Problems Confronting the African Peoples as seen through the Eyes of an American,” demonstrates that she continued to take seriously her original role at the UN founding conference: “Appreciative Interpreter of Racial Cultures.”<sup>232</sup>

For the women in this study, international exchange programs served as an important way to travel and to work internationally all while doing what they considered to be the important “dual task” of the nation’s, the race’s, and sometimes even their own work that led to publishing and the establishment of institutes. Even when they maintained that their involvement was chiefly motivated by Christian ideas about neighborliness as well as beliefs in community service, these women’s roles as liaisons, researchers, consultants, lecturers and institution builders/organizers, and more so as Black American women, served as an important part of America’s Cold War cultural diplomacy. While the U.S. State Department was intent on using these women in this way, nearly all of these travelers showed themselves eager not only to prove their patriotism to their country and to defend it against claims by the Soviet Union, but also to

wield their participation in arguments for freedom and equality at home and abroad. After all, they fundamentally believed the reports that they provided to their foreign audiences: that American race relations had come a long way and had a mighty long way to go, but that an enduring commitment to democracy was the best means of securing full equality and peace.

Upon their return to the U.S., nearly all of these travelers took up heavy lecture schedules that granted them increased status and buoyed their income. Even more, African American women's groups like the NACWC and the NCNW not only made up part of the eager audiences for these women, but also granted them awards and frequently counted this participation as a part of their organizational agenda and accomplishments. In the instances that travelers were not yet members, the Association and Council courted them for membership. But the NACWC and NCNW were not just content to stand by the wayside. In the late 1950s, these organizations took up their own foreign travels, through which hundreds of their members and supporters traveled to countries in Europe and the Middle East. While Association members visited historical sites, schools, and social service industries, the Council did the same and made connections with women's groups belonging to the National Council of Women. Though some council members petitioned for side-trips to Africa, these segments were nearly always cancelled due to low participation. While both the NACWC's and the NCNW's travels fell squarely within the geo-politics of the American Cold War framework, the Council actually titled its ventures with the same designation as the the United States Information Agency: "People-to-People." These trips that gained the NACW and NCNW a "place in the sun," not only

granted them recognition in the Black press and the Black community, but also were important tools that they hoped would bring about effective change in terms of racial equality.



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<sup>1</sup> Emphasis in the original. In order to qualify, the “lucky lady” needed to sell more than 300 subscriptions. Advertisement in the Spring 1940 issue of the *AfroAmerican Woman’s Journal*, Box 1, Folder 5, Series 13, Council of Negro Women Papers, National Park Service-Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, NHS, Washington, D.C. Hereafter cited as NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid; and Sue Thurman, “Editorial: From Northfield to Havana, An Appreciation,” in *AfroAmerican Women’s Journal* (Summer and Fall 1940): p. 3, Box 1, Folder 6, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; “Cubans Plan to Honor Mother of Gen. Maceo,” *Chicago Defender*, September 27, 1930; and “Cubans Celebrate Birthday Of Antonio Maceo, Black Patriot,” *The Chicago Defender*, March 2, 1940.

For a discussion of Cuba in the larger American imagination, see Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). For works on the connections between Afro-Cubans and African Americans, see Lisa Brock and Digna Castañeda Fuertes, *Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans before the Cuban Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); and Ruth Reitan, *The Rise and Decline of An Alliance: Cuba and African-American Leaders in the 1960s* (Michigan State University Press, 1999); and Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 287-297.

<sup>3</sup> “Overheard in the Capital,” *The Afro American*, September 7, 1940. Thurman’s earlier travels are discussed in chapter four of this dissertation.

<sup>4</sup> Esme E. Bhan, “Dorothy B. Porter,” in *Notable Black American Women*, Jessie Carney Smith, ed (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992), 86-864.

No additional information could be located on the Federation of Young Negroes.

<sup>5</sup> “Brilliant Homage Paid the Ladies of Washington by the Governor,” *AfroAmerican Women’s Journal* (Spring 1940): 6, Box 1, Folder 6, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>6</sup> “Brilliant Homage Paid the Ladies of Washington by the Governor,” 6. These individuals as well as those giving lectures during the seminar referred to the population as “Cuban Negro.” Evelio Grillo used this same designation in his book: *Black Cuban, Black American: A Memoir* (Houston, Tex: Arte Público Press, 2000), 25 and 72-76. Also see Chapter four of Frank Guridy’s *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow*, which takes up the Grillo family in great detail (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

<sup>7</sup> “From the Report of the Editor of the Journal,” *AfroAmerican Woman’s Journal* (Conference Issue, 1941): 11, Box 1, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

Evelio Grillo graduated from Xavier in June of 1940. “Xavier University,” *The Chicago Defender*, June 15, 1940. In his biography, Evelio recalled a conversation that he once held with Sue Thurman wherein she suggested that he consider becoming a diplomat since he spoke both Spanish and English fluently, was intelligent, and valued cross-cultural interactions. Evelio Grillo, *Black Cuban, Black American: A Memoir* (Houston, Tex: Arte Público Press, 2000), 25 and 72-76.

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<sup>8</sup> In the Council's journal, the archives committee especially claimed that Sylvia's "American birth and education [then at Miner's College, a historically Black college in Washington D.C.] as well as [her] Cuban parentage, [meant that she could] interpret the hopes and dreams of each group to the other." Sue Thurman, "The Seminar in Cuba," *AfraAmerican Women's Journal* (Spring 1940): 4, Box 1, Folder 6, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>9</sup> Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 183. African American travelers to the Cuba were not the only ones to admire these two organizations since they were also well presented in the Black press back at home. See "Real Strongholds of Democracy," *The Chicago Defender*, December 14, 1940; and "Cubans Progressing Side by Side with Whites As Color Line Does Not Exist," *The Chicago Defender*, January 18, 1936.

For broader readings on Cuban activism, see Alejandra Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 89-92; Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); and K. Lynn Stoner, *From the House to the Streets: The Cuban Woman's Movement for Legal Reform, 1898-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).

<sup>10</sup> "The Seminar in Cuba," 5; and Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 186.

<sup>11</sup> "The Seminar in Cuba," 5; and "Brilliant Homage Paid the Ladies of Washington by the Governor," in *AfraAmerican Woman's Journal* (Summer and Fall 1940): 6, Box 1, Folder 6, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>12</sup> "The Seminar in Cuba," 4 and 5.

<sup>13</sup> "Committee Reports," *Aframerican Woman's Journal* (Winter 1941): 8, Box 1, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>14</sup> On the Good Neighbor Policy and Cuba, see, Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 176-182; and Dennis Merrill, *Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America* (Chapel Hill [N.C.]: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 4 and 131. These two authors show that the Good Neighbor Policy in Cuba was really a continuation of early policies, but a difference in tactics, Robert Freeman Smith, *The United States and Cuba: Business and Diplomacy, 1917-1960* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1961); and Irwin F. Gellman, *Roosevelt and Batista: Good Neighbor Diplomacy in Cuba, 1933-1945* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973). For a broader study of the Good Neighbor policy, see Amy Spellacy, "Mapping the Metaphor of the Good Neighbor: Geography, Globalism, and Pan-Americanism during the 1940s," *American Studies* (Summer 2006): 39-66. For a more geographic-specific study, which locates tourism as a form of diplomacy that complemented the Good Neighbor Policy towards Mexico, see Dina Berger, "Goodwill Ambassadors on Holiday: Tourism, Diplomacy, and Mexico-U.S. Relations," in Diana Berger, and Andrew Grant Wood, *Holiday in Mexico: Critical Reflections on Tourism and Tourist Encounters* (Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2010), 107-129.

<sup>15</sup> Alejandro De La Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 204. For a

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theoretical and empirical study on the “politics of respectability,” see Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

<sup>16</sup> Fuente, *A Nation for All*, 204.

<sup>17</sup> “The Seminar in Cuba,” 5.

<sup>18</sup> “Brilliant Homage Paid,” *Aframerican Woman's Journal* (Spring 1940): 6. Cala’s sentiments that placed African Americans as leaders of *la raza de color* (the colored race) were to some extent welcomed and celebrated by NCNW. More importantly, this taxonomy speaks to the “live dialogue” of concepts like modernity, Blackness, belonging, and longing in the African Diaspora. The 1940 seminar deepened these notions with its focus on women. For a discussion of identity and hybridity as it relates to modernity and diaspora see, Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), especially 16-68; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); and Sidney J. Lemelle and Robin D. G. Kelley, *Imagining Home: Class, Culture, and Nationalism in the African Diaspora* (London: Verso, 1994). Cala was incredibly interested in building relationships between the two populations. So much so that after an August 1950 visit, African American visitor Maceo Taylor dubbed him the “Biggest Race Man” in Cuba. Maceo Taylor and Harold Owsley, “Our Five Days in Havana,” *Chicago Defender*, August 17, 1940.

<sup>19</sup> Howard Thurman, *With Head and Heart: The Autobiography of Howard Thurman* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 90. Lescot gave an historical account of Haitian women’s activism in the same issue of the journal that covered the Cuban seminar. “Diplomatic Hostess,” *AfraAmerican Woman's Journal* (Spring 1940): 28, Box 1, Folder 6, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>20</sup> Advertisement in the 1941 conference issue of the *AfraAmerican Woman's Journal* Box 1, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and “Chicago in 1941,” *The Afro American* (Baltimore), November 2, 1940. Later, the amount increased to \$185 when Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic were added as ports of call. A \$25 deposit was due by July 15<sup>th</sup> and the balance by August 5<sup>th</sup>. Advertisement, n.d, Box 2, Folder 26, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

The advent of automobile travel opened up different sections of countries for travel, while also helping Blacks to lessen their experiences with racial discrimination. In fact, in his trip to Cuba, W.E.B. Du Bois and Irene Diggs drove the entire Coast meeting with the intelligentsia of the country rather than simply staying in Havana, which was the norm. DuBois claimed it was the most restful trip took and that when he returned to the U.S., he was invigorated to continue his work fighting racial injustices. Later, Diggs returned to Cuba as a student during which time she served as a correspondent for the American Negro Press. Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 156, 166, and 181.

<sup>21</sup> Annie Belle Weston to Mary McLeod Bethune, March 16, 1941, Box 1, Folder 17 Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Mary McLeod Bethune to Dorothy B. Fassit, n.d.; and Blanche Williams Anderson to Florence Norman, June 30, 1941, Box 1, Folder

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20, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH. Anderson was encouraged to join the NCNW by Addie Dickerson, who died the year before. On Anderson see: Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice: African American Women and Religion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 385. For more on the Berean School see an article written by its 1909 principal. Matthew Anderson, "Berean School of Philadelphia and the Industrial Efficiency of the Negro," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Jan., 1909): 111-118. On Weston, see Bruce A. Glasrud and Merline Pitre, *Southern Black Women in the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (College Station, Tex: Texas A&M University Press, 2013), 125; and "Dr. Annie Weston, Distinguished Educator," March 12, 1968, *Washington Afro-American*.

<sup>22</sup> "American Women to attend Seminar in Haiti," *Chicago Defender*, July 26, 1941; Mary McLeod Bethune to Sue Thurman, May 5, 1941, Box 1, Folder 19, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Bethune to Thurman, July 3, 1941, Box 1, Folder 21, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>23</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune to Sarah Spencer Washington, July 23, 1941, Box 2, Folder 22, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>24</sup> Sue Thurman to Mary McLeod Bethune, July 10, 1941, p. 3, Box 2, Folder 22, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and "From the Report of the Editor of the Journal," *Aframerican Woman's Journal* (Winter 1941): 11-12, Box 1, Folder 7, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH. In her write-up of the San Francisco founding conference, Thurman told how the proceedings convinced her that the NCNW needed to return to its pre-war inter-cultural seminar method, but it never did. *AfraAmerician Woman's Journal* (June 1945): 5.

<sup>25</sup> Justin Hart, *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>26</sup> Report of the President, January 24, 1949, p. 5, Box 4, Folder National Association of Colored Women, Illness, July, 1959, National Emergency Conference, January 24, 1959, Rosa L. Gragg Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library. Hereafter referred to as the Gragg Papers, DPL.

After 1954, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) utilized the name National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC), which followed the trend set by state federations in prior years. For historical accuracy, this paper uses "NACW" prior to 1954 and "NACWC" from 1954 onward.

<sup>27</sup> Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 4. For more information on America's use of athletes as goodwill ambassadors, see Damion L. Thomas, *Globetrotting: African American Athletes and Cold War Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

<sup>28</sup> "Freedom is Everybody's business" was the NCNW's conference theme for 1951. *Telefact* (January-February 1951): 5, Box 2, Folder 8, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>29</sup> Patricia de Santana Pinho, "African-American Roots Tourism in Brazil," *Latin American Perspectives* (May, 2008): 70-86; Bayo Hosley, "Transatlantic Dreaming:

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Slavery, Tourism, and Diasporic Encounters," in *Homecomings: Unsettling Paths of Return*, eds. F.A.S. Markowitz, (New York: Lexington Books, 2004), 166-182; Edward M. Bruner, "Tourism in Ghana: The Representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora," *American Anthropologist* (June 1994): 290-304; and Sandra L. Richards, "What Is to Be Remembered?: Tourism to Ghana's Slave Castle-Dungeons," *Theatre Journal* (December 2005): 617-637. For a longer history of African Americans' trips in the African diaspora, see James T. Campbell, *Middle Passages: African American Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005* (New York: Penguin, 2006).

<sup>30</sup> "National Council Plans Boat Party," *Washington Afro American*, June 9, 1945.

<sup>31</sup> Press Release, "South American Representatives to meet on NCNW's Potomac Cruise," June 7, 1945, Box 32, Folder 480, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>32</sup> Juanita Welch Brown to Juanita Temple, March 24, 1945, Box 32, Folder 480, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>33</sup> "Minutes, Steering Committee, South American Cruise, May 8, 1945; and Press Release, "South American Representatives to meet on NCNW's Potomac Cruise," June 7, 1945, Box 32, Folder 480, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>34</sup> "Program," (circa June 1945), Box 32, Folder 480, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Vivian Mason to R. H. Lalevee, March 10, 1946; Bethune to Robert E. Lee Steamboat Corporation, April 10, 1946; Lalevee to Bethune, April 24, 1946; Bethune to Lalevee, April 25, 1946, all in Box 32, Folder 480, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH. The NCNW did offer another Caribbean "cruise," which occurred in July of 1952 largely out of celebration of Bethune's 77<sup>th</sup> birthday. "Caribbean Cruise," *Telefact* (July-August 1952): 4, Box 2, Folder 8, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>37</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune to the Women of Cuba, July 25, 1946, Series 5, Box 1, Folder 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>38</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune to Asociación Cultural Feminina, August 28, 1946, Box 1, Folder 6, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and S. Henry Grillo to Mary McLeod Bethune, August 30, 1946, Reel 4, Folder S. Henry Grillo, 1946-1949, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers: The Bethune Foundation Collection, Part 2: Correspondence Files, 1945-1955.

<sup>39</sup> Bethune to Mame Mason Higgins, August 15, 1945, Box 1, Folder 6, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 180.

<sup>40</sup> Mackey Castille to Mary McLeod Bethune, March 9, 1941, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>41</sup> Meghan Threlkeld, "The Inter-American Commission of Women: Sources on Hemispheric Solidarity," in *Women and Social Movements*, International database, Thomas Dublin, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Alexander Street Press, eds.

<sup>42</sup> Sue Bailey Thurman to Bethune, March 22, 1941, Box 1, Folder 17, Series 4, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> "Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell," *Telefact* (February 1947): 5, Box 2, Folder 4, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Flemmie P. Kittrell, "Two Rooms and a Kitchen: What

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One Family did about their Housing Problem,” *AfroAmerican Woman’s Journal* (March 1946): 14 and 15.

<sup>45</sup> Loy W. Henderson to Dean Acheson, June 25, 1945, Box 7138, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park. Hereafter cited as RG 59, NACP; Francis J. Colligan to Jackson Davis, November 20, 1946, Box 7138, RG 59; and Michael B. Shiskin to Julius M. Adams, April 12, 1946, Box 7138, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>46</sup> “Diet Expert Off to Liberia: Howard Scientist to Make Survey,” *Chicago Defender*, December 21, 1946; and Flemma P. Kittrell to Ralph Bridgman, November 5, 1946 in Box 104-3, Folder 16, Flemma P. Kittrell Papers, Howard University, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. Hereafter cited as Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

In the end, while Fred Swann was able to adapt to Liberian conditions and his work was reported as “stellar,” his wife, who had accompanied Kittrell and stayed behind to serve as a teacher like her husband, was found “quarrelsome.” Thus, the Liberian government did request her return in 1948. Raphael O’ Hare Lanier to Department of State, [Unclassified], Requested Report on Recipients of Department Grants, April 1, 1948, Box 4812, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>47</sup> “Dr. Flemma Kittrell, U.S. Nutritionist with a Keen Interest in Africa,” IPS/ER, p. 2 June 23, Box 104-1, Folder 9, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and Joseph C. Crew to Clarence Cannon, June 26, 1945, Box 7138, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>48</sup> Esther Ottley, “Flemma Pansy Kittrell, (1904-1980),” *Profiles* (Howard University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, December 1980), 13-14, Box 104-1, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>49</sup> “Dr. Flemma Kittrell, U.S. Nutritionist with a Keen Interest in Africa,” IPS/ER, June 23, Box 104-1, Folder 9, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; Flemma P. Kittrell to Francis J. Colligan, November 14, 1946, Box 7138, RG 59, NACP; J. St. Claire Price to Francis J. Colligan, June 3, 1946, Box 4182, RG 59, NACP; and T.E. Bracken to Mr. Russell, Proposed Agreement between the Department of State and Howard University, June 26, 1946, Box 4182, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>50</sup> “Preliminary Food and Nutrition Survey, December 1946-June, 1947,” p. 2, Box 104-13, Folder 11, Kittrell Papers, MSRC. For a condensed version and lecture format of this same report, see “A Nutrition Survey of Liberia: A Discussion of Some Important Findings,” n.d., Box 104-13, Folder 5, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>51</sup> Liberian Praised by Hampton Lecturer, *New Journal and Guide* (Norfolk, VA) July 26, 1947.

<sup>52</sup> “April 5 Memo by MGH [sic] for Reference,” n.d., Box 104-1, Folder 9, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>53</sup> Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 146-164.

<sup>54</sup> Unknown Writer to Sue Bailey Thurman, August 29, 1947, Box 3, Folder: T: 1918-1969, in Bailey Thurman-HGARC Papers; “List of Women,” n.d., Box 8, Folder: First Inter-American Congress of Women, in Bailey Thurman-HGARC Papers; and “Liberian

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Legation Welcomes Former President, Now Minister to America,” *Cleveland Call and Post*, August 9, 1947.

<sup>55</sup> Unknown Writer to Sue Bailey Thurman, August 29, 1947, Box 3, Folder: T: 1918-1969, in the Sue Bailey Thurman Papers in the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University; “List of Women,” n.d., Box 8, Folder: First Inter-American Congress of Women, in Bailey Thurman-HGARC Papers; and Brochure, “Excursion Social-Cultural A los Estados Unido,” n.d., Box 30, Folder 447, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>56</sup> Guridy, *Forging Diaspora* 176-182; and Dennis Merrill, *Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America* (Chapel Hill [N.C.]: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 4 and 131.

<sup>57</sup> “Howard U. Gets Gift of 68 Cuban Volumes,” *Chicago Defender*, October 2, 1943.

<sup>58</sup> Guridy, *Forging Disapora*, 176-188; “Cubans Our Neighbors: Very much Like Us...,” *Chicago Defender*, February 3, 1940; and Ramon Cabrera Torres to National Council of Negro Women, July 17, 1947, Box 30, Folder 447, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>59</sup> Programa e Itinerario a Washington y New York, Box 30, Folder 447, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>60</sup> Pirie Gordon, “Incidental Tourism: British Imperial Air Travel in the 1930s,” *Journal of Tourism History* (2009): 49-66; and Hugh Somerville, “International Transport and Climate Change: Taking Responsibility Seriously,” in *Responsible Tourism: Concepts, Theories and Practices*, ed. David Leslie (Cambridge, MA: CAB International, 2012), 43-46.

<sup>61</sup> Guridy discusses the relationship between Claude Barnett and Evelio Grillo, see *Forging Diaspora*, 191-192.

<sup>62</sup> “Cubans Visit Chicago On Good-Will Tour,” *The Chicago Defender*, August 12, 1950; and “National Grapevine,” *The Chicago Defender*, August 27, 1949; “International Dateline,” *The Chicago Defender*, August 18, 1951; and Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 191-192.

<sup>63</sup> Advertisement, “We Invite you,” Box 30, Folder 449, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Mary McLeod Bethune to Mordecai Johnson, July 24, 1957, Box 30, Folder 447, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Untitled Lists of names, n.d., Box 30, Folder 447, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>64</sup> Jeanetta Welch Brown to Charles H. Houston, July 19, 1948, Box 30, Folder 448 Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>65</sup> Bethune to Unaddressed, n.d., Box 30, Folder 448, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>66</sup> “Un Magazin dedicao a todas las mujeres del mundo” and “Welcome!” Box 30, Folder 449, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH. Grillo wrote that the club in Cuba wanted a letter (in English or Spanish) that acknowledged the NCNW’s receipt of the Cuban flag. Henry Grillo to Jeanetta Welch Brown, August 9, 1948, Box 30, Folder 448, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH NCNW Papers.

<sup>67</sup> Bethune to Club Jóvenes del Vals' (Havana, Cuba), August 18, 1948, Box 30, Folder 448, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH. It is possible that there was no translator present. It seems that in other events in 1947 and 1948, Eunice Lee of Howard University served

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in this capacity. See, Untitled Document, July 17, 1947[?], Box 30, Folder 448, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Proposed Program, n.d., Box 30, Folder 447, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>68</sup> Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 190-193.

<sup>69</sup> Cuban-American Goodwill Association, July 5, 1954, Box 3, Folder 25, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; "Warm Ain't It?" *The Chicago Defender*, August 16, 1947; "That's That," *The Chicago Defender*, August 27, 1949; "NCNW Fete Cubans," *Telefact* (August 1949), Box 2, Folder 6, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH. Bethune also served as a recommender for Grillo when he applied for a promotion at the US Post Office. Bethune to Arthur E. Summerfield, July 20, 1954, Box 3, Folder 25, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH. For Afro-Cubans' early relationships with Tuskegee, see chapter two of Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*.

<sup>70</sup> Robert Moten Williams to NCNW, August 4, 1948, Box 30, Folder 448, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>71</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune to S. Henry Grillo, August 20, 1949, Reel 4, Folder S. Henry Grillo, 1946-1949, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers: The Bethune Foundation Collection, Part 2: Correspondence Files, 1945-1955; and "Our President Travels," *Telefact* (June 1949): 6, Box 2, Folder 6, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>72</sup> "Dr. Bethune Going to Haiti for Rest, but it Wont' be a Vacation," *Chicago Defender*, July 16, 1949.

<sup>73</sup> "American Women to Attend Seminar in Haiti," *Chicago Defender*, July 26, 1941; "Mrs. Bethune, Guest of the Haitian Government," *Telefact* (July 1949): 3, Box 2, Folder 6, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and "Haiti was Wonderful," *Woman United* (October 1949): 1, Box 1, Folder 27, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

Sadie T. Alexander professed to have strong contacts in Haiti. In a letter to Bethune she told that Ambassador Joseph D. Charles [?] had been a guest in her home the weekend prior to her writing and that she wished for Bethune to extend greetings on her and her husband's behalf to President and Madame Estime. Alexander to Bethune, July 7, 1945, Box 1, Folder 10, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>74</sup> Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women*, 271.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 316. In 1954, the NCNW was still considering changing its name. Sue Bailey Thurman headed the committee appointed "for [its] study and presentation." Minutes of the 19<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention, November 8-13, 1954, p. 8, Box 6, Folder 71, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>76</sup> Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 163; and "Mrs. Bethune Visits Haiti," *Telefact* (August 1949): 1, Box 2, Folder 6, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH. More locally, the NCNW raised funds to aid orphanages in Haiti including one run by the president's wife. Bethune to Constance Daniels, August 11, 1949, Reel 3, Folder Constance Daniel, 1947-1954, Bethune Foundation Collection, Part 2: 1914-1955.

<sup>77</sup> "Matthew J. Smith, "VIVE 1804!: The Haitian Revolution and the Revolutionary Generation of 1946," *Caribbean Quarterly* (December 2004): 25-41.

<sup>78</sup> "International Night Program," n.d., Box 34, Folder 498, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Jeanetta Welch Brown to Flemmie Kittrell, October 7, 1948, Box 19,



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Folder 312, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Flemmie Kittrell, "Food and Agriculture Conference," *Aframerican Woman's Journal* (January 1950): 16.

<sup>79</sup> Gilford W. Remington to Kittrell, January 18, 1950, Box 104-11, Folder 4, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and Wini Warren, "Flemmie Pansy Kittrell" in *Black Women Scientists in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 159.

<sup>80</sup> Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 221-22; Sam Lebovic, "From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945-1950," *Diplomatic History* (April 2013): 306; and Michael L. Krenn, *The African American Voice in U.S. Foreign Policy since World War II* (New York: Garland Pub., 1998), 36.

<sup>81</sup> Fourth and Final Report, September 3, 1951, Box 104-8, Folder 6, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and "Baroda College Meets Challenge of Modern Homemaking," August 17, 1955, *American Reporter*, Box 104-1, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>82</sup> Joseph E. Harris, "Professor Merze Tate: A Profile," n.d., p. 3-4, Box 219-1, Folder 16, Merze Tate Papers, Howard University, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. Hereafter cited as Tate Papers, MSRC.

<sup>83</sup> Who's Who Among the Consultants," NCNW 1946 Program, Box 2, Folder 29, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Report on World Security Workshop Sessions, November 14-15, 1946, Box 2, Folder 28, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH;

<sup>84</sup> Harris, "Professor Merze Tate: A Profile," 6-7; "Professor Merze Tate, A Profile," n.d. in Box 219-1, Folder 16, Tate Papers, MSRC; and "Dr. Tate Appointed to U.N. Committee," *Howard University Bulletin* (Fall 1948) Box 219-2, Folder 6, Tate Papers, MSRC.

<sup>85</sup> New Delhi to Secretary of State, November 7, 1950 [Confidential], Box 2534, RG 59, NACP; and New Delhi to Secretary of State, December 14, 1950 [Confidential], RG 59, NACP.

<sup>86</sup> For instance, see Departure from India, July 23, 1951, Box 219-12, Folder 26, Tate Papers, MSRC; Thailand, July 24-August 9, 1951, Box 219-13, Folder 4, Tate Papers, MSRC; Singapore, August 9-12, 1951, Box 219-12, Folder 38, Tate Papers, MSRC; and Observations on the Unstable Political Situation in Thailand, Box 219-13, Folder 14, Tate Papers, MSRC.

<sup>87</sup> Fulbright Years, n.d, Box 219-8, Folder 15, Tate Papers, MSRC.

<sup>88</sup> "6,000 Miles to Cairo: Where East Meets West," [Source Unknown], n.d., Box 219-1, Folder 6, Tate Papers, MSRC; Rvella Clay, "Magellan had nothing on Howard's Merze Tate after 44,00 Mile Trip," [Source Unknown], n.d., Box 219-1, Folder 6, Tate Papers, MSRC.

On Tate's pursuit of an equal salary: Merze Tate to J. St. Claire Price, October 29, 1951, Box 5, Folder 29, Tate Papers, MSRC. In 1961, Tate professed her embarrassment at having to pursue the same course of action again. See Merze Tate's Self-Appraisal, February 28, 1961, Box 219-17, Folder 43, Tate Papers, MSRC.

<sup>89</sup> Dorothy B. Ferebee to Merze Tate, October 13, 1951, Box 219-4, Folder 2, Tate Papers, MSRC.

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<sup>90</sup> Gertrude G. Cameron to Miss Kohler, April 26, 1951, Box 2450, RG 59, NACP; "President and Members of NCNW Sail for Athens, Greece and Germany," *Telefact* (March 1951): 1, , Box 2, Folder 8, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and "Resume, n.d., Box 183-1, Folder 3, Dorothy Boulding Ferebee Papers, Howard University, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. Hereafter cited as Ferebee Papers, MSRC.

<sup>91</sup> Aileen S. Miles, "Hand of Friendship: Review of the Six-Week Survey of Germany by Panel of 11 Prominent American Women," *Information Bulletin* (July 1951): 2, Box 183-16, Folder 18, Ferebee Papers, MSRC; and Dean Acheson to HICOG, June 21, 1951, Box 2450, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>92</sup> Untitled Address, n.d., p. 7, Box 183-1, Folder 7, Ferebee Papers, MSRC.

<sup>93</sup> Catherine E. Rymph, "Exporting Civic Womanhood: Gender and Nation Building," in *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945-1985*, eds. Laughlin, Kathleen A., and Jacqueline L. Castledine. (New York: Routledge, 2011), 65-79.

<sup>94</sup> Publicity Statement on Dr. Dorothy Boulding Ferebee, n.d.; and Untitled Address, n.d., p. 8, Box 183-1, Folder 1, Ferebee Papers, MSRC.

<sup>95</sup> Untitled Address, n.d., p. 8-10, Box 183-1, Folder 7, Ferebee Papers, MSRC.

<sup>96</sup> "Dr. Dorothy Ferebee..." and "On July 26, Dr. Ferebee," *Telefact* (July-August 1951): 13, Box 2, Folder 8, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

In her "Federated Clubs" column of the *Chicago Defender*, Rebecca Stiles Taylor, an NACW member, also lauded Ferebee's efforts though encouraging clubwomen more generally to pursue language courses, which would make them even more indispensable in national diplomacy. "American Women of Color are Traveling Abroad," *Chicago Defender*, April 21, 1951.

<sup>97</sup> HICOG, [The U.S. High Commissioner for Germany], Frankfurt, Germany to the U.S. Department of State, June 26, 1951, [Unclassified] Current Informational Report: HICOG Public Relations Division Coverage of U.S. Women's Panel in Germany, Box 2450, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>98</sup> HICOG, [The U.S. High Commissioner for Germany], Frankfurt, Germany to the U.S. Department of State, [Unclassified] Interim Report on Panel of U.S. Delegates, Members of the U.S. Voluntary Agencies Now Travelling in Germany, May 18, 1951, Box 2450, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>99</sup> Dorothy B. Ferebee to Heinz L. Krekeler, June 16, 1952, Box 183-4, Folder 8, Ferebee Papers, MSRC; and Linda Witt, *A Defense Weapon Known to Be of Value: Servicewomen of the Korean War Era* (Hanover: University Press of New England in Association with the Military Women's Press of the Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation, 2005), 238-239.

<sup>100</sup> "Tennessee Sate Graduate to Liberia," *Telefact* (September 1951): 3, Box 2, Folder 8, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>101</sup> "American Women of Color are Traveling Abroad," *Chicago Defender*, April 21, 1951.

<sup>102</sup> Olivia S. Henry to Jeanetta Welch Brown, April 7, 1951, Box 1, Folder 8, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Executive Committee of the NCNW to Edmonia Davidson,

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April 25, 1951, Box 1, Folder 8, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Jeanetta Welch Brown to Mary McLeod Bethune, May 1, 1951, Box 1, Folder 9, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; "Ship Ahoy!" *The Chicago Defender*, June 16, 1951; "Call of the Caribbean," *The Chicago Defender*, June 23, 1951.

<sup>103</sup> "Goodwill Visitors," *The Chicago Defender*, July 7, 1951; and "Washington's Cultural Committee Visits Colorful Haiti, Jamaica," *The Chicago Defender*, July 14, 1951.

<sup>104</sup> Edmonia W. Davidson to Merze Tate, September 20, 1954, Box 219-3, Folder 45, Tate Papers, MSRC.

<sup>105</sup> Mary L. Dudziak, "Josephine Baker, Racial Protest, and the Cold War," *Journal of American History* (September 1994): 569.

<sup>106</sup> Edith S. Sampson, "I Like America," *The Negro Digest* (December 1950): 3-8, Box 5, Folder 109, Edith Spurlock Sampson Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Harvard University. Hereafter cited as Sampson Papers, SCH; Helen Laville and Scott Lucas, "The American Way: Edith Sampson, the NAACP, and African American Identity in the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* (Fall 1996): 573-576. Quotation on page 573.

<sup>107</sup> Edith Sampson to Edith Allene, July 1, 1951, Box 3, Folder 72, Sampson Papers, SCH.

<sup>108</sup> HICOG, Frankfort to Department of State, November 5, 1951 [Confidential]; HICOG, Frankfort to Department of State, October 30, 1951 [Confidential]; and HICOG, Frankfort to Department of State, October 30, 1951, Box 2450, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>109</sup> Mrs. Edith S. Sampson Visit to Norway, January 22-26, 1952 [Confidential], Box 2416, RG 59, NACP; and Laville and Lucas, "The American Way: Edith Sampson, the NAACP, and African American Identity in the Cold War," 574-575.

<sup>110</sup> Walter Donnelly to Sampson, June 12, 1952, Box 3, Folder 72, Sampson Papers, SCH.

<sup>111</sup> Laville and Lucas, "The American Way: Edith Sampson, the NAACP, and African American Identity in the Cold War," 576.

<sup>112</sup> Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 163-164; Claude A. Barnett to Howland Sargent, March 27, 1952, Box 3, Folder 72, Sampson Papers, SCH.

<sup>113</sup> Sampson to Walter Donnelly, June 2, 1952, Box 3, Folder 72, Sampson Papers, SCH;

<sup>114</sup> Edith Sampson to Mary McLeod Bethune, January 26, 1952, Box 3, Folder 72, Sampson Papers, SCH; and "Foreign Service of the U.S., January 26, 1952," *Telefact* (Feb-March 1952): 1, Box 2, Folder 9, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>115</sup> Edith Sampson to Pauli Murray, April 28, 1952, Folder 1787, Papers of Pauli Murray, 1827-1985, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Hereafter cited as Murray Papers, SCH.

<sup>116</sup> "Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Founder, President Emeritus to Attend Inaugural of President W.V.S. Tubman" *Telefact* (November-Dec 1951): 3, Box 2, Folder 8, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and "Another dream realized," *Telefact* (January 1952): 1, Box 2, Folder 9, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>117</sup> Bethune to Dolcena E. Armstrong, October 22, 1952, Reel 3, Folder: Dr. Dorothy Ferebee, 1948-1952, Bethune Foundation Collection, Part 2: 1914-1955; "NCNW Well

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Represented,” *Telefact* (January 1952): n.p., Series 13, Box 2, Folder 9, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Mary McLeod Bethune to Edith Sampson, February 6, 1952, Box 3, Folder 72, Sampson Papers, SCH.

<sup>118</sup> Grace Leslie, “United for a Better World: Internationalism in the U.S. Women’s Movement, 1939-1964 (PhD Diss: Yale University, 2011), 343.

<sup>119</sup> Ruth Danehower Wilson, “Women’s Leadership Conference,” *Telefact* (April 1952): 3, Series 13, Box 2, Folder 8, NCNW Papers-NABWH Papers.

<sup>120</sup> Elaine M. Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women: Pursuing a True and Unfettered Democracy* (Alabama State University, for the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, National Historic Site, National Park Service, 2003), 316-317; and Bethune to Kittrell, February 14, 1952, Box 104-3, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; Kittrell to Bethune, February 19, 1952, Box 104-3, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and “Representing NCNW at Special Conferences,” *Telefact* (April 1951): 7, Box 2, Folder 9, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>121</sup> “Dorothy Height,” n.d., Box 12, Folder 119, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Press Release, November 22, 1957, Box 12, Folder 120, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>122</sup> “Dorothy Irene Height,” Black Women Oral History Project, p. 86-87, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

While Height and her fellow travelers journeyed to India as representatives of the Young Women’s Christian Association, a number of other African Americans appeared in India around this same time under the auspices of international humanitarian organizations like CARE and the World Health Organization (WHO). For instance, in 1952 Mary Langford, an African American employee of the World Health Organization traveled to Bangalore to establish a birth control clinic, which aligned with similar work she led in organizations such as the NCNW, Delta Sigma Theta, and the National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women. As a member of the latter two organizations that were affiliated with the NCNW, Langford was a member of the NCNW. She remained for a few years, but died suddenly in April of 1955 of a heart attack. She was buried in Bangalore. “Mary Langford, Noted Social Worker, Ex-Urban League Aide, Dies in India, the *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 7, 1955; and Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 222.

<sup>123</sup> Anna Arnold Hedgeman, *The Trumpet Sounds: A Memoir of Negro Leadership* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), 99-100.

In March of 1951 and October of 1952, the State Department sent to India its own Goodwill Ambassadors, Norman Cousins and Jay Saunders Redding, who undertook propaganda tours that bore great similarity to the ones completed by Edith Sampson in Europe. New Delhi Embassy to Department of State, March 30, 1951 [Unclassified]; and Calcutta Embassy to Department of State, October 3, 1952 [Unclassified], Box 2524, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>124</sup> Arnold Hedgeman, *The Trumpet Sounds*, 99-100.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. 101.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 102.

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 106.

<sup>128</sup> "Civic Appeal made to Pride of Negro," *New York Times*, March 29, 1954.

<sup>129</sup> Henry E. Niles to Flemmie P. Kittrell, August 13, 1953, Box 104-8, Folder 18, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and Flemmie P. Kittrell to James F. Magdanz, May 27, 1954, Box 104-8, Folder 3, Kittrell Papers, MSRC. On the Point Four Program, see Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 291; and Stephen Macekura, "The Point Four Program and U.S. International Development Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* (Spring 2013): 127-160.

<sup>130</sup> Esther Ottley, "Flemmie Pansy Kittrell, (1904-1980)," *Profiles* (Howard University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, December 1980), 12, Box 104-1, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>131</sup> Kittrell to Sallie Lou Mackinnon, May 14, 1954, Box 104-7, Folder 17, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and Kittrell to Mrs. C.A. Meeker, October 19, 1954, Box 104-7, Folder 19, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; Flemmie P. Kittrell to Merze Tate, December 31, 1953, Box 219-4, Folder 56, Tate Papers, MSRC.

<sup>132</sup> Flemmie P. Kittrell to Dorothy Height, November 16, 1954, Box 3, Folder 27, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Final Report of the Training Course for the Chief Home Economics Instructors of the I.C.A.R. Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, June 16, 1955, Box 104-15, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>133</sup> General Report, Chief Home Economist, Govt. of India, Training Program in Allahad, Hawaii, Japan, Baroda, November 19, 1954-May 27, 1955, Box 104-14, Folder 15, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and "Flemmie P. Kittrell," Black Women Oral History Project, p. 20-21, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

<sup>134</sup> "Ella Stewart Support for U.S. or U.N. Post," *Toledo Blade*, May 21, 1956, Box 4, Folder 2, Ella P. Stewart Papers, Bowling Green State University. Hereafter cited as Stewart Papers, BGSU; "Ohio Politics," *Toledo Blade*, October 23, 1954, Box 4, Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU; "Prominent U.S. Women leader Arrives in Djakarta," *Toledo Blade* December 23, 1954, Box 4, Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU; and James M., Lambie, Jr. [?]: to Robert A. Taft, May 21, 1953, Box 3, Around the World Scrapbook, n.p., Ella P. Stewart Papers, Ward M. Canaday Center, Special Collections, The University of Toledo. Hereafter cited as Stewart Papers, TOL.

<sup>135</sup> "The Role of Negro Women in the American Economic Life," n.d, Box 1, Folder 10, Ella P. Stewart Papers, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center, Xenia, Ohio.

<sup>136</sup> Harold E. Howland to Whom it May Concern, September 17, 1954, Box 4, Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU; "2 American Women Leaders Arrive in Lahore," *The Pakistan Times* [?], n.d., Box 4, Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU; "Three Months Abroad," [Unknown Newspaper Clipping], Box 4, Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU; Ella P. Stewart, Personal Notes in the Around the World Scrapbook, n.p., Box 3, Folder: Around the World Scrapbook, Stewart Papers, TOL; "Honor to Former President: Ella Stewart," *National Notes* (November 1954): n.p.; "6,000 are Exchanged Yearly in Education

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Plans,” *Toledo Blade Bureau* [date unknown], Box 4, Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU; and Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

<sup>137</sup> For Cold War Civil Rights, especially see Mary L. Dudziak, "Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative," *Stanford Law Review* (November 1988): 61-120; Mary L. Dudziak, "Little Rock Crisis and Foreign Affairs: Race, Resistance, and the Image of American Democracy," *Duke Law Journal* (December 2006): 721-780.

<sup>138</sup> "US Negroes' Progress told to Asian Peoples," [Unknown Newspaper Clipping] February 16, 1956, Box 4 Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU; and "What the Leaders say about the Court Decision" *The Afro American*, May 25, 1954.

<sup>139</sup> Charlotte B. Smart to Ella P. Stewart, January 10, 1955, Box 4 Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU.

<sup>140</sup> Interview, [circa Jan Feb 1955], Box 4 Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU; and "Ella Stewart," [Unknown Newspaper Clipping], Box 4 Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU.

<sup>141</sup> Harold E. Howland to Stewart, April 8, 1955, Box 4, Folder 2, Stewart Papers, BGSU.

<sup>142</sup> Ella P. Stewart to My Friends and Associates, January 4, 1956, in Box 6, Folder 7, Ella P. Stewart Papers, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center, Xenia, Ohio.

<sup>143</sup> "Irene McCoy Gaines Slated for Far East Post," *Jet Magazine* (September 23, 1954): 5, Box 7, Folder 7, Irene McCoy Gaines Papers in the Chicago History Museum, Research Center. Hereafter cited as the Gaines Collection, RCC. Letters of congratulations concerning the post include: Hattie J. Calloway to Irene McCoy Gaines, September 17, 1954, Box 4, Folder 2, Gaines Collection, RCC; and Mary E.C. Gregory to Gaines, September 29, 1954, Box 4, Folder 2, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>144</sup> Irene McCoy Gaines to Dwight D. Eisenhower, September 18, 1954, Box 1, Folder Dwight D. Eisenhower, University Archives Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Hereafter cited as Gaines Collection, UIUC.

<sup>145</sup> [Sic], Ibid.; *Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Washington, D.C., July 27-August 2, 1946*, Volume 2, p. 3, from *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of the National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

<sup>146</sup> Gaines to Dwight D. Eisenhower, May 5, 1955, Box 1, Folder: Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gaines Collection, UIUC.

<sup>147</sup> Gaines to Stewart, July 3, 1956, Box 5, Folder 2, Gaines Collection, RCC; and Gaines to Stewart February 7, 1956, Box 5, Folder 2, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>148</sup> Irene McCoy Gaines to Max Rabb, November 11, 1955, Box 1, Folder: Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gaines Collection, UIUC.

<sup>149</sup> "New Field For Women Workers: Guided Tours," *National Notes* (June 1954): 34-35; "National Stop-Gap Committee Launches Signature Drive," *National Notes* (June 1954): 25; and Dora Needham Lee, "Technical Assistance Program," *National Notes* (June 1954): 23. Reprinted from the "What the United Nations has done for the United States," compiled for the Pan Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association.

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<sup>150</sup> “New Field For Women Workers: Guided Tours,” *National Notes* (June 1954): 34.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Irene McCoy Gaines to Alberta Braxton, March 14, 1956, *National Notes* (February 1956): 5.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> “Women’s Club Group calls on Carib Tour,” *Kingston Jamaica Paper*, August 8, 1956, Box 5, Folder 3, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>155</sup> Irene McCoy Gaines to Members of the NACW Admin Board and NACWC, September 20, 1956, Box 5, Folder 3, Gaines Collection, RCC; “Mrs. Gaines Re-Elected President of NACW Following Bitter Debate,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 11, 1956, Box 9, Scrapbook, n.p. Gaines-RCC Papers; and “Birmingham Spotlight,” *The Chicago Defender*, August 11, 1956. This newspaper article announced the trip only in granting attention to the fact that the women of the Alabama delegation would be a part of it.

<sup>156</sup> Press Release, United Seaman’s Service, August 20, 1956, in Box 4, Anna Arnold Hedgeman Papers, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center, Xenia, Ohio. Hereafter cited as Hedgeman Papers, NAAMCC.

<sup>157</sup> Hedgeman, *The Trumpet Sounds*, 119.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid; and Anna Arnold Hedgeman to Jimmy Hicks, July 18, 1956, Letter #5, Box 4, Hedgeman Papers, NAAMCC. These sentiments bore greatly similarity to a speech Hedgeman delivered in March of the previous year entitled, “How the United States Can Help the Middle East to Help Itself.” Panel Speech, March 19, 1955, Box 16, Folder 9, Anna Arnold Hedgeman Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library. Hereafter cited as the Hedgeman Papers, Schomburg.

<sup>159</sup> Orna Almog writes that though France and Britain did not share the same outlook on many issues in the Middle East, they were both eager to determine a quick solution to the Suez crisis as a means of securing their position and revenue. Orna Almog, *Britain, Israel, and the United States, 1955-1958: Beyond Suez* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 77.

<sup>160</sup> Hedgeman, *The Trumpet Sounds*, 119-120; “Report for Italy,” *New York Amsterdam News*, September 1, 1956, Box 4, Hedgeman-NAAMCC Papers; and Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 278.

<sup>161</sup> Vivian Thomas Mason to Enid Baird, June 5, 1957, Box 6, Folder 69, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Minutes of Sept. 22, 1956 Executive Meeting, p. 1-2, Box 23, Folder Natl. Council of Negro Women, Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>162</sup> “The Female of the Species,” *Chicago Defender*, November 2, 1957; Press Release, October 4, 1957, Box 12, Folder 120, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Dorothy Guinn to Robert S. Leden, October 29 1957, Box 7, Folder 61, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH. In fact, Nancy Bullock Woolridge attended the 1955 Crusade for Freedom. “Nancy Bullock Woolridge, Resume,” Box 7, Folder 84, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>163</sup> Helen G. Edmonds to Vivian Mason, September 25, 1957, Box 11, Folder 112, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Vivian Thomas Mason to August Hoffman, October 10, 1957, Box 5, Folder 43, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

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<sup>164</sup> “Educator Helen Edmonds to Europe for the State Department,” *The Chicago Defender*, February 2, 1957; “Dr. Helen Edmonds 'Seconds' Ike: Dr. Helen Edmonds 'Seconds' Ike,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 25, 1956; and Helen G. Edmonds to Vivian Thomas Mason, October 10, 1957, Box 5, Folder 43, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>165</sup> Irene McCoy Gaines to Arch Cary, November 14, 1957, Box 5, Folder 5, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Emphasis in the original. Irene McCoy Gaines to Everett McKinley Dirksen November 21, 1957, Box 5, Folder 5, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>168</sup> Vivian Thomas Mason to Maneul de Moya, July 12, 1954, Box 3, Folder 25, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>169</sup> Board of Directors Meeting, November 8, 1955, p. 22, Box 7, Folder 83, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>170</sup> Vivian Thomas Mason to John Foster Dulles, January 13, 1954, Box 3, Folder 2, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 284.

<sup>171</sup> Press Release, circa 1954, Reel 19, NCNW Press Releases, 1954, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers: The Bethune Foundation Collection, Part 1: Writings Diaries, Scrapbooks, Biographical Materials, and Files on the National Youth Administration and women’s Organizations, 1918-1955.

<sup>172</sup> “Honorees 1949: The National Council of Negro Women,” *Women United* (August 1949): 20, Box 1, Folder 26, Series 13, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Rosa L. Gragg to Evelyn Amarteifio, October 17, 1958; and Evelyn Amarteifio to President of the NACW, n.d., Box 5, Folder: Ghana Women's Association, Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>173</sup> National Association of Colored Women’s Club, Inc., Report of the President, January 24, 1959, Box 4, Folder: National Association of Colored Women, Illness, July, 1959, National Emergency Conference, January 24, 1959, Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>174</sup> Gragg to Whom it May Concern, September 1960, Box 8, Folder: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., National Emergency Conference 1958, Women United for United Nations, Jan. 1958, Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>175</sup> Minutes of May 25, 1956 Executive Meeting, Box 23, Folder: Natl. Council of Negro Women, Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>176</sup> Official News Release, August 2, 1960, Box 8, Folder: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., National Emergency Conference 1958, Women United for United Nations, Jan. 1958, Gragg Papers, DPL; and Minutes of the 1960 Convention, p. 9 and 14, Box 8, Folder: Natl. Assoc. of Colored Women's Club, Gragg Papers, DPL.

<sup>177</sup> Official News Release, Carver Memorial Park, November 29 1964, p. 2, Box 25, Folder: Carver Memorial Park, Gragg Papers, DPL; Minutes of the NACW Executive Council Meeting, July 25, 1964, p. 1, Box 4, Folder: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., 1959-1964, Gragg Papers, DPL. After suffering a fall in Kaiser Hallee Restaurant in Germany, Gragg entered into legal proceedings. Rosa L. Gragg to Sadie T.M. Alexander, September 30, 1964, Box 25, Folder: Carver Memorial Park, Gragg Papers, DPL.



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For more on the Marshall Plan, see Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 157-179.

<sup>178</sup> Marguerite Cartwright to Vivian Thomas Mason, February 22, 1955, Box 4, Folder 28, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Marguerite Cartwright to Francis M. Hammond, Box 181, Marguerite Cartwright Papers, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. Hereafter cited as the Cartwright Papers, ARC. At the time of my study in Marguerite Cartwright collection, it was still largely unprocessed, thus citation reflects the status of the papers in 2013.; and Vivian Thomas Mason to Miriam Jackson, November 19, 1956, Box 4, Folder 26, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

Cartwright was but one African American female journalist who became famous in covering international news. See, Gregg Andrews, *Thyra J. Edwards: Black Activist in the Global Freedom Struggle* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2011). More generally, see Jinx C. Broussard, *African American Foreign Correspondents: A History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).

<sup>179</sup> *Rising Wind*, 248-253. For broader reading on the Bandung Conference, see Cary Fraser, "An American Dilemma: Race and Realpolitik in the American Response to the Bandung Conference, 1955," in *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, ed. Brenda Gayle Plummer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 115-140. During the Bandung Conference, Cartwright was often called on to testify as to the "Blackness" of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. "Congressman in Bandung," Box 223, Cartwright Papers, ARC.

<sup>180</sup> Accra, Ghana Embassy U.S. Department of State, April 21, 1958, US Journalist Visits Accra, April 28, 1958 [Classified] to Accra Embassy to Department of State, Ghana Press Reaction to US Statement on Conference on Independent States, May 13, 1958 [Unclassified], Box 2597, RG 84-NACP; "Illustrious Marguerite Cartwright Returns to Liberia as a Guest," *The Listener* (Monrovia, Liberia), August 5, 1958, Box 236, Cartwright Papers, ARC; "Vivid Impressions of a U.S. Journalist in Liberia," *The Listener* (Monrovia, Liberia), August 5, 1958, Box 236, Cartwright Papers, ARC

<sup>181</sup> Cartwright hoped that her visits to more than 16 countries would aid her Foreign Service application. Cartwright to Mason, [1955?], Box 4, Folder 32, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Cartwright to Harold E. Howland, August 24, 1955, Box 181, Cartwright Papers, ARC.

<sup>182</sup> Christian A. Herter to Accra, Kampala, Lagos, Monrovia, and Nairobi, Proposed Participation of Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell in American Specialists Program, [Unclassified] December 18, 1957, Box 2091, RG 59, NACP; Accra, Ghana Embassy to Department of State, October 9, 1958, Box 2; Proposed Subject for Lectures, n.d., Box 2, Record Group 84: Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Accra, Ghana, General USIS Records, National Archives College Park, Maryland. Hereafter cited as RG 84-NACP.

<sup>183</sup> Press Release, Howard University, June 24, 1959, p. 2, Box 104-1, Folder 9, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; USIS Weekly Report, August 31-September 6, 1958 to USIA-Washington D.C., Box 1, RG 84-NACP.

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<sup>184</sup> Kenneth W. Heger, "Race Relations in the United States and American Cultural and Informational Programs in Ghana, 1957-1966, Part 2," *Prologue* (Winter 1999): n.p. <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/winter/us-and-ghana-1957-1966-2.html>

<sup>185</sup> Ibid. On civil rights and foreign affairs more generally see, Mary L. Dudziak, "Little Rock Crisis and Foreign Affairs: Race, Resistance, and the Image of American Democracy," *Duke Law Journal* (December 2006): 721-780; Cary Fraser, "Crossing the Color Line in Little Rock: The Eisenhower Administration and the Dilemma of Race for U.S. Foreign Policy," *Diplomatic History* (Spring 2000): 233-64; and Paul Gordon Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988).

<sup>186</sup> Accra, Ghana Embassy to Department of State, October 9, 1958, RG 84-NACP.

<sup>187</sup> Esther Ottley, "Flemmie Pansy Kittrell, (1904-1980)," *Profiles* (Howard University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, December 1980), p. 9-10, Box 104-1, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>189</sup> Dr. Flemmie Kittrell: U.S. Nutritionist with a Keen Interest in Africa, IPS/Africa, June 23, Box 104-1, Folder 9, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>190</sup> Marguerite Scruggs, June 12, 1956, Box 104-9, Folder 25, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; Elizabeth A. Smith to Kittrell, November 8, 1959, Folder 25, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; Mary-Cushing Niles to Flemmie Kittrell, September 3, 1968; Box 104-8, Folder 19, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; Speech, "American Goals and How Others See Us," National 4-H Conference, Washington, D.C., April 24, 1963, Box 104-12, Folder 21, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and Testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 18, 1962, Box 104-13, Folder 34, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>191</sup> Memorandum of Conversation, [Confidential], October 23, 1960, Box 9, Record Group 84: Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Belgian Congo & Republic of Congo, U.S. Embassy and Consulate, Leopoldville, Classified General Records, 1934-1963; and United States Delegation to the Fifteenth General Assembly, Biographic Sketch of Zelma Watson George, n.d, NPRC Papers; Frances P. Bolton to Henry Cabot Lodge, February 14, 1958 in the Zelma George Official Personnel File of the National Personnel Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration. Hereafter cited as George-NPRC; and "Zelma George," Black Women Oral History Project, p. 9, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Frances P. Bolton recommended George two times before she finally received appointment. Frances P. Bolton to Henry Cabot Lodge, March 24, 1960. George-NPRC Personnel File.

<sup>192</sup> Sandra E. Gibbs, "Zelma Watson George," in *Notable Black American Women*, 396; "Zelma George," Black Women Oral History Project, p. 11-15, Black Women Oral History Project.

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<sup>193</sup> Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 273; Hanes Walton, Jr., *Black Women at the United Nations: The Politics, a Theoretical Model, and the Documents*, ed. Paul David Seldis and Mary Wickizer Burgess (San Bernardino, CA: R. Reginald/Borgo Press, 1995), 70-71.

<sup>194</sup> Dr. Zelma Watson George, Biography for the State Department, n.d., p. 2, George-NPRC File; Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, 33<sup>rd</sup> Biennial Convention and 66h Anniversary Session, Washington, D.C., [1962], p. 10, Reel 1 of Part 2: President Office Files. (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993); and Zelma George to Irene McCoy Gaines, Box 6, Folder 6, Gaines Collection, RCC.

<sup>195</sup> Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 273; Walton, *Black Women at the United Nations*, 41.

<sup>196</sup> "Dorothy Irene Height," Black Women Oral History Project, 99.

<sup>197</sup> Personal Data, Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, March 16, 1959, Box 1, Folder 1, Sampson Papers, SCH; "Report on Latin America," December 20, 1958, Box 5, Folder 113, Box 1, Folder 1, Sampson Papers, SCH; and "Dorothy Irene Height," Black Women Oral History Project, 96-103.

<sup>198</sup> "Dorothy Height, Edith Sampson Join Tour," *The Twice a Week Philadelphia Tribune*, November 11, 1958.

<sup>199</sup> Reservations for the European Tour, May 18, 1959, Box 6, Folder 79, Series 7, NCNW Papers, NABWH; "Who's Who," Box 6, Folder 81, Series 7, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Dorothy C. Guinn to Williams Norwood Collison, June 24, 1960, Box 17, Folder 318, Series 10, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>200</sup> Invitation to Europe, 1959 Tour Brochure, Box 6, Folder 81, Series 7, NCNW Papers, NABWH; 1960 European Tour Itinerary Series 10, Box 17, Folder 314, NCNW Papers, NABWH; 1961 European Tour Itinerary, Series 10, Box 17, Folder 323, NCNW Papers, NABWH; 1966 European Tour Advertisement; and 1967 European Tour Advertisement, Box 17, Folder 333, Series 10, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

Alternatively, NACWC members appeared to have expressed interest in Europe, Bermuda, Haiti, Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands. Rosa Gragg to the Officers and Members of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., October 1959, Box 2, Hedgeman Papers, NAAMCC.

<sup>201</sup> Dorothy Height to John H. Johnson, April 17, 1959, Box 6, Folder 79, Series 7, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>202</sup> Graff to Vallie M. Kyle, June 13, 1960, Box 8, Folder: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., Gragg Papers, DPL; Holiday in Europe, Box 4, Folder: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., 1959-1964, Gragg Papers, DPL; and Dorothy C. Guinn to June Robison, June 21, 1960, Box 17, Folder 218, Series 10, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>203</sup> Alex Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary* (University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 18-47.

<sup>204</sup> Tour participants indicated their interest on biographical forms, which appear throughout Box 6, Folder 81, Series 7, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>205</sup> Dorothy C. Guinn to Mrs. Dewitt Stetten, June 28, 1960, Box 16, Folder 318, Series 10, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Dorothy C. Guinn to Earl Jackson, July 8, 1960;

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Dorothy I. Height to Alfred Boerner, July 28, 1960; and Your Itinerary, NCNW 1960 Tour with a Purpose, Box 16, Folder 319, Series 10, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>206</sup> Mason to Christian A. Herter, October 28, 1959, Box 7, Folder 61, Series 6, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>207</sup> Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth National Convention, November 11, 1959, n.p. Box 13, Folder 131, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Announcement, nd, Series 6, Box, 7, Folder 61, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>208</sup> Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 274.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 275-276.

<sup>210</sup> Confidential Foreign Service Dispatch, Conference of Women of Africa and African Descent July 29, 1960, Box 3, Records Group 84, Classified General Records Ghana/Guinea.

<sup>211</sup> Bethune to Elsie Austin, June 6, 1946; and Ralph G. Bunche to Bethune, May 21, 1946, Box 1, Folder 6, Series 5, NCNW Papers, NABWH; and Arabella Denniston to Willie Mae Polk, May 17, 1960, Box 17, Folder 317, Series 10, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

<sup>212</sup> Confidential Foreign Service Dispatch, Conference of Women of Africa and African Descent July 29, 1960, Box 3, Records Group 84, Classified General Records Ghana/Guinea.

<sup>213</sup> Rules of Procedure for the Women's Africa Committee of the African American Institute, n.d.; and "Women's Africa Committee," n.d.; Working Committees, Women's Africa Committee of the African American Institute, n.d., Box 104-14, Folder 32, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and Grace Leslie, "United for a Better World," 414.

<sup>214</sup> Hedgeman, *As The Trumpet Sounds*, 134-5; Hedgeman, "Women in Public Life," Box 8, Folder 6, Hedgeman Papers, Schomburg; and Report on the Conference of Women of Africa and African Descent, Accra, Ghana, July 14-21, 1960, Box 127, p. 2, Hedgeman Papers, NAAMC.

In 1950 and 1951, Pauli Murray applied for positions in the Division of Human Rights, UN Secretariat and the State Department. Application for Federal Employment, August 9, 1951, Folder 1292, Murray Papers, SCH; and Pauli Murray to Eleanor Roosevelt, December 7, 1950; Pauli Murray to James C. Evans, December 12, 1950, Folder 1290, Murray Papers, SCH.

<sup>215</sup> Report on the Conference of Women of Africa and African Descent, Accra, Ghana, July 14-21, 1960, Box 127, p. 2, Hedgeman Papers, NAAMC.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Ottley, "Flemmie Pansy Kittrell, (1904-1980)," 13, Box 104-1, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and "She's Off to the Congo to Organize a College," *The Washington Post*, July 30, 1961, Box 104-1, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>218</sup> Sketches of Honorees, 1961, Box 25, Folder 163, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH; Flemmie P. Kittrell to Omar L. Hartzler, June 27, 1961, Box 104-15, Folder 15; Flemmie P. Kittrell to Billy M. Starves, June 28, 1961, Box 104-10, Folder 14, Kittrell Papers, MSRC. Kittrell received her first NCNW scroll her work in dietetics. Untitled document, June 13, 1948, Box 16, Folder 270, Series 2, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

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<sup>219</sup> Report on Higher Education of Women in the Congo, August 22, 1962, Box 104-12, Folder 21, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and Second Report on Higher Education of Women in the Congo, Box 104-11, Folder 9, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>220</sup> "She's Off to the Congo to Organize a College," *The Washington Post*, July 30, 1961, Box 104-1, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

<sup>221</sup> Department of State, U.S. Information Agency to Johannesburg USITO, July 30, 1962 [Unclassified]; Department of State, U.S. Information Agency to Salisbury USITO, August 2, 1962 [Unclassified]; and Pretoria Embassy to Secretary of State, August 1, 1962, [Unclassified], Box 171, RG 59, NACP; and "Flemmie P. Kittrell," Black Women Oral History Project, 38-44.

<sup>222</sup> Talks by Dr. Flemmie Kittrell, Consultation on Home Economic, Elizabethville, August 2-8, 1961, Box 104-12, Folder 27, Kittrell-MSRC-Papers; Dr. Flemmie Kittrell: U.S. Nutritionist with a Keen Interest in Africa, IPS/Africa, June 1923, Box 104-1, Folder 9, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; Application for Employment, U.S. Civil Service Commission, June 10, 1966, Kittrell Personnel File, NPRC; Francis C. Murphy and Elizabeth Murphy to Gertrude Poe, June 11, 1961, Box 104-8, Folder 2, Kittrell Papers, MSRC; and Ottley, "Flemmie Pansy Kittrell," 14, Box 104-1, Folder 10, Kittrell Papers, MSRC.

A few years later, Kittrell would protest conditions in South Africa and the United Nations' ambivalent stance concerning them by becoming one of five Americans to stage a fly-in. After being warned of what might happen if they landed in the country, the group traveled on to Zambia, a former British colony.

<sup>223</sup> "Peace Corps Recruitment Pleases New Assistant," *Chicago Defender*, October 7, 1961.

<sup>224</sup> "Planning World Affairs Council Annual Meet-Institute," April 18, 1959, Around the World Scrapbook, n.p., Toledo University, Box 3, Folder: Around the World Scrapbook Ella P. Stewart to United Nation[s] Supporters, October 10, 1957, Box 5, Folder 1, Stewart Papers, BGSU; and "Untitled Article," [Source Unknown]. November 2, 1963, Box 5, Folder 1, Stewart Papers, BGSU. Thirteen years later two "mini-museums" were erected in Stewart's honor. They included mementos collected during her travels. Historical Highlights in the Life of Ella Nora Phillips Stewart, n.d. p.2, Box 1, Folder 6, Stewart Papers, TOL.

<sup>225</sup> "Dorothy Irene Height," Black Women Oral History Project, 104; Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 307-308.

<sup>226</sup> "New State Department Appointee," Press Release from the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity, May 28, 1964, Box 54-4, Folder 57. "Charlotte Moton Hubbard," n.d., Box 22, Folder 3, Charlotte Moton Hubbard Papers, the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C; Hubbard to Katie Loucheim, July 23, 1969, Box 54-1, Folder 22, Charlotte Moton Hubbard Papers, Howard University, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. Hereafter cited as Hubbard Papers, MSRC; Flemmie P. Kittrell to Charlotte Hubbard, May 10, 1964, Box 54-1, Folder 10, Hubbard Papers, MSRC.

In 1967, Hubbard was sent on a ten-day study to South Vietnam, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Japan where she spoke before military and civilian groups alike on such topics

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as “poverty,” “urban problems” and “changing status of American negroes.” She also observed “nation building” going on these countries. See “Notes on Mrs. Hubbard’s trip to Vietnam, n.d., Box 54-4, Folder 64, Hubbard Papers, MSRC; Department of State to Charlotte Hubbard, Detailed Itinerary and other Arrangements [Limited Official Use], n.d., Box 54-4, Folder 64; Department of State to Tokyo Embassy, n.d., [Unclassified] Box 54-4, Folder 64; and Department of State to Tokyo Embassy, n.d., [Unclassified], November 22, 1967, Box 116, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>227</sup> Department of State to Addis Ababa, Cairo, Kampala, and Nairobi [Unclassified], December 3, 1963, Box 3167, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>228</sup> Harold G. Beeson to Carl C. Nydell, [Unclassified] April 20, 1964, Box 183-1, Folder 11, Ferebee Papers, MSRC; and U.S. Department of State to Embassies: La Paz, Dakar, Conakry, Niamey, Freetown, Monrovia, Accra, Lome, Lagos, Yaounde, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam, and Nairobi, May 13, 1964 [Unclassified], Box 3161, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>229</sup> State Department News Release, April 1 [year?], Box 183-1, Folder 2, Ferebee Papers, MSRC; and Report Submission to Dr. Lewis K. Woodward, the Medical Director of the Department of State. April 1965. “Toward Better Health for American Personnel on Foreign Duty,” 2, Box 183-14, Folder 40, Ferebee Papers, MSRC.

<sup>230</sup> Harold G. Beeson to Carl C. Nydell, [Unclassified] April 20, 1964, Box 3161, RG 59, NACP.

<sup>231</sup> Notice, n.d., Box 183-1, Folder 10, Ferebee Papers, MSRC; and “Untitled Speech, American Association of University Women,” October 5, 1965, p. 2-3, Box 183-10, Folder 48, Ferebee Papers, MSRC.

<sup>232</sup> Untitled speech before the District of Columbia College Health Association, February 11, 1965, p. 16-17, Box 183-10, Folder 46, Ferebee Papers, MSRC; Untitled speech before the American Association of University Women, October 5, 1965, p. 12, Box 183-10, Folder 48, Ferebee Papers, MSRC; and Untitled Speech before the Department of State, Escort Interpreter Training Course, n.d., Box 183-9, Folder 24, Ferebee Papers, MSRC; and Speech, “The Problems Confronting the African Peoples as seen through the Eyes of an American,” Presented at the Beth Torah Congregation Forum, February 19, 1967, Box 183-9, Folder 36, Ferebee Papers, MSRC.

## **Conclusion**

In September 1965, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC) undertook a quilting project that spoke both to the cultural roots of its women and to a form of activism that undergirded it since its 1896 birth. In attempting to renovate the national headquarters, the president of the organization, Mamie B. Reese, requested that all clubwomen do their small part by pledging one dollar to have their names embroidered on a patch that would then carry as many other names as possible from the district.<sup>1</sup> All patches were then to be mailed to the project chairman and, at the end, sewn together to make a patchwork quilt that reflected member contributions in a collective and holistic manner. Different from patchwork quilts of the past, this one was to be made of absolutely symmetrical squares and from "beautiful purple . . . satin finished cotton" that was purchased from the Macy's department store in New York. Within just five months, the project, which included a brief extension "in order to make a more representative contribution," generated more than \$2,000 from some 150 clubs.<sup>2</sup>

By its very nature and its physical form, the Association's "Bedspread Project," all at once called upon quilting as significant cultural material and a form of activism with a modern day twist that simultaneously reflected the reality that a number still lived in poverty but also an optimism concerning Black women's overall improved economic status. In fact, a general increase in income since the Second World War did permit a

number within this population to afford commercial items including manufactured linens. In turn, until the 1960s, African American quilting was in decline. The re-emergence of quilting in the NACWC “Bedspread Project” can be viewed as a part of the “rescue” of this African American practice across the nation, but especially in the rural parts of the South during the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>3</sup> Quilting and Quilting Bee revivals represented a network of female activists committed to improving the economic circumstances of impoverished women and bringing them together in a supportive network with one another. Yet as the “patchwork look” became increasingly mainstream, some of these resulting cooperatives were employed to produce quilts for large department stores and specialty shops.<sup>4</sup>

Now, these quilt makers were required to utilize non-shrinkable and non-fade quality materials, to employ uniformity in terms of stitch and pattern, and to forego personalization in design. While still a creation constructed by African American women, which aided them in improving their economic plight, the final product was one that was deemed suitable and found desirable to predominately White consumers. Paying attention to the shifts and endurance of this craft tradition parallels rich discussion concerning the lives and experiences of African Americans and certainly speaks to their national and international efforts to secure peace, justice, and freedom. That is, across time and space, this population’s endeavors remained committed to these ends, but these actions also eventually came to serve a mainstream purpose, as Black women sought to take up methods that seemed to promise a more complete place in American fabric. This meant



more than increased incomes. It also meant power to shape and control their own destinies.

In fact, the 1975 emergence of the National Council of Negro Women's (NCNW) International Department that was underwritten by the United States' Agency for International Development not only mirrors the United Nations' International Women's Decade for Women which opened at this same time, but it is simultaneously reflective of Black women's quilting framework.<sup>5</sup> When the NCNW drew up its funding application, it called upon the activities of the days of old, which included the Cuban Seminar of August 1940. Equally important were those unofficial delegates who attended the 1945 United Nations' founding conference, who went on to lead lives dedicated to public service and global affairs.<sup>6</sup> No less significant was the activism of "ordinary" local women who committed themselves to discussing international topics with their own organizations, but also as a part of a larger public, which meant cooperation with predominately White groups. The application also cited the fact that the NCNW had long maintained observer status at the United Nations, had chartered chapters in Liberia and Nigeria, and had several of its leaders and members who had participated in international endeavors that supported US policies at home and abroad.

Finally, the application noted the work of its 26 affiliated organizations such as the Black sororities, which as early as 1948, all maintained international projects that included chartering chapters in Haiti or nations in West Africa. The National Council of Negro Women made only brief mention of beloved "Mother Bethune" in its application. Instead, it employed a "textured-cloth" approach which meant pulling together the

activities of members who were extremely involved in the Council and even those who were no longer or only recently active in order to contend that these funds were being used to both widen and deepen an already existent activism. Underlying all of these activities was the premise that Black women were and had always been true and patriotic Americans and that they had long taken up internationalism.

This dissertation has examined the efforts of organized Black women in the National Association of Colored Women Clubs and the National Council of Negro Women to better the lives for People of Color at home and abroad even in the face of resource deficiency. In noting the patchwork framework used by these organizations, which showed their stitching together of various forms of activism and activists to this end, this dissertation employed quilting as a theoretical lens. What emerged was a rich and colorful tapestry composed of various folds and fabric with assorted patterns and designs that was, importantly, sewn upon long-standing traditions of association building within the Black community. It also became clear that though Black women's internationalism was heavily influenced by the availability of political opportunities, it was often fruitful, rational, and, at its highest points, increasingly universal in nature and content.

During the 1880s and 1890s, international activism taken up by New Negro Women who emerged out of the shadows of slavery, called upon the important work of their forebears, including that of abolitionists. The tactics of moral suasion and the support of British "friends" in a trans-Atlantic movement that had once coalesced around anti-slavery agitation endured. As rising activists in a trans-Atlantic world and

movement, made smaller by nineteenth century trends of globalization, Black women sought to convince former abolitionists who had increasingly turned their attention to international mobilization around issues such as temperance, suffrage, persecution, and violence, that there was still real work to be done on behalf of emancipated Blacks. While the scholarship has granted attention to the travels of Black women for moral and material aid, particularly the activities of Ida B. Wells, less discussed is literary activism to this same end.

Although Wells presented herself as the “lone warrior” in the anti-lynching campaign before the English public and in her autobiography, her efforts were tied to a much larger advocacy network. While not discounting the fact that Wells was, in fact, the preeminent voice in the anti-lynching work for a time or the criticism that she received, chapter one of this dissertation, sought to view Wells among her contemporaries. There were a number of African Americans, especially clubwomen, who also believed in the power of the press and pulpit, the politics of the “naming and shaming campaign,” and the usefulness of a trans-Atlantic movement to bring about American equality. In addition to defending Wells at home and abroad, several clubwomen, particularly ones residing in the American northeast, sought to deepen their activism by forming clubs that supported anti-lynching endeavors among their other race work activities. Even more, a number of them showed efforts to cultivate and to deepen relationships with Britons through letter writing, petitions, magazine subscriptions, and participation in the “clipping culture” of the day. Several Black women’s clubs were also eager to welcome “distinguished” English citizens to speak before their members.

This activism was revealed in an examination of the *Woman's Era*, the first independent African American woman's journal, and the *Anti-Caste*, a magazine started by Catherine Impey, a second generation trans-Atlantic activist of London, England who sought equality for all of the world's People of Color. Although the lifetimes of these periodicals were brief, their pages revealed a movement and a moment in which activists called upon English support and the power of the pen to address the economic, political, and social degradation of America's Black citizens. When the Women's Era Club of Boston called African American women to a national convention in July of 1895, which resulted in the formation of the National Federation of Afro-American Women (NFAAW), the delegates passed a resolution that not only thanked Ida B. Wells for leading the anti-lynching crusade, but also recognized Impey for her assistance. The NFAAW acknowledged the work of Florence Balgarnie of the London Anti-Lynching Committee as another "friend" and comrade working to improve the lives of Black Americans.

The other side of this activism was the willingness of some Black female clubwomen to name and to shame Whites who appeared to inhibit progress. In the 1890s, this included Frances Willard of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and Laura Ornisiton Chant of the British Women's Temperance Association. This more militant course of action was far more controversial than the naming of "friends," and Black women themselves ferociously debated whether they wanted to cut all ties with Willard and WCTU as the Women's Era Club suggested. It was clear that many did not. In this way, that the trans-Atlantic battle between Ida B. Wells and Frances E. Willard

became a fuller one within the Black women's club community. It was joined by other highly contested debates about which Black woman's club (or region of the country) was fit to lead a national movement of Black women and, even more, down what path and to what end. All of the factors seemed destined to tear apart the National Association of Colored Women, which in July of 1896 developed out of a merger of the National Federation of Afro-American Women and the National Colored Women's League.

Within the first few years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the National Association of Colored Women, showed a more resolved form of how it intended to conduct its national and international work. It was one predicated on Black women's participation in national fairs and expositions, interracial activism, and the extension of "uplift" work to African countries. While the Women's Era Club (WEC) largely disagreed with participation in predominately White spaces if they did not permit full Black equality, it lost the battle in boycotting such involvement just as it did concerning the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893. It also lost control of the national journal publishing Black women's voices. In 1897, the *Woman's Era* was replaced by the *National Association Notes*, which among, many other changes, replaced editorials with condensed reports from local clubs. These reports and articles within the periodical revealed NACW members' expanding international interests and activism as influenced not only by American and European imperialism, but also by the development of Pan-Africanism.

Three of NACW's first four biennials were held in line with American expositions. Clearly, clubwomen like a large portion of the African American public, believed their involvement in these ventures, which included attendance and public

presentations at meetings and cultural presentations in exhibit form, would best permit the race to put their plight and their progress before foreign and national populations alike. Although racism and mistreatment was always rampant at these events, it was discriminatory episodes at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri, that led the NACW to begin its 29-year boycott of hosting its conventions alongside American fairs. Even so, by this time, the WEC and its more militant style of activism had already faded from the national scene. So too had, Ida B. Wells' connections with the national women's club movement. More lasting then was the NACW's engagement with foreign populations through the congresses of international women's organizations.

In May 1900, the NACW gained affiliation with the National Council of Women in the US, and, more largely, the International Council of Women (ICW). Through their very appearance and speeches at the congresses of these organizations, "representative Black women" hoped that by "knocking" at the doors and indeed the hearts of White women, they would be able to convince them to acknowledge and to respect Black women's humanity and club work and to join them in the larger fight against racism. Speaking in conferences beyond American borders was especially revered, since it enabled African American women to influence the opinions of delegates from around the world concerning American conditions. Nevertheless, due to its troubled economic footing, the NACW could hardly afford to provide financial support to the women who attended these conferences on its behalf. Even so, the organization still held this component of interracial activism as a key way of convincing White women's groups to

help rather than hinder their efforts. These speeches, to some degree, still shamed America and White women for not aiding the Black cause, but they also stressed African Americans' citizenship and patriotism.

In considering Black women's travel to foreign conferences, which expanded in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a part of a larger international trend, this dissertation stresses the importance of seeing the connection between these women and the Black women's groups to which they belonged since divorcing the two presents an ahistorical and otherwise false model. In fact, most of these clubwomen, whether or not they received official appointments from the NACW or monies for their expenses, still attributed their work back to the Black women's club movement. Even more, recognition of this connection speaks to the fact that for the longest time, the NACW really had no choice but to recognize as its representatives the women who possessed the means for international travel and those delegates who were appointed by Whites. The NACW's earliest work showed that it was doing all that it could to wrangle such invitations directly from White women's groups since this meant a recognition of the legitimacy of a unified national Black womanhood.

While conference attendance continued to be of chief importance, in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the NACW also considered its own expansion across national borders as a means of quickening race work. The organization's regenerative work in Africa was to be built upon the efforts of individual women who were working there as religious missionaries or who resided there as the wives of Foreign Service Officers. The idea was presented in 1904 by a visitor from the African continent, but taken up more readily in

1906 when two African American women told of the need for “uplift” efforts. That same year, the NACW also submitted a petition to the American Congress demanding justice in the Congo concerning a humanitarian crisis caused by the exploits of King Leopold II. Nevertheless, the NACW’s organizational perspective on colonialism was murky since clubwomen themselves held diverse beliefs concerning the African past and present and their relation to the continent. Even more, the NACW’s 1912 convention was hosted alongside Booker T. Washington’s International Conference of the Negro, which indicates some acceptance of Washington’s intent to focus on the African continent, but to eschew controversial discussions of race, nationalism, and decolonization. On the other hand, a number of clubwomen had long been attracted to W.E.B. Du Bois’s championing of Pan-Africanism, which by this time had abandoned the traditional “uplift” ideology and the belief in prerequisites for indigenous people’s self-leadership.

The First World War and a surge in racism in the US interrupted the NACW’s conversations concerning its connections to Africa, but not for long. When the US reversed its policy of neutrality and entered into the global conflict in April of 1917, the NACW altered its peace stance, which had resembled those of predominately White groups like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, to one that appeared to be more patriotic. For the first time in Association history, NACW members voted to create a fund to permit the attendance of its leaders at national conferences called by the War Department. Clearly, the NACW hoped that service and commitment to the nation would lead to equality more quickly than had entrances into and affiliations with White women’s groups. The NACW also joined the efforts to secure official



foreign service assignments for African American female nurses, viewing this work as a new frontier of national and international activism. It was the experiences in the First World War that completed the maturation process of the New Negro Woman. Out of the conflict emerged activists who more readily demanded equality, justice, and peace.

In the inter-war period, New Negro Women took up a plethora of activities. Inclusive national and international activism remained a popular approach, but it now existed alongside a Pan-Africanist philosophy that stressed the importance of connecting with global People of Color in order to undo the tight grip of racism and imperialism that bound and stifled their lives. Thus, in addition to continuing to participate in Pan African Congresses as they did in earlier times, many New Negro Women created their own bodies such as the Women's International Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations (WICPFR), the International Council of Women of the Darker Races (IWCDR), and the World Union of Colored Women for Peace and International Concord (WUCW). These bodies were designed to formalize and to serve Black women's unique international interests, which remained unanswered in the organizations led by White women and Black men. The National Association of Colored Women also took back up its interests in Africa; a number of continental Africans appeared before the organization during the 1920s, and the organization showed its desire to connect with African women and "uplift" work since it saw peace and race work as going hand in hand. Moreover, the NACW revived its Peace Department with a dual focus on foreign relations.

With the arrival of the Great Depression however, the NACW reverted to an activism that was localized and focused on the home. This was because Association

leaders were forced to grapple with severe financial conditions that crippled its national projects and endeavors at local, state, and regional levels. Though the NACW continued to value participation in international conferences, this activism too shifted as these spaces were utilized less as a site for agitation and regarded more as a symbol of acceptance and inclusion. These mistakes were ones that Mary McLeod Bethune sought to address in the National Council of Negro Women that was born in 1935. Different from the Association, the Council argued that inclusion within the federal government should be the foremost form of Black women's activism based on the assumption that these positions would increase Black women's status alongside their ability to influence national and international policies. Drawing activists from groups like the NACW, the ICWDR, and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) enabled the NCNW to call upon these individuals' skills, experiences, and perspectives and to set its aims quite early on.<sup>7</sup> Addie Dickerson, who was the third and the longest serving president of the ICWDR, valued her own participation within the NCNW, but she also continued to focus on growing her own organization. It was not until her death in May 1940 that the ICWDR perished.

While scholarship has long pointed out the ideological differences between the NACWC and the NCNW, very few studies have considered these organizations together or examined the NACWC's activism into the 1940s and 1950s. Research that combines the two is necessary for illustrating their competition and cooperation, which importantly shaped their activism. As a beginning, this dissertation has sought to prove that the NACW cannot simplistically be cast as an organization composed only of domestically-

oriented women. Increasingly, as the NACWC rebounded in the 1940s, it put attention on interaction with national and international publics, which now meant not only participation within international women's congresses and organizations, but also cooperation with the United Nations, attempted establishments of foreign branches, and affiliations with women's groups in Africa. It could not however, compete with the International Night programs of the NCNW, which permitted ordinary councilwomen and their guests to rub elbows with a number of American leaders and members of the diplomatic community in discussions about the UN's transformative elements. When Cold War repression set in, these meetings became more conservative lest the NCNW face repression like that which the Council of African Affairs and the rest of the Black Left experienced. Accordingly, the NACWC and the NCNW both attempted to wrap themselves in the fabric of the American flag.

Nevertheless, akin to the American political left, several members of the National Association of Colored Women Clubs and the National Council of Negro Women still attempted to pursue anti-colonial agendas, but in valuing mainstream acceptance and participation, they expressed a willingness to utilize moral suasion when they could as well as to offer themselves as counterexamples to Soviet propaganda concerning American race relations. Thus, their internationalism during this period became increasingly American-centered as Association and Council members sought to prove their loyalty to America, which they sincerely viewed as the best possible leader in the post-war world. These women showed themselves eager to go abroad as Goodwill Ambassadors, which occurred in discrete or overt assignments to convince foreign

populations to align with the US rather than the Soviet Union. By the same token, these assignments enabled these women to pursue their own interests in meeting with women's groups, starting colleges, and conducting research for future papers and projects. Understanding and viewing these women's agency even as they were being used by the American State Department is imperative in future explorations that tackle the outcomes of this "insider" activism and what it meant not for not only these women and their women's clubs, but also for the populations with which they came into contact.

Finally, while supporting these Goodwill Ambassadors by granting them audiences and awards, the NACW and the NCNW also took up foreign travels under their own auspices. These projects were not only intended to grant them status and to connect them with foreign populations, but also to serve as symbols of patriotism that could be used as initiators of racial progress back at home. Importantly, this international travel shifted from a focus on racialized oppression and an activity of "representative women" to any and all who could afford the expense. Although the NCNW came to call its excursions "People-to-People" clearly in line with the American government, the trips of the NACW too revealed a commitment to America's global leadership and the nation's foreign policy. While this dissertation has shown some discussion in these areas, more in-depth research is needed. For instance, there is no scholarship on the NACWC's 1969 trip to the Democratic Republic of Congo when clubwomen took up an invitation from President Joseph Mobutu. During this 21-day trip, NACW learned about Congolese achievements, goals, and methods while also exchanging ideas and methods with local women. The venture represented the first ever independent group of Black women to

travel to the African continent in this manner, which means that though the NCNW established a formal International Relations Department six years later that seemed to serve as a clear symbol of how it left behind the NACWC, the Association still had a number of successes of its own.<sup>8</sup>

Even more, the NCNW's use of a trained, professional staff in its international work and its full immersion into the controversial issue of "development," represents another underexplored shift in Black women's global interests and endeavors. Importantly, the NCNW was partly led down this path as a result of conservative backlash on the eve of the 1970s, which led the organization to depart from the civil rights campaign. In plotting a new program, its president Dorothy Height sought federal support as the NCNW sought to reproduce these same kinds of "development" projects it had undertaken among rural Southern women in Bolivar County, Mississippi, and in countries within Asia, Latin America, and Africa.<sup>9</sup> Given its professional characteristics and representation, the NCNW's International Relations Department will likely present one of the most feasible topics of study concerning Black women's internationalism.

While this dissertation primarily called upon the *Women's Era* magazine as a means of locating organized Black women's late 19<sup>th</sup> century international activism, it may be possible to discover other texts and outlets that will serve to historicize and to broaden this population's international engagement, and to determine other conceptual shifts concerning it. There should also be more work on the individual women discussed within this study since nearly all of them are without full-length biographies. Especially interesting would be studies on the multilevel activism of Black women toward the

United Nations, especially along local lines since for the longest time the NACW's internationalism was conducted at the grassroots levels. This focus will aid in deepening conversations of just what the UN meant to the Black public and importantly how a narrowing political landscape led to disappointment and disillusionment and a focus on civil rights rather than human rights in the 1960s as historian Carol Anderson has shown for activists of other organizations.

Of course, a great deal about Black women's internationalism will always remain undiscoverable due to a lack of resources especially the papers of individual women. Nevertheless, it is still possible to unearth, to view, and to understand a fair amount of the global interests and endeavors of African American women's organizations. Doing so, requires applying the quilting framework that these women utilized to make sense of the world, to improve their standing and experiences within it, and, generally, to make it a better place for all of its inhabitants. Consequently, a much larger and more colorful quilt, whether in full form or in patches, will be pulled from dusty old shelves and closets, unfolded, and studied closely to provide valuable lessons much like Hallie Q. Brown's 1926 publication of *Homespun Heroines and other Women of Distinction*. Just like Brown hoped, perhaps emerging scholarship will serve as an "instructive light" for generations to come.

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<sup>1</sup> “Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors and Executive Council,” *National Notes* (December 1965): 13; and Audrey Walker to Clubwomen, January 7, 1966, Reel 15, Mamie B. Reese Administration, 1964-1968, Records of the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 2: President’s Office Files, 1958-1968 (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> As a native of Albany, Georgia, Reese saw poverty up close and personally, and had been active in the campaigns for equality long before and after this small town’s rise to national attention in December of 1961. “News of Ga. Federated Club Women,” *Atlanta Daily World*, September 23, 1953; “Members of the Mississippi Democratic Freedom party find Association House ‘A Home away from Home,’” *National Notes* (December 1965): 22.

For literature on the local aspects of the Civil Rights Movement, see such works as John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Bernice McNair Barnett, “Invisible Southern Black Women Leaders in the Civil Rights Movement: The Triple Constraints of Gender, Race, and Class,” *Gender and Society* (June 1993): 162-82; Bruce A. Glasrud and Merline Pitre, eds. *Southern Black Women in the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (College Station, Tex: Texas A&M University Press, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> Floris Barnett Cash, “Kinship and Quilting: An Examination of an African-American Tradition,” *The Journal of Negro History* (Winter 1995): 37-38.

<sup>5</sup> For a concise history of the decade, see Judith P. Zinsser, “From Mexico to Copenhagen to Nairobi: The United Nations Decade for Women, 1975-1985,” *Journal of World History* (Spring 2002): 139-168.

<sup>6</sup> “Proposal for the Establishment of a Women’s International Development Program,” n.d., Folder 29, Series 37, National Council of Negro Women Papers, National Park Service-Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, NHS, Washington, D.C.

<sup>7</sup> Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 165-170.

<sup>8</sup> “Women’s Club to Congo, *Afro-American*, June 21, 1969.

<sup>9</sup> “Proposal for the Establishment of a Women’s International Development Program,” n.d., Folder 29, Series 37, NCNW Papers, NABWH.

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Charlotte Moton Hubbard Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Charlotte Moton Hubbard Papers, the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Crystal Bird Fauset Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Dorothy Boulding Ferebee Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Edith Spurlock Sampson Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts.

Ella P. Stewart Collection, Ward M. Canaday Center, University of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio.

Ella P. Stewart Papers, Center for Archival Collections, William T. Jerome Library, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio.

Flemmie P. Kittrell Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Hallie Q. Brown Collection, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center, Wilberforce, Ohio.

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Irene McCoy Gaines Papers, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois.

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